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BY

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AND

MUHAMMAD RIZA MIRAB AGAHI

Translated from Chaghatay and Annotated by

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INTRODUCTION

1. *The country*

Khorezm is a relatively small region in Central Asia which lies in the lower basin of the Amu-Darya, including its delta. However, at different times some neighboring steppe and desert areas where also within its cultural and political sphere of influence, or even under the direct authority of its rulers: the Üst-Yurt plateau between the Caspian and the Aral Sea in the west, the northern part of the Qara-qum desert, and sometimes even the oases along the northern rim of the Khorasanian mountains in the south, and the Qïzïl-qum desert up to the Sïr-Darya delta in the northeast. The surrounding steppe and desert made Khorezm somewhat isolated from the sedentary regions closest to it, Mavarannahr (Transoxania) and Khorasan. This isolation, however, was relative: Khorezm was connected by caravan routes with the Volga basin, Bukhara, and Khorasan, and most of the time there was a brisk traffic along these routes. Still, it was probably due to the geographical position of Khorezm that many features developed in its culture which made it quite distinct from its larger neighbor, Mavarannahr. The people of Khorezm had their own characteristic dress (the most prominent part being the black sheepskin hat worn by men), their own type of cart, their specific type of rural settlement (separate farm households, instead of compact villages) and specific types of dwellings, their own folk calendar, and their own local saints. The tenacity with which the people of Khorezm were preserving their ancient customs and traditions[1] can probably be compared only with a similar feature of the Tajik mountain-dwellers in the Pamirs. Khorezm is the only region in Central Asia where the ancient title of its ruler, Khorezmshah,

[1] Three accounts of Munis and Agahi are especially telling in this respect: about the order of Eltüzer Khan that the traditional male hat in Khorezm be replaced by a turban (see below, p. 184), about the order of Muhammad Rahim Khan prohibiting the use of musical instruments for entertainment (see below, p. 299), and about the order of Allah-Quli Khan to replace the Khorezmian New Year's day (Nawruz) with the common Iranian one (see below, pp. XLII–XLIII). Neither of these orders had a long-term effect.

was in use down to the 19th century.[2] Both in pre-Islamic and Islamic times Khorezm usually maintained its political independence, at least actual, if not always formal. Only once in its history did it become the center of a major empire (that of the Khorezmshahs of the 12th–early 13th centuries), and when it was included as a province in other larger empires, its governors usually came from Khorasan rather than Mavarannahr.

The political and cultural importance of Khorezm was disproportionate to the size of its territory and population. From the post-Mongol era down to the 20th century it played a major role in the development of Turkic literary language and literature in Central Asia. Relations with the Khanate of Khiva, which lay on vital trade routes between Russia and Central Asia, were of great concern for the Russian government, and the expansion of this khanate into the Qazaq steppes, as well as the failure of two Russian military expeditions against the khanate in the 18th and the 19th centuries, created a perception in Russia of the Khanate of Khiva as a perfidious and dangerous enemy.

Due to the proximity of deserts, nomads have always played a prominent role in the economic, cultural, and political life of Khorezm, but it was a country of ancient sedentary culture, with highly developed artificial irrigation. The country suffered from the Mongol invasion more than the rest of Central Asia (the Khorezmshah was the main enemy of Chingiz Khan) and as a result the once flourishing part of the country on the right bank of the Amu-Darya was totally devastated remaining a wasteland until the 19th century. The northern part of the country, with the capital Gurganj, was also destroyed. Gurganj was soon rebuilt (as Urgench) and flourished in the 14th century, but was again, and even more thoroughly, devastated by Timur in his wars with the local Qongrat (Sufi) dynasty in 1378 and 1388; it was probably after the campaigns of Timur that the northern part of Khorezm remained inhabited mostly by nomads. Sedentary population was concentrated in the southern part of the country and in several remaining towns in the north. They were the descendants of ancient Khorezmians, who by that time had probably Turkicized and to whom the term Sart was applied.[3]

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[2] It appears on the seals and in the official documents of some of the Qongrat khans of Khiva, and even more frequently in unofficial use.

[3] In the Timurid time the term Sart was equivalent with "Iranian" or "Persian";

The Uzbeks of Shïbani Khan[4] conquered Khorezm in 1505, but abandoned it after the death of Shïbani Khan in 1510. In 1511 Khorezm was recaptured by Uzbeks, but this time by a different group, under the leadership of an another branch of the Shïbanids (often called in modern scholarly literature ʿArabshahids), who had hostile relations with Shïbani Khan and his family. Open wars with the Khanate of Bukhara were relatively rare until the middle of the 17th century. The Uzbeks of Khorezm (which has come to be known in western literature as the Khanate of Khiva)[5] were less numerous than in Mavarannahr, their khanate had much less material resources than that of Bukhara, and it was just a loose confederation of several independent appanages of the ʿArabshahid princes.[6] During this period it was the Abulkhayrid and Janid khans of Bukhara who nurtured expansionist plans against Khorezm, which, however, they were unable to carry out.[7] In the middle of the 17th century the Uzbeks of Khorezm were strengthened by the migration from the northern steppe of two new groups, the Qongrats and Manghïts, most of

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in the 18th–19th centuries it was applied, in Khorezm, Ferghana, and the Tashkent region (but usually not in Mavarannahr) to the Turkic speaking sedentary non-tribal population, certainly the descendants of the indigenous Iranians. It is not clear, when this change of meaning took place. Abu'l-Ghazi repeatedly mentions Sarts in Khorezm in the 16th and 17th centuries, but says nothing about their language. Khorezmian language was still in some use in the 14th century; it is usually assumed that it was superseded by Turkic (see D.N. MacKenzie, "Chorasmia: III. The Chorasmian language," in: EIr, V, 518), although there are some indications that Khorezmian Sarts could also have spoken Persian as late as in the 19th century.

[4] On the transcription of the name see below, p. 548, note 113.

[5] Khiva finally became the capital of the khanate during the reign of ʿArab Muhammad Khan (1011–1031/1603–1622). Before that the capital (or rather the residence of the supreme khan) was Vazir and later, for almost a century, Urgench, but already before ʿArab Muhammad Khan two supreme khans resided in Khiva, each for a short time. In local usage, both in literature and spoken language, the name of the country was always Khorezm. The name "Khanate of Khiva" ("Khivinskoe khanstvo" in Russian) was adopted in Russian and West European literature from the 18th century. Until then it was often referred to as "Urgench" (or "Iurgench" in Russian documents); this was also sometimes the name under which the country was mentioned in Iran and Bukhara, and "Urganji" was often the collective name given to its people.

[6] On the political system established by the Uzbeks in Khorezm see M.B. Dickson, "Uzbek dynastic theory in the sixteenth century," in: *Trudy XXV Mezhdunarodnogo kongressa vostokovedov*, vol. III, Moscow, 1963, pp. 208–217. See also Yu. Bregel, "ʿArabšāhī," in: EIr, II, 243–245.

[7] The Abulkhayrid and the Janid khans of Bukhara in the 16th and 17th centuries tried to conquer and annex Khorezm several times, but each such attempt ended in failure. The longest occupation of Khorezm by Bukhara (under ʿAbdallah Khan) was in 1595–1598.

whom until that time had been included in the Manghït, or Nogay, confederation between the Volga and Emba rivers. This migration coincided with the concentration of power within one branch of the ʿArabshahids, and, most probably, it prompted the administrative and land reforms of Abu'l-Ghazi Khan.[8] The expansion of the irrigation system under Abu'l-Ghazi and especially his son and successor Anusha must have contributed to the growing sedentarization of Uzbeks in the central and southern regions of Khorezm, though the state was still poor, with but a few small towns, and the khan's treasury was chronically empty. This lack of internal resources resulting in insufficient government revenues prevented the khans from strengthening their authority and creating a more centralized administration, and was probably the reason that the rulers of Khorezm would resort to plundering raids against their neighbors in Khorasan and Mavarannahr and even to plundering foreign merchants within Khorezm itself.[9] This frequent raiding directed against Iran and the Khanate of Bukhara remained a constant feature of the political life of Khorezm well into the 19th century, and it prompted Bartol'd to label Khorezm under the Uzbeks as "a brigand state".[10]

The vast nomadic periphery also continued to exert a strong influence on various aspects of life in Khorezm after the Uzbek conquest. Particularly important were its neighbors in the west and in the south, the Turkmens. Turkmens were closely connected with Khorezm since their emergence as a distinct ethnic group in the 10th–11th centuries A.D., but after the Mongol conquest and until the end of the 16th century the great majority of them lived along the coast of the Caspian Sea and did not have close contacts with Khorezm. However, a gradual migration of Turkmen tribes eastward, in the direction of the agricultural oases of Khorezm and Khorasan, began in the middle of the 16th century, and by the early 17th century the presence of Turkmens in Khorezm was already quite noticeable.[11] The Turkmens became involved in the feuds between the different members of the ʿArabshahid dynasty, and later, in the 18th century, their strength in Khorezm increased so much

[8] See on it below, p. 45 and note 250.

[9] On such an episode under Abu'l-Ghazi Khan see MIUTT, 200–210.

[10] See Barthold, "Khʷārizm," 912; Bartol'd, *Sochineniia*, III, 549. On recent objections to this qualification see below, p. XII, note 16.

[11] For more on this see Yu. Bregel, "Nomadic and sedentary elements among the Turkmens," in: *Central Asiatic Journal*, XXV/1–2, 1981, pp. 29–33.

that in 1770 they were even able to dominate almost the entire country.[12] The Turkmens, however, lacked the social and political structure that would have allowed them to firmly establish their rule in Khorezm, and they were therefore ultimately defeated. The chieftains (*inaqs*) of the Uzbek tribe Qongrat, who lead the fight against the Turkmens, after their victory came to power first as actual rulers under the puppet khans of Chingizid origin and then as khans themselves. But they encountered opposition from the chieftains of other Uzbek tribes, in whose eyes the Qongrats did not have the required legitimacy as khans—a privilege that had been enjoyed only by the Chingizids. In the ensuing fights with the hostile Uzbek tribes the Qongrats had to turn for help to their former enemies, the Turkmens. The latter were invited to return to Khorezm very soon after their first expulsion, and they provided crucial military support to the Qongrat dynasty both within the country and in the wars with Bukhara—the traditional enemy of the Khanate of Khiva. The Turkmens proved their military prowess and enjoyed a privileged position in the khanate, and in return for their military service they were exempt from paying land tax and supplying workers for irrigation works. Turkmen tribes, who formed about 20–25% of the total population of the country, maintained their internal autonomy, but their leaders were never admitted to share in the administration of the khanate with the Uzbeks.[13]

Another nomadic, or seminomadic, group that came to Khorezm was the Qaraqalpaqs. The Qaraqalpaqs gradually migrated to the Amu-Darya delta from the eastern coast of the Aral Sea during the 18th century, while the last group of them was brought to Khorezm by Muhammad Rahim Khan in 1811. The Qaraqalpaqs were less warlike than the Turkmens, and many of them were subdued and resettled by the khans of Khiva forcibly; they were also less numerous than the Turkmens. All this probably determined the status of the Qaraqalpaqs in the khanate: they not only had to supply troops to the army of Khiva, but also labourers for the work on the construction and maintenance of irrigation outside their own regions,[14] and they had to pay land tax.

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[12] See the account of Munis below, pp. 73–75.

[13] Detailed historical account of the Turkmens in Khorezm see Bregel, *Khorezmskie turkmeny*.

[14] Qaraqalpaq workers dredged and repaired canals in the Turkmen regions—a duty, from which the Turkmens themselves were exempt.

Quite different was the relationship of the Qongrats with the old population of Khorezm, the Sarts. The Sarts, who formed a majority of the sedentary population of Khorezm, and certainly an absolute majority in the south—economically the most vital part of the country, were especially interested in the cessation of the internal feuds that plagued Khorezm in the 18th century and the strengthening of the central government. From the very beginning of the Qongrat chieftains' rise to power the leaders of the Sarts lent them their firm support, and the Sarts enjoyed considerable influence under the Qongrats. The civil administration of the khanate was in their hands, and the *mehter* (in Khorezm—vizier, first minister) was always appointed from among the Sarts. Uzbek tribal nobility, which still had a higher social status, had to accept grudgingly this enhanced position of the Sarts, but now and then the old enmity would flare up; however, once the power of this nobility was broken by the first two Qongrat khans, the process could not be reversed.[15]

The ascendance of the Sarts was one of the aspects of the general revival of the sedentary life in Khorezm after centuries of decline and stagnation. Another aspect was the cultural efflorescence that began in Khorezm during the reign of Muhammad Rahim Khan and continued under his successors. It was reflected in the development of crafts, construction of numerous public buildings (especially in the capital Khiva) and, most of all, in an intensive literary life. Not only Sarts, but also Uzbeks, especially those close to the court, contributed to this cultural revival, encouraged by the patronage of the khans. The Khanate of Khiva was still viewed as a "barbaric" state by its neighbors, Bukhara and Iran, not to mention the occasional Russian and European visitors, but its general cultural level was far above the one that had existed in the previous centuries.[16] The most prominent part of this cultural renewal was literature.

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[15] More details on the position of the Sarts in Khorezm see Bregel, "The Sarts."

[16] A western scholar, mentioning various cultural achievements of the Khanate of Khiva in the 19th century, concludes that "to dismiss" it (as well as "its Central Asian neighbors") "as barbaric robber states was perhaps a handy political argument in the colonial race of the 19th century" (B. Kellner-Heinkele, "Glimpses at the cultural life of 19th century Khiva," in: *Rocznik orientalistyczny*, XLIX/2, 1994, pp. 125–126). This slightly veiled reference to Bartol'd's characterization of the Khanate of Khiva as a "brigand state" misses the point. With all the patronage of arts and literature by the Qongrat khans, the Khanate of Khiva still behaved as a "brigand state" in its relations with its neighbors. (Bartol'd himself mentioned that in its cultural achievements the Khanate of Khiva in the 19th century compared

From the early 19th century Khorezm produced numerous poets and writers, all of them writing in Chaghatay.[17] Already during the Mongol period Khorezm had become one of the main centers of the development of Turkic literary language of Central Asia, and later, in the "Uzbek" period, it became the only region of Central Asia where the literary language was predominantly, if not exclusively, Turkic. An especially important role in this development belonged to Khorezmian historiography. The Uzbek khanate of Khorezm had its historiography only in Chaghatay while the historiography of its neighbor, the Khanate of Bukhara, was only in Persian,[18] and the historical works written in the third Uzbek state, the Khanate of Khoqand, were mostly in Persian with only a few less important works written in Turkic.

The first known historical work written in Khorezm in Chaghatay was *Tārīkh-i Dost Sulṭān* by Ötemish Hajji (1550). The only complete manuscript of the work has been preserved in the library of the late Zeki Velidi Togan.[19] It seems that the *Tārīkh-i Dost Sultān* had no circulation in Khorezm: Abu'l-Ghazi Khan, who wrote a century later, knew nothing about his predecessor. Furthermore, Ötemish Hajji's work apparently contains only the history of the Ulus of Jochi

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favorably with Bukhara; and Bartol'd's article "Kh^{w}ārizm" published in 1927 had nothing to do with the "colonial race of the 19th century.")

[17] I am using the term *Chaghatay* for the common Turkic literary language of Central Asia in the 15th–19th centuries as proposed by A.N. Samoĭlovich and generally accepted in western scholarly literature; see a review of various terms used in scholarly literature in J. Eckman, *Chaghatay manual*, The Hague, 1966 (Indiana University Publications, Uralic and Altaic Series, 60), pp. 1–13. The term "Old Uzbek" (*starouzbekskiĭ* in Russian), which has become current in Russian and Central Asian literature, especially since the 1940s, is more a reflection of Uzbek nationalism than historical reality; see the discussion by G.F. Blagova, "Tiurksk. *chaghatay*—russk, *chaghatay-/dzhagatay* (Opyt sravnitel'nogo izucheniia starogo zaimstvovaniia)," in: *Tiurkologicheskiĭ sbornik 1971*, Moscow, 1972, pp. 186–205.

[18] With the exception of three historical works written in Chaghatay at the beginning of the 16th century (*Tavārīkh-i guzīda-i nuṣrat-nāma*, *Shaybānī-nāma*, and *Zubdat al-āthār*).

[19] About this work and its author see Hofman, vol. 6, p. 72; A.Z.V. Togan, *Tarihde usul*, Istanbul, 1950, pp. 47, 241. It has been extensively studied by the Turkish scholar Mustafa Kafalı (see his *Altın Orda hanlığının kuruluş ve yükseliş devirleri*, Istanbul, 1976, p. 5 and references passim), but remains unpublished. A portion of its text, preserved in a defective manuscript in Tashkent as *Chingīz-nāma*, was published by the late V.P. Iudin in facsimile, with transcription and Russian translation (Utemish-khadzhi, *Chingiz-name*, faksimile, perevod, transkriptsiia, tekstologicheskie primechaniia, issledovanie V.P. Iudina, Alma-Ata, 1992); an excerpt from the same manuscript was published in 1994, with English translation and commentary, by D. DeWeese (*Islamization*, appendix, 533–565).

and does not concern the later history of Khorezm. Thus, the historiography of Khiva proper begins with the *Shajara-i Turk* by Abu'l-Ghazi (completed after the death of the author by another person in 1076/1665). This work is too well-known to need any discussion here,[20] though a new edition of the text published in 1871 by Baron J.P. Desmaisons and especially a new European translation of it would be desirable.[21]

The Chaghatay literary tradition in Khorezm continued after Abu'l-Ghazi despite the political and cultural decline of the khanate in the 18th century. A number of names of Khorezmian poets of this period writing in Chaghatay, as well as specimens of their poetry, have come down to us.[22] Munis mentions also a historical work written in the reign of Shir Ghazi Khan (1126–1140/1714–1727) by Mawlana Sayyid Muhammad Akhund. It contained, apparently, the history of Shir Ghazi's reign, was entitled *Gulshan-i iqbāl* ("The Rosegarden of Felicity"), and was written, to judge from the words of Munis, in a most ornate style—as distinct from the works of Abu'l-Ghazi. It has not survived: Munis claims that, before it could have been copied, it had fallen into the hands of Bukharan learned men (*fużalā'*), who, out of envy, tore the manuscript to pieces.[23] Munis does not say in what language this lost work was written, but most probably it was in Chaghatay. Not only the envy of Bukharan scholars, but the whole situation in Khorezm during most of the 18th century prevented the development of local historiography: the country was very often in a state of anarchy, without any effective central authority, plunged into internecine wars between various Uzbek factions and between the Uzbeks and the Turkmens.

The situation changed only towards the end of the 18th century. The khans of the Qongrat dynasty, although themselves Uzbek tribal leaders, were much more influenced by the sedentary culture of Khorezm than most of their Chingizid predecessors, and they patronized poets and writers and showed a special interest in history. Against

[20] See Hofman, vol. 1, pp. 11–32, with further references; A.N. Kononov, *Istoriia izucheniia tiurkskikh iazykov v Rossii: Dooktiabr'skiĭ period*, Leningrad, 1972, pp. 58–69.

[21] Desmaison's French translation, which is still the best one, is inaccurate in some places and lacks scholarly commentary. Ia.G. Guliamov claimed that the text of one manuscript of the *Shajara-i Turk* preserved in Tashkent differs in many details from that published by Desmaisons (see Guliamov, *Oroshenie*, 12).

[22] See Eckmann, "Die tschaghataische Literatur," 385–387, with further references.

[23] See below, p. 61. No information is provided on how could it happen.

the background of the general cultural revival in Khorezm, a renewed interest in history came both from a natural desire of the new rulers to have their deeds immortalized, and from their search for a legitimization of their rule.

2. *The authors*

The first historian of the Qongrat dynasty was Munis. Biographical information about him is found mainly in his historical work. His full name, as mentioned by himself, was Shir Muhammad *al-mulaqqab bi'l-*Munis (i.e. with the nickname of Munis) ibn Amir ʿAvaz Biy Mirab;[24] "Munis" was, of course, his poetical pen-name, and not a "nickname," and he himself says so elsewhere.[25] He was born "in the Year of the Dog, when the sun entered the sign of Aries, on the day of Nawruz, Thursday morning."[26] Before recording this, Munis mentions the Year of the Monkey 1190 A.H. (when the future khan Muhammad Rahim was born), as well as some other events of the 1190's Hijri; thus, the Year of the Dog when he was born must correspond to 1192/1778. His exact birthday must have been, however, not the day of the common Persian Nawruz (or *Nawrūzi-i Sulṭānī*), which was on Saturday 21 March, but, obviously, the day of the Khorezmian Nawruz, 22 days before the Persian one, that is, 28 February 1778, which was, however, also Saturday.[27] He belonged to the nobility of the Uzbek tribe Yüz; mentioning in another place the death of his father he gives his genealogy: "ʿAvaz Mirab ibn Shir Muhammad Mirab ibn Ishim Biy Mirab ibn Hasan-Quli Atalïq ibn Oraz Muhammad Bukavul ibn Dawlat Biy ibn Keray Biy ibn

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[24] See below, p. 3. Burton (358 and elsewhere) erroneously writes "al-Munis": the article *al-* in the *Firdaws al-iqbāl*, where Munis refers to himself, is a part of the Arabic expression *al-mulaqqab bi'l-* and not of the name.

[25] In the afterword to his translation of *Rawżat aṣ-ṣafā'* (see below, p. XIX) Munis gives his name as "Shir Muhammad *al-mulaqqab bi'l-*Munis al-Khivaqi." In the preface to the same, the name is given as "Shir Muhammad *al-mulaqqab bi'l-*Babajan Mirab *va'l-mutakhalliṣ bi'l-*Munis (i.e. with the pen-name of Munis) b. Amir ʿAvaz Biy Mirab b. Shir Muhammad Mirab b. amir Ishim Biy Yüz Khivaqi"; see RṢ transl., ff. 531b, 3b.

[26] See below, p. 78.

[27] Cf. on the chronology of Munis below, p. 43 sqq. In my introduction to the text edition (p. 3) I overlooked this discrepancy between the Khorezmian and the Persian Nawruz and assumed, on the basis of the day of the week, that the birthday of Munis was 19 March.

Muhammad Jan Sufi Biy Yüz."[28] Yet on another occasion he mentions one of his "ancestors" (*ejdad*) Jiyen Biy, who in the reign of Anusha Khan (1074–1098/1663–1687) was granted the title *mīrāb* which formerly belonged to his father Adina Muhammad Mirab ibn Dawlat Biy[29] (apparently, the same Dawlat Biy figures in the genealogy of ʿAvaz Mirab, and Jiyen Biy belonged to another branch of the same family, both going back to Dawlat Biy). It appears from these data that the title *mīrāb* had been in the family already five generations before Munis, and from the time of his great-grandfather Ishim Biy Mirab, who died in the first eight years of the reign of Ilbars Khan (that is, between 1140–1148/1728–1735),[30] it had passed from father to son. After the death of the father of Munis ʿAvaz Mirab in 1215/1800,[31] his elder son (Munis' brother) Muhammad Niyaz was appointed to the same post; he later fell in battle together with Eltüzer Khan in 1221/1806.[32] Besides his direct ancestors, Munis mentions his relatives on the maternal side who were from the Uzbek tribe Nayman.[33] He especially mentions that his relatives (or, probably, his tribesmen) lived in the district of Khoja-eli (modern Khojeyli).[34]

Munis tells nothing about his learning except for the names of his two teachers (*ustād*): Sayyid Ishan Khoja, who was also his neighbor in Khiva when he was ten or eleven years old,[35] and Sayyid

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[28] See below, p. 166. Cf. the words that Munis puts in the mouth of Eltüzer Khan addressed to the author: "Seven [generations] of your ancestors did not cease to serve seven [generations] of our ancestors" (below, p. 6).

[29] See below, p. 49. Later, in the reign of Arang Khan (1099–1105/1688–1694), this Jiyen Biy was distinguished among all the amirs and was sent with an embassy to Shah Sultan Husayn in Isfahan (see below, p. 52); he is said to be especially close to Adina Muhammad Ataliq, the actual ruler of the country (see below, pp. 52, 94).

[30] See below, p. 62.

[31] See below, p. 166.

[32] See below, p. 230. Later (under 1226/1811, p. 370) Munis mentions that the news was received that his brother remained alive and was in captivity among the Qazaqs. Nowhere further in the work is this news either confirmed or disproved.

[33] See below, p. 261.

[34] Munis mentions that during one of the campaigns of Muhammad Rahim Khan against the Chowdurs and the town Qongrat (in 1224/1809) he fell ill and had to remain for three weeks with his relatives (*el*) in Khoja-eli (see below, p. 271). He calls his elder brother Muhammad Niyaz Mirab "the cream of the house of Khoja-eli and the leader of the dynasty of Yüz" (see p. 230).

[35] In the time of ʿAvaz Inaq (1203–1215/1788–1801) the then puppet khan of Khiva Aqïm Khan happened to come to the house of Sayyid Ishan Khoja when the boy Shir Muhammad also came there to play. The khan spoke with the boy

Muzaffar Khoja Mutavalli, whom he mentions on three different occasions, citing also his Persian and Chaghatay poems.[36] It is difficult to say what kind of education he received under these (and probably also other) tutors.[37] In any case, it is clear that he knew Persian and Arabic well, had a usual *adab* training and from his youth leaned towards poetry and history[38] and the company of learned men.

His first dated poem (a *mathnavī* on an event of the rule of ʿAvaz Inaq) included in the *Firdaws al-iqbāl* was written in 1216/1802,[39] but he must have begun to write poetry much earlier, judging from the fact that the first version of his *dīvān* entitled *Muʾnis al-ʿushshāq* was compiled already in 1219/1804–05.[40]

His literary occupation did not prevent him from serving the rulers of Khiva along with the other members of his family. In the days of the *beklik* of Eltüzer Khan, that is, before his accession to the throne in 1218/1804,[41] Munis was "most of the time" in his retinue.[42] Later, in the time of the *beklik* of the future khan Muhammad Rahim (that is, apparently, in the reign of Eltüzer), he was "most of the time" in the retinue of the latter prince.[43] There was a period when he suffered hardships. In the autograph of the *Firdaws al-iqbāl* there is a passage[44] in which Munis first complains in a Chaghatay *mathnavī*

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and found in him a strong resemblance to his father ʿAvaz Mirab with whom the khan often engaged in falconry (see below, p. 76).

[36] See pp. 163, 204, 381.

[37] J. Eckmann ("Die tschaghataische Literatur," 387) mentions that Munis studied in a madrasa in Khiva. This assertion is probably based on a somewhat vague mention of madrasa in the preface of Munis to his *dīvān*; cf. Shermuḥammad Munis Khorazmiĭ, *Saĭlanma*, ed. by Iu. Iusupov, Tashkent, 1980, p. 4 (a poem from the preface quoted by Iusupov; manuscripts and the lithographic edition of the *dīvān* are unavailable to me).

[38] In his preface to the *Firdaws al-iqbāl* (see below, p. 3) Munis says that poetical contests (*shiʿr mushāʿirasi*) and studying history (*tavārīkh mutālaʿasi*) always helped him to overcome troubles and vexations. On his love for studying history see also his preface to his Chaghatay translation of the *Rawżat aṣ-ṣafāʾ* (RṢ transl., f. 4a; cited also by Munirov, *Munis*, 19).

[39] See below, p. 163. The date of the event is given on p. 162 and a Persian chronogram by Sayyid Muzaffar Khoja on p. 163. Cf. also Inan, 19.

[40] See Q. Munirov in *Izvestiia Akademii nauk Uzbekskoĭ SSR*, 1951, No. 4, p. 90; idem, *Munis*, 17. About the MSS. and lithographic editions of this *dīvān* see Munirov, *Munis*, 17–19; Hofman, vol. 4, pp. 201–202; Eckmann, "Die tschaghataische Literatur," 389.

[41] On the term *beklik* see below, p. 544, note 19.

[42] See below, p. 11.

[43] See below, p. 96.

[44] See *FI text ed.*, 264, note 2 and appendix, 1193. This passage, absent in the later redaction, seems to be a remnant of some earlier text later replaced (cf. also *FI text ed.*, 46, note 280).

about hardships that befell him and then tells how, to pay the expenses connected with his marriage, he tried to borrow money from his rich friends ("five-ten dinars from each"), but they did not give him a penny (*qara pul*); in the end he borrowed more than 100 *ashrafī* (golden coins) from a certain Muhammad Panah Bek, and prayed God to save him as soon as possible from the burden of this debt.[45]

It is difficult to establish exactly to what time in his life these laments about hardships refer. In the autograph of the *Firdaws al-iqbāl* they are found in the sections written after the interruption of the work as a result of the death of Eltüzer Khan (see below), that is, not earlier than 1221/1806, and not later than 1234/1819, when Munis abandoned the work for the second time having received a new commission from Muhammad Rahim Khan. Abdülkadir Inan assumes that the hardest time for Munis was the period immediately following the death of Eltüzer Khan,[46] when disturbances began in various parts of the khanate, and he had to interrupt his work. However, it remains unclear, in which way these disturbances could affect Munis personally,[47] except that they created a generally troubled situation in the country.

On 16 Jumada I 1221/31 July 1806 Munis was appointed *mīrāb*[48] in place of his elder brother Muhammad Niyaz Mirab who had fallen with Eltüzer Khan (or, in any case, was missing after the battle).[49] Munis held this hereditary post until his death. Since the administrative reforms of Abu'l-Ghazi Khan[50] there had existed in the khanate four *mīrāb*s, in accordance with the number of main Uzbek tribal groups (*tüpe*) in Khorezm. These officials were included in the khan's council of 34 *'amaldār*s created by Abu'l-Ghazi. The *mīrāb*s

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[45] In another part of the autograph (see *FI text ed.*, appendix, 1200) there are verses written in the margin, with similar complaints.

[46] Inan, 19–20.

[47] The rule of Muhammad Rahim Khan began on 20 Rabi' II 1221/6 July 1806 (see below, p. 239; he was proclaimed khan on 7 Shavval 1221/17 December 1806, see p. 243); the uprisings in the country were finally suppressed in Rabi' I 1222/May 1807 (see p. 254). But Munis was appointed *mīrāb* already less than a month after Muhammad Rahim Khan came to power (see below), and he gives no indication in the *Firdaws al-iqbāl* of any misfortunes having befallen him after that. In an afterword to his translation of the first volume of the *Rawżat aṣ-ṣafā'* written in 1236/1821 Munis speaks about family misfortunes which fell upon him by that time (cited by Sharipov, 98–99), but these were already much later events.

[48] See below, p. 241.

[49] Cf. above, note 32.

[50] Described only by Munis (see p. 45).

had apparently to supervise the irrigation system of the country, its construction, maintenance and repair.[51] From the *Firdaws al-iqbāl* one can see that Munis was indeed involved in the supervision of irrigation.[52] As with most of the retainers of the khan, Munis was also given from time to time various other commissions; besides his main duty, the service most often performed was accompanying the khan in his military campaigns[53] and in royal hunts.[54] Agahi says that Munis was a *nadīm* of Muhammad Rahim Khan.[55]

His royal patrons also recognized the value of his literary talents. In the middle of 1220/1805[56] Eltüzer Khan ordered him to write the history of his dynasty. He was busy with this work, which he entitled *Firdaws al-iqbāl* ("The Paradise of Felicity"), until the death of Eltüzer Khan in 1221/1806. After an interruption which lasted apparently at least until his appointment to the post of *mīrāb*, he resumed his work by the order of the new khan Muhammad Rahim,[57] but had to abandon it once more in the middle of 1234/1819, when he was instructed by the same khan to translate into Turkic the *Rawżat aṣ-ṣafā'* by Mirkh^{w}and.[58] According to Agahi, when Munis

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[51] Throughout Central Asia there were *mīrāb*s for every rural community, canal and district. But only in the Khanate of Khiva the chief *mīrāb*s were included among the highest dignitaries of the state, which undoubtedly resulted from the special importance of a centralized irrigation system for the life of the country.

[52] Bartol'd was the first who pointed out that a special interest in irrigation clearly seen in the historical works of Munis and Agahi stemmed to some extent from their official position as *mīrāb*s (see Bartol'd, *K istorii oroshenija*, 114–115). Russian orientalist A.L. Kun, who was in Khiva in 1873, and later P.P. Ivanov claimed that the *mīrāb*s as court officials had had no connection with irrigation (see MITT, II, 331, note 1). Guliamov (*Oroshenie*, 265–266) noticed that this was a mistake. On the chief *mīrāb*s in Khiva see also Iuldoshev, 267–269.

[53] In a register of the Khivan troops dated 1242–1243/1827–1828 "Munis Mirab" appears at the head of a detachment of 30 *nöker*s (see Ivanov, *Arkhiv*, 160). Munis explicitly mentions his participation in military campaigns only four times (see below, pp. 255, 270, 305, 395), which does not, of course, exclude his participation in other campaigns as well. Other chief *mīrāb*s are also frequently mentioned as military commanders in various campaigns.

[54] On two occasions Munis mentions that he was among the retinue of the khan during khan's annual hunting tours of the khanate (see pp. 333, 336, 368).

[55] *Nadīm-i khāṣṣī* (see below, p. 405). In the Islamic world *nadīm* was a "courtier (or confidant) of kings or of wealthy persons; his function is to entertain them, eat and drink in their company, play chess with them, accompany them in hunting and participate in their pastimes and recreations" (J. Sadan, "Nadīm," in: EI^{2}, VII, 849).

[56] About the date see pp. XXV–XXVI below.

[57] More detail about the history of the text see below, p. XXVII sq.

[58] See below, p. 406. As Munis explains in the preface to his translation, the khan also ordered him to supplement the work of Mirkh^{w}and with the description

had translated the first *daftar* of the *Rawżat aṣ-ṣafā'*[59] and a part of the second *daftar* up to the battle of Badr, Muhammad Rahim Khan died (in 1240/1825), and the new khan Allah-Quli ordered him to continue the translation. Apparently, from the beginning of this work Munis had been so occupied with it that he could never again return to the *Firdaws al-iqbāl*; during the first four years of Allah-Quli Khan's reign he had time only to translate another part of the second volume of the *Rawżat aṣ-ṣafā'* (till the end of the history of Muhammad).

Munis died at the end of 1244/June 1829, when he was with the army of Allah-Quli Khan in one of his campaigns in Khorasan. When the army was near the town of Lutfabad,[60] an epidemic of cholera broke out,[61] and Munis was among those who died on their way back to Khorezm.[62]

Thus, Munis left unfinished both his *Firdaws al-iqbāl* and the translation of the *Rawżat aṣ-ṣafā'*; and the work of continuing them fell upon his nephew who used the pen-name of Agahi. His proper name was Muhammad Riza b. Er Niyaz Bek,[63] and his father was a younger brother of Munis. There were, apparently, close ties between the two brothers: Munis mentions that Er Niyaz took care of him when he was recovering from his illness in Khoja-eli in 1224/1809,[64] and he mentions with a certain affection the birth of his nephew Muhammad Riza which occured later in the same year, on Saturday 10 Zu'l-Qa'da 1224/16 December 1809.[65] As Agahi himself recalls in

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of events not included into the *Rawżat aṣ-ṣafā'* and to continue this work from the time of Sultan Husayn Mirza down to his own time, to cover also the history of the Qongrats, and, to help him in this task, khan's minister Muhammad Riza Qoshbegi was ordered to gather historical works from everywhere (RṢ transl., f. 6a–b).

[59] The translation of the first volume was finished on 23 Zu'l-Hijja 1236/20 September 1821 (see RṢ transl., f. 532b; in *FI Text ed.*, p. 7, note 45 the Gregorian date is erroneously given as 22 October).

[60] Cf. on Lutfabad below, p. 640, note 946.

[61] Agahi says *vabā va ṭā'ūn*, which can also mean plague (*Riyāż ad-dawla*, f. 330b), but a Russian source tells about cholera brought from Khorasan to Khiva in 1829 by the Khivan army, when a great number of troops died on their way back (see "Svedeniia," 97); this fully coincides with the account of Agahi.

[62] Agahi, *Riyāż ad-dawla*, f. 333b; cf. below, p. 406.

[63] See below, pp. 297, 406.

[64] See below, p. 271; cf. above, note 34.

[65] See below, p. 297. Modern Uzbek scholars claim that Agahi was born in the village Qïyat near Khiva; see the preface by R. Majidi to the edition of Agahi's *dīvān* (cf. note 76 below), p. 6. This is probably based on the authority of a modern Khivan *tadhkira* by Laffasi (about him see SVR, VII, 213, No. 5320) written in 1944, where Agahi is called "Qïyatlïgh" (see Munirov, *Munis*, 23), i.e. from Qïyat.

the preface to his *dīvān*, in his youth he craved for learning: he not only learned at a madrasa, but also used every opportunity to be at the meetings (*majmaʿ u majlis*) of learned men and poets.[66] His main teacher was apparently his uncle Munis whom on several occasions he calls "honorable master" (*ustād-i kirāmī*),[67] and describes himself as Munis' pupil (*dastparvarda*).[68]

After the death of Munis in 1829, in the reign of Allah-Quli Khan, Agahi was appointed to the post of *mīrāb*.[69] He performed the same duties as his predecessor, supervising the irrigation[70] and accompanying the khan in his military campaigns and on other occasions. It seems, however, that this service was burdensome to him,[71] and, as he says, he used every opportunity to speak with learned men and poets, to read books and to increase his knowledge. On 19 Muharram 1268/13 November 1851, in the reign of Muhammad Amin Khan, he resigned from his post because of an illness,[72] and seemed to dedicate the rest of his life to literary work. There is no doubt, however, that he remained very close to the khan's court, participated in the literary gatherings (*majlis*es) in the presence of the khans and, probably, also in some of the military expeditions.[73] According to a later historian of Khiva, Muhammad Yusuf Bek Bayani,[74] Agahi died one year after the Russian conquest of Khiva,[75] that is, in 1291/1874.

According to Majidi (preface to the *dīvān*, 9), Agahi was buried in the same village Qīyat, and his tomb can be seen there.

[66] Ogaḥiĭ, *Ta"vizul oshiqin*, 30; cf. also Agahi, *Riyāż ad-dawla*, f. 270a–b.

[67] See below, pp. 406, 487 (also *FI text ed.*, 1167, note 15–15); Agahi, *Riyāż ad-dawla*, f. 333b.

[68] See below, p. 406; Agahi, *Riyāż ad-dawla*, f. 334a; Ogaḥiĭ, *Ta"vizul oshiqin*, 29.

[69] Agahi, *Riyāż ad-dawla*, f. 334a.

[70] Agahi in his historical works pays even more attention to irrigation than Munis did.

[71] He deals with it at some length in the preface to his *dīvān*, see Ogaḥiĭ, *Ta"vizul oshiqin*, 30–31.

[72] Agahi, *Jāmiʿ al-vāqiʿāt-i sulṭānī*, f. 488a–b. His nephew Muhammad Karim Bek was appointed in his place. Agahi does not mention the nature of the illness. Zh. Sharipov (109, note 70) says, without citing any source, that Agahi became crippled after a fall from a horse when he served as *mīrāb*.

[73] It seems somewhat strange that Agahi does not mention his resignation in the already cited preface to his *dīvān* (compiled at least several years later, see below), where he complains about the burden of his service.

[74] About him see Yu. Bregel, "Sochinenie Baiani 'Shadzhara-ĭi khorezmshakhi' kak istochnik po istorii turkmen," in: *Kratkie soobshcheniia Instituta narodov Azii Akademii nauk SSSR*, vol. XLIV, Moscow, 1961, pp. 125–157.

[75] Bayani, *Shajara-i khorezmshāhī*, MS of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of Uzbekistan No. 9596, f. 4b.

Agahi by far exceeded his uncle and teacher by the volume of his literary production. His poetry (predominantly in Chaghatay, but including also a number of poems in Persian) was collected in a *dīvān* (entitled *Taʿvīdh al-ʿāshiqīn*) rather late, at the request of Sayyid Muhammad Khan (1272–1281/1856–1864),[76] but this *dīvān* must have been supplemented also much later, continuing almost until the end of his life.[77] He was especially prolific as a translator into Chaghatay from Persian. In his time the translation of Persian works which had begun in Khiva apparently with Munis[78] was developing rapidly, and Agahi was the most active writer in this field. In the preface to his *dīvān* he gives the total number of his translations as 19 (including one from Ottoman Turkish).[79] Among them there are such works as *Gulistān* by Saʿdi,[80] *Yūsuf u Zulaykhā* by Jami,[81] *Shāh u gadā* by Hilali,[82] *Haft paykar* by Nizami (a prose translation),[83] *Zubdat al-ḥikāyāt* by Muhammad Varith,[84] *Qābūs-nāma*,[85] *Akhlāq-i Muḥsinī* by Husayn Kashifi,[86] *Miftāḥ aṭ-ṭālibīn* by Mahmud Ghizhduvani,[87] *Salamān u Absāl* and *Bahāristān* by Jami, *Hasht bihisht* by Amir Khusraw,[88] and

[76] See his preface to the *dīvān*: Ogaḥiĭ, *Ta"vizul oshiqin*, 32–38.

[77] Manuscripts of the *dīvān* contain chronograms written as late as in 1288/1872–73, see SVR, VII, 128, No. 5169. About the MSS., editions and Russian translations see Hofman, vol. 1, pp. 49–50; Eckmann, "Die tschaghataische Literatur," 390; Yu. Bregel, "Āgahī," in: EI², Suppl. I, 46; Munirov, *Munis*, 25–26; Dmitrieva, *Opisanie*, III, 123–124, Nos. 501, 502.

[78] As Munis writes in the preface to his translation of *Rawżat aṣ-ṣafā'*, first order to translate Persian works was given by Muhammad Rahim Khan simultaneously to him—to translate *Rawżat aṣ-ṣafā'*, and to Mirza Masiha (i.e. Mirza Masiha-yi Bukhari)—to translate *Maʿārij an-nubuwwa*. See RṢ transl., f. 5b. Cf. *FI Text ed.*, 35 and note 213.

[79] Ogaḥiĭ, *Ta"vizul oshiqin*, 38–39.

[80] SVR, VII, 217–218, Nos. 5321–5322.

[81] *Ibid.*, 68–69, Nos. 5052–5054.

[82] MS of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of Uzbekistan No. 809/II (see Sharipov, 108–109; Munirov, *Munis*, 27).

[83] SVR, V, 107, No. 3605.

[84] MS of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of Uzbekistan, No. 1274/I (see Munirov, *Munis*, 28).

[85] MSS. of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of Uzbekistan, Nos. 1274/II and 7577/II (see Munirov, *Munis*, 28; Sharipov, 108).

[86] MSS. of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of Uzbekistan, Nos. 1587, 8446 (see SVR, III, 111, No. 2044; Munirov, *Munis*, 29); MS of the St. Petersburg Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences, C1773 (see Dmitrieva, *Opisanie*, III, 124).

[87] MS of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of Uzbekistan, No. 8473 (see Munirov, *Munis*, 29). About the Persian original see Storey, I/2, 973.

[88] MSS. of the last three translations not yet known, though Sharipov (108–109) mentions them among those translations which "are to be found in Leningrad, Tashkent State University, and other places."

Vāṣifī (apparently *Badā'ī' al-vaqā'ī'*).[89] Six translations of historical works appear in the same list: (1) *Rawżat aṣ-ṣafā'* by Mirkh^{w}and, of which Agahi translated the second part of the second volume and the third volume;[90] (2) *Rawżat aṣ-ṣafā-yi Nāṣirī* by Riza-Quli Khan, vol. 3;[91] (3) "*Nādir-nāma*"—apparently, *Tārīkh-i jahāngushā-yi Nādirī* by Mahdi Khan Astarabadi;[92] (4) *Ẓafar-nāma* (apparently by Sharaf ad-Din Yazdi); (5) *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbar-shāhī*;[93] (6) *Tadhkira-i Muqīm-khānī*.[94] A seventh historical translation by Agahi, not mentioned in his list, appears in the catalogues: *Durra-i nādira* by Mahdi Khan.[95]

This is an impressive list, especially taking into consideration that at the same time Agahi was writing the histories of the Khanate of Khiva, which together form several volumes (see below). Unfortunately, not all the dates of the Agahi's translations are indicated in the catalogues of manuscripts and other works where these translations are mentioned, and therefore it is impossible to give here their exact chronology. The earliest date mentioned is that of the *Rawżat aṣ-ṣafā'*: 1260/1844;[96] next comes *Durra-i nādira*: 1266/1850.[97] All other translations are dated (as far as it is mentioned in existing literature)

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[89] MSS. not known. The only extant Chaghatay translation of this work was made by Hubb-Quli Khoja Dilavar in 1241/1826. About the Persian original and the existing translations see Storey – Bregel, II, 1123–1127, No. 984.

[90] Thus in the preface to his *dīvān* (about the MSS. see Story – Bregel, I, 374–375; about the Persian original see *ibid.*, 361, No. 260). A translation of vol. 7 of the same work is also ascribed to Agahi in a note in the MS preserved in Tashkent (see SVR, VII, 19–20, No. 5005), but this is doubtful; in any case, Agahi himself does not mention this volume among his translations.

[91] About the MS see Dmitrieva *et alii, Opisanie*, I, 167, No. 158. About the Persian original see Storey – Bregel, I, 479, No. 350.

[92] SVR, VII, 48–49, Nos. 5038–5039. About the Persian original see Storey – Bregel, II, 905, No. 775(1). About a translation of the second work of Mahdi Khan see below.

[93] MSS. of the last two translations are not yet known, though Sharipov mentions them among those preserved in Leningrad, Tashkent, "and other places" (see note 87 above). About the Persian originals see Storey – Bregel, II, 797, No. 676(1); Storey, I/1, 433, No. 613.

[94] MSS. not known (probably MS of the St. Petersburg National Library (former Public Library) T.N.S. 105, registered as a translation of an unknown author, is a translation by Agahi). About the Persian original see Storey – Bregel, II, 1146, No. 1002.

[95] About the MSS. see Storey – Bregel, II, 913. In the catalogue by Dmitrieva *et alii, Opisanie*, I, 166, No. 157 the work is described under erroneous title *Durra-i Nādirī* and it is said that this is a translation of the *Tārīkh-i jahāngushā-yi Nādirī*(!). The beginning of this translation as quoted in the catalogue differs from that of the translation of *Tārīkh-i jahāngushā-yi Nādirī* as given in SVR, VII, 49.

[96] SVR, VII, 18.

[97] Dmitrieva *et alii, Opisanie*, I, 166.

not earlier than 1272/1856, that is, after Agahi's resignation from the post of *mīrāb*. It seems that only after the resignation did he have enough time for all this work.

The prime importance of Agahi (as well as of Munis) for modern scholarship lies in his original historical writings. The first of them was the continuation of the *Firdaws al-iqbāl* which had remained unfinished since the interruption of the work by Munis in 1234/1819. Agahi received an order from Allah-Quli Khan to complete this work in 1255/1839–40.[98] He finished it apparently shortly after this, because later the same khan ordered him to write a history of his own reign; this order could have been given not later than 1258/1842 (the year of Allah-Quli Khan's death). The history of Allah-Quli Khan (including also the first two years of the reign of his successor Rahim-Quli Khan) entitled *Riyāż ad-dawla* was finished in 1260/1844.[99] After this he wrote, in consecutive order: the history of Rahim-Quli Khan (1258–1262/1843–1846) entitled *Żubdat at-tavārīkh*;[100] the history of Muhammad Amin Khan (1262–1271/1846–1855), ʿAbdallah Khan (1271/1855), and Qutlugh Murad Khan (1271–1272/1855–1856) entitled *Jāmiʿ al-vāqiʿāt-i sulṭānī*;[101] the history of Sayyid Muhammad Khan (1271–1281/1856–1864) entitled *Gulshan-i dawlat*;[102] and the history of the first eight years of the reign of Sayyid Muhammad Rahim Khan II (1281–1289/1864–1872) entitled *Shāhid-i iqbāl*.[103] Altogether these works form an uninterrupted chronicle of

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[98] See below, p. 406. Telling about this Agahi first wrote that, according to the khan's order, the work should also include the history of his own reign: "all events that happened and will happen in his reign until the present time" (sic; apparently until the completion of the work; cf. below, p. 8, the words of Munis in his preface about the content of chapter 5). However, later this passage was corrected and the khan's order in its new version spoke only about the completion of the work (see p. 407).

[99] About the MSS. see Dmitrieva *et alii, Opisanie*, I, 110–111, Nos. 100–101; SVR, I, 84, Nos. 212–213, VII, 35, No. 5022; also MS of the Istanbul University Library TY 82, pp. 1055–1522.

[100] Finished in 1262/1846; about the MSS. see Dmitrieva *et alii, Opisanie*, I, 111, No. 102 (here is mentioned also MS of the Leningrad Public Library, now St. Petersburg Russian National Library, T.N.S. 22); SVR, VII, 35–36, Nos. 5023–5024; also MS of the Istanbul University Library TY 82, pp. 1527–1741.

[101] About the MSS. see Dmitrieva *et alii, Opisanie*, I, 117, No. 110; SVR, VII, 36, No. 5025.

[102] About the MSS. see Dmitrieva *et alii, Opisanie*, I, 114, Nos. 105–106; SVR, VII, 37, No. 5026.

[103] On the unique manuscript (apparently an autograph) see Dmitrieva *et alii, Opisanie*, I, 115, No. 107. The work was interrupted, apparently, because of the Russian conquest of Khiva in 1873 and remained unfinished.

the Khanate of Khiva under the Qongrat dynasty till the Russian conquest. *Firdaws al-iqbāl* was at the beginning of this chain of histories; it is the largest of all of them,[104] and it undoubtedly determined the character of the subsequent writing.

3. *The work*

In the preface to the *Firdaws al-iqbāl* Munis tells that after Eltüzer succeeded his father ʿAvaz Inaq as a ruler of Khiva (in Zu'l-Qaʿda 1218/March 1804), Munis first had no access to the court, which filled him with sorrow and distress.[105] But one day he was invited to the court and received by Eltüzer Khan, who ordered him to write a history of his reign. This order is related by Munis in a pompous speech put into the mouth of Eltüzer. Munis lets the khan say that the purpose of human life in this perishable world is to perpetuate one's good name, and it can be achieved neither by erecting buildings nor by procreation, but only in written word. Therefore the khan orders Munis to write a book which should be distinguished by its elegant style, both in prose and verses, so that the khan's august genealogy and the names of his glorious ancestors, as well as the khan's own excellent qualities and his victories, would "remain on the pages of time."[106]

Munis does not mention the exact date when this order was given, so that it could fall on almost any day within the period of rule of Eltüzer Khan (from 26 Zu'l-Qaʿda 1218/7 March 1804 to 17 Rabiʿ II 1221/3 July 1806). But his preface contains some hints allowing placement of the beginning of the work within a shorter period. First, the fact that Munis mentions Eltüzer by the title *khan* apparently shows that the author could have begun the work only after Eltüzer had removed the last puppet khan of the Chingizid stock and had been proclaimed khan himself; this happened on 23 Shaʿban 1219/26 November 1804.[107] Secondly, speaking about the qualities

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[104] In the MS E6 (see below, p. LVIII), which includes all chronicles by Munis and Agahi except the *Shāhid-i iqbāl*, the *Firdaws al-iqbāl* occupies 263 folios of a large size; four subsequent works by Agahi in the same manuscript occupy altogether 322 folios.

[105] See below, p. 5.

[106] See below, p. 7.

[107] See below, p. 203.

which distinguished Eltüzer Khan he mentions[108] and then describes in some detail four victories of the khan over the rebels, namely: the plundering of the Qaraqalpaqs; the expulsion of the Yomuts; the demolition of the walls of Khoja-eli; and the conquest of the town Qongrat. All these events are described in much greater detail, including chronology, in the chapter devoted to the history of Eltüzer Khan. The first two had occured before Eltüzer was proclaimed khan, while the last two happened after his accession. The victorious entry of the khan into Qongrat took place on 1 Rabiʿ II 1220/28 June 1805;[109] on 17 Rabiʿ II/14 July Eltüzer Khan returned to Khiva, and on the same day Munis was granted an audience with the khan.[110] It is highly probable that this was the audience at which Munis was ordered to compile his history.[111] In any case, this date is *terminus post quem* for the beginning of the work.

It follows from this that Munis had been writing his history for no longer than one year when the death of Eltüzer Khan in the disastrous battle with the army of Bukhara on 17 Rabiʿ II 1221/3 July 1806[112] led to an interruption of the work. By that time he had only reached the beginning of the reign of Shir Ghazi Khan (1125/1713).[113] In Munis' own words, the interruption lasted "a long time" (*muddat-i madīd*). But the new khan Muhammad Rahim ordered him to finish his work and to include in it the history of his own reign.[114] The date of this order is not mentioned either by Munis or by Agahi. The latter says only that Muhammad Rahim Khan put down the rebellions and put the country in order; "at this happy time," during a feast (*bazm*), he ordered Munis, who was his personal *nadīm*, to finish his work.[115] From these words one can conclude that the order was given not immediately after the accession

[108] See below, p. 9.
[109] See below, p. 216.
[110] See below, pp. 216–217.
[111] This is the only instance when Munis especially mentions an audience granted him by the khan (though there is hardly any doubt that later, being a high official, he was very often in the khan's presence); apparently, it had some special significance for him. There may be some doubt, however, whether the audience mentioned by Munis was indeed with Eltüzer Khan, and not with his brother and successor Muhammad Rahim; cf. on this below, p. 619, note 693.
[112] See below, p. 228.
[113] See below, pp. 55, 167. The same repeated by Agahi at the beginning of his part, see p. 405.
[114] See below, p. 55.
[115] See below, p. 405.

of Muhammad Rahim Khan, but some time later, probably after the end of disturbances in the country in the middle of 1222/1807.[116] The resumed work, however, advanced slowly, because Munis had to spend much time in search of evidence on the history of two predecessors of Eltüzer Khan, Ish Muhammad Biy and Muhammad Amin Inaq.[117] When he began to describe the history of the seventh year of the reign of Muhammad Rahim Khan, the latter ordered him to begin translation of the *Rawżat aṣ-ṣafā'* into Turkic (see above); he abandoned the *Firdaws al-iqbāl* and could not return to it anymore. The account of Munis is interrupted at the events of Safar 1227/March 1812 (the last exact date mentioned is 21 Safar/5 March),[118] but neither Munis nor Agahi tells when this interruption occured. However, in the preface to his translation of the *Rawżat aṣ-ṣafā'*[119] Munis says that he began this work on 13 Shavval 1234/4 August 1819. The interruption in the compilation of the *Firdaws al-iqbāl* presumably happened shortly before this date.

After the death of Munis his work remained untouched until 1255/1839–40, when Muhammad Rahim's son and successor Allah-Quli Khan ordered Agahi to resume and finish the work of his uncle;[120] in carrying out this task he enjoyed the special encouragement of Rahim-Quli Töre, son and heir of Allah-Quli Khan.[121] It is not quite clear what was the state of Munis' manuscript when Agahi resumed the work after an interval of twenty years. Agahi himself twice calls the unfinished work of his uncle "these scattered leaves" (*bu parīshān awrāq*, or *bu awrāq-i parīshān*).[122] Perhaps one should not take this expression too literally,[123] but there are certain indications in the autograph of the *Firdaws al-iqbāl* that the text left by Munis was not quite in order: it was only a rough copy, probably

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[116] Cf. note 47 above.

[117] See below, p. 166.

[118] See below, p. 403. The text of Munis ends with his chronogram on the construction of a stone bridge after the return of Muhammad Rahim Khan from his campaign against the Qazaqs (see p. 403), but it does not give the day or the month.

[119] RṢ transl., f. 6b.

[120] See above, p. XX.

[121] See below, p. 407.

[122] See below, pp. 407, 511.

[123] In his preface to *Riyāż ad-dawla* (history of Allah-Quli Khan, see above, p. XXIV) Agahi calls his work *bu nuskha-i parīshān-ajzā* (f. 270a), which in this case is apparently only a conventional humble expression and has nothing to do with the actual condition of the work.

unbound, and in two places the text was apparently in very bad condition, so that Agahi had to re-write and probably also to supplement it.[124] The date of completion is not indicated by Agahi, but, as already mentioned above, it could not be later than 1258/1242. Agahi's share in the whole work was significant: about one fifth of the *Firdaws al-iqbāl* was written by him.[125]

Munis decided first to entitle his work *Iqbāl-nāma* ("The Book of Felicity"), but later changed the title for *Firdaws al-iqbāl* and explained the latter in the following words: "Because [the book] was adorned like paradise by the spring of the royal felicity, it has been entitled 'The Paradise of Felicity',"[126] probably meaning that the good fortune of Eltüzer Khan became apparent during the events of the beginning of his reign; for the same reason the *muqaddima* to the work has a heading "About some properties of his majesty which were the signs of the royal felicity."[127] According to the plan laid down by Munis in his foreword, the work should be divided into an introduction (*muqaddima*; the preceding foreword has no heading),[128] five chapters (*bāb*) and a conclusion (*khātima*). The first chapter should contain the history from Adam to the children of Noah; the second, the history of the Mongol rulers from Yafeth till the branch of Qongrat; the third, the history of the rulers from the descendants of Quralas (that is, the Chingizids) down to Abu'l-Ghazi Khan b. Yadigar Khan (removed by Eltüzer); the fourth, the history of the Qongrat ancestors of Eltüzer Khan; the fifth, the history of Eltüzer Khan from his birth till the completion of the work ("all events . . . that happened and will happen"). The *khātima* should include accounts of the prominent people of Eltüzer's reign (saints, *'ulamā'*, amirs, beks, poets, scholars, and artists), as well as of some extraordinary events that happened in his time.[129] The delay in compilation and the death of Eltüzer Khan resulted in a change of the content of the last chapter: after Muhammad Rahim Khan had given

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[124] A detailed discussion of the condition of these two parts of the autograph (ff. 249a–268b and 285b–289b), including arguments *pro* and *contra* the possible Agahi's authorship, or at least editorship, of these places see in my introduction to the text edition: *FI Text ed.*, 15, note 110.

[125] About the basis for such a calculation see *FI Text ed.*, introduction, 15, note 111.

[126] See below, p. 8.

[127] See below, p. 9.

[128] It contains a praise of God, Muhammad and the first four caliphs, as well as the circumstances of the beginning of the work.

[129] See below, p. 8.

the order to continue the work, Munis had to divide this chapter into two parts (*faṣl*), dealing, respectively, with the history of Eltüzer and Muhammad Rahim. The *khātima* has never been written, and Agahi finished the work with the account of the death of Muhammad Rahim Khan.

These chapters are unequal both in their length and historiographical importance. The first two form only a short introduction—mainly genealogical—to the subsequent history and are based on the works of others (see below). Altogether they occupy only 23 folios in the autograph (ff. 16b–39a). The third chapter, devoted to the Chingizids (ff. 39b–89a), is divided into three parts (*qism*), the third and largest of which (ff. 49b–89a) contains the history of the ʿArab-shahids of Khorezm, and from the death of Abu'l-Ghazi (ff. 67a and below) it is completely original in its content. The fourth chapter is longer than the three preceding chapters together (ff. 89a–168b), and the fifth chapter forms almost three quarters of the text and is also completely original. On the whole, the original parts form 7/8 of the total volume of the text.

The structure of the *Firdaws al-iqbāl* is that of a dynastic history (or rather a combination of regional and dynastic history), and it bears some typical features of this branch of Persian historiography with which Munis was well acquainted. No individual work, however, can be pointed out as a sole model for the *Firdaws al-iqbāl*, though the author was probably influenced most of all by the *Shajara-i Turk* of Abu'l-Ghazi[130] and perhaps by the *Rawżat aṣ-ṣafāʾ* of Mirkh[w]and.[131] Munis follows the history of the Chingizids of Khorezm till the deposition of the last khan of this dynasty in 1804; then he goes back to trace the history of the ancestors of Eltüzer Khan causing some overlapping and repetitions in the historical narrative. The history of the two khans contemporary with him, Eltüzer and Muhammad Rahim, is arranged as their respective biographies, and the second (*faṣl* 2 of the chapter 5) is subdivided into three parts (*qism*) according to the periods from the birth of the khan till his coming to

[130] Except for its style, the *Shajara-i Turk*, although written in Chaghatay, belongs to the tradition of Persian dynastic historiography.

[131] These two works were the main sources of Munis for the first two chapters and the first two parts of the third chapter (see below). In the later parts the *Firdaws al-iqbāl* was probably influenced, both in style and annalistic arrangement, by the Safavid and Nadir Shah's historiography (cf. the next note).

power, then from his coming to power till his proclamation as khan, and finally his reign until death. The names of the rulers of the Chingizid dynasty and then of the tribe of Qongrat form the subdivisions of the third and fourth chapters down to Muhammad Amin Inaq (f. 103b in the autograph). The subsequent parts dealing with Muhammad Amin Inaq, ʿAvaz Inaq, and Eltüzer Khan are divided into accounts (under various headings, in chronological order) of the main events of this period. And finally the reign of Muhammad Rahim Khan, comprising more than a half of the work (ff. 252a–611a of the autograph), is arranged in an annalistic order, its main subdivisions being the years since the accession (*julūs*) of the khan.[132]

Munis used different kinds of sources for two distinct parts of his work: the section down to the death of Abu'l-Ghazi (see pp. 31–47) is a compilation based almost entirely on other historical works, while the subsequent, greater part is based on original material. Therefore one has to examine sources used in these two unequal parts separately.

In the non-original part Munis utilized a number of written sources, the most important of which were the *Rawżat aṣ-ṣafāʾ* and the *Shajara-i Turk*. A direct reference to the first is found only in four places,[133] and to the second in two places.[134] In fact, the first two chapters are based almost entirely on these two works and the non-original part of chapter 3 is based on Abu'l-Ghazi. It seems that Munis did not borrow from one of these sources to switch then to the other in some strict sequence, but rather had both at hand and used for each section the information which seemed to him more reliable, sometimes mentioning discrepancies between the two. However, even for these parts of the *Firdaws al-iqbāl* Munis did not limit himself to his two main sources, but tried sometimes to check their data against

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[132] Two Safavid chronicles used and cited by Munis, *Aḥsan at-tavārīkh* and *Tārīkh-i ʿālam-ārā-yi ʿAbbāsī*, have an annalistic framework. Iskandar Munshi uses a rather complicated system of double chronology (by *julūs* years in Turkic animal cycle and by Hijrī years; see R.D. McChesney, "A note on Iskandar Beg's chronology," in: *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 39/1, 1980, pp. 53–63). Munis adopts a much simpler system, practically ignoring the difference between the Hijrī years and the actual years of Muhammad Rahim's accession. Muhammad Rahim became an actual ruler on 20 Rabiʿ II 1221/6 July 1806 and was proclaimed khan on 7 Shavval 1221/17 December 1806 (see note 46 above). But the events of the second year of the *julūs* begin in the *Firdaws al-iqbāl* from Muharram 1222/March–April 1807 (see p. 251), and the accounts of almost all subsequent *julūs* years begin from Muharram of the corresponding Hijrī years.

[133] See *FI Text ed.*, pp. 50, 65, 197 (= below, p. 84), 739 (= below, p. 341).

[134] See *FI Text ed.*, pp. 66, 79.

other works. This was done partly in the process of original writing and partly later, when the first draft already existed; in the latter case the results of this collation are seen in the autograph in the marginalia containing later additions and corrections to the body of the text.

In the first two chapters Munis mentions by name two additional sources: *Tavārīkh al-anbiyā'* by Mir ʿAli Shir[135] and *Tārīkh-i Jaʿfarī*.[136] There appear also references to *ʿArā'is*,[137] *Niẓām at-tavārīkh* and Tabari,[138] *Tārīkh* of Hafiz-i Abru,[139] *Ḥukamā' tārīkhi*,[140] *Tārīkh* by Muqaddasi,[141] and *Muqaddima-i Ẓafar-nāma*;[142] all these references, however, are borrowed, together with the information taken from them, from the *Rawżat aṣ-ṣafā'*—of course, without any mention of this fact. In the third chapter there is one reference to the *Muqaddima-i Ẓafar-nāma*, one to the *Ẓafar-nāma* itself,[143] one to *Mirṣād al-ʿibād*,[144] one to the *Tārīkh-i ʿālam-ārā-yi ʿAbbāsī*[145] and two to Hasan-i Rumlu.[146] Apart

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[135] See *FI Text ed.*, p. 38. About the MSS. of this work see Storey – Bregel, II, 719, No. 620(2).

[136] See *FI Text ed.*, p. 40. Bartol'd found this reference in a work of a late historian of Khiva, Mulla Babajan Bek Thana'i, not having noticed that the reference had been borrowed from Munis (see Bartol'd, *Sochineniia*, VIII, 576; cf. Yu. Bregel in *Aspects of Altaic civilization II. Proceedings of the XVIII PIAC, Bloomington, June 29–July 5, 1975*, ed. by L.V. Clark and P.A. Draghi, Bloomington, 1978, p. 25). Bartol'd pointed out that a MS of *Tārīkh-i Jaʿfarī* brought from Khorezm was preserved in Leningrad (now in the Russian National Library, St. Petersburg); it is very probable that this is the MS used by Munis. On the work and its author see Storey – Bregel, I, 349, No. 252(1).

[137] See *FI Text ed.*, 40 (cf. RṢ, I, 45). This is apparently *ʿArā'is al-majālis fi qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* by ath-Thaʿlabi, see GAL, I, 350, SB I, 592.

[138] See *FI Text ed.*, 40 (cf. RṢ, I, 45). On the works and their respective authors see Storey – Bregel, I, 298, No. 239; 279, No. 235.

[139] *FI Text ed.*, 41 (cf. RṢ, I, 45). On the work and its author see Storey – Bregel, I, 341, No. 251.

[140] *FI Text ed.*, 42 (cf. RṢ, I, 47). This is probably the work of Shahrazuri, see GAL, I, 468, SB I, 850.

[141] *FI Text ed.*, 48 (cf. RṢ, I, 71). See BGA, III.

[142] *FI Text ed.*, 56 (cf. RṢ, V, 8). On the work and its author see Storey – Bregel, II, 797, No. 676(1).

[143] See below, pp. 19 (see ẒN, f. 54a, with a reference to a "*Tārīkh-i Khorāsān*"; cf. RṢ, V, 119, with a reference to "*baʿżī az tavārīkh*" and somewhat different data), 20–21; see also the preceding note.

[144] See below, p. 19 (this is, however, not a direct reference: "it is recorded by the author of *Mirṣād al-ʿibād*"). The work is *Mirṣād al-ʿibād min al-mabda' ilā'l-maʿād* by Najm ad-Din ar-Razi Daya (see about him GAL, I, 448, SB I, 803–804).

[145] See below, p. 32. On the work and its author see Storey – Bregel, II, 873, No. 734(1).

[146] See below, pp. 32, 37. On the work (*Aḥsan at-tavārīkh*) and its author see Storey – Bregel, II, 859, No. 723.

from these sources directly mentioned by Munis, in the first three chapters he used other written sources referring to them only obliquely, using such expressions as "and some tell that . . .," "some say that . . .," "and there is a story that . . .," "Abu'l-Ghazi . . . and some historians tell . . .," "according to another version . . .," "this author saw in one manuscript . . ."[147] Sometimes, however, he used the same expressions citing (anonymously) Mirkh^{w}and and Abu'l-Ghazi.[148] On the other hand, he gives information not found in Mirkh^{w}and and Abu'l-Ghazi without even an anonymous reference to any source. One of his unnamed sources was *Tārīkh-i guzīda* by Hamdallah Qazvini,[149] from which he quotes, in an abridged Chaghatay adaptation, the well-known words of Hamdallah about the Mongol invasion.[150] Two other cases of use by Munis of the *Tārīkh-i guzīda* seem to be found in chapters 1 and 3.[151] Some minor details are probably borrowed without reference from the *Ẓafar-nāma* by Sharaf ad-Din Yazdi[152] and from the *Tārīkh-i Banākatī*.[153]

In the non-original part of chapter 3 (see below, pp. 14–47) Munis,

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[147] See below, pp. *FI Text ed.*, 42, 75, 77, 79, and below, pp. 21, 57.

[148] See *FI Text ed.*, pp. 51 ("and it is said that . . ."—actually from Mirkh^{w}and), 54 ("and it is said that . . ."—actually from Abu'l-Ghazi), 72 ("and some say that . . ."—from Abu'l-Ghazi), 75 ("and it is transmitted from some . . ."—from Abu'l-Ghazi); also see below, pp. 15 ("and it is said that . . ."—from Mirkh^{w}and), 24 ("and it is told that . . ."—from Mirkh^{w}and), etc.

[149] About this work and the author see Storey – Bregel, I, 327, No. 245(2).

[150] See *FI Text ed.*, introduction, 19; cf. below, p. 19 and *Tārīkh-i guzīda*, 573–574.

[151] *FI Text ed.*, 19b (about the burial place of Adam; cf. *Tārīkh-i guzīda*, 24) and below, p. 21 (the date of the death of Toluy; cf. *Tārīkh-i guzīda*, 577). Munis was probably also acquainted with the geographical work of the same author, *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, which is cited in a Persian marginal note in the autograph (see *FI Text ed.*, introduction, 55) on the rulers of Gilan. This reference, however, could have been in some other work which is perhaps cited here by Munis.

[152] The *Muqaddima-i Ẓafar-nāma* is mentioned once through a quotation from *Rawżat aṣ-ṣafā'* and once by Munis himself, and *Ẓafar-nāma* quoted once by Munis himself (see above, notes 142 and 143). From the *Ẓafar-nāma* probably stems the mention of a war between Berke and Abaqa in Shirvan in 665 A.H. (see below, p. 22; cf. *Ẓafar-nāma*, f. 67b), and from the *Muqaddima*—the mention that the legendary Tengiz Khan lived 110 years (*FI Text ed.*, 73; cf. *Ẓafar-nāma*, f. 21a). Probably one more borrowing from the *Ẓafar-nāma* is found in the fourth chapter, see below, p. 93 and note 490.

[153] About this work (its exact title is *Rawżat ūlī'l-albāb fī tavārīkh al-akābir va'l-ansāb*) see Storey – Bregel, I, 323, No. 243. It is cited twice in the fourth chapter (see below). Two details probably go back to Banakati in the third chapter: the mention of the place and date (erroneous: 650 A.H. instead of 654 A.H.) of the death of Batu (see below, p. 22; cf. *Tārīkh-i Banākatī*, 395) and of the war between Berke and Hülegü in 660 A.H. (see below, p. 22; cf. *ibid.*).

besides retelling Abu'l-Ghazi with the addition of some details from the Safavid sources,[154] in several instances must also have used other sources which he does not mention and the nature of which can not yet be established. The most important of all such additions are the account of Isfandiyar Khan as a Sufi (based on *Tadhkira-i Ṭāhir Īshān*)[155] and several accounts related to the reign of Abu'l-Ghazi, especially those of his administrative reforms.[156]

Much more complicated is the question of sources used by Munis and Agahi in the original part of the work. These sources must have been different for the period contemporary with the authors and for the preceding period (from Abu'l-Ghazi down to Eltüzer Khan); the latter is covered in the final sections of chapter 3 and in chapter 4. At the end of the fourth chapter Munis tells in the following words about the difficulties he met in writing the history of Eltüzer's predecessors: "It has happened that the events of [the time of] the Chingizid dynasty which reigned in the land of Khorezm were not registered in history after Abu'l-Ghazi Khan ibn ʿArab Khan, and, [as far as] this chapter [is concerned], the circumstances and victories of Ish Muhammad Biy and Muhammad Amin Inaq also appear not to have been committed to writing. This humble [author] has exerted himself to the best of his ability, and searched for [information about] the circumstances and events of their [time], compared and verified what had been found, and has recorded it. But the history of most of the events has not been found. Therefore the work of compilation has been delayed and deferred for a long time."[157]

Munis does not mention where he did find his information as a result of his search, and there are only a few hints of it in the text. His sources for the most part of the early history of the Qongrat

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[154] Besides two places where the *ʿĀlam-ārā* and Hasan-i Rumlu are directly mentioned (see notes 145 and 146 above), there are several other passages in the same sections stemming from these two sources (see pp. 31, 32, 35, 37). In the autograph all these passages are added in the margin, which shows that Munis checked these works after his first draft had already been written. Persian quotations (somewhat adapted) from these two sources are found in two marginal notes in the autograph (f. 47b—from Hasan-i Rumlu, f. 57a—from *ʿĀlam-ārā*); see *FI Text ed.*, 117 note 4, and introduction, 54–55.

[155] See below, pp. 42–43 and note 234.

[156] See below, pp. 45–46; the source of this addition is unknown. Tabulated results of a detailed collation of the text of non-original parts of Munis' work with his sources see in *FI Text ed.*, introduction, 20–25.

[157] See below, p. 166.

remain unknown.[158] It is probable that he used some Qongrat tribal traditions, though his text sometime makes an impression of being based on written sources (for instance, his chronology). However, only very few facts mentioned here can be found in the written sources which he certainly used (*Rawżat aṣ-ṣafā'*,[159] *Shajara-i Turk*,[160] and *Tārīkh-i Banākatī*[161]). Some information on the Qongrat tribal chiefs mentioned by Munis is found in the *Ǧāmiʿ at-tavārīkh* of Rashid ad-Din, but the accounts often do not coincide (including the chronology),[162] and on the whole Munis clearly did not use Rashid ad-Din. In his story of the conversion to Islam of Özbek Khan, Munis ascribes the latter to the Sufi shaykh Sayyid Ata, which shows that he used either the anonymous *Shajarat al-atrāk* or a biography of Sayyid Ata which seems not to have come down to us.[163] In the account of Umbay Inaq Munis inserts, under the heading "parable" (*tamthīl*), a story of two amirs of Timur, Jalal Hamid and Inanj Oghlan, apparently taken either from the *Rawżat aṣ-ṣafā'* or from the *Ẓafar-nāma* of Sharaf ad-Din.[164] In the account of the events of Shir Ghazi Khan's reign (1125–1139/1713–1727) he mentions that he "saw in one manuscript" (or "in one work")[165] certain information about the campaign of this khan in Khorasan. In the history of Ilbars Khan (1139–1153/1727–1740) Munis includes an account of a raid by the

[158] A more detailed discussion of this question see Bregel, "Tribal tradition," 377–381.

[159] There is one reference to the *Rawżat aṣ-ṣafā'* in the fourth chapter (see below, p. 84; cf. RṢ, V, 96). An account of the war between Berke and Abaqa (see below, p. 85) probably also goes back to RṢ (V, 283). See also note 164 below.

[160] No references are given. The account of Musa Biy (Abu'l-Ghazi, I, 189–190) goes back (though in distorted form) to Abu'l-Ghazi. Other information probably borrowed from Abu'l-Ghazi can be found on pp. 83–84 (Terk Amal Khan, so Abu'l-Ghazi, I, 78) and 84 (two campaigns of Taghachar Bahadur, cf. Abu'l-Ghazi, I, 92, 117–118).

[161] There are two references to this work in the fourth chapter: p. 84 (on the campaign of Taghachar, cf. *Tārīkh-i Banākatī*, 267–268, and on the marriage of Tinim Güregen to a daughter of Chingiz Khan, cf. *ibid.*, 366).

[162] See for instance: p. 83 (on Darïtay Noyan; cf. JT, I/2, 271), 84 (on the campaign against the Merkit; cf. JT, I/2, 177), 85 (on the marriage of Tinim Güregen; cf. JT, I/2, 70), 85 (on Musa Güregen; cf. JT, III, 20), 86–87 (the account of Noqay; cf. JT, II, 84–88).

[163] See on this below, p. 599, note 475.

[164] See RṢ, VI, 217–218 (the name of the second amir is misspelt in this edition as Ināyj Oghlan); *Ẓafar-nāma*, f. 245a (the name of the second amir appears as Ibāj Oghlan). Cf. Bartol'd, *Ulugbek*, 51.

[165] See below, p. 57.

Turkmens into Khorasan in 1147/1735; in the autograph the account is written in the margin and at the end of it the words "from Nādir-nāma" are added, which is a reference to the *Tārīkh-i jahāngushāy-i Nādirī* of Mahdi Khan.[166]

Oral information is referred to more frequently, going back as early as the end of the 17th century: in the account of the reign of Arang Khan (1099–1105/1688–1694) Munis mentions what he heard from a Sayyid ʿIsam ad-Din Khoja, son of Sayyid Muhammad Panah Khoja.[167] Another account in the same section probably goes back to one of Munis' ancestors, Jiyen Biy Mirab.[168] In the account of the raid of Shir Ghazi Khan into Khorasan Munis cites what he heard in his childhood from a Persian slave of his great-grandfather Ishim Biy Mirab.[169] A little below in the same section his information probably goes back to Ishim Biy Mirab himself.[170] In the account of the murder of Khuraz Bek in 1165/1751–52 he refers to the words of "trustworthy, truthful people."[171] In connection with the murder of Timur Ghazi Khan (1176/1769) Munis says: "I heard from a learned man of that time"[172] (after this there follows a direct speech of this person). A story of a *ḥajj* performed by ʿAvaz Bek, son of Ish Muhammad Biy, after his father had been killed by the order of Nadir Shah, is told with a reference to Muhammad Rahim Khan, from whom Munis heard it in the days of the *beklik* of Muhammad Rahim.[173] The story of Muhammad Amin Inaq's stay in Bukhara (1184/1770) is told, probably, on the authority of Munis' father ʿAvaz Mirab.[174] ʿAvaz Mirab is explicitly mentioned as authority in another place,[175] and in two more places the information

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[166] See below, p. 63 and note 349. In his translation of this account Munis distorted some of the names and described the raid as victorious for the Turkmens, while Mahdi Khan ascribes the victory to the Iranians.

[167] See below, p. 51.

[168] See below, p. 52 (he is especially mentioned here, but not as a source of information).

[169] See below, p. 58.

[170] See below, p. 59 (he is mentioned here as one of the main actors).

[171] See below, p. 68.

[172] See below, p. 72. Both this and the previous story (see note 171) begin with the heading *ḥikāyat* ("story").

[173] See below, p. 96; the story is given as a direct speech of Muhammad Rahim Khan.

[174] See below, pp. 106–107, 110–112. ʿAvaz Mirab is said to be one of the few persons who accompanied the inaq.

[175] See below, p. 129.

probably goes back to him.[176] In the account of the famine in Khorezm in 1770 Munis uses expressions "I heard from some" and "Another person told",[177] after which a direct speech follows. There is also a number of more vague references, such as "I have heard," "it is told," "some tell," "there is a story," etc.[178]

Munis apparently did his best to gather and compare all this information, which is clearly seen in the great number of marginal notes, additions and corrections in the autograph, especially in the sections of chapter 4 dealing with the 18th century. He was not always successful in his search, as he himself admits twice.[179] He was on firmer ground in chapter 5, when he turned to the history contemporary with himself. Here he was an eyewitness to many of the events he describes or at least could hear or read firsthand accounts of these events. The first direct mention of Munis himself participating in the events he describes is dated Zu'l-Qa'da 1216/March 1802.[180] Though such references are not frequent, there is no doubt that Munis, due to his position at the court, was well informed of what happened in the country.[181] Besides his own observations, he used accounts of other eyewitnesses, just as he used such accounts for the earlier period. Direct references to eyewitness accounts in chapter 5 are found only in six places,[182] but in a number of other places his sources were probably also such accounts.[183] One can assume that other eyewitnesses' acounts, though not mentioned explicitly, must have been the basis of many sections of the *Firdaws al-iqbāl* dealing

[176] See below, pp. 134–135, 154.

[177] See below, p. 109.

[178] See below, pp. 51, 69–70, 88, 89, 114, 119, 126, 134, 140, 153. Such references as "it is told" can also be related to written sources (cf. above, note 148), but this is hardly the case in most instances just mentioned.

[179] Besides the already cited general statement at the end of chapter 4 (see p. XXXIII above), also in one specific case (see p. 94: try as he would to find out the names of the five younger sons of Sayyid Inaq, he did not succeed).

[180] See below, p. 162.

[181] About other instances when Munis appears in his work as participating in various events see above, pp. XVIII–XIX.

[182] See pp. 197 (account of Munis' brother), 228 ("I heard that . . ."), 229 (account of a *mulāzim* of Munis' brother), 230 (reference to information heard from "some trustworthy" people), 294 and 364 (accounts of persons who were in the battles described).

[183] It can be assumed that the persons whose participation in the events described was especially mentioned by Munis (not always in direct proportion to their actual role) served as his sources; see below, pp. 175 (probably an account of Munis' relative Muhammad Jan Bek), 206–207 (probably an account of Munis' elder brother).

with contemporary history, especially those describing, sometimes in great detail, the actions of Khivan troops in Khorasan, Mavarannahr and in other regions where Munis, most probably, did not always participate himself.[184] These accounts need not necessarily have been in oral form. It is known from the preserved documents of the archives of Khiva of the 19th century[185] that Khivan civil and military officials used to write detailed reports to their seniors (often to the khan himself) on various events connected with their official duties and especially on carrying out various special tasks imposed upon them from time to time—such as military operations against rebels or Turkmen raiders, irrigation works, etc. It is very probable that Munis, being a high official and court historian, had access to these official reports as well as other documents preserved in the state chancery and could use them for his work. Sometimes documents are cited: in the part of chapter 5 written by Munis there are three instances of such quotation.[186]

When Munis could have participated in certain events (as in most of the military campaigns led by the khan) and even when he mentions his participation explicitly, one can assume that the description in the *Firdaws al-iqbāl* is written not entirely from memory, but is rather based on notes or diaries kept by him (and perhaps also by others): otherwise it would be difficult to explain how he could describe such events in great detail day by day (often indicating also the time of the day) several years after they had happened. Indeed, though the fifth chapter of the *Firdaws al-iqbāl* has the character of a contemporary chronicle, Munis never wrote it as a diary on the spur of the moment: between the events and the moment of their registration in the *Firdaws al-iqbāl* some seven years and more must have passed.[187]

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[184] Cf., for instance, below, pp. 297–298, 303–304, 328–329.

[185] On these archives see Ivanov, *Arkhiv*; Yu. Bregel, "Arkhiv khivinskikh khanov (Predvaritel'nyĭ obzor novykh dokumentov)," in: *Narody Azii i Afriki*, 1966, No. 1, pp. 67–76.

[186] See below, p. 253 (the text of a letter to Muhammad Rahim Khan written by rebels which is apparently a verbatim quotation of the original and not an adaptation); p. 285 (a *firmān* of Muhammad Rahim Khan, cited probably in an abridged form); p. 371 (the text of a letter from two tribes of the Aral Uzbeks to Muhammad Rahim Khan).

[187] The events of the years 1713–1812 were described by Munis in 1807–1819 (see above, p. XIX). In one place, describing some events of 1215/1800, Munis adds: "And now we heard that in 1224 A.H." etc., which means that he was writing it not earlier than in 1224/1809 (see below, p. 159).

The successor and continuator of Munis, Agahi, must have used archival material even more. The entire part of Agahi has the same character of a contemporary chronicle as the preceding sections written by Munis. But Agahi began the work 15 years after the death of Muhammad Rahim Khan, and he describes the events of 1227–1240/1812–1825, when he himself was only a child (from three to sixteen years old). It is obvious that his work could not have been based on his own observations. Yet the events are described by him in the same great detail as was done before him by Munis. In the preface to his part Agahi mentions his sources in the following words: "Be it known to the noble mind [of the reader] that there will be recorded in a concise form all the events that happened from the eighth year since the accession of his imperial majesty, the late Muhammad Rahim Bahadur Khan, until his death—some of them found by examining manuscripts, and others heard, through much exertion (*taraddud bile*), from the narrators."[188] Agahi clearly points out the existence of both written and oral sources. The written ones could have been only of documentary character, and, in fact, more or less direct quotation of such sources can be found in the part of Agahi more often than in the text of Munis,[189] and it is very probable that he used written reports of some kind in many other places as well.[190] Oral information is not mentioned by Agahi on any specific occasion, except perhaps one.[191] There remains a question whether Agahi could have used any rough material left by Munis. Agahi's

[188] See below, p. 407.

[189] See below, p. 433 (two *yarlïq*s given to the leaders of the Teke tribe are cited, probably in abridged form), 447 (a letter from a Qazaq chief, also in abridged form), 457 (apparently a brief summary of letters brought from Afghanistan and Sarakhs), 501–502 (probably a register is cited of military commanders who participated in a raid against Bukhara), 504 (an abridged quotation, or a summary, of letters exchanged between Muhammad Rahim Khan and amir Haydar), 507 (the text of a letter, probably slightly abridged, from the khan to the tribes Khitay and Qïpchaq in Bukhara), 508 (the text of a letter from the khan to the tribe Ersarï), 514–515 (apparently a quotation of a testimony given by a deserter from the Bukharan side), 536–537 (the text of a letter from amir Haydar, probably fictitious).

[190] Especially in the accounts of military campaigns and hunting expeditions of the khan which are described day by day and sometimes even in greater detail than by Munis. It is interesting that sometimes insignificant episodes are described in detail, while more important military events are only briefly mentioned (cf., for instance, below, pp. 445–446); some military raids, as distinct from others, are not described day by day. This could have resulted from the fact that Agahi did not have adequate evidence for the description of certain episodes.

[191] See below, p. 487 ("and according to some . . .").

own words in his preface cited above seem to speak to the contrary.

An interesting problem is presented by the chronology used by Munis and Agahi. Their works are characterized by numerous exact dates, which makes them stand out in the Central Asian historiography of that time. They use several systems of dating (separately or in different combinations): Hijri (only years, or years and dates, or years, dates, and days of the week), years of the animal cycle, and zodiacal months of Iranian solar calendar. It was noticed already by Bartol'd[192] that there was a discrepancy between the Hijri dates given by Munis and Agahi and those which appear in the commonly used synchronistic tables (by Wüstenfeld); according to Bartol'd, the dates of "the Khivan calendar" were one day behind the dates in the tables.[193] This was, however, not a special feature of the Khorezmian calendar: the discrepancy stems from the use of two different eras (starting days) for Hijri calendar, one according to the "civil reckoning" based in theory on the first visibility of the crescent and corresponding to Friday 16 July 622 A.D., and another according to the astronomical reckoning based on the conjunction of the sun and moon and corresponding to Thursday 15 July 622 A.D. In order to convert Hijri dates to another calendar we need to know the corresponding days of the week.[194] Both systems were used in Muslim astronomical and historical texts, although the first one was more common, and therefore the Wüstenfeld's tables, as well as other modern synchronistic tables, give the dates of Hijra by "civil reckoning," i.e. assuming that it began on 16 July 622. But the historians of Khiva clearly used tables based on astronomical reckoning: in the overwhelming majority of cases the complete dates (i.e. having both the dates and the days of the week) given by them correspond to Hijri dates calculated by this method. The cases when their dates

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[192] See Bartol'd, "Sobytiia," p. 403, note 12.

[193] It was repeated in a different form by Samoĭlovich, who wrote that "the days of the Khivan week are behind the [days of the] common week by one day. Sometimes the difference is even two or three days" (*Materialy po istorii karakalpakov: Sbornik*, Moscow – Leningrad, 1935, p. 94, note 1; repeated in MITT, II, 588, note 1).

[194] See on this: D.A. King and O. Gingerich, "Some astronomical observations from thirteenth-century Egypt," in: *Journal for the history of astronomy*, vol. XIII, 1982, pp. 124–125. The difference between the dates based on these two eras is not consistently one day (because of the difference in the sequence of intercalary Islamic years).

are off one or (more rarely) two days should be explained by simple errors in calculation.

In many cases calculations were needed to both Munis and Agahi for establishing dates, even when they were writing on the basis of contemporary diaries or other documents: as the documents of the Khivan archive of the 19th century[195] show, specific events were commonly mentioned there under the days of the week only, so that such records would have required our authors to use other sources or calendar tables in order to determine the dates. In particular, in the case of the description of long military campaigns which were recorded only by the days of the week, errors in establishing exact dates could easily occur.[196]

Hijri dates become clearly the basis of the chronology of Munis only in chapter 5—from the history of Eltüzer Khan for which Munis could probably use more or less systematically some written records, both his own and by others. In earlier sections, when Munis utilizes identifiable earlier written sources (in particular, Mirkh^{w}and, Abu'l-Ghazi, Mahdi Khan), he usually borrows the dates from them. Therefore the sections based on Mirkh^{w}and have Hijri dates, while those based on Abu'l-Ghazi contain dates by the Central Asian animal cycle and (not always) Hijri, and the sections dealing with the history from Abu'l-Ghazi to Muhammad Amin Inaq, not based on any earlier written sources, often have just dates by the animal cycle.[197] The date of the same event given according to different systems do not always coincide. As a rule, dates by the animal cycle transmitted by oral tradition (through Abu'l-Ghazi or other sources) are most probably "original,"[198] while the corresponding Hijri dates are derivative—the result of a conversion made by Abu'l-Ghazi or Munis, and sometimes such a conversion could be erroneous.[199] The dates by animal cycle give only year, and the beginning of such a

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[195] Cf. above, note 185.

[196] See, especially, below, pp. 434–436, 439.

[197] It is noteworthy that, when Munis occasionally added information in these sections from Persian sources (like Mahdi Khan), he would also include their Hijri dates.

[198] In Central Asian folk tradition the animal cycle (together with the agricultural calendar) was the basis of date reckoning; the animal cycle in particular was used for memorizing the birth dates and the age of people.

[199] Thus, for instance, Munis mentions that 1127 A.H. was the Year of the Monkey (see p. 56); 1127 A.H. corresponds to 6 January–25 December 1715, while the Year of the Monkey corresponds to 1716 (from February or February). A little further

year is not always clear. The confusion results from the difference in calculating the beginning of the cyclic year. It is very often assumed that the cyclic year in Central Asia begins on the vernal equinox—21 March, or the 1st of the zodiacal month Ḥamal (Aries). However, this is valid only for Iran and Mavarannahr (Bukhara), and it is of a relatively late origin (in Iran—since the mid-15th century).[200] According to Islamic sources (including various calendar tables, *jadāvil-i nujūmī*, or *taqvīmī nujūmī*), the cyclic year begins at the conjunction of the sun and moon in the middle of the zodiacal month Dalv (Aquarius), or, in other words, from the entrance of the sun in the 15° of Aquarius, which corresponds to the 5th of February (Gregorian calendar).[201] However, this date is the beginning of the cyclic *solar* year, while the Inner Asian cyclic year was *luni-solar*, that is, its first month started from the last true new moon[202] preceding the entry of the sun in the sign Ḥūt (Pisces); "the Gregorian date of the new moon signifying New Year will be different every year, varying roughly between 20 January and 19 February"; thus, the 5th of February, or the beginning of the cyclic solar year, is only the average date of the luni-solar year determined in the way mentioned above.[203] As to the *Firdaws al-iqbāl*, in several places it indicates when a particular cyclic year began or ended, and whenever the exact Hijri date of it is explicitly mentioned, it falls in February.

The zodiacal months mentioned above are yet another chronological system widely used by Munis and Agahi. This was a solar year divided into twelve months named by the 12 "mansions" according to the signs of the zodiac. It was used in Iran and Central Asia, and since the calendar reform of the Seljukid sultan Jalal ad-Dawla

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(see p. 60) he mentions that 1133 A.H. was the Year of the Hare; 1133 A.H. corresponds to 1 November 1720–21 October 1721, while the Year of the Hare corresponds to 1723 (from February). See similar discrepancies, in which cyclic year is given correctly and Hijri year—erroneously, on pp. 64, 68, 69, 70, 71.

[200] See Ch. Melville, "The Chinese Uighur animal calendar in Persian historiography of the Mongol period," in: *Iran*, XXXII, 1994, p. 93.

[201] See O. Turan, *Oniki hayvanlı Türk takvimi*, 1941 (Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Yayınlarından, Tarih Serisi, No. 3), pp. 28–29; A.N. Samoĭlovich, "K voprosu o dvenadtsatiletnem zhivotnom tsikle u turetskikh plemen," in: *Vostochnye zapiski*, vol. I, Leningrad, 1927, p. 151; Bazin, *Les systèmes*, 304, 320, 378–379.

[202] On the meaning of the term "true new moon" see B. van Dalen, E.S. Kennedy, and M.K. Saiyid, "The Chinese-Uighur calendar in Ṭūsī's Zīj-i Īlkhānī," in: *Zeitschrift für Geschichte der arabisch-islamischen Wissenschaften*, vol. 11, 1997, p. 125.

[203] This explanation was kindly provided by Dr. Benno van Dalen. Cf. Bazin, *Les systèmes*, pp. 378–379.

Malikshah,[204] the vernal equinox (21 March) was adopted as the beginning of such a solar year—the Nawruz (lit. "new day"). This calendar became known under different names: Jalali, Maliki, Malikshahi, and Sultani. Although the Jalali calendar was apparently not used in Central Asia,[205] the Nawruz on 21 March, usually called *Nawrūz-i Sulṭānī*, was adopted in most parts of Central Asia, in particular in Mavarannahr (Bukhara), as the beginning of the "zodiacal" year. The Arabic names of zodiacal months were often used in chronological references side by side with the Hijri dates. The first day of the year, Nawruz, was the first day of the month of Ḥamal (Aries). However, in several regions of Central Asia there existed also tradition according to which the Nawruz was celebrated one month earlier, on the first day of the month of Ḥūt (Pisces), that is, 19 February. Such tradition, connected with folk agricultural calendar, was registered in the mountain regions of Tajikistan.[206] Similarly, in Khorezm, according to the words of Agahi (see below), the Nawruz was celebrated on the first day of Ḥūt, and this Nawruz was called *Nawrūz-i Khorezmshāhī*, "the Nawruz of the Khorezmshahs," which emphasized its local and ancient origin. It was the son and successor of Muhammad Rahim Khan, Allah-Quli Khan, who ordered to replace "the Nawruz of the Khorezmshahs" with the Nawruz-i Sultani. Agahi tells about it in his chronicle of the reign of Allah-Quli Khan in the account of the events of 1242/1827, after the return of Allah-Quli Khan from his campaign to Khorasan, in the following words: "In the old days, the peasants (*dihqanlar*), according to their own ideas (*öz ra'ilarï bilä*), called Nawruz the first day of [the month of] Ḥūt (i.e. Pisces), and they calculated the days of agricultural works (*dihqanatnïng ḥisābligh künlärin*) from that same day. And in the country of Khorezm the same day also became known as Nawruz. [The khan] abolished this wrong custom, established the Nawruz-i Sultani on the first day of [the month of] Ḥamal (i.e. Aries) and announced it through heralds to the population, so that

[204] See on it R. Abdollahy, "Calendars II. Islamic period," in: EIr, IV, 670–671.

[205] It was divided into 12 months with old Zoroastrian names, 30 days each, with 5 intercalary days.

[206] See Andreev, *Tadzhiki*, 330–331; here, besides the Nawruz on the first day of Ḥūt, the "beginning of the year," *sar-i sāl*, was celebrated a month later. Cf. also M.R. Rakhimov, *Zemledelie tadzhikov basseĭna r. Khingou v dorevoliutsionnyĭ period (istoriko-ėtnograficheskiĭ ocherk)*, Stalinabad, 1957, pp. 166–167.

among the people of Khorezm this Nawruz became a well-known (i.e. accepted) custom."[207]

Despite the order of Allah-Quli Khan, the Nawruz of the Khorezmshahs continued to be celebrated in Khorezm, probably side by side with the Nawruz-i Sultani, until the early 20th century (if not later); A.N. Samoĭlovich learned about it during his visit to Khorezm in 1920.[208] But the Khorezmian Nawruz was not simply one month earlier than the Nawruz-i Sultani, because, as the text of Munis and Agahi clearly indicates, the Khorezmian solar calendar also did not coincide with the common Iranian zodiacal calendar. The exact difference, however, is not quite clear. Both Munis and Agahi mention the zodiacal months fairly often, but mostly without giving the days of these months. When they do give them (together with the Hijri dates), it appears that the beginning of the same zodiacal month could correspond to different dates of the Gregorian calendar. The discrepancy is especially great for the dates corresponding to the 18th century A.D., until 1804.[209]

The first mention by Munis of the Nawruz of Khorezmshahs (or of any specific date of Khorezmian calendar, for that matter) is under 1219/1805, where he places this Nawruz on 29 Zu'l-Qa'da/28 February, corresponding to 1 Ḥamal (!).[210] Further on he mentions:

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[207] Agahi, *Riyāż ad-dawla*, f. 300a.

[208] See Sazonova, *Traditsionnoe khoziaĭstvo*, 38.

[209] The end of Ḥamal in 1762 fell on 24 April (see p. 98), which means that Ḥamal began on 25 March—four days later than normal (this is probably a mistake in dating; cf., however, below). The 1st of Thawr (Taurus) in 1770 fell on 10 April (see p. 105), instead of 21 April. 4th of Mīzān (Libra) in 1770 fell on 20 September (see p. 112)—thus, Mīzān began on 17 September, instead of 24. In 1779 Jadī (Capricorn) ended not earlier than 2 or 3 February (see p. 136), instead of 19 January. In 1790 Thawr began on 13 April (see p. 145, instead of 21 April. In 1801 4 February was in the month of Ḥūt (Pisces) (see p. 160), which means that this month began not later than 4 February, instead of 19 February. The end of Ḥamal (Aries) in 1802 fell on 16 March (see p. 162), which means that Ḥamal began on 12 February, instead of 21 March. In 1804 the end of Ḥūt fell on 12 March (see p. 165), which means that it began on 12 February, instead of 19. Most of these zodiacal dates coincide neither with the Sultani/Jalali, nor with the Khorezmian solar calendar (on which see below).

[210] See below, p. 210. That would mean that the month of Ḥūt began on 29 January (instead of 19 February), a difference of 22 days with the usual zodiacal month. Cf. below. Then in three more places, during the period of 1804–1806, a correspondence between a zodiacal month (but without day) and a Hijri date is mentioned but without showing when these zodiacal months began: 26 Zu'l-Qa'da 1218/8 March 1804—in the month of Ḥūt (p. 176; should be normally from 19 February to 20 March); 20 Rabi' II 1221/7 July 1806—in the month of Saraṭān (Cancer, p. 239; should be normally from 23 June); 7 Shavval 1221/18 December

1st of "Saraṭān of Urgench" that fell on 18 Rabiʿ II 1224/1 June 1809;[211] 3rd of "Bukharan Mīzān" (Libra) corresponding to 25th of "Khorezmian Mīzān" which fell on 14 Shaʿban 1224/23 September 1809;[212] Khorezmian Nawruz on 23 Muharram 1225/27 February 1810, "22 days before the Nawruz-i Sultani";[213] 14 "Saraṭān (Cancer) of Urgench" which fell on 12 Jumada I 1225/14 June 1810;[214] 17th of "Khorezmian Qaws" (Sagittarius) corresponding to 21 Shavval 1225/18 November 1810;[215] the middle of Mīzān corresponding to 29 Shaʿban 1226/17 September 1811;[216] 1st of Khorezmian month of Ḥūt that fell on 12 Muharram 1227/26 January 1812,[217] and the Nawruz "according to the custom of the people of Khorezm" which fell on 13 Safar 1227/26 February 1812.[218]

Similar references to Khorezmian calendar are found in the part written by Agahi. The following dates are mentioned by him: the last day of Rabiʿ I 1231/28 February 1816, "when the sun was in the sign of Aries" (i.e. Ḥamal);[219] the middle of Rajab 1232/30 May 1817 which was 1st of the Khorezmian month of Saraṭān;[220] 6 Jumadi II 1233/12 April 1818 which was the 16th of the Khorezmian month of Thawr and the 25th of the Bukharan month of Ḥamal;[221] 27 Rabiʿ I 1239/30 November 1823, when the sun entered the sign of Sagittarius (i.e. the 1st of Jadī).[222]

From all these data we can conclude that, contrary to the assertion of Agahi in his account about the decree of Allah-Quli Khan, Khorezmian Nawruz was celebrated on the 1st of Ḥamal, as in

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1806—in the month of Qaws (Sagittarius, p. 243; should be normally from 23 November).

[211] See below, p. 287; the difference with the usual zodiacal month is 22 days.

[212] See below, p. 294; this will give the 1 Khorezmian Mīzān on 30 August (instead of 24 September for the "Bukharan" one).

[213] See below, p. 298. Munis also mentions that this was the Year of the Horse.

[214] See below, p. 301; it follows that Saraṭān began on 1 June.

[215] See below, p. 332; it follows that the 1st of Qaws was 2 November (instead of 23).

[216] See below, p. 363; it follows that the 1st of Mizan fell on about 2 September (that is, that it was Khorezmian Mīzān).

[217] See below, p. 392.

[218] See below, p. 401; this means that the Khorezmian Nawruz began on 1 Ḥamal—but Ḥamal itself began 22 days earlier.

[219] See below, p. 430; this means that Ḥamal began not later than 28 February.

[220] See below, p. 450; the usual zodiacal month of Saraṭān begins on 23 June.

[221] See below, p. 459; it means that the Khorezmian Thawr began on 30 March, while the Bukharan Thawr began on 20 April.

[222] See below, p. 526; the usual zodiacal month of Jadī begins on 22 December.

Bukhara, but the month of Ḥamal itself (as well as the rest of the zodiacal months) in Khorezm began 22 days earlier! The origin of this system, to the best of my knowledge, is not mentioned in the existing literature.[223]

Munis did not always blindly follow his sources, but tried, where possible, to compare them critically. In a number of places he gives parallel or contradictory versions he found, indicating sometimes which of them seems to him more reliable (though he never gives any reason for his preference). Such parallel versions appear in the first and second chapters dealing, respectively, with the history of the prophets and the legendary history of Turkic and Mongol tribes,[224] and in the sections dealing with the history of Khorezm in the 18th century.[225] In other parts such comparison has not been made, or at least the reader does not see it; the events are described in simple chronological order,[226] and the whole narrative looks as if told by Munis (and then by Agahi) from his own observations, with an inclusion here and there of some additional evidence ("it is told," "some say" etc.). Attempts at historical explanation are rare and mostly limited to accentuating the good fortune (or lack of it) and inherent virtues and vices of the people involved.

The work of Munis and Agahi is not at all impartial, and its bias is determined by its explicitly stated purpose: to glorify Eltüzer Khan and, later, Muhammad Rahim Khan, as well as their ancestors. This

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[223] The existence of the Nawruz of the Khorezmshahs and the order of Allah-Quli Khan were first noticed by Bartol'd (see Bartol'd, *K istorii orosheniia*, 163) who mentioned that it was celebrated three weeks earlier than the Bukharan and Persian one (i.e. Sultani), but Bartol'd did not notice the contradiction between the words of Agahi about the Nawruz on the 1st of Ḥūt and the dates that Munis and Agahi themselves give. According to ethnographic data, the actual celebration of the Nawruz in Khorezm would last 25 days; it would begin 15 days before the vernal equinox and would last for another 10 days after the equinox (see a detailed description of it: Sazonova, *Traditsionnoe khoziaĭstvo*, 36–38).

[224] See *FI Text ed.*, 42, 44, 48, 50–51, 65, 66–67, 79.

[225] See below, pp. 53, 62, 69–70, 133. In the first four cases Munis deals with the origin or names of the Chingizid khans of the first half of the 18th century. He had apparently to make much effort to establish their genealogy (though not always successfully), and this is seen in his marginalia in the autograph. In the last of these cases (p. 133), having given a version of certain events contradicting that given earlier, he even apologizes to his readers for this contradiction in a special poem.

[226] In one case (see below, p. 353), having deviated from the chronological order and mentioned later event not in its proper place, Munis finds it necessary to explain the reason.

is achieved by the use of verbose epithets and panegyrics in prose and verse wherever these royal personages appear as actors, as well as by exalting their qualities and motives and depreciating and vilifying their enemies. But besides this openly stated purpose designed from above, Munis obviously also had an implied one: to find an historical legitimization of the rule of the new dynasty. Since Chingiz Khan and down to the middle of the 18th century, the members of the Chingizid clan were the exclusive bearers of the royal charisma in Central Asia. Three new Uzbek dynasties which emerged in the 18th century: the Manghïts in Bukhara, the Qongrats in Khiva, and the Mings in Khoqand, for the first time in Central Asian history adopted the title *khan* despite the fact that they did not belong to the house of Chingiz. But the nomadic legitimizing tradition was too persistent to be easily disposed of, especially in the regions where nomads and seminomads still formed a significant part of the population, as in Khorezm and Ferghana; and in both these regions the new Uzbek dynasties tried to connect their origins and the origins of their authority with the house of Chingiz.[227]

Another point of a special political concern for Munis was the relations between the Qongrat and the second important Uzbek tribe, the Manghït, whose leaders came to power in Bukhara, but were defeated in Khorezm. To enhance the image and to stress the importance of the Qongrat at the expense of the Manghït, Munis sometimes goes as far as to falsify historical evidence.[228]

It is interesting that Munis and Agahi repeatedly call their work *mukhtaṣar*, a compendium;[229] several times Munis says that he has to write concisely and that if everything (or all the information gathered by him) is told in detail, there will not be enough room for it "in this compendium."[230] These statements look somewhat strange considering the size of the *Firdaws al-iqbāl*. Perhaps he is using some literary cliché, or probably apologizing in case a reader might not find material he is looking for in the work.

The readers of the work were not expected to be numerous. Munis and Agahi speak about "the nobles (*akābir*) who are the readers of

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[227] For more detailed discussion of this subject see Bregel, "Tribal tradition," esp. pp. 382–385, 392–397.

[228] See *ibid.*, pp. 385–392.

[229] *FI Text ed.*, 20, 36, 125, 994 note 27–27; also below, pp. 166, 167, 288, 338.

[230] See below, pp. 113, 157, 296, 297.

this compendium."[231] This can probably be taken as a conventional flattery intended for the reader, but in any case there is no doubt that the number of educated people who could read this work in the Khanate of Khiva was very limited. There is a striking difference between the proclaimed approach to their respective works stated by Munis and his predecessor Abu'l-Ghazi. The latter wanted to write "so that all people, nobles and commoners, understand"; and his Turkic, as he claimed, was so plain that even a five year old child could understand it.[232] Munis, on the contrary, received a royal order to adorn his work with all possible stylistic embellishments, poetical and prosaic, so as to stir excitement in the literary gatherings of the sultans.[233] The difference in style was due partly to the difference in the position of the two authors: one was a king writing his own history,[234] while the other was an official and a poet writing a history of his royal patron. But it reflects also the change of audience and literary tastes. The simple style of Abu'l-Ghazi, very close to oral narration, was fit for his unsophisticated Uzbek contemporaries (his own words about the lack of learning and low cultural level in Khorezm in his time are well known). The ornate style of Munis and Agahi satisfied the tastes of the literary elite of Khiva, raised on Persian literature, where such style dominated both in Iran and Bukhara in the last centuries.[235]

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[231] See below, p. 288 and the same expression in the part by Agahi (see *FI Text ed.*, 994, note 27–27).

[232] Abu'l-Ghazi, I, 37.

[233] See p. 7 below. Probably the *Firdaws al-iqbāl*, or at least some parts of it, was to be read sometimes at the literary assemblies (*majlis*): in two places in the text there is found an address to the listeners (see below, pp. 107, 123); but it could have been also only a trace of the oral origin of the respective stories. Similar address to the listeners is frequently found in both works of Abu'l-Ghazi.

[234] At least two other cases in Iranian cultural world can be pointed out when monarchs who were also prose writers wrote in notably simpler style than that prevailing in contemporary literature: Babur (16th century) and Nasir ad-Din Shah Qajar (19th century).

[235] An interesting question is, whether the khans of Khiva themselves and their close retainers could enjoy the reading of such literature. In the second half of the 19th century some members of the Qongrat house, including Sayyid Muhammad Rahim Khan II, as well as some of high officials, were poets and writers. There seems to be no such information about the first half of the 19th century. It is significant that the *Firdaws al-iqbāl* (as well as its continuation by Agahi) had very little circulation until the end of the 19th century, to judge from the number of preserved copies (see below). According to the testimony of Munis in the preface to his translation of the *Rawżat aṣ-ṣafā'*, Muhammad Rahim Khan ordered him to write his translation in a language free from metaphors and hyperboles and easy

P.P. Ivanov in his short notice on Munis and Agahi says that the *Firdaws al-iqbāl* is written in an extremely florid style, "abounding with most fanciful metaphors, Arabic and Persian quotations and expressions, poetical insertions and other ornaments."[236] There is some exaggeration in this assertion. I would rather define the style of Munis and Agahi as a mixed one: in certain standard situations, especially connected with the person of the reigning khan (such as at the beginnings of the descriptions of khan's military campaigns), as well as in the descriptions of battles and other dramatic events and in the more or less standard beginnings of new sections (in chapter 5), their style indeed becomes florid and pompous (though even then not to the extreme, if compared with the contemporary Persian historical writings which could have been a model for the Khivan historians). But in other places their style is rather simple and matter-of-fact.[237] It is interesting that the first draft of the parts belonging to Agahi is written in notably simpler language, but later the author considered it necessary to edit it, adding some stylistic ornaments.[238] Here and there Munis and Agahi include parables and historical anecdotes designed to teach political wisdom or of more general moralizing character.[239] Many of the poems incorporated in the work served the same purpose.

The poems interspersed with prose text are the most important stylistic ornament of the *Firdaws al-iqbāl*. Their number is considerable: 767 poetical pieces of various length and kind, from separate hemistichs (*miṣraʿ*) to long *qaṣīda*s and *mathnavī*s, making a total of 3429 verses and 6 separate hemistichs. These poems are not quite equally distributed between the parts written by Munis and Agahi:

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to understand (*qarīb al-fahm va sarīʿ al-ḥuṣūl*) (RṢ transl., f. 6a)—something quite opposite to the words ascribed to Eltüzer Khan when he ordered to write the *Firdaws al-iqbāl*. It may indicate that Muhammad Rahim Khan was not content with the style of the first work of Munis.

[236] See MITT, II, 25.

[237] This can be said about most of the text of the first four chapters, but also in chapter 5 there are many accounts written in plain and vivid language with but few or no rhetorical figures (see, for instance, below, pp. 311–322, 339–341, 343–346, 377–380). V.P. Iudin was the first who raised objections to the cited above opinion of Ivanov about the style of the *Firdaws al-iqbāl* (see MIKKh, 433).

[238] See about it *FI Text ed.*, introduction, pp. 50–51.

[239] Such parables and anecdotes appear under the headings *tamthīl* (parable) and *ḥikāyat* (story) (see below, pp. 10–11, 50, 93, 116, 119, 234, 237, 335, 343). There appear also witty sayings or moralizing passages under the heading *nukta* (anecdote, or epigram; see below, pp. 211, 234, 327, 335, 344) and *ḥikmat* (wise reflections; see p. 195).

the part of Munis includes 683 poetical pieces with the total of 2915 verses, while the part of Agahi includes 84 poetical pieces with the total of 514 verses; according to my calculation, the poems make more than 18% of the text of Munis and about 10% of the text of Agahi, while on the average they form about 16% (1/6) of the whole text.[240] Among the Persian poems cited by Munis are a *mathnavī* and a *naẓm* by Mulla Sayyida-yi Bukhari,[241] a verse ascribed to Nizami,[242] a verse from the *Bustān* by Sa'di,[243] a verse from Firdawsi,[244] a hemistich from Mirza Nazim Haravi,[245] and six pieces by unnamed authors. All other poems cited, some in Persian, other in Chaghatay, belong to Khorezmian poets of the 18th and 19th century. Only a small part of all the poems (19 in Persian and 9 in Chaghatay) belong not to Munis and Agahi, but to other, named and unnamed, poets.[246] The poetry of Munis and Agahi included in the *Firdaws al-iqbāl* is entirely in Chaghatay except for most of the chronograms of Munis (16 out of 21) which are in Persian.

A great majority of all this poetry is dedicated to descriptions of battles, hunts, feasts, to lamentations and moralizing about the vicissitudes of fortune and the short duration of worldly glory (mainly on the occasion of death of various historical personalities), or connected with such important events as the accession and death of Eltüzer Khan and Muhammad Rahim Khan, the death of 'Avaz Inaq, the conquest of Qongrat, etc. Hardly, if at all, do the poems add anything substantial to the account given in the prose text. Even the poetical accounts of various specific events, such as battles, hunts, etc., containing occasionally, as it seems, some lively details, hardly bear much resemblance to the actual events and seem to be idealized descriptions written in accordance with the existing literary canon. The chronograms (which are not very numerous) also do not contain additional information, because the same dates are mentioned in the prose text.[247] But in the poetical texts it was of course

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[240] Tabulated data on the number of poems of different kinds in the parts written by Munis and Agahi see *FI Text ed.*, introduction, p. 34.

[241] Better known as Sayyida-yi Nasafi; see below, p. 48.

[242] See below, p. 41.

[243] See below, p. 238.

[244] See below, p. 333.

[245] See below, p. 7.

[246] More detailed information see *FI Text ed.*, introduction, p. 35.

[247] Out of 30 chronograms included in the *Firdaws al-iqbāl*, 21 are written by Munis and 9 belong to other poets.

not the historical information that was the authors's concern: lofty subjects should be described in an elevated style, and poetry was considered an integral part of such a style.

All the shortcomings of the *Firdaws al-iqbāl*, its occasional stylistic excesses as well as its bias and onesidedness, do not go beyond the usual standards of the late Muslim dynastic historiography, which was never expected to be impartial and never pursued such aim. But, within the limitations of its time and genre, the work of Munis and Agahi is certainly a serious achievement and has an outstanding value for a modern historian due to the mere volume of the first-hand historical information it contains.

4. *The study of the* Firdaws al-iqbāl

The first information on Munis and Agahi was brought to the West by H. Vámbéry who was in Khiva in 1863. The information, however, was rather distorted. "I became acquainted in Khiva with two brothers," wrote Vámbéry; "one, Munis, wrote excellent poems, of which it is my purpose later to publish several, and the other, Mirab, had the extraordinary patience to translate into the Özbeg-Turkish dialect the great historical work of Mirkhond to render it more accessible to his son, who was nevertheless acquainted with Persian. The work employed him twenty years, but he was ashamed to communicate the fact to any one, for a man who busies himself with any other branch of learning than religion is there regarded as a very superficial person."[248] These words show that in fact Vámbéry not only did not meet Munis (who had been dead long before), but also Agahi (he is apparently the "Mirab" in the passage cited), and speaks about them only from hearsay. Vámbéry indeed brought from Khiva some specimens of the poetry of Munis which he published later with a German translation, but he knew nothing about the original historical works of Munis and Agahi.[249]

[248] A. Vámbéry, *Travels in Central Asia*, London, 1864, p. 347.

[249] See H. Vámbéry, "Zwei moderne centralasiatische Dichter, Munis und Emir," in: *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, vol. VI, 1892, pp. 193–199, 273–291. In this article Vámbéry does not claim that he was "acquainted" with Munis and says that "Mirab" was identical with Munis (*ibid.*, pp. 196–197); he also mentions the existence of the historical work by Munis, but this is certainly written on the

The first Western scholar who learned about the existence of these works was a Russian orientalist (of German origin) A.L. Kun (Kuhn),[250] who accompanied, together with several other Russian scholars, the Russian military expedition against Khiva in 1873 which resulted in the capturing of Khiva and establishing of the Russian protectorate over the khanate. In the khan's palace the Russians found a great number of archival documents and about 300 manuscripts; they were all confiscated. Kuhn, as the only orientalist participating in the expedition, looked through and sorted out the confiscated material, and he noticed especially a manuscript of the history of Khiva by Munis. For the first time he mentioned this work in an article published in the Tashkent newspaper *Turkestanskie vedomosti* in the same year.[251] The article contained a very short summary of the contents of the last chapter of the *Firdaws al-iqbāl* and the subsequent chronicles of Agahi, but Kuhn himself wrote that his notes were taken from the chronicle of "Shir-Magomet-Munus(sic)-mirab" who, by the order of Eltüzer Khan, "for the first time compiled a history or rather a chronology(!) of the khans of Khiva." In a paper about his travels in the Khanate of Khiva read at a meeting of the Russian Geographical Society on 5 December 1873 and published in January 1874, Kuhn also wrote about the Khivan chronicle that was among the confiscated collection of manuscripts: "Among historical works, besides translations, the collection includes a work by Iunus-Mirab (sic), 'a history of the khans of Khiva.' This manuscript deserves special attention because it has been compiled since the time of the founder of the present dynasty, Iltizar (sic) Khan, and besides that, it contains data on the history of the khanate during the whole preceding century, for which we have only fragmentary information. There have been registered in it all the most important events in the khanate down to the coming of the Russians at this time. In the hitherto absence of any positive knowledge about the khanate, the book by Iunus-Mirab will help to answer many historical questions about the khans of Khiva. The work of Iunus-Mirab was continued and is still being

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authority of the articles by Kuhn and Salemann (see below), though without a reference to them.

[250] Biographical data about him see Lunin, *Sredniaia Aziia*, 114–117 (and a bibliography of his works on pp. 338–339); idem, *Istoriografiia obshchestvennykh nauk v Uzbekistane: Bio-bibliograficheskie ocherki*, Tashkent, 1974, pp. 203–208 (with bibliography).

[251] A. Kun, "Zametki o Khivinskom khanstve," in: *Turkestanskie vedomosti*, 1873, No. 40 (October 9), p. 158.

continued by his descendants. I say descendants, because, according to a Khivan custom, the trade of father is passed after his death to his senior son as being more acquainted with the matter."[252] As one can see from the words of Kuhn, they were written after a rather superficial acquaintance with the work of Munis. It is almost certain that by that time Kuhn had looked through the manuscript E (see below, p. LVIII) containing not only the *Firdaws al-iqbāl* but also its continuations by Agahi, but he had not learned who exactly the continuator was.

The publications of Kuhn did not attract much attention from the specialists (not too numerous at that). N.I. Veselovskiĭ, the main expert on Central Asia in Petersburg, who published in 1877 a history of Khorezm down to the Russian conquest and used Kuhn's article in *Turkestanskie vedomosti*,[253] at that time had no access to the manuscripts of Munis and Agahi which remained in Kuhn's hands. Howorth also mentioned the chronicles of Khiva on the authority of Kuhn's German article.[254]

Some of the manuscripts confiscated in Khiva by the Russians in 1873 were transferred in 1874 to the Imperial Public Library in Petersburg, but others were kept by Kuhn in his private possession; these included the manuscripts of the works of Munis and Agahi. Whatever his intentions may have been, Kuhn did not continue the study of these works, and after his death (in 1888) his manuscript collection was purchased in 1890 by the Asiatic Museum in Petersburg.[255] After the purchase C. Salemann published a short inventory of Kuhn's collection which also included works by Munis and Agahi.[256] At the same time a pastor A. Amirkhan'iants studied the newly acquired manuscript of the *Firdaws al-iqbāl* and wrote his detailed conclusion which was submitted to the Academy of Sciences.[257]

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[252] A.L. Kun, "Poezdka po Khivinskomu khanstvu v 1873 g.," in: *Izvestiia Imp. Russkogo geograficheskogo obshchestva*, vol. X/1, 1874, section II, p. 57. The same repeated in German in *Russische Revue*, III. Jg., vol. IV/1, St. Petersburg, 1874, pp. 71–72.

[253] See Veselovskiĭ, *Ocherk*, 253, 295–297, 331, 337, 341, 342, 358, and esp. 305 and 333, where he mentions "a local history" (citing Kuhn).

[254] See H.H. Howorth, *History of the Mongols from the 9th to the 19th century*, pt. II/2, London, 1880, p. 961.

[255] See C. Salemann, "Das Asiatische Museum im Jahre 1890. Nebst Nachträgen," in: *Mélanges asiatiques*, vol. X, St. Petersburg, 1894, pp. 274–280; Dmitrieva *et alii*, *Opisanie*, I, 15; Lunin, *Sredniaia Aziia*, 136 sqq.

[256] Salemann, "Das Asiatische Museum," 278, Nos. 93–95.

[257] See *Zapiska pastora Avr. Amirkhan'iantsa ob "Istorii Khivy"* (18 pp.) in Arkhiv vos-

Amirkhan'iants stressed the high value of the work for the study of the history of Central Asia. However, Veselovskiĭ did not share this opinion and replied to Amirkhan'iants that the history of Khiva in the 19th century was fairly well known from the evidence supplied by the Russian envoys and slaves in Khorezm, and therefore the work of Munis did not have the importance ascribed to it by Amirkhan'iants.[258]

Bartol'd was the first scholar who thoroughly studied the historical works of Munis and Agahi. In 1910 he published a Russian epitome of the last sections of the *Shāhid-i iqbāl* by Agahi,[259] and in the preface to this publication he briefly described the history of the discovery of the manuscripts and mentioned the evidence of the expedition of Bekovich-Cherkasskiĭ found in the *Firdaws al-iqbāl*.[260] In 1911 in his *Istoriia izucheniia Vostoka v Evrope i v Rossii* ("History of the study of the Orient in Europe and Russia") he also mentioned the same evidence of Bekovich-Cherkasskiĭ.[261] In 1914 Bartol'd published his *K istorii orosheniia Turkestana* ("To the history of irrigation in Turkestan"), where he pointed out the special attention to irrigation given by Munis and Agahi, which, as he supposed, could be explained by the fact that both authors had been *mīrābs*;[262] he extensively used the information on the irrigation in Khorezm found in their works.[263] In a review published in 1915 he noticed that "the history of Khiva [by Munis and Agahi]" contained many interesting data on the relations between Central Asia and Russia and that he was intending to publish the complete text of this history "in the near future."[264] In a survey of historical and geographical manuscripts of the Asiatic Museum published in 1920 he mentioned that the Asiatic Museum had "the only complete copy of the official history of the Khanate

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tokovedov (the Archives of Orientalists) of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences (St. Petersburg), razriad (section) III, inventory 2, No. 34. There seem to be no information available about this person. His note is cited to some extent by Munirov, *Munis*, 60–61.

[258] See Munirov, *Munis*, 58. This is an approach very typical of Veselovskiĭ (whose own ability of using oriental sources was very limited; cf. Bartol'd, *Sochineniia*, IX, 644, 654).

[259] Bartol'd, "Sobytiia."

[260] *Ibid.*, 402, note 10.

[261] Bartol'd, *Istoriia izucheniia*, 394.

[262] Bartol'd, *K istorii orosheniia*, 114–115.

[263] *Ibid.*, 118, 174, 176–178, 180–184.

[264] Bartol'd, *Sochineniia*, II/2, 421, note 8. About this planned publication see below.

of Khiva."[265] In his *Istoriia kul'turnoĭ zhizni Turkestana* ("History of the cultural life of Turkestan") published in 1927 he gave a general evaluation of the historical works of Munis and Agahi which he ended with the following words: "Whatever the deficiences of the writing of Munis and Agahi as a literary and historical work, this work leaves far behind all extant works on the history of the khanates of Bukhara and Kokand by the minuteness of account and the amount of factual material."[266] He used Munis and Agahi in his article "Kh^{w}ārizm" in the *Encyclopaedia of Islām*, and in the bibliography to this article repeated some general information about them which had already been published elsewhere.[267] In *Ocherk istorii turkmenskogo naroda* ("An outline of the history of the Turkmen people") published in 1929 he utilized some data on the Turkmens from the end of the 17th until the first half of the 19th century found in the works of Munis and Agahi.[268] And, finally, in one of his last works (published posthumously) Bartol'd compared another Khivan historical work which he found in 1929 in Berlin with the chronicles of Munis and Agahi and in this connection cited some facts from the works of these historians he had not mentioned in previous publications.[269]

As mentioned above, in 1915 Bartol'd wrote that he intended to publish the complete text of "the Khivan history." He meant the *Firdaws al-iqbāl*, and this edition was connected with the series "Texts on the history of Central Asia" initiated by Bartol'd and established by the Russian Academy of Sciences on his recommendation.[270] The first volume in this series was an edition of "A diary of Timur's campaign in India" (*Rūz-nāma-i ghazavāt-i Hindūstān*) published in 1915. The *Firdaws al-iqbāl* was planned as the second volume in this series, and the *Tārīkh* by Shah Mahmud Churas should have formed the third volume.[271] These plans, however, did not materialize. Between the years 1914–1917 Bartol'd edited one quarter of the text of the *Firdaws al-iqbāl*, but then he abandoned the work for unknown rea-

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[265] Bartol'd, *Sochineniia*, VIII, 364 (Bartol'd means the manuscript E, see below, p. LVIII).

[266] Bartol'd, *Sochineniia*, II/1, 285–286.

[267] EI, II, 978.

[268] Bartol'd, *Ocherk*, 612–613, 618–622.

[269] V.V. Bartol'd, "Novyĭ istochnik po istorii Khorezma," in: *Sochineniia*, VIII, 576–577.

[270] See Bartol'd, *Sochineniia*, VIII, 315.

[271] See *Izvestiia Rossiĭskoĭ Akademii nauk*, ser. VI, vol. 12, No. 7, 1918, pp. 514–515.

sons and never returned to it. In his already cited article about a newly discovered manuscript on the history of Khorezm (1929) he wrote that the chronicles of Munis and Agahi "would hardly be published in the near future because of their vast size."[272] The part of the text of the *Firdaws al-iqbāl* edited by Bartol'd remained in his personal archives.[273]

The *Firdaws al-iqbāl* aroused some interest also in Turkey due to a manuscript of the work which had reached Istanbul at the end of the 19th century. Two Turkish scholars, Necip Asim in 1909 and Abdülkadir Inan in 1933, published short articles on Munis and his work (apparently not being aware of the already existing Russian works dealing with the subject).[274] But there were no further attempts to seriously study Munis and Agahi in Turkey.

In 1935 the Institute of Oriental Studies in Leningrad published a volume of source material on the history of the Qaraqalpaqs which also included abridged Russian translation of fragments from the *Firdaws al-iqbāl* and the *Riyāż ad-dawla* by A.N. Samoĭlovich[275] and translation of fragments from the *Gulshan-i dawlat* by P.P. Ivanov.[276] Three years later the same institute published another volume of source material in Russian translation, on the history of the Turkmens; a significant part of this volume comprised abridged translations of

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[272] Bartol'd, "Novyĭ istochnik," 577. At the same time Bartol'd was still planning to publish the text edited by him of the *Tārīkh* by Mahmud Churas, see N.N. Tumanovich, "Opisanie arkhiva akademika V.V. Bartol'da," in: I.I. Umniakov, *Annotirovannaia bibliografiia trudov akademika V.V. Bartol'da* [and] N.N. Tumanovich, *Opisanie arkhiva akademika V.V. Bartol'da*, Moscow, 1976, Preface, p. 19, note 32.

[273] See Tumanovich, *Opisanie*, 278, No. 179. I had an opportunity to see Bartol'd's manuscript in 1963 in connection with the publication of Bartol'd's Collected Works. The text was prepared on the basis of the MS C (the autograph, see p. LVIII below), with occasional variant readings from the MS E, and with several references to Rashid ad-Din (editions by Blochet, Berezin and Quatremère), Abu'l-Ghazi and Mirkh^{w}and, as well as references to the Qur'an. The text is interrupted on f. 151a of the MS C.

[274] Necip ʿAsim, "Firdaws al-iqbal," in: *Türk Dernegi* (in Arabic script), vol. I, No. 2, Istanbul, 1328/1910, pp. 68–71; No. 3, pp. 81–85 (general survey of the literary development in Khorezm under the Uzbeks and a description of the contents of the Istanbul MS); Abdülkadir (Inan), "XIX-uncu Asır Türkistan şair ve tarihçilerinden Şir Mehmet Munis. 1778–1829," in: *Azerbaycan Yurt Bilgisi*, vol. 2, Istanbul, 1933, No. 13, pp. 17–20 (only the first part of the article, containing biographical information on Munis; the continuation did not appear).

[275] *Materialy po istorii karakalpakov: Sbornik*, Moscow – Leningrad, 1935 (Trudy Instituta vostokovedeniia, vol. VII), 91–127 (translations from *Firdaws al-iqbāl*, MS C), 127–134 (from *Riyāż ad-dawla*).

[276] *Ibid.*, 135–143.

extracts from all historical works of Munis and Agahi made by P.P. Ivanov, A.K. Borovkov, and Z. Aksakov.[277] In an introduction to this work P.P. Ivanov gave a biography of Munis and a general evaluation of the chronicles of Munis and Agahi.[278] The same historian widely used the Khivan chronicles in some of his works.[279] Later these partial Russian translations of Munis and Agahi were utilized in many Soviet historical publications, the authors of which could not (or did not try to) study the Chaghatay originals.[280] The original texts were used by Ya. Guliamov in his monograph on the history of irrigation in Khorezm.[281] Somewhat earlier, in 1952, descriptions of one additional manuscript of *Firdaws al-iqbāl* and of manuscripts of two historical works of Agahi preserved in Tashkent were published.[282]

In 1961 Q. Munirov published a book in Uzbek devoted to an analysis of the historical writings of Munis, Agahi and Bayani.[283] The book includes biographies of Munis and Agahi,[284] a description of their literary production (including poetical works and translations, with some information about existing manuscripts), and more detailed discussion of the historical works. While the data on the lives and works of both authors are given by Munirov more or less in detail, his attempt at an analysis of their historical production is inadequate. In fact, instead of such analysis he simply summarizes some of the historical information contained in the chronicles; neither an attempt at establishing the sources of Munis and Agahi nor an examination of their approach to the material is made. The manuscripts of the

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[277] MITT, II (translations from *Firdaws al-iqbāl*, MS C, by P.P. Ivanov—pp. 323–426; from *Riyāż ad-dawla*, by A.K. Borovkov—pp. 427–476; from *Zubdat at-tavārīkh*, by Z. Aksakov—pp. 477–500; from *Jāmiʿ al-vāqiʿāt-i sulṭānī*, by Z. Aksakov—pp. 500–562; from *Gulshan-i dawlat*, by P.P. Ivanov—pp. 562–611; from *Shāhid-i iqbāl*, by Z. Aksakov—pp. 611–638).

[278] *Ibid.*, 23–28.

[279] Especially in his article "Udel'nye zemli," as well as in *Arkhiv*.

[280] Especially OITN, as well as numerous works of ethnographers who have studied the Khorezm region.

[281] Guliamov, *Oroshenie*.

[282] SVR, I, 83–84, Nos. 211–213. The descriptions Nos. 212–213 were inadequate, but only the first of them was corrected later in the 7th volume of the same catalogue.

[283] Munirov, *Munis*. On Bayani, a historian, who wrote in the 1910s–1920s, see Yu. Bregel, in: *Kratkie soobshcheniia Instituta narodov Azii AN SSSR*, vol. XLIV, 1961, pp. 125–157.

[284] *Ibid.*, 14–25.

Firdaws al-iqbāl must have been studied by Munirov rather superficially, for he has even failed to notice that one of the Leningrad manuscripts was an autograph.[285]

In 1965 there was published the first installment of the catalogue of Turkic manuscripts of the Leningrad Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR (now St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences), which inherited the collections of the former Asiatic Museum; it included a description of the manuscripts of Munis and Agahi brought from Khiva by Kuhn.[286] For the first time the authors of the catalogue noticed that the manuscript C 571 was an autograph of Munis and Agahi, though they did not give detailed argument; neither did they notice the difference between the texts of the two manuscripts in the part of Agahi. In 1979 information of another manuscript of the *Firdaws al-iqbāl* preserved in Helsinki was published,[287] but it remained unnoticed by specialists.

In 1969 the Qazaq Academy of Sciences in Alma-Ata published a volume of Russian translations of Persian and Turkic sources bearing upon the history of the Qazaqs. The volume included a translation of fragments from the *Firdaws al-iqbāl* (chapter 3, part 3) made by N.N. Mingulov;[288] some of these passages appeared in Russian translation for the second time, but in a version different from that of the first translation in *Materialy po istorii turkmen.* In a short preface written by V.P. Iudin[289] some general information on both writers and their work is given. Since this publication no other attempts have been made in the former Soviet Union to publish and study the historical works by Munis and Agahi (on my own work see below, pp. LVIII, LXIV). But, due to all publications mentioned

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[285] *Ibid.*, 41 (cf. below, p. LVIII). Earlier the same author published a brochure on Agahi (Q. Munirov, *Ogahiĭ (ilmiĭ va adabiĭ faoliiati)*, Tashkent, 1959). In the 1950s and 1960s there appeared also in Tashkent publications of Munis' and Agahi's poetical works (and some Russian translations of them), as well as works of modern Uzbek scholars devoted to their poetry (see the references in the handbooks mentioned below, notes 288–290).

[286] Dmitrieva *et alii, Opisanie*, 106–107, 110–111, 114–115, 117 (Nos. 97, 98, 100–102, 105, 107); also p. 114, No. 106 (a MS of *Gulshan-i dawlat* from the collection of A.N. Samoĭlovich).

[287] See H. Halén, *Handbook of Oriental collections in Finland: Manuscripts, xylographs, inscriptions, and Russian minority literature*, London – Malmö, 1979, p. 100.

[288] MIKKh, 435–475 (notes: pp. 560–567).

[289] *Ibid.*, 431–435.

above, the names of Munis and Agahi have become known to Turkologists and historians of Central Asia, and information about them has found its place in general surveys and handbooks on Turkic literature, the most important of which were written by M.F. Köprülü (1945),[290] J. Eckmann (1964)[291] and H.F. Hofman (1969).[292]

5. *The manuscripts, the text edition, and the translation*

In 1972–1978 I prepared a critical text edition of the *Firdaws al-iqbāl*, which was finally published ten years later, in 1988. The existing manuscripts of the *Firdaws al-iqbāl*, and, in particular, the two manuscripts that served as the basis of the text edition, have been described in detail in my introduction to the edition,[293] and it need not be repeated here in full. But some main points should be kept in mind.

Nine manuscripts of the *Firdaws al-iqbāl* are known. One of them (referred to in the text edition and in this translation as MS C), as its detailed analysis shows,[294] is an autograph of both Munis and Agahi, and, therefore, the text edition was based mainly on it. The second manuscript (referred to as MS E) goes back to the same autograph, but not directly: the text written by Agahi—both his part beginning with the events of 1227/1812 and two sections in the part by Munis, where the autograph is written in Agahi's hand,[295]—have been substantially edited (certainly by Agahi himself), and MS E, as well as other manuscripts consulted by me, besides the autograph, contain this second redaction. The body of the text in the text edition represents the text of the MS C, while the variant readings and all changes made by Agahi in the second redaction and found in MS E are represented in the footnotes.

The translation of the work of Munis and Agahi must deal with problems encountered in translating most classical Persian and Cha-

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[290] "Çagatay edebiyatı," in: *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 3, 1945, p. 321.

[291] "Die tschaghataische Literatur," 387–390.

[292] Hofman, vol. 1, 48–52; vol. 4, 199–205. See also my short articles in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam* (new edition): "Āgahī" (EI², Suppl. 1–2, 46) and "Mu'nis" (EI², VII, 574).

[293] See *FI Text ed.*, introduction, 43–57.

[294] *Ibid.*, 45–49.

[295] See the discussion in *FI Text ed.*, introduction, 47–49.

ghatay texts. The *Firdaws al-iqbāl* is a historical work, but, according to the literary standards and tastes of its time, it was intended for general reading; moreover, since it was commissioned by the rulers and was dedicated to them, it necessarily employed the literary style that had long been established in dynastic historiography and was considered the norm. Therefore especially the two main chapters of this work containing the history of Eltüzer Khan and Muhammad Rahim Khan are embellished with all the usual accessories of Persian ornate style:[296] fancy epithets, similes, metaphors, hyperboles, numerous verses, etc. An unabridged translation of this work into a modern Western language is hardly possible. The stylistic ornaments which were familiar and necessary to the contemporaries of Munis and Agahi do not have the same (or sometimes any) meaning for the modern reader—not only Western, but also Central Asian—and they will only appear verbose and clumsy in translation. They often cannot be properly understood without additional commentary explaining the numerous allusions and word plays which are hidden in the original text and cannot be translated, not to mention the impossibility of preserving the rhyming synonymical epithets which are a very important element of the stylistic system of the original. The passages of poetry interspersed with the prose text, in a great majority of cases, also serve purely stylistic purposes, being an element of the same ornate style and carrying no historical or any other substantial information whatsoever (very often they just repeat in a rhymed form what is said before in prose).

An unabridged translation that tries to preserve all stylistic ornaments of the original would become unmanageably large; its historical content would become diluted in a mass of stylistic details which have no significance, and the commentary would be overburdened by additional explanations connected with these details. All this will make the translation barely readable not only to the general reader, but even to a specialist.[297] The only alternative is an epitomised, or

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[296] Cf. above, p. XXIX, on the possible influence on Munis of Persian historiography.

[297] In Russian orientalist literature such an approach to translations of historical works was quite common. The translations made by A.A. Semenov (see *Tadhkira-i Muqīm-khānī*, transl. and *Tārīkh-i Abu'l-Fayż Khan*, transl., as well as his *Ubaĭdulla-name* (Tashkent, 1957) and in particular his translation of *Rūz-nāma-i ghazavāt-i Hindūstān* (*Dnevnik pokhoda Timura v Indiiu*, Moscow, 1958)) are especially notorious for their attempts to slavishly follow the originals, even in their syntax; quite similar in this respect are the translations by M.A. Salakhetdinova (see *Dastūr al-mulūk*

paraphrased, translation, trying to preserve everything of historical importance. Anyone who would like to become better acquainted with the style of the original work and not just with its content (let alone to *study* this style) should use the original Chaghatay anyway, which is available in the text edition.

My approach to the translation was discussed with the National Endowment for the Humanities which in 1983 considered my grant application to support this work. The NEH panel had some strong objections to this approach and requested that I give a full and unabridged translation. After negotiations with the NEH, a "compromise" solution was reached. Consequently, I have tried to give the reader at least some idea of the stylistic flavor of the original, translating many typical metaphoric expressions (such as "put the foot of arrogance on the carpet of rebellion"), parallel synonymic constructions and even certain longer florid passages without abridgement or with minimal abridgement. Fully translated, for instance, is the preface of Munis (but without the doxology), where he describes the circumstances under which he received the khan's order to write his history and eulogizes the khan (see below, pp. 3–12). Certain stereotyped, repetitious descriptions are translated once, when they appear for the first time, and entirely omitted elsewhere; these are, in particular, a florid description of the *qalam* of the author at the beginning of many sections in chapters 4 and 5[298] and a description of the sunrise, with which the appearance of the khan setting out for a military campaign is compared.[299] The most common types of

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and Khafiz-i Tanysh Bukhari, *Sharaf-nama-ĭi shakhi*, pt. 1–2, Moscow, 1983–1989). In Western, especially English and American, scholarship, the epitomized translation of Persian ornate texts has been preferred; see, for instance, the introduction of Roger M. Savory to his translation of the *Tārīkh-i ʿālam-ārā-yi ʿAbbāsī* (*ʿĀlam-ārā*, transl., I, pp. XXVII–XXVIII). On the approach to the translation of medieval Persian and Chaghatay texts cf. also the introduction of H.R. Roemer to his German translation of *Šams al-ḥusn: Eine Chronik vom Tode Timurs bis zum Jahre 1409*, Wiesbaden, 1956, pp. 10–11; and the preface of W.M. Thackston to his translation of Babur: *The Baburnama: Memoirs of Babur, prince and emperor*, Oxford University Press, 1996, pp. 13–15.

[298] For instance: "The hero of the plain of pages, the champion of the battlefield of speeches, that is, the swift-writing pen, is prancing thus on the brilliant arena of events"; or: "The crocodile of the sea of narration and the sailor of the ocean of story-telling, that is, the pen whose writing is glorious, is plunging in the following way into the sea of meaning."

[299] For instance: "When the falcon of the sun that illuminates the world spread its wings in the morning air and let the claws of the moon reach the game of the stars, his imperial majesty, as a Jamshid-like sun, mounted his heavenly steed and set out . . ." (it is translated: "At sunrise his majesty mounted his horse and set out").

ornate passages which are usually abridged in translation are elaborate epithets sometimes accompanying the name of the khan, as well as the description of the arrival of the khan at a newly pitched military camp or of his return to the capital after a hunt or a military campaign. The text of the *Firdaws al-iqbāl* is full of the accounts of battles, big and small, and almost all of them are described in a very florid style; some of these accounts contain colorful, even though hyperbolized, details and are translated more or less in full, while others consist almost entirely of stereotyped images and are only summarized in translation.[300] Almost all poems are left untranslated with a few exceptions: either when a poem is inseparable from the prose text or when it contains information not given in the prose text.[301] The headings of all the poems (*qiṭʿa, mathnavī, tārīkh*, etc.) are given in translation in brackets, indicating their location in the text.

The translation follows the text of the autograph (MS C) as represented in the text edition. Words which are added in the autograph in the margin are in translation enclosed in braces { }. Words which are added in the second redaction of the parts written by Agahi (and found in the text edition as variant readings in the footnotes) are in translation enclosed in angle brackets < >. Epitomized translation (whether a paragraph, a sentence, or a part of a sentence) is marked by an asterisk at the beginning and end of such a translation. The presence of a stereotyped beginning of a section in chapters 4 and 5, referring to the *qalam* of the author (see above), is indicated by three asterisks ***. Arabic expressions in the translation (Qur'anic quotations, proverbs, and others) are given in italics. The beginning of the corresponding pages of the text edition is signaled by their page numbers in parentheses. The first two chapters of the *Firdaws al-iqbāl* (pp. 31–81 in the text edition) are totally omitted in translation, because they do not have now any historiographical value, being as they are entirely based on earlier works.

Since the history of the Khanate of Khiva (and to some extent of Central Asia in general) in the 17th–19th centuries is insufficiently studied, and the *Firdaws al-iqbāl* abounds with personal and geographical names that are not easy to identify without additional

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[300] Such stereotyped accounts of military events are more frequent in the part written by Agahi—probably because he was writing many years after these events (see above, p. XXXVIII) and had less live evidence at his disposal.

[301] Such are, for instance, some poems describing the departure of the khan for a hunt, as well as feasts and literary gatherings at the court.

research, it was necessary to supply the translation with detailed notes concerning personalities, place names, terms and other realia. Parallel sources (Bukharan, Iranian, and Russian) referring to the same events, persons, and places were used extensively for the preparation of these notes, and in some cases I considered it useful to give in the notes detailed summaries of accounts found in these sources. At the same time, some brief notes are included of a more general character intended for non-specialists who might be interested in the history of Central Asia, such as notes related to the heroes of the *Shāh-nāma* mentioned in the text or allusions to popular personages and events of Islamic history; where possible, in such cases the reader is also referred to the basic scholarly reference works, *The Encyclopaedia of Islam* and *Encyclopaedia Iranica.*

The most difficult part of the annotation of the *Firdaws al-iqbāl* was the localization of numerous place names, mainly in Khorezm, but also in surrounding regions (the Qazaq steppes, the middle course of the Amu-Darya, southern Turkmenia and Khorasan), mentioned by Munis and Agahi. The earliest map of Khorezm based on a topographic survey is the map of 1873, at the scale of 1:550,000 (13 versts per inch), attached to the book by Kaul'bars. The best published pre-revolutionary map of Khorezm, issued by the Turkestan Military Topographic Department ("Turkestanskiĭ Voenno-Topograficheskiĭ Otdel") and dated 1905, at the scale of 10 versts per inch (1:417,322), is attached to the book by Lobachevskiĭ. I was also able to use the sheets of an unpublished topographic map of the Khanate of Khiva at the scale of 2 versts per inch (1:83,464) prepared by Russian military topographers in the 1880s.[302] Finally, I used the Soviet military topographic maps of the 1950s and 1960s at the scale of 1:100,000 and 1:200,000 for the entire area (both Khorezm and other regions, including Khorasan). Despite the use of all these cartographic, as well as other, literary, sources, not all places mentioned in the *Firdaws al-iqbāl* could be localized. Although the 10-verst map of 1905 contains a great number of names, it is still not detailed enough (and the 2-verst map of the 1880s does not always supplement it), while the Soviet topographic maps reflect a situation that had greatly changed in comparison with the 19th century: many

[302] I am greatful to Professor Roman Zlotin, formerly of the Institute of Geography of the Russian Academy of Sciences, who provided me with the copy of this map, the original of which is kept in the Military Historical Archives in Moscow.

settlements disappeared or changed their names, and the irrigation system bears very little resemblance to the one of the 19th century. It is amazing, nevertheless, how many old Khorezmian names of small settlements are still found on the Soviet topographic maps.[303] Most difficult is the localization of various places in the delta of the Amu-Darya, where different branches of the river frequently changed their courses, and even the maps of 1905 and 1873 and the detailed description of the delta region by Kaul'bars often do not help in localizing places that existed in the 18th and early 19th centuries.[304] In the notes concerning place names I give distances in kilometers as the crow flies; it should be remembered that the actual travelling distances would in many cases be somewhat greater. The map of Khorezm in the 17th–early 19th centuries attached to the translation is based on the Russian map of 1905 (see above), with some adjustments. It should be kept in mind, however, that the irrigation system of Khorezm on this map can only approximately reflect the situation at the beginning of the 19th century, and even much less that of earlier times.

Besides the explanatory notes that are numbered consecutively and placed at the end of the translation, the translation also includes footnotes marked with the letters of the Latin alphabet and giving the conversion of dates (usually Hijri to the common era), references to the Qur'ān[305] and the sources of some sayings (proverbs, *ḥadīth*s, etc.), and literal translations of certain passages. In converting the Hijri dates I have used the computer program "Computus Calendar Conversion" by Dr. Gerhard Behrens (Munich), which has the advantage of providing two options for conversion: based on the era of Hijra beginning on 16 July 622 and the one beginning on 15 July 622 (and actually used by the Khivan historians, see above, p. XXXIX; this is the basis of conversion in my translation). The correspondence between the years of the animal cycle and the years of the Gregorian calendar given in the footnotes is based on an assumption that the cyclic years begin and end sometime in February (see above); it

[303] Both the pre-revolutionary and Soviet maps often give Khorezmian place names in corrupted transcription. Pre-revolutionary maps tended to give many names based on their Qazaq, and not Uzbek pronunciation.

[304] Soviet topographic maps are totally useless for the delta area because it has changed so much.

[305] Translation of Qur'ānic quotations are given according to the English translation by A.J. Arberry.

should be remembered that the beginning of a cyclic year could actually fall sometimes in the end of January.

The work on the translation began already in 1982, when I translated a part of chapter 4, which was then included in the article "Tribal tradition and ethnic history." The next year I received a grant for the work on the translation from the National Endowment for the Humanities. The work was interrupted several times and was finished only in 1989. Professor Eleazar Birnbaum (University of Toronto) kindly agreed to be a reader, and he did much more than he was expected to do, meticulously collating my translation with the Chaghatay original and not only correcting inadvertant oversights and errors, but also making numerous stylistic changes whose purpose was to make the translation not too literal and its language more idiomatic even when it attempts to give some idea of the flowery language of the original. Upon his suggestions, I increased the use of paraphrased summary marked by asterisks, especially in the translation of the last section of the *Firdaws al-iqbāl* written by Agahi.[306] Professor Birnbaum could not finish this work, and therefore similar work for the part of Agahi and the introduction by Munis was done by Professor Devin DeWeese (Indiana University). By the fall of 1989 the translation was ready, but then I had to set it aside for a long time because of my work on the *Bibliography of Islamic Central Asia.* Only when this bibliography was published (at the end of 1995) was I able to return to the *Firdaws al-iqbāl*, and the preparation of the notes took another two years.

I appreciate the financial support of my translation project given by the National Endowment for the Humanities, which allowed this project to materialize. I would also like to express my gratitude to all the colleagues who helped me in various ways during my work on the translation of the *Firdaws al-iqbāl*, giving their opinions on some difficult points of translation, providing bibliographical information and supplying publications and maps that were unavailable at Indiana University and sometimes in the United States. Their list includes Dr. Oleg Akimushkin (St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences), Professor

[306] It may be partially justified by the fact that, on the one hand, Agahi himself initially wrote in a simpler language (see above, p. XLVIII), and, on the other hand, his more ornate passages appear much more stereotyped than those of Munis.

András Bodrogligeti (University of California, Los Angeles), Professor Robert Dankoff (University of Chicago), Dr. Irina Viktorovna Erofeeva (Institute of History and Ethnography, Almaty), Professor Boris Litvinskiĭ (Institute of Oriental Studies, Moscow), Aleksander Naymark (until 1997 at Indiana University), Dr. Mahmoud Omidsalar (John F. Kennedy Memorial Library, California State University, Los Angeles), Dr. Benno van Dalen (Dibner Institute for the History of Science and Technology, Cambridge, Massachusetts), and Dr. Roman Zlotin (formerly of the Institute of Geography, Moscow). Above all, my deepest thanks are due to Professor Eleazar Birnbaum and Professor Devin DeWeese for all the work they did in making the translation readable; if, despite their efforts, the result is still far from perfect, the fault is entirely my own.

A NOTE ON TRANSCRIPTION

The transcription of personal names and terms of Arabic and Persian origin follows the system of the Library of Congress, which mostly coincides with the system of *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, but with some adjustments:

ء	ʾ	ز	z	ق	q
ب	b	ژ	zh	ك	k (g)
پ	p	س	s	ل	l
ت	t	ش	sh	م	m
ث	th	ص	ṣ	ن	n
ج	j	ض	ż	ه	h
چ	ch	ط	ṭ	و	v (for Persian and Turkic)
ح	ḥ	ظ	ẓ	ى	y
خ	kh	ع	ʿ		
د	d	غ	gh		
ذ	dh (z)	ف	f		

In Turkic words the vowels ä, e, ï, ö and ü are indicated.

An exact transliteration, with diacritic signs, is used only for Arabic and Persian terms and expressions (including the titles of works in these languages). Elsewhere a simplified system is used, without diacritics. Place names are also given in simplified transcription. Exceptions are cases of unusual names or of the unusual spelling of common names in the text, which are given in the translation with full diacritics.

Russian names and other words, as well as the titles of works in Uzbek are transliterated according to the system of the Library of Congress.

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TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate!

[Doxology: praise of God, of Muhammad, and of the first four caliphs (1–8).] Now to begin. The writer of letters in these phrases adorned with meaning and the stringer of the necklace of these precious gems, the well-wisher of the servants of the monarchy, the supplicant for the perpetuation of the kingdom, the master in the mourning-chamber of reproach, the recluse in the dwelling of repentance, the most contemptuous of the slaves of God the Munificent, Shir Muhammad, styled Munis, son of amir ʿAvaz Biy Mirab (may God Most High remit the sins among his deeds and condone the results of his acts!), states the following. During the days of childhood and the prime of youth—which are the springtime of life and indeed the choisest days of that spring—in accordance with the habits of such a season, (9) I used to run wild in the desert of carelessness and go brawling in the arena of ignorance. My head was full of desire for enjoyment, and my soul was full of love for pleasure. [*Bayt.*] Sometimes I would feel sorrow from mixing with base people and feel disturbed by familiarity with ruffians; and sometimes I would be exalted by serving the *ʿulamāʾ* and gladdened by speaking with learned men. [*Mathnavī.*] When perfidious fate would bring down upon me all kinds of misfortunes, I would remove vexation through a poetical contest (*shiʿr mushāʿirasi*), which is a friend of the afflicted and a companion of the distressed;[a] and when inconstant time would multiply all sorts of troubles, I would eliminate distress through the study of histories (*tavārīkh*), which causes understanding of people's behavior and brings knowledge of men's conduct.

[This continued] until the abode of the world was freed from the anguish of adversities and the fortress of the universe was overwhelmed with joy through the advent of felicity, *when the imperial throne and the royal crown were adorned by the person of a king sublime as heaven, (10) and the caliphal *khuṭba* was recited for a mighty monarch, the coin of whose realm was confirmed in the

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[a] *Maʿmūn* in *FT Text ed.*, p. 9, should be corrected to *maghmūn* (so both C and E) and emended to *maghmūm.*

mint (*sikka*) of praise,[a] and the seal of monarchy was made illustrious by the name of the renowned dispenser of justice [inscribed on it], the impress of whose rule was ennobled by the majesty of [his] titles (*alqāb*).[1] He is a hero, fearing of whose punishment the rebels cannot come out of their hiding, and dreading whose chastisement the vicious do not dare to appear; he is the lord of the fortunate conjunction of planets,[2] the mooncrest of whose ever-victorious flagstaff (*mahja*) shines from the lustre of the words "*Surely We have given thee a manifest victory*",[b] and the hilt of whose ever-conquering dagger is inlaid with the words "*Help from God and a nigh victory*";[c] he is the just one, whose justice, like an architect, rebuilt the ruins, and saved the subjects from the havoc of oppression; he is the munificent one, whose generosity, like clouds pouring rain, made rosegardens out of deserts, and protected the people from the harm caused by the whirlwind of poverty* [*Qaṣīda* (10–13)]—his majesty, the sublime khaqan, the confidant of the divine court, the enforcer of the rules of governance, the founder of the fundament of [royal] dignity, the adornment of the throne of caliphate, the ornament of the throne of majesty, whose place is as [high as] Saturn, whose crown is [like] the sun, who is distinguished with justice, whose rank is sublime, [*Nazm*] the greatest of the sultans of the world, the most eminent of the great khaqans, the sun in the sky of grandeur and splendor, the pole of the heaven of magnificence and felicity, who raises the dignity of the *sharīʿa* of the Chief of the Prophets,[d] who spreads the carpet of justice and compassion upon the [two] worlds,[e] who tears down the building of infidelity and rebellion, and who sets up the banner of security and tranquility, the caliph of the age in the entire world, the lord of the caliphal throne by inheritance and by merit, the recipient of help from the Benign Lord, (14) the conqueror of the enemy through the guidance of the Most Holy, that is, the king, the lord of the fortunate conjunction of planets, victorious and triumphant, the conqueror,[3] Eltüzer Muhammad Bahadur Khan (may God Most High extend the shadow of his greatness over the heads of the people until the Day of Resurrection!). When the radiance of the sun

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[a] Lit. "whose cash of reign became accepted by the praise for his coinage."
[b] Qurʾān, XLVIII,1.
[c] Qurʾān, LXI,13.
[d] I.e. Muhammad.
[e] "The two worlds"—i.e., this world and the next.

of his august and auspicious reign illuminated the world, and the resounding beat of the royal kettle-drum[4] reverberated from the sky, all the desolate and populated places shared the drops from the cloud of his favor, and all the near and the far places were brightened by the rays of the sun of his kindness, [so that] thorny thickets became fragrant rosegardens, and rosegardens [themselves] became fresh as the garden of paradise. [*Mathnavī*.]

(15) This humble author, who was afflicted by the strokes of the troops of calamity and distressed by the overwhelming armies of adversity, strove to kiss the gate of the sublime court and to rub the dust at that paradise-like [royal] threshold, like collyrium, onto his eyes; but, because of his utter helplessness and despondency, it appeared to him impossible to dare to express this desire, and seemed forbidden and improper to show an inclination to reveal this wish. [*Rubāʿī*.] [*Mathnavī*.] (16) Overwhelmed by this despair, my soul was like a house of sorrow, and, ravished by this helplessness, my heart was broken.

Nazm:
My mind was full of misery and grief,
And my soul was full of anguish and distress,
I was overwhelmed by melancholy,
I dwelt in the desert of sorrow.
One night good fortune turned toward me,
The star of fortune rose for me;
A courier, that is, came to me,
And made his way to my abode.
He was plunged in a sea of news, head to foot;
Nay, it was not just news—it was glad tidings.
His every step did reveal [this news],
Applying collyrium to my eye, [as] the moon and the sun (?).
His every word showed the sign of Jesus' breath,[5]
Bringing life to the bodies of the sick.
He said: "Resolve to travel,
Go to his majesty the king!
Set out for the caliphal court,
Rush to the gate of good fortune!"

When this news which heralded good fortune reached my mind, I went in haste and came humbly to his majesty, exalted like the sun. [*Nazm*.] (17) When I entered his presence, delightful as paradise,

I imagined myself to be a speck of dust lost in the turbulent air before the sun; and I regarded [myself] as a drop of water which seems to vanish and disappear near the ocean; and I [felt] like the drunkards who become unconscious from a cup of strong wine. I prostrated myself upon the ground of servitude and kissed the corner of the carpet of bondage. When I stood up, as was proper, and greeted [the khan], the breezes of royal favors and the perfumes of regal kindness were set in motion and, out of [his] kindness to the servant, (18) he distinguished [me] with the favor of his honor and exalted [me] with his infinite grace, and then scattered the pearls of the [following] words:

Nazm:
"Oh you, longstanding servant of our court,
The dust of our path on the arena of sincerity!
Seven [generations] of your ancestors did not cease
To serve seven [generations] of our ancestors![6]

The kingdom of [this] world is the abode of destruction, like the hearts of the love-sick, and the edifice of life has no foundation, like the vow of the beauties. Truly, the purpose of living in such a kingdom and inhabiting such a dwelling is, that a fond memory might be left by a man and his good name endure. This goal cannot be achieved by constructing buildings and begetting children; rather, [the good name] will be perpetuated only in the adornment of the [written] word (*söz dībāchasi*), because the calamities of the ages cannot damage the eternal binding of such words with their shears, and the vicissitudes of time cannot scatter the assembly of its pages in their whirlwind.

Mathnavī:
Do not gladden your heart with building,
Nor rely upon procreation to [attain] eternity:
In the end, they will [all] be extinct,
Whether it comes sooner or later.
[Only] the word is such a solid building
That the torrent of annihilation cannot demolish its foundation.

Our desire is that following the customs of past kings and the manner of former poets, you adorn a book, which, through the freshness and grace of the roses of its poems and the hyacinths of its prose in the pathways of its lines, should become the envy of the heavenly rosegarden, and which by the elegance of its expressions

and the perfume of its meaning should arouse the jealousy of paradise. Now, it is necessary for you to enthrone our august genealogy in the *dīvān* of words[7] and set the names of our glorious ancestors into the seal-ring of history, (19) and string fine pearls on the thread of verse and scatter multicolored ornaments on the carpet of prose with the events of our own life and some of our victories, which embellish [past] legends and supersede the *Shāh-nāma*, so that until the leaves of ages are scattered by the whirlwind of extinction and the dwelling of this world is destroyed by the torrent of annihilation, our excellent qualities will remain on the pages of time, and the mention of our [name] with praise will stir excitement at the feasts of the sultans in the gatherings (*majālis*) of the world. [*Nazm.*]"

When, in this way, the sun of mercy illumined the mind of this abject and unfortunate one with the ray of favor, I was [still] trembling as a speck of dust in the air of perplexity, *wondering, where I could find the strength for my mind and the firmness for my heart that would make me able, in such distress, to begin this work and to enter upon my service*. At that moment, one of the *maḥrams*, who was a retainer of his royal majesty and a confidant of the imperial court,[8] having understood my state of mind from the expression on my face, like an invisible angel and infallible inspirer, comforted [me] by reciting a hemistich (*miṣraʿ*) from the *dīvān* of Mirza Nazim Haravi:[9] "The favor of kings is the elixir of felicity." "Indeed," [he continued], "there is a quality in the graciousness of kings which raises a beggar to a monarch's rank and animates a [mere] image; and in the nurturing of kings there is a growth which makes a raven into a veritable parrot, (20) and a parrot into the like of a Messiah. Whoever does not enjoy this, though he may be a noble jewel, cannot be counted even as a [simple] stone."

When I was honored with hearing this cheering voice, I took upon myself the obligation, according to the apology "*He who is ordered is absolved*",[a] and my resolution made my tongue involuntarily pronounce the following eloquent words:

Mathnavī:
If the king grants favor,
I will write eloquently,[b]
I will exert myself as much as I can,

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[a] Arabic proverb.
[b] Lit. "I will be scattering the eloquence of witticisms."

And will strive diligently, as my strength allows.
Whatever happens, I will have no regrets,
I will not rest until I finish this work.

When the permission to leave was given, I went to a secluded place, and in that secluded place firmed my resolve. [*Qiṭ'a.*] In any case, I *began writing* this compendium (*mukhtaṣar*). Because it was adorned like paradise by the spring of royal felicity, it has been entitled "The Paradise of Felicity" (*Firdaws al-iqbāl*).[a] It has been divided into an introduction (*muqaddima*), five chapters (*bāb*), and a conclusion (*khātima*). I hope that the Lord who fulfills wishes (21) will make it reach from the heading of the preface till the final words of the closing, and make it comprise [everything] from the beginning of the introduction till the end of the conclusion. "*And there is no help but from God!*"[b]

Muqaddima: On some of the qualities of his majesty the khaqan which were the signs of imperial felicity. *First chapter*: From the creation of his holiness Adam (peace be upon him!) until the sons of Nuh (peace be upon him!). *Second chapter*: On the Mongol kings, from Yafeth (peace be upon him!) up to the branch of Qongrat. *Third chapter*: On the descendants of Quralas who attained royal rank, the last of whom was Abu'l-Ghazi Khan ibn Yadigar Khan. *Fourth chapter*: On the noble ancestors and honorable forefathers of his imperial majesty. *Fifth chapter*: An account of all events, which happened and which will yet happen as an indication of his imperial majesty's fortunate conjunction of planets, from his august birth until the completion of this felicitous treatise. *Khātima*: Devoted to an account of the great saints, the noble *'ulamā'*, the honorable amirs, the felicitous beks, the gifted poets, the learned scholars, and the artists talented as Plato, as well as of some extraordinary events that occurred in the felicitous days of his majesty the king.[10]

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[a] C originally had, instead of this sentence: "And it was entitled 'The Book of Felicity' (*Iqbāl-nāma*)."

[b] Paraphrased from a *ḥadīth*.

(22) *Muqaddima*
On some of the qualities of his imperial majesty the khaqan which were the signs of imperial felicity

Every fortunate person, who is distinguished, as by the robe of honor, by the favor [of the injunction] "*God singles out for His mercy whom He will*",[a] is exalted, as with the patent for rule, by the precept "*Follow the behavior [prescribed] by God*".[b] Every judgement passed, with divine help, by his penetrating mind, is validated by God's decree, and every order originating, with divine guidance, in his enlightened reason, is accepted and approved by the nobles and the commoners alike. [*Mathnavī.*] The felicitous person of his majesty, the greatest khaqan and the sultan of the world, honored by the favors of the Lord whose help is sought, victorious and triumphant, the conqueror, Eltüzer Muhammad Bahadur Khan (may God perpetuate his kingdom and reign, and may he shower his charity and benevolence upon all creatures!), is adorned with divine gifts and decorated with innumerable virtues, and he is eminent among the sublime sultans and the magnificent khaqans. Every thought which he carves on the tablet of his mind conforms to the divine decree, and every action which he performs is agreeable to [God's] creatures. [*Mathnavī.*] (23) In every country toward which he would move the ever-victorious army, the gates of conquest would open before his felicitous person at the rumour of his arrival, and in every region toward which he would set in motion the royal troops, the carpet of victory would be spread in front of him at the news of his approach. Every army which ensconced itself in the *küren*[11] of rebellion and showed hostility [towards him] was dispatched to the desert of non-existence by the sword of his punishment; and every people which went out to meet him with repentance and expressed its servitude, thanks to his favor, rose from the utmost abasement to the highest glory. Among such [events] were the plundering of the Qaraqalpaq tribe, the expulsion of the Yomut community, the destruction of the Khoja-eli fortress,[12] and the conquest of the Qongrat country;[c] and the remarkable deeds and the stunning exploits accomplished by his majesty's

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[a] Qur'ān, II,105.

[b] Cf. as-Sulamı, *Kītāb Adab aṣ-ṣuḥba*, ed. by. M.J. Kister, Jerusalem, 1954, text, p. 22.

[c] See on these events in more detail below, pp. 170–175, 186–201, 204–216.

amirs, [his] pillars [of the state], and his innumerable troops [during these campaigns] *were unlike anything seen before*. [*Mathnavī.*]

(24) The glitter of his sword is like the sun: when it rises to the zenith above an enemy, the star of the enemy's life certainly sets. Or it is like a fire: when it blazes up in the furnace of battle, it burns down the harvest of the enemy's existence like dry straw. His sharp dagger is the ultimate proof of the extinction of enemy's life, and his arrow with its blazing point is like a flash of lightning [striking] the stockpile of the enemy's [continued] existence. [*Mathnavī.*] (25) It is a firm hope that, with divine help, the entire inhabited quarter of the world will soon be in his possession, and, with God's assistance, all seven climes[13] will quickly be under his rule.

The Lord who Bestows Gifts has adorned his majesty's pure mind and noble soul with the jewels of laudable qualities and illumined them with the ornament of praiseworthy actions, so that no sign of improper conduct, whether by commission or omission, inadvertantly or erroneously, would come [from him]. [*Mathnavī.*]

His trust in God is so great that, should an [enemy] army as immense as an ocean confront him, he would lean his back against the wall of [the injunction] "*And whosoever puts his trust in God, He shall suffice him,*"[a] and not a slightest worry would enter his august mind; and should a danger as vast as an open field await him on his way, he [nevertheless], relying upon the favor of the Protector and Helper, would boldly place his foot into the stirrup of determination. Thus, when the Yomut tribe, frightened by his majesty's attack and unable to withstand it, chose to flee, his majesty, despite the fact that their number was more than 15,000, pursued them with 800 men onto the plateau (*qïr*) of Ereng[14] and, not worrying about their superior number, fought and defeated (26) them.

His retinue is so grand that the celestial Zal[15] [himself], adorned with the garb of humility, would stand at his court in a posture of obedience and perform acts of valor; and the heavenly Bahram[16] [himself], proud of serving with his bodyguard, would accomplish heroic deeds on the battlefield. His aspirations are so exalted that if the entire world would come under his authority, no trace of pride would appear on his dignified forehead. [*Bayt.*]

In this connection I recall a parable, whose meaning I find very

[a] Qur'ān, VIII,49, LXV,3.

praiseworthy. When Alexander was about to set out for the conquest of the world, he was deep in thought. Aristu and Aristutalis the Wise,[17] who were his viziers, having noticed the thought reflected on his felicitous forehead, said: "Oh king, the refuge of the world! Praise be to God, everything needed for your good fortune and greatness is ready; your servants and retainers are firm in their readiness to serve; the treasury is full; the provinces [of your kingdom] are numerous; the beauty of [your] fortune is permanent, and the plant of [your] felicity is durable. So, what is the cause of your anxiety?" Alexander said: "I am thinking that the surface of the earth is insignificant, and I am ashamed to set out for [the conquest of] such a small realm." Aristu said: "No doubt that ruling this world is not worthy of your lofty designs, [but] add to it authority in the eternal kingdom, so that, when you conquer the transient world with the blows of your sword, you will also capture the everlasting world with the blessing of your justice." Alexander was consoled, and distinguished the learned man [with his favor]. [*Qiṭʿa.*]

(27) His generosity is so great that there is no beggar who would return from his beneficent court disappointed, and there is no poor man who would not be distinguished by a robe of honor from the wardrobe of his gifts. [*Mathnavī.*] His justice is so outstanding that he abolished the custom that existed since the time of Abu'l-Ghazi Khan <ibn ʿArab Khan>, according to which the salaries (*vazā'if*) of the amirs were assigned from the property (*amvāl*) of the subjects, causing the spread of many blameworthy innovations[a] among the people, and [now] nobody has a right to exact even a single extra grain from a taxpayer (*raʿiyyat*).[18] [*Mathnavī.*]

His firmness is such that, when a heated battle was going on near Qongrat and the enemy's arrows were flying above and around his blessed head, he did not move from such a terrifying place until the ever-victorious army defeated the enemy troops. [*Bayt.*] (28) His endurance is such that this humble author, who, in the days of his majesty's *beklik*,[19] was in his service most of time, witnessed how he sometimes would sit on his knees the entire night, from sunset till dawn, without changing his posture. [*Mathnavī.*] His clemency and forbearance are so great that if a criminal with [even] a mountainous offense appeals to him, he disregards his crime as if it were

[a] That is, wrong-doings.

[mere] straw, grants him forgiveness and presents him with a robe of honor. Thus, for instance, Dosïm Biy and Öte-Qul Atalïq, from among the amirs of Khoja-eli, went over their limits and rebelled against this exalted dynasty, and, having committed endless crimes, deserved death. When from the assaults of the subjects they had no choice but to come out of the town and prostrate themselves before the feet of his majesty's horse, they were granted pardon and favor.[a] [*Qiṭʿa.*]

(29) His qualities are many, and the praises [due him] are endless. To describe and relate all his conduct and actions, all his merits and virtues, would be an impossible task and only a dream. [*Qaṣīda* (29–30).]

[a] See the detailed account below, pp. 154–155, 206–207.

(31) Chapter I

From the creation of his holiness Adam (peace be upon him!) till the sons of Nuh (peace be upon him!).

(31–49) [Translation not given; see Introduction.]

(50) Chapter II

From Yafeth till the clan (*uruq*) of Qongrat.

(50–81) [Translation not given; see Introduction.]

(82) Chapter III

About the descendants of Quralas who became kings, the last of whom was Abu'l-Ghazi Khan ibn Yadigar Khan; his majesty deposed him and embellished the throne of sovereignty with his own fortunate accession

This chapter is divided into three parts.

Part 1
From Burte Chine till Chingiz Khan

The narrators of stories and the collectors of traditions drive the musk-perfumed pen[20] over the surface of white pages, and this is what [they tell]: When the Mongol tribes went out from the Ergune[21] Qun Mountain, their king was Burte Chine,[22] one of the descendants of Quralas.[a] With divine assistance, he defeated and uprooted most of the Turks with the Tatars at the head, who were their ancient enemies, and, after a long time passed, he bade farewell to this world. After him they raised his son Qoy Maral[23] as a khan. When he died, his son Bijin Qayan[24] became the king. When he passed away, his son Timach Ata[25] ascended the throne. After he died, his son Qaychi[26] Mergen (83) reigned. After his death, his son Quchum Bural[27] became his heir. After he departed from this world, his son Buke Bindun[28] reclined on the throne of sovereignty. After he bade farewell to this world, his son Sam Sawchi[29] replaced him. When he departed, his son Qalïmaju[30] assumed the authority in the kingdom. When he went to the next world, his son Timurtash was distinguished with the crown of the khanate. When he departed this life, his son Mengli Khoja became the king. When he departed to the kingdom of non-existence, his son Yulduz Khan[31] was elevated to the summit of rulership. He had two sons; in his own lifetime, life's star set for both of them. From one of them remained a son by the name of Dobun Bayan,[32] from the other one—a daughter by the name of Alanqoa. The daughter was given in marriage to the son. After a while, the star of life of Yulduz Khan set beyond the horizon of non-existence, and the sun of felicity of his grandson

[a] Or Qurlas.

Dobun Bayan Khan rose from the constellation of the rulership. He died before reaching the age of thirty. He left two little sons named Belkeday [and] Begjeday.[33]

After the death of Dobun Bayan, Alanqoa[34] governed the *el* of the Mongols. At this time, one night a ray of Light penetrated through the smoke-hole of [her] tent and came to her bed, and this happened from time to time. As a result, the signs of pregnancy appeared. When her subjects and relatives learned about this, they threatened to stone her to death for disgraceful conduct. When they declared this decision, (84) to relieve [her] of responsibility and suspicions, they put some of the nobles, who were truthful people, near her tent as an ambush of investigation. And when, one night, they saw with their own eyes that ray of Light, as mentioned above, they ceased troubling her and treated her with even more respect. After nine months passed, Her Excellency, the Abode of Chastity, gave birth to three sons the like of Light. [*Mathnavī.*] One was named Tuqun Qataghan;[35] the tribe of Qataghan descends from him. Another one was named Busqun Chalji; the tribe of Chaljut is his progeny.[36] The third one received the name Buzanjar Munqaq. The descendants of these three [sons] were called Nirun. It is told that this event occurred at the time of the revolt of Abu Muslim Marvazi.[a]

Buzanjar[37] Khan was distinguished among his contemporaries by his extreme sagacity and perfect shrewdness. The chiefs of the tribes of Turks who had been ruling like *mulūk-i ṭavā'if*[38] girded themselves with the girdle of obedience. When Buzanjar Khan bade farewell to this world, two sons remained: Buqa and Toqta.

Buqa Khan was a just and praiseworthy king. For a long time he administered the affairs of the kingdom and the institutions of the state, and then passed from this world, (85) having appointed his son as successor.

Dutumenen Khan, having mounted the throne of his father, occupied himself with the administration of justice and equity. He had nine sons. Eight of them were killed in a quarrel with the tribe of Jalayir, when the latter fled from a raid of the Khitays and came to the country of the Mongols. [The son called] Qaydu escaped. [*Bayt.*]

Qaydu Khan.[39] When he adorned with his person the throne of the khanate, the leaders of the Jalayirs seized seventy families of

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[a] That is, around 129/747. This dating is borrowed from RṢ (V, 22).

Jalayirs on whom was the blood [of Qaydu's brothers] and sent them to the khan. The khan put them to death after a cruel torture and made their sons slaves. [*Bayt.*] The Most High God, the Creator, granted him three auspicious sons. The first one was Baysonqor. The second one was Jurqa Lanqum, from whom the tribe of Tayjut descends. The third one was Jawchin; the tribe of Chayjut comes from his descendants.

After Qaydu Khan passed away, Baysonqor became king. He subdued many tribes (*el*) and occupied himself with the administration of justice and equity. When the time of his death came, he made his son his heir and went the way of his forefathers.

Tümene Khan was a powerful and generous khan. In his time the *ulus* enjoyed abundance and peace. He had nine sons:[40] Yarïm Shir Buqa, (86) Samqachun, Bat Kelki, Odur Bayan, Buljar Daghlan, Chintay—these were from one mother, [and] Chaqsu; the tribe (*uruq*) of Manghït is from the descendants of the latter,[41] and the tribe (*khalq*) Daghlan[42] is from the descendants of Buljar Daghlan. As to Qabul Khan and Qachuli Bahadur, to whom the lineage (*nasl*) of Amir Timur goes back, they were twins born to one mother.

Qabul Khan. When his father departed to the land of non-existence, he mounted the throne of governance. He was a blessed monarch and an emperor powerful as heaven. [*Fard.*] He was the great-great-grandfather of Chingiz Khan. The Mongols called him Elinjik Khan, which means "a nourisher of his people, a noble arbiter".[43] The fame of his justice and the renown of his courage reached the king of Khitay, Altan Khan. He was frightened and terrified, but, out of caution and for deception, he sent a friendly embassy with inestimable gifts and innumerable presents, inviting Qabul Khan to come. Qabul Khan left as his deputy his younger brother Qachuli Bahadur *and came to Altan Khan*. The latter did not leave him a minute without rendering him honor and respect, but this was done for deception. [*Mathnavī.*] (87) Qabul Khan understood the malignity of Altan Khan from his physiognomy, and set out for his own country. On the advice of the amirs, Altan sent after him envoys to let him return but he, by a ruse, turned the envoys back and went rapidly away. Altan once more sent a man after him. When the envoy came up with Qabul Khan, he decoyed him with deceitful words to the tent of Saljunay, who was his old friend and whose encampment lay on the way, mounted the friend's horse which ran swifter than lightning and went off. No sooner had

he come, in a short time, to his country than those who pursued him caught up with him. Qabul Khan, having taken counsel with the nobles of the *ulus*, put them to the sword and calmed down. After some time, he fell ill and passed away. He left six sons. Their names were Ökin Yarqaq,[44] Qubla Qaan, Bartan Bahadur, Qotu Mengu, Qadan Bahadur, Budan Qayan. All clans (*qabā'il*) of the Qïyats are their descendants. Previously the name of Qïyat did not exist.

It is told that Ökin Yarqaq was handsome-faced and good-tempered. Once, when he was travelling on the steppe, he came across several men from the tribe of Tatar. They captured him, brought him to Altan Khan and the latter killed him in revenge for the envoys killed by his father.

Qubla Qaan was a king with lofty designs and great ambition. Having mounted the throne of his father, he sent *tovachi*s, ferocious as Mars,[45] to all provinces, gathered a numerous army (88) and set out against Khitay to take revenge for the murder of Yarqaq. Altan also assembled an innumerable army of tribes of the Tatars and other peoples and advanced from his capital. The two armies met, and the Mongol people fought so valiantly that the army of Khitay was defeated and fled. Many prominent men among the enemies were killed and taken prisoner, and the booty captured by Qubla Qaan and the Mongol army was so plentiful that they were unable to carry it. [*Naẓm.*] They returned, cheerful and joyous, to their encampments. Several years later Qubla Qaan went the way of his forefathers.

Bartan Bahadur. After [the death of] his elder brother, he ruled the kingdom. He was very brave and audacious and, consequently, his title of *khan* was changed to the title of *bahādur*.[46] He had four sons. Among them, Yesügey Bahadur was unique and distinctive for his courage and sagacity. [*Bayt.*]

Yesügey Bahadur. In his reign Erumji Barlas, son of Qachuli Bahadur, died. His post was given to Yasughu Chechen,[47] who was his eldest son. Yesügey Bahadur gathered an immense army and raided the Tatars who were old enemies. (89) They committed their dwellings and habitations to the flames of plunder and spoil, did not leave a single inhabitant [alive] in that country, captured their two commanders named Temuchin and Qaraluqa, and returned to their encampments in great glory and unspeakable might. Yesügey Bahadur had five sons: the first one—Temuchin, who is Chingiz Khan; the second—Jochi Qasar; the third—Qachun; the fourth—Temuge; the

fifth—Belgutey Otchigin.[48] The Mongols call their descendants Borchighin Qïyat.

Part 2
From Chingiz Khan to Berdibek Khan, with an explanation, how the *el* of Jochi received the surname of Uzbek. There are ten persons in this section (*ṭabaqa*); the [total] duration of their reign is from 599 till 762 A.H., that is 101 years[49]

Chingiz Khan ibn Yesügey.[50] He was born in the place Yelun Yolduq[51] in the year 549 A.H., corresponding to the Year of the Pig, on 20 Zu'l-Qa'da,[52] and his birthsign was Libra, which is the mansion of Bādī; and all seven planets were in the same mansion. As a result, because of these combined influences, in the days of his rule a wind of fate was blowing, so that the harvest of lives of most people was dispersed by the sharp swords in the wind of annihilation, and some of this will be explained below on these pages, God willing.

When his father died, he was thirteen years old. Therefore most of the tribes, with the tribe of Tayjut (90) at the head, rebelled against him. He suffered many troubles and great misfortunes, and was exposed to great dangers and perils, until, when he reached the age of fifty, which was in 599 A.H., in the month of Ramazan,[a] he attained the fortune of the royal power and was exalted to the felicity of the imperial rule.[53] His original name was Temuchin; when three years of his reign passed, he was called Chingiz Khan. [*Naẓm.*] When, after his accession, he became fortunate and felicitous, his power began to grow and to increase day by day and year by year, and his rank became exalted, and his dignity became elevated. He took possession of all Turks and nomads (*ṣaḥrā-nishīnlär*), the lands of Khita and Khotan and the countries of Chin and Machin,[54] Dasht-i Qïpchaq, Saqsin[55] and Bulghar. In 615 A.H.[b56] he set out for Mavarannahr against Sultan Qutb ad-Din Muhammad Khorezm-shah. The sultan, seized with fear and terror, left for Khorasan. Chingiz Khan came to Mavarannahr and ordered plundering and a general massacre. In 617 A.H.[c] he crossed the Jayhun[57] and destroyed Balkh, and sent 30 thousand audacious men, whom he put under

[a] May–June 1203.
[b] 1218/19 A.D.
[c] 1220 A.D.

the command of Jebe Noyan, Taghachar Noyan[a] (who is one of the ancestors of his majesty) and Sübedey Bahadur, to Iran in the pursuit of Sultan Muhammad. The sultan, having fled from them, came to the island of Abeskun. [There] he learned that his harem, children (91) and treasury had fallen into the hands of the Mongols, and left this world. It is told that his state was so vast that four and a half climes were under his rule, from the borders of Turkestan to the regions of Iraq-i ʿArab and from the limits of Hindustan to the island of Abeskun; and a shroud befitting such a great king could not be found, and so he was buried in his robe.[58] "*And this is a warning for the beholders.*"

In every place which the Mongol army reached, they committed plunder and general massacre. It is told that one renowned man of that time said: "Even if there were [henceforth] a thousand years of justice and security, it would still not make up for the Mongol massacre nor the destruction they have wrought."[b] Thus, for instance, in Khorezm every Mongol killed twenty four people, and the number of Mongols [there] was more than a 100,000. Shaykh Najm ad-Din Kubra (may the mercy of God be upon him!) also became a martyr during this horrible disaster.[59] And it is recorded by the author of *Miṣād al-ʿibād*[60] that in the city of Rayy [the Mongols] killed 700,000 people. In the introduction (*Muqaddima*) to the *Ẓafar-nāma*,[61] it is mentioned that they counted the people slaughtered in Nishapur for twelve days, and 1,747,000 [men] were recorded in writing, besides women and children. And in Herat, 1,600,000 people were martyred, and except for Mawlana Sharaf ad-Din ʿAli Khatib and fifteen other people, no living creature remained. [And elsewhere it was] similar.

One year later, the Mongol army, having passed Darband and Dasht-i Qïpchaq, returned to Mavarannahr and joined with Chingiz Khan. When Iran and Turan where already under the sway of Chingiz Khan, Sultan Jalal ad-Din Mengburnï, the glorious son of Sultan Muhammad Khorezmshah, audaciously joined battle with Chingiz Khan on the bank of the Indus (Sind). But his fortune betrayed him, he was routed and, having crossed the Indus, (92) went to Hindustan. In 621 A.H.[c] Chingiz Khan returned to Qaraqorum,[62] and in 624

[a] See on him below, p. 596, note 443.
[b] From *Tārīkh-i guzīda*, 573–574.
[c] 1224 A.D.

A.H., which was the Year of the Pig, in the blessed month of Ramazan,[a] he passed from this world. He lived 73 years, and reigned for 25 years. Among his sayings is the following: "He who looks after his own house well, will also look after the state." When he was dying, he summoned the princes and asked them to give him an arrow. He took it and broke it. [Then] he asked [them] to give him two arrows, held them together and broke them. [But] three arrows [together] he could not break. He looked at his sons and said: "You are like these arrows. If you all are separate, [others] will break you like an arrow. If you are in agreement and accord, nobody will have strength and power to crush you."[63] [*Mathnavī.*]

Be it known to clever and wise men endorsed with foresight, that the signs of the wrath of God and divine anger are apparent and manifest on the brow of Chingiz Khan as his deeds mentioned above [show]. (93) [*Fard.*] Be it clear and evident that the light of divine benevolence and generosity is visible and manifest on the brow of the victorious and conquering Eltüzer Muhammad Bahadur Khan (may God perpetuate his kingdom!). It would seem that the meaning [of the words] "*As a mercy unto all beings*"[b] in reference to mortals alludes to his justice, and the saying "*Forgiveness out of strength comes from the greatness of rank*" concerns his infinite generosity amongst his contemporaries. Thus, having removed, with the polish of his justice, all the dust of tyranny and the earth of oppression which had darkened and soiled the mirror of time, he gave a lustre to this mirror; and, with the balm of his favor, he cured every wound which had been inflicted upon contemporaries by the sword of cruelty and the dagger of injustice; and he converted every enemy who turned to his court, sublime as the firmament, into a friend; and, by his kindness and clemency, he elevated to heaven the people of the countries which he conquered. [*Mathnavī.*]

(94) Chingiz Khan had four sons. The first one was Jochi Khan; his biography is given below. The second one was Chaghatay Khan. The entire Mavarannahr, the land of the Uyghurs, a part of Khorezm, Kashgar, Badakhshan, Balkh and Ghaznin, till the river of Indus, were entrusted to him. Mawlana Sakkaki was his companion (*nadīm*); he put him into prison because of the calumny of Chaghatay's vizier, and Sakkaki died in prison.[64] According to the account of the *Ẓafar-*

[a] August 1227 (see Bartol'd, *Turkestan*, 526 and note 4).
[b] Qur'ān, XXI,107.

nāma,[65] Chaghatay Khan died in 638 A.H.,[a] and according to another report,[66] he passed from this world in 640 A.H.[b] The third [son of Chingiz Khan] was Ögetey Qaan; Chingiz Khan entrusted the country to him, made him his successor and put him above the other sons. He was extremely beneficent and very wise. In 639 A.H.[c] he passed from this transitory abode to the eternal one. About the date of his death it is said: [*Nazm*—a Persian chronogram.] The fourth [son of Chingiz Khan] was Toluy Khan. The khan granted him riches and treasures and appointed him *nöker*,[67] and most of the time Toluy was an assistant to his father. In the Mongol language "Toluy" means "mirror". The kings of Iran are his descendants. He died in 628 A.H.[d68]

Jochi Khan was a wise king and a just monarch. He held sovereignty over Khorezm, Dasht-i Qïpchaq, (95) Bulghar, Alan, As,[69] and Rus. Having separated from his father, he was busy for a long time with conquering and administering the countries which belonged to him. When Chingiz Khan was hunting, Jochi [came] with many presents and innumerable gifts from the gifts of his lands, [and] was honored with kissing his father's hand. Among the animals which he brought, there were 100,000 horses, every 20,000 of a different color. The khan also granted him many favors and let him return to his country.[70] He died six months before the death of his father.

Batu Khan ibn Jochi Khan.[71] When Chingiz Khan heard the news about the death of Jochi Khan, he mourned him and, through Otchigin Noyan,[72] sent a decree (*yarlïq*) to Batu Khan b. Jochi Khan, known as Sayin Khan, saying: "Take your father's place and rule the country." At this time the news of Chingiz Khan's death arrived, and Batu Khan, leaving as his deputy his younger brother Toqay Timur, went to the headquarters (*ordu*)[73] of Chingiz Khan. All the princes unanimously enthroned Ögetey Qaan in place of his father. When Ögetey Qaan finished the mourning and the celebration [ceremonies], he sent Batu Khan, with his own son Güyük Khan, and Toluy's son Mengu Qaan, and Chaghatay Khan's son Baydar, to conquer the lands of the Machar, the Bashqïr, the Rus, the Cherkes,

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[a] 1240/41 A.D.

[b] 1242/43 A.D.

[c] Date of death of Ögetey—5 Jumadi II 639/11 December 1241 (see Bartol'd, *Turkestan*, 550).

[d] 1230/31 A.D.

the Kural, and the Nemesh.[74] Having captured these countries, he returned to his capital, which was called Kök Orda.[75] In 650 A.H.,[a] on the bank of the Atil, he passed from this world.[76] He lived 48 years and reigned 25 years. (96) [*Bayt.*]

Berke Khan ibn Jochi Khan,[77] having ascended the royal throne in succession to his elder brother, made big feasts, gave presents to his relatives, and granted them provinces as appanages (*soyurghal*). He was the first of Chingiz Khan's descendants to become Muslim. Most of the infidels and sinners found their right path to the faith of Islam due to his efforts, and wherever there were infidels, he would march against them. Thus, in 660 A.H.,[b] in the region of Shirvan, he joined battle with Hülegü. And when in 665 A.H.[78] the news reached him that the unbelief, rebellion, wickedness and corruption of Abaqa Khan ibn Hülegü Khan ibn Toluy Khan prevailed in Iran, he set out with innumerable troops putting the feet of fury into the stirrups of departure, to rout and destroy him. Noqay,[c] who was the commander of the army, went through Darband, and Abaqa Khan sent his younger brother Yushumut to repulse him. The battle took place on the bank of the river Aq-su, in Shirvan. At first, Qutu Buqa, one of the amirs of Abaqa, was killed, and a defeat was inflicted on the enemy, but then an arrow struck Noqay in the eye, and he was defeated. Berke Khan set out with 300,000 soldiers all thirsting for blood, and raided the region up to the banks of the Kur. At this time his noble person suffered an attack of colic, and he died. This occurred in 664 A.H.[d][79] The duration of his reign was 25 years.[80]

(97) [*Mathnavī.*]

Mengu Timur Khan ibn Toqay ibn Batu[81] ascended to the throne of the khanate in succession to Berke Khan and took firm control of the *el* and the *ulus*.[82] He treated his relatives according to the custom of Batu Khan, giving them many gifts and grants (*soyurghal*).[e] He went against Bulghar[83] with great pomp and a huge army. He conquered this country in two years and set off to Kök Ordu victorious and triumphant.[84] After this he went to Iran against Abaqa

[a] 1252/53 A.D.

[b] 1262 A.D.

[c] The text spells the name in this chapter as Būqā (so also RṢ, which has also Būqāy).

[d] 1265/66 A.D.

[e] *Soyurghal* can mean both "gift", "grant" and "appanage"; here it is, apparently, in the first, general, meaning as a part of a synonymic pair.

Khan and returned, after making peace.[85] [After this] they would always honor one another by an exchange of presents. When the kingdom of Iran was secured by Arghun Khan ibn Abaqa Khan, Mengu Timur sent Toqay Noyan and Terktay Bahadur[86] against Iran with 80,000 men. Arghun Khan, having heard about this, sent the amir Taghachar ibn Qutu Buqa to repulse them, and himself followed him. The two armies met in Qarabagh. [*Nazm.*] (98) In the end, the troops of Mengu Timur Khan were defeated.[87] On [hearing] this terrible news, Mengu Timur Khan was overcome by a fatal grief and died. [*Mathnavi.*]

Tuda Mengu ibn Batu[88] became king after his nephew. He abandoned the rules and customs of his father and elder brothers and laid the foundation for the path of tyranny and injustice. Therefore, Toqtaghu ibn Mengu Timur Khan fled from him and went into hiding. After some time, he gathered a big army and started a rebellion. He fought Tuda Mengu Khan, captured and killed him, and defeated and vanquished his army.[89] This happened in 666 A.H.[90] [*Bayt.*]

Toqtaghu Khan,[91] having been exalted with the crown of sovereignty, administered justice and equity and followed the customs of his father and elder brothers. [*Fard.*] (99) He reigned six years, and then he passed from this transitory abode to the eternal one. Some say that he reigned 23 years and died in 725 A.H.[92] His tomb is in the city of Saraychiq.[93]

Özbek Khan ibn Toghrul Khan ibn Mengu Timur Khan[94] ascended the throne of sovereignty after his uncle, at the age of thirteen. He governed the kingdom according to the customs of his ancestors. He showed honor to every one in accordance with his rank and rewarded every person in accordance with his merit. He ordered his whole *el* and *ulus* to convert to Islam, and, due to the nobility of his felicitous person, everybody was ennobled by the glory of [conversion to] Islam.[a] And he ordered: "Let all the peoples in my empire who became Muslims be named after me."[95] Since then the *el* of Jochi has been called the Uzbek *el.* May they be named so till the resurrection! [*Bayt.*] He twice led the army against the king of Iran Sultan Abu Sa'id Khan. Several years later, as [the Qur'ān says]: "*When their term comes they shall not put it back by a single*

[a] See also below, p. 88.

hour, nor put it forward,"[a] he drank the inevitable draft, as [the Qur'ān] says: "*Every soul shall taste of death,*"[b] and set out on the journey to the rosegarden [described as] "*Gardens underneath which rivers flow.*"[c] [*Nazm.*][96]

(100) **Janibek Khan ibn Özbek Khan** was a [pious] Muslim, and a just, competent and clever man. He showed great esteem and respect for the *'ulamā'* and the men of learning, the ascetics and the pious. Being guardian of the holy *sharī'a*,[97] he would perform praiseworthy deeds and laudable acts. In his time Malik Ashraf ibn Amir Timurtash ibn Amir Chopan Sulduz was king of the lands of Azerbayjan, 'Iraq-i 'Ajam, and Arran.[98] He was a great tyrant and an extraordinary sinner. He was avid for the things of this world and covetous. Therefore the poor and the rich fled from these countries in all directions. One of them, Qazi Muhyi'd-Din Barda'i, went to Dasht-i Qïpchaq and settled in the city of Saray.[99] Janibek Khan would come to his public sermons. Once, during the sermon, he so described the tyranny and oppression of Malik Ashraf that the khan and [other] people present wept bitterly. The khan pledged to eliminate the evil of Malik Ashraf and, in two months, having gathered an army, he marched through Darband and Shirvan to Azerbayjan, captured Malik Ashraf in the region of Khoy and dispatched him to hell. [*Bayt.*] It is told that by oppressing [his subjects] Malik Ashraf had gathered such quantities of gold, precious stones and delicate fabrics that [to transport them would require] 400 strings of mules and 1,000 strings of camels. All this was easily captured by Janibek Khan, (101) and the khan divided it among the troops. It was said about this event:

Bayt:
Someone said:[100] What did that ass Ashraf do?
He brought tyranny, and Janibek brought gold.

This happened at the beginning of 759 A.H.[d101] And it is told that the equity, justice, authority and control exercised by the khan were such that during that year his victorious troops twice passed sown fields, but nobody was allowed to crush even a single ear of grain;

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[a] Qur'ān, X,49.
[b] Qur'ān, III,185.
[c] Cf. Qur'ān, IX,72 and LXI,12.
[d] From December 1357 A.D.

and when he went to Tabriz, he stayed at the royal residence, but the amirs and the soldiers stayed along the roads and rivers and no one was permitted to stay in the house of a Muslim. [*Mathnavī.*] The khan left his son Berdibek Khan with 50,000 men in Tabriz, and returned to Saray. In 758 A.H.[a] he appointed Berdibek Khan heir to the throne and then died.[102] The duration of his reign was seventeen years. He was buried in Saraychiq.

Berdibek Khan,[103] after his father['s death], appointed an amir called Akhichuq as his deputy in Tabriz and came to Saray, and with the unanimous support of the amirs and the princes, mounted the throne of the khanate. He was a man of despotic character and licentious nature. Wishing to jealously guard his royal power, (102) he unlawfully killed his brothers and other relatives. He did not know that the kingdom of this world is transitory. His reign did not last long, and in 762 A.H.[b] his life came to an end.[104] It is told that the line of Batu Khan became extinct with Berdibek and it was the descendants of other sons of Jochi Khan who reigned after him. [*Nazm.*]

Part 3
About the descendants of Shïban Khan, the fifth son of Jochi son of Chingiz Khan, who reigned in the country of Khorezm

Yadigar Khan.[105] His father was Timur Shaykh ibn Hajji Tuli ibn ʿArabshah ibn Fulad ibn Mengu Timur ibn Badaqul ibn Jochi-Buqa ibn Bahadur Khan ibn Shïban Khan ibn Jochi Khan ibn Chingiz Khan. Be it known that in the time of Timur Shaykh, two thousand Qalmaqs came, raided the *el* subject to him and went back. Timur Shaykh went after them with a few men, joined battle, was defeated and killed. He had no sons and younger brothers. Therefore his *el* went to other princes (*töre*). The chiefs of the Uyghurs[106] sent a man to his camp asking: "Does any of the [khan's] wives have signs of pregnancy? If so, let us put the *el* in order and stay—perhaps it will be a son." It turned out that the eldest wife of the khan was pregnant, and she let [them] know that (103) she was in her third month. Therefore the Uyghurs did not separate from the *ordu*;

[a] 1356/57 A.D.
[b] 1360/61 A.D.

they sent a message to the Naymans, with whom they had friendly relations[107] and who had already left, and made them return. After six months a boy was born by this wife, and he was named Yadigar. On hearing this news, the *el*s which had left also returned and gathered to the khan's camp (*ordu*). They enthroned this infant in place of his father,[a] and, rendering homage to the beks of the Uyghurs and the Naymans, gave them a place on the left side. According to the Mongol custom, the left side is more distinguished than the right one, since the heart is the ruler of the kingdom of body, and it is on the left side.[108] [*Bayt.*]

After Yadigar Khan reached manhood, he had four sons: Burge Sultan, Abulek Khan, Amenek Khan, Abak Sultan. Burge[109] Sultan was a magnanimous and courageous prince. At that time the king of Dasht-i Qïpchaq was Abu'l-Khayr Khan.[110] Muhammad Juki Mirza, son of one of the descendants of Amir Timur, ʿAbd al-Latif Mirza, came to him, having fled from Abu Saʿid Mirza. By the order of Abu'l-Khayr Khan, Burge Sultan set out with a big army and conquered the greater part of Mavarannahr for Muhammad Juki. Since the latter was ill-fated, he annoyed Burge Sultan, and the sultan, having raided the Chaghatay *el*, returned to his own country, and Muhammad Juki was captured by Abu Saʿid Mirza.[111]

It was in 862 A.H.,[b112] (104) that Yadigar Khan, due to the efforts of Burge Sultan and Musa Biy, became the king of most of the Uzbeks. He ruled happily for a long time, and then passed from this world. [*Mathnavī.*]. Shortly after this Abu'l-Khayr Khan's grandson, Shïbani Khan,[113] killed Burge Sultan.[114] Two sons, named Ilbars and Balbars, remained from him. God willing, their story will come in its proper place [in this book].

Abulek Khan[115] reigned sixteen years after his father and elder brother. He was very meek and inoffensive man. Therefore intrigues began amongst the Uzbeks, and anarchy started [in his time]. He had an only son named Hasan-Quli. When the death-hour came, he appointed his younger brother to be his successor, and died as God had decreed. [*Fard.*]

Amenek Khan ibn Yadigar administered justice and equity after his elder brother. When Shïbani Khan conquered Mavarannahr, his *el* migrated to Mavarannahr in the time of Amenek Khan, and

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[a] Lit. "made him sit in the place of his father."
[b] 1457/58 A.D.

on the banks of the Sïr there remained no other *el* except for the [former] subjects of Yadigar Khan. The khan reigned peacefully, and in the end, having entrusted his soul to the Creator, left six sons as a memento of his [life]: Sufyan, Buchugha, Avanesh, Qal, Aqatay, Aghanay.

(105) **Ilbars Khan ibn Burge Sultan**[116] was a king firm and pious in his faith. After Amenek Khan, his person adorned the throne of the khanate, and in 911 A.H.[a] he conquered Khorezm[117] and put the Khorezmshah's crown on his head.[118] The details are briefly as follows. After Sultan Husayn Mirza, Urgench became a possession of Shïbani Khan.[119] The ruler of the Qïzïlbashes, Isma'il, joined battle with Shïbani Khan in Merv and killed him.[120] After this terrible event, Shah Isma'il sent three *dārūghas*[121] to Khorezm: one to Khiva[122] and Hazarasp,[123] one to Urgench,[124] and one to Vazir.[125] The *dārūgha* who came to Vazir invited the nobles and the commoners and gave them gold and robes of honor. At this time the qazi of Vazir was a wise and learned man named Qazi 'Umar. He did not go to see the *dārūgha*, and when the latter invited him, he still did not come, on the pretext that he was ill. One night he secretly invited the notables of Vazir and said: "Congratulations on the new religion, the new king, and your new robes." It turned out that these people had not heard that Shah Isma'il had become a heretic and was spreading the Shi'ite faith, and they asked in amazement: "Why are you speaking about a new religion?" The qazi, having explained them the emergence of this faith and its falsehood, said: "The governors who came here now have few men, and so they do not disclose their faith [out of fear]. But after they subjugate you completely, they will force you to curse the *ṣaḥāba*[126] (may the blessing of God be upon them!), and they will leave alone those who become infidels and kill those who will not accept [their faith]. If you do not take prompt action, you will leave the faith of Islam."

Mathnavī:
When the people of Vazir heard these words,
They screamed in grief about the faith:
(106) "Be our souls a ransom for the faith!
For us death is better than to be faithless.
Until we put an end to the existence of the heretics,
Let the desire to rest be forbidden to us!"

[a] 1505/06 A.D.

In short, being irresolute, they could not undertake anything for two years. At long last, they unanimously decided to proclaim as king Sayyid Husam ad-Din Qattal,[127] a progeny of the sultan of mystics and the pivot of gnostics, the cream of saints, Sayyid Ahmad Sayyid Ata[a] (may the mercy of God be upon him!). But he refused, and when he explained [instead] the laudable and praiseworthy virtues of Ilbars Khan, which were consistent with his nobility, and pointed out his regal characteristics, the people of Vazir secretly pledged allegiance to the khan and sent to him a man saying:

Petition:
Oh, monarch, high as the firmament,
Shadow of God upon the Muslims!
We are your slaves even without seeing your grace.
We are abashed at not having reached you.
Without you Urgench is a body without head,
And the clothes of the subjects are shrouds.
Show favor and turn your grey steed here,
Bring life to dead bodies!
If you do not come, the apocalypse will occur.
We pledge our allegience to you. That is all!

(107) Ilbars Khan set out and promptly sent ahead the envoys who had come to him, and himself came at time fixed to the appointed place and stopped there. The notables of Vazir, together with people of all classes (*khavāṣṣ u ʿavāmm*), assigned their men to the gates and massacred the Qïzïlbashes (may God's curse be upon them!). The next day, in the morning, they brought in the khan and enthroned him. This event happened in 911 A.H., the Year of the Sheep.[b] At that time [the towns of] Yangi-Shahr and Tersek,[128] in the environs of Vazir, did not participate in the rebellion. [Ilbars Khan] gave them to his younger brother Balbars Sultan and to one of his *nöker*s.[129] As to Balbars, he was known as Belikech[130] Sultan, since he was paralyzed—that is, his legs were feeble and lifeless. [Despite this] he was very brave and courageous warrior. He would get in a carriage, harness three or four spirited horses, go with the vanguard and take part in raids.[131]

Three months later, Ilbars Khan captured Urgench and subdued

[a] See on him below, note 475.
[b] See on the date note 117.

and crushed the infidels. After this he brought the sons of Abulek Khan and Amenek Khan with the remaining Uzbeks and annihilated the Qïzïlbashes of Khiva and Hazarasp. When the whole land of Khorezm was cleaned up, he set out in an expedition (*ghazāt*) against Khorasan. He returned, having plundered [the region] and captured rich booty. At that time Shah Isma'il died.[132] After this Ilbars Khan once again sent the troops to Khorasan and took possession of the northern limits of the Khorasan mountains, from Mehne to Durun.[133] After this he sent the army to Balqan[134] and Manghïshlaq,[135] which were the places of habitation and refuge of Turkmen tribes, and after much fighting subdued them. He assigned every country (*mamlakat*) to a prince (*shahzāda*) and every province (*diyār*) to an amir.[136] Having reigned for some time in peace and quiet, he entrusted the life which he had held in trust to the angel of death. (108) [*Nazm.*]

Sultan Hajji Khan ibn Belikech Sultan came from Yangi-Shahr and, with the consent of his relatives (*aqa-eni*) mounted the throne of the kingdom in Vazir. Though he was called khan, the rule in the country was in the hands of the elder son of Ilbars Khan, Sultan Ghazi Sultan. Having reigned for one year, Sultan Hajji Khan died.[137]

Hasan-Quli Khan ibn Abulek Khan.[138] He was the eldest of the descendants of Yadigar Khan. He was raised as khan[139] and given Urgench as his capital. Shortly after this, all the princes (*shahzāda*) started war against him,[140] came to Urgench and joined battle. In this battle, one infantryman from Urgench killed Aghanay Sultan, the younger son of Amenek Khan. Therefore the princes (*töreläг*) became embittered and enraged and, fighting daily, besieged Urgench for two months. A famine began in the town, and the people were in disarray and began to leave. After two more months of siege, the princes captured Urgench, killed Hasan-Quli Khan together with his elder son Bilal, and sent the remaining sons, together with their mother, to Bukhara.

Sufyan Khan ibn Amenek Khan[141] mounted the throne of sovereignty in Urgench after his cousin,[142] with the support of the princes. He was eminent among his relatives by virtue of his resolution and zeal. The Turkmen tribes had been the subjects (*ra'iyyat*) [of the khan] since Ilbars Khan. (109) In the time of Sufyan Khan the Turkmens of the Balqan and Manghïshlaq, who consisted of [the tribes of] Ersarï, Khorasanian Salor, Teke, Sarïq, and Yomut,[143] started rebellion,

killed forty[144] khan's tax-collectors (*barātdār*), and did not pay *zakāt*.[145] Therefore the khan sent envoys to the princes, and set out against the Turkmens with a huge army. He fell upon them and killed and took prisoner many men, with their wives and children. Those who escaped fled to the height (*qïr*) of Chutaq, which is a place difficult of access but without water,[146] and ensconced themselves there. The khan, pursuing them, besieged this place. The Turkmens got into a difficult situation because of the lack of water, and prostrated themselves before the threshold of Aqatay Sultan. The sultan pleaded for them with his elder brother, and [the khan and the princes], having imposed on them [a tribute of] 40 thousand sheep—one thousand for the blood of each [murdered] man—turned back. Be it known that, down to the time of Isfandiyar Khan, [these Turkmens] paid 40 thousand sheep annually.[147] And from other Turkmens they [also] levied *barāt* sheep, as follows: from the Inner (*Ichki*) Salor[148]—17,600 sheep, from the Hasan-eli, who are the Igdir and the Chowdur,[149]—11,600 sheep, from the Arabachi[150]—4,400 sheep, from the Göklen[151]—13,200 sheep, from the Adaqlï—also 13,200 sheep;[152] from the Khïzïr-eli,[153] ʿAli-eli[154] and Tivechi,[155] who were farmers, they levied [a tribute of] grain.[156] [*Bayt.*]

(110) Sufyan Khan died in 928 A.H.[a157] The duration of his reign was six years. He left five sons: Yusuf, Yunus, ʿAli, Aghishi, and Pahlavan-Quli.

Buchugha Khan ibn Amenek.[158] He was brought to Urgench and raised as a khan. In his time the Uzbeks of Khorezm raided and plundered [the regions] as far as Quchand[159] and Isfarayin. Therefore the king of Iran, Tahmasb Shah, being unable to overcome them, sent an ambassador with innumerable gifts and presents to conclude peace, and asked [the khan]: "Adopt me as a son, so that the firmness of peace [between us] be known to my enemies, and let me be honored having established kinship ties with the descendants of Chingiz, by becoming a *güregen*, that is, son-in-law." It is told that the presents sent by him included, besides various fabrics, also nine Arab horses, nine ingots of gold and nine ingots of silver,[160] and he gave [the khan] also the province (*vilāyat*) of Quchand. Quchand was given to Aghishi Sultan. [Buchugha] Khan sent [to Shah Tahmasb] the daughter of his elder brother Sufyan Khan, by

[a] 1521/22 A.D.

the name of ʿAisha Begi, with a royal dowry.[161] In 932 A.H.[a] [Buchugha Khan] died.[162] He reigned four years. He had three sons: Dost Sultan, Ish Sultan, and Nurum Sultan.

Avanesh Khan ibn Amenek Khan.[163] When he became the sovereign, he appointed the sons of Buchugha Khan to Kat.[164] In his time Muhammad Salih Bitikchi b. Khoja Muzaffar Bitikchi, who was in Astarabad, rebelled against Shah Tahmasb, seized some of the villages of Astarabad, and sent an envoy to Khorezm with plenty of gifts, asking for help. On the advice of Sultan Ghazi Sultan, Avanesh Khan sent (111) the son of Sultan Ghazi Sultan, ʿUmar Ghazi Sultan, with a big army. ʿUmar Ghazi Sultan seized Astarabad from Sadr ad-Din Khan Ustajlu, turned it over to Muhammad Salih Bitikchi, and returned with rich booty.[165]

The khan had three sons: Din Muhammad Sultan, Mahmud Sultan, and ʿAli Sultan. During a raid against Astarabad, Din Muhammad Sultan came across the tax-collectors (*barātdār*) of Muhammad Ghazi Sultan ibn Ilbars Khan, the ruler of Nesa, Abivard and Durun,[166] who were bringing the *barāt* sheep [collected] from the Khorasanian Turkmens, and forcibly seized a yellow goat from them. On his way back, Muhammad Ghazi Sultan captured him and his men, punished them, and, having entrusted Din Muhammad Sultan to one of his faithful *nökers*, sent him in chains to his father, in order that he should censure his son. On the way, the sultan freed himself, killed this *nöker*, and came to Urgench. [There] he secretly wrote a letter on behalf of his step-mother, who was a younger sister of Muhammad Ghazi Sultan, in which he said: "I am mortally ill; I hope that it will not be only on the day of resurrection that I will see you [again]." On hearing this terrible news, Muhammad Ghazi Sultan was in great distress and went, with a few men, [to see his sister]. The day he came to Urgench, by a coincidence the khan left for a hunt, and there was nobody at his court (*ordu*). Muhammad Ghazi Sultan entered the harem without giving notice and, having found his younger sister safe and sound, understood what was going on. At this moment Din Muhammad arrived with his *nökers*, and put him to death.

On hearing this horrible news, in Vazir, Sultan Ghazi Sultan ruthlessly cut the thread of life of Sultan ʿAli Sultan, who was his own

[a] 1525/26 A.D.

son-in-law. [*Bayt.*] (112) Thereupon Avanesh Khan led an army to Vazir, and they killed Sultan Ghazi Sultan together with sixteen [other] descendants of Ilbars Khan. Thanks to the intercession of Aqatay Khan, two little sons of Sultan Ghazi Sultan named ʿUmar Ghazi and Shir Ghazi were [not killed but] banished to Bukhara. After this, the sons of Balbars Sultan also left Yangi-Shahr and went to Bukhara.

ʿUmar Ghazi, who was a very enterprising young man (*yigit*) and a nephew, on the sister' side, of Baraq Khan, the ruler of Tashkent,[167] asked Baraq Khan for help, and then, having come to ʿUbaydallah Khan,[168] instigated and induced the khan to conquer Khorezm. Consequently, ʿUbaydallah Khan gathered an innumerable army and moved against Avanesh Khan.[169] Since Avanesh Khan was unable to resist the army of Mavarannahr, he preferred to abandon Urgench and flee with most of his relatives. The troops of Bukhara overtook and captured them to the north of Vazir on the height (*qïr*) named Bayat. ʿUbayd Khan turned over Avanesh Khan to ʿUmar Ghazi Sultan, who had him killed. He let Qal Khan and Aqatay Khan live. Having given Khorezm to his son ʿAbd al-ʿAziz, ʿUbaydallah Khan returned and deported all the Uzbeks [to Bukhara].[170] {This happened in 946 A.H.,[a] and according to Hasan Rumlu and *Tārīkh-i ʿālam-ārā-yi ʿAbbāsī*—in 945 A.H.}[171]

Mahmud Sultan, ʿAli Sultan, Yusuf Sultan, Yunus Sultan, and Hajim Khan, who (113) escaped, joined Din Muhammad Khan[172] in Durun. Din Muhammad Khan came, together with them, to Kurdush,[173] recruited a thousand horsemen from the Khïzïr-eli,[174] and, with a total of three thousand men, entered Khiva. Therefore ʿAbd al-ʿAziz Khan[175] fled and went to Bukhara. ʿUbaydallah Khan set out against Din Muhammad Khan with an army of 40 thousand.[176] He himself stopped at Tive-Boyun[177] and sent Pirim Oghlan and Hafiz Qongrat to Urgench, with most of the amirs and the army. When they arrived at Hazarasp, Din Muhammad Khan set out from Khiva and in the evening stopped at Kerdenkhast.[178] The army of Bukhara, which advanced during the night, met them at dawn and joined battle. [Din Muhammad Khan] took prisoner Pirim Oghlan, Latif Mirek, Shaykh Nazar Biy, Taji Bahadur Tovaji-bashi, Qaracha Bahadur Vekil and Hafiz Qongrat with most of the amirs, and defeated and uprooted that huge army. Darvish Biy and Kepek

[a] 1539/40 A.D.

Sultan fled and escaped with great difficulty.[179] [*Mathnavī*.] Haqq Nazar Sïrtlan's younger brother, Kün-Toghar Bahadur, speared and eliminated sixty men that night.[a]

At dawn, Din Muhammad Khan summoned the amirs who were taken prisoner to his presence. AN AMUSING STORY: Din Muhammad looked at Hafiz Qongrat and said: "Look here, people say that you would always tell ʿUbayd Khan that the people of Urgench are not Muslims, (114) but infidels. On what grounds do you attribute unbelief to us?" Thereupon Hafiz Qongrat knelt before the khan, and said: "At this very moment the difference between being Muslims and infidels is clear." Due to this ingenious joke, Din Muhammad Sultan pardoned his faults, and these words of his became a proverb among the Uzbeks. And they (the captured amirs) vouched for it, and sealed it with their oath, that the tribes (*el*) who went to Mavarannahr, with Qal Khan[180] and Aqatay Khan at the head, would all to a man be returned [to Khorezm]. Hajim Sultan brought the amirs and met ʿUbaydallah Khan in Bukhara, and the khan turned over to him his uncle and father, with all the tribes (*el*), with full honor and respect that is beyond description.

Mathnavī:
When Hajim Khan, the cheerful natured king,
Arrived in the land of Bukhara,
ʿUbaydallah Khan, the king of Bukhara,
Gave a reception (*majlis*) in his honor.
He scattered so much gold before him
That from it the people present at the reception turned golden.
And then he sent everybody who was brought to him
[Back] to his country,
And he honored them all with gifts,
[And let them go] with their children, their cattle, and their belongings.

(115) They all returned to their abodes in great number and immensely happy and raised Qal Khan as king.

Qal Khan ibn Amenek Khan. In his time the country of Khorezm was prosperous, the wealth of the people (*el*) was abundant, and all goods were extremely cheap. During his reign he raided Khorasan and captured Derregez, and he built a fortress in Etek,[181]

[a] On this see below, p. 92.

before the entrance to the pass of Derregez, which he called by his own name. At the present time some people call it Qal-Khan-qal'a, and some—Qakhlan.[182] He had two sons named Shaykh Muhammad and Shah Nazar. [*Qiṭ'a.*] The duration of his reign was nine years.[183]

Aqatay Khan ibn Amenek Khan,[184] his head having been exalted with the crown of the caliphate in the capital Vazir, granted Kat to the two sons of Qal Khan and administered justice and equity. In his time the sons of Sufyan Khan, Yunus Sultan and Pahlavan-Quli Sultan, who were the rulers of Urgench, committed reprehensible actions, and therefore [the khan] banished them to Bukhara and also sent the sons of Qal Khan after them. (116) [*Mathnavī.*] And when Yunus Khan took possession of Urgench, Aqatay Khan fought him and was captured and secretly murdered by the order of Qasim Sultan. His body was brought to Vazir and buried there. The duration of his reign was eight years and seven months, and he lived for 73 years.[185] He had six sons: Hajim Sultan, Mahmud Sultan, Fulad Sultan, Timur Sultan, Allah-Quli Sultan, and Sulayman Sultan. [*Nazm.*]

Yunus Khan ibn Sufyan Khan[186] was very brave and audacious. He was son-in-law of Isma'il Biy, the ruler of the Manghïts.[187] He said that he was going to the Manghïts, left Bukhara with forty warriors and, having passed Kat from the north, came to Tok.[188] When the sun was setting, [he swam across]

Mathnavī:
The Amu river, before which this green sea
Is [like] a despicable drop,—
He swam across this river,
Got out on the [other] bank, mounted his horse,
Went to Urgench,
And reached that city at dawn.

(117) He climbed the city wall from a tree and entered [the city]. He seized Mahmud Sultan ibn Avanesh Khan, who was the governor of Urgench on behalf of his younger brother 'Ali Sultan, sent him to Vazir, to his father Aqatay Khan, and himself mounted the throne of sovereignty. [*Bayt.*]

After the arrival of Mahmud Sultan, Aqatay Khan, instigated by the amirs, led his army against Urgench. Yunus Khan went out against him, and a battle took place to the west of [the tomb of] Shaykh Najm ad-Din Kubra (may the mercy of God be upon him!).

The army of Urgench was victorious, and the army of Vazir was defeated. The weather was very hot, and the horse of Aqatay Khan became ever weaker. Yunus Khan's son, Qasim Sultan, overtook the khan, grasped the rein of his horse, brought [him to Urgench] and put him in the house of Salman Arbab, an elder of Urgench.[189] After fifteen days he secretly murdered him, rolling him into a piece of felt, as mentioned above.

At that time Hajim Sultan and Timur Sultan were ruling Khorasan (118) and Baghabad.[190] Having heard about [the death of] their father, they set out against Yunus Khan with a large army. The princes who were in Vazir––Mahmud Sultan, Fulad Sultan, and Allah-Quli Sultan—also set out; and, from Khiva, Dost Sultan and Ish Sultan too went with the troops of Khiva, Kat and Hazarasp to render help. Hearing this news, Yunus Khan gathered his troops, and the fighting began. Ultimately, Yunus Khan was overcome by fear and terror, and he fled to Bukhara with his younger brother Pahlavan-Quli Sultan, but could not remain there, and {on 11 Rajab}[a] he came to Shah Tahmasb in Qazvin. This happened in Rabiʿ II 964 A.H.;[b] a chronogram [on this event] was compiled, [reading:] "The coming of the Khorezmians" (*āmadan-i Khorazmiyya*).[191] The duration of his reign was five months. Qasim Sultan was captured on the journey, brought [to Khorezm] and killed. The following was said about this:

Rubāʿī:
Whether you stay in one place or wander around the world,
Do not oppress people (*el*), either secretly or openly.
Qasim, who had shed the blood of Aqatay,
Was seized by Hajim, and his own blood was shed in the end.

Dost Khan ibn Buchugha Khan[192] became khan with the consent of all princes. He was the first who mounted the throne in the royal capital Khiva. (119) He was a king of ascetic temperament and a mystic by disposition. His younger brother Ish Sultan was a courageous and wild man. He was not content with the [royal] felicity of his elder brother, and set out laying claim to Urgench. In the vicinity of Qum-qalʿa he joined battle with Hajim Sultan, and, since neither

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[a] The words "on 11 Rajab" are added in the margin in the autograph of Munis. 11 Rajab 964 = 9 May 1557; cf. below.

[b] February 1557. This date clearly contradicts the one added in the margin in C.

of them could overcome the other, in the end he returned, after making peace. In this battle, he would not kill any Uzbeks except for the Uyghurs and the Naymans. Some time later, having gathered the troops of Khiva, Hazarasp and Kat, he once again set out against Urgench. Hajim Sultan, with his younger brothers, went to repulse him, and the battle took place between Tok-qalʿa and Urgench. Ish Sultan battled for a week, with the carts (*araba*) arranged in a circle (*küren*).[193] Finally, one night, he secretly penetrated Urgench by a ruse, plundered the property of the Uyghurs and the Naymans and banished their families from the city. Hajim Sultan went to Vazir and sent messengers to ʿAli Sultan in Nesa and Abu'l-Muhammad Khan, the son of Din Muhammad Sultan, in Merv, asking for help. They came with their *nökers*, joined Hajim Sultan and besieged Urgench. After four months [of siege], early one morning they stormed the city. At this moment Tin ʿAli the Durmen, one of Ish Sultan's own *nökers*, shot him with an arrow and killed him. And they also sent men to Khiva and had them kill Dost Khan too. [Thus] the line of Buchugha Khan became extinct. [*Nazm.*]

(120) **Hajim Khan ibn Aqatay Khan**[194] was a very wise, experienced, just and pious king. By his courage and valor he was eminent among his relatives, and due to his nobility and generosity he was exalted among his own kin. When he reached the age of 37, in 967 A.H.,[a] he mounted the throne of the khanate in Urgench.[195]

Nine years after his accession, ʿAli Sultan died.[196] He was a good-natured and sweet-spoken prince, generous and determined, courageous and munificent, just and stern. [*Bayt.*] He did not voluntarily expose any of his limbs, and did his ablutions in privacy. The provinces (*vilāyāt*) of Urgench, Hazarasp, Kat, Nesa, and Abivard belonged to him. Every year, in the [month of] Ḥūt,[b] he would raid Khorasan, from Turshiz, Turbat, Jam and Khargird up to Pil-Küprüki. He captured Jurjan and Jajarm, and made Kabud-Jame his capital.[197] The number of his troops reached 40 thousand,[c] and he gave them all allowance (*ʿalūfa*). The salary of his foot-soldiers (*ayaq nökeri*) was 16 sheep.

Since ʿAli Sultan would often raid the Qïzïlbashes, in 965 A.H.[d]

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[a] 1559/60 A.D.
[b] February.
[c] Cf. on such a figure note 144.
[d] 1557/58 A.D.

Shah Tahmasb sent Badr Khan Ustajlu, Shah-Quli Khalifa Muhrdar, Yadigar Bek Turkman, Hasan Bek Fath-oghlï, (121) Rustam Khan, Ahmad Bek Qubad-oghlï,[198] and Qasim Bek Durghut-oghlï against him with 12 thousand troops.[199] It chanced that [at that time] the sultan came to the Khorasanian Turkmens, and each of his *nökers* went to some place to collect [the tribute] by *barāt*. The sultan joined battle on the bank of the Gürgen with 500 men, of whom 200 were Göklens under Abay Bek Göklen,[200] and defeated [the Qïzïlbashes]. The governor of Astarabad, Ibrahim Khan Zu'l-Qadar, Rustam Khan, and Qasim Bek with more than a thousand Qïzïlbashes were killed; Badr Khan and Yadigar Muhammad Bek Turkman with great many men were taken prisoners, and Hasan Bek Fath-oghlï and Ahmad Bek Qubad-oghlï, with a few men, escaped and fled. And Shah-Quli Khalifa died on the way from colic. [*Mathnavī*.][201]

The master of the horse (*mīr-ākhūr*) of the sultan is reported to have said: "In that battle I took every ninth horse from those which were assigned as booty to the sultan, and I got 700 horses." From this one can have an idea about the [amount of the] other booty.

Sixteen years later the sultan came from Urgench to Khorasan and was on the winter pastures in the steppe of Quchand, intending to raid Iraq in spring. (122) While he was on this winter pasture, an ulcer appeared between his shoulder-blades, and he handed over the life that had been entrusted to him to the angel of death. This misfortune happened in 976 A.H.,[a] when he was forty years old, {but in the history of Hasan Rumlu the year [9]73 is given; [then] the chronogram will be "One less killer of the Qïzïlbashes." In that case he died six years after the accession of Hajim Khan.}[b] On his death a poet compiled a chronogram. [*Tārīkh* in Persian, which gives the date in the words: "Alas, [one] less killer of the Qïzïlbashes."][202] His son Sanjar Sultan reigned in Nesa for twenty-five years with the assistance of the Nayman Qul-Muhammad Biy and [then] died.[203] He left no posterity.

Some time after the death of ʿAli Sultan, Hajim Khan set out to Khorasan with an intention of raiding. ʿAbdallah Khan considered Khorezm empty, went with an innumerable army through Hazarasp and came to Qulanchi. At present his majesty, the king whose throne

[a] 1568/69 A.D.
[b] This text is added in the margin in C.

is sublime and the sultan whose court is high as heaven,[a]—the preface to this compendium (*mukhtaṣar*) is, happily, dedicated to his blessed name and the text itself is replete with [mention of] his laudable qualities—has erected (123) *a high building (*ʿimārat*), [*Mathnavī*] and built a spacious garden (*bāgh*) in that place*. (124) [*Mathnavī.*] (125) Qulanchi is located between Khiva and Hazarasp. Not yet having engaged in battle, ʿAbdallah Khan learned that Hajim Khan had come to Urgench. He sent an envoy to Fulad Sultan and Timur Sultan, who, having gathered the Uzbeks living in the region between Hazarasp and Quba-tagh,[204] were busy preparing the implements of war. They made peace and [ʿAbdallah Khan] returned to Bukhara.[205]

Some time later Nur Muhammad Khan ibn Abu'l-Muhammad Khan ibn Din Muhammad Khan, who was the ruler of Merv, Abivard, Nesa and Baghabad, rejected the authority of Hajim Khan and surrendered the above-mentioned provinces to ʿAbdallah Khan. ʿAbdallah Khan appointed his own governor and removed Nur Muhammad from his position.[206] Therefore Nur Muhammad fled, came to the court of Hajim Khan, and, at his instigation, Hajim Khan began laying claim to the above-mentioned provinces. (126) On hearing this news, ʿAbdallah Khan once again came to Khorezm, captured the princes by a ruse, conquered the entire country of Khorezm, appointed his own governor and returned to Bukhara, deporting all Uzbeks there. In the region of Saghanj, on the bank of the river Aq-su,[207] he martyred twenty-two princes. This calamity happened in 1002 A.H.[b208] When Hajim Khan heard this terrible news, he went to Shah ʿAbbas in Iraq with those princes and *nökers* who had escaped [from ʿAbdallah Khan]. The shah seated him upon his own throne with honor and respect, and made various feasts [in his honor]. He granted him an allowance of thousand golden *tumans* daily.[209] The son of ʿAbdallah Khan, ʿAbd al-Mu'min Khan, who captured most of provinces of Khorasan, besieged Isfarayin in 1005 A.H.[c] Shah ʿAbbas therefore set out to repulse him and came to Bistam. Prompted by the princes, Hajim Khan left the shah, gathered troops from the Turkmens, came to Urgench, killed the governors appointed by ʿAbdallah Khan, and took possession of his country. At this time ʿAbdallah Khan set out against Iran to help

[a] I.e. Eltüzer Khan.
[b] 1593/94 A.D.
[c] 1596/97 A.D.

his son and sent forward, with an advanced detachment (*irävül*),[210] an amir by the name of Khojam-Quli Qoshbegi, together with the troops under his command. When he reached Charjuy,[211] a man who had fled from Hazarasp came there. Khojam-Quli Biy, having sent this man to the khan, promptly went himself to Hazarasp and soon arrived there and besieged Baba Sultan ibn Fulad Sultan ibn Aqatay Khan. From there he went further, captured Khanqah[212] and, having taken Hamza Sultan ibn Fulad Sultan by surprise, killed him. (127) Hajim Khan heard this news, abandoned Urgench and came to Shah ʿAbbas in Qazvin. After this ʿAbdallah Khan also came [to Khorezm], besieged Hazarasp for four months, captured it and killed Baba Sultan.[213]

One year later, in 1006 A.H., [corresponding to] the Year of the Hen,[a] ʿAbdallah Khan died. After this, when ʿAbd al-Mu'min Khan was passing the fortress (*qalʿa*) of Zamin at night, he was killed by the amirs of his father. As soon as this news reached Hajim Khan, he obtained the shah's permission to leave and came to Khorezm. He mounted his throne, and after some time, in 1011 A.H., at the end of the Year of the Leopard,[b] he delivered his soul to God at the age of 83. The duration of his reign was 42 years.[214] [*Mathnavī.*]

ʿArab Muhammad Khan[215] became king after his father in the royal capital Khiva. He was very firm in his faith, pious and inoffensive man, and he was something of a saint.[216] Six months after his accession, an army came from Russia (*Urus*), entered Urgench on the day when the sun passed to the sign of Cancer,[c] put to death one thousand subjects (*raʿāyā*), (128) sacked [the city] for seven days, and left, having burned down whatever they could not take with them. ʿArab Muhammad Khan set out from Khiva, arrived at the place where the Russians were passing from Urgench and fought them for two days. On the third day [the Russians] broke through. The Islamic troops intercepted them once again and, after a seven days' siege, slaughtered them. One hundred men [of them] escaped, built a wooden fortress on the bank of the river and ensconced themselves there. [The Khivans] sent them to hell.[217]

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[a] 1006 A.H. corresponds to 14 August 1597–3 August 1598 A.D. The Year of the Hen began in February 1597.

[b] 1011 A.H. corresponds to 20 June 1602–9 June 1603. The Year of the Leopard ended in February 1603.

[c] June 1603.

Six months later a Qalmaq army came, raided the people (*el*) inhabiting the region on the bank of the river, from Khoja-köl[218] till Tok-qalʿa, and left through Burlï.[219] ʿArab Khan went in pursuit and rescued the prisoners and property which they had captured.[220] Be it known that from the time of Özbek Khan till the time of ʿArab Muhammad Khan, Khorezm was safe from the raids of the Qalmaqs.[221]

In ʿArab Khan's time a Nayman amir by the name of Sufi Mirza brought to Khiva a certain Khusraw Shah, a descendant of Ilbars Khan. ʿArab Khan killed the amir together with Khusraw Shah.[222] After this, when an Uyghur named Bayash Mirza brought Salih Sultan, a descendant of Hasan-Quli Khan, to Urgench and raised him as a khan, ʿArab Khan came from Khiva and put [Salih] Sultan to death.[223]

ʿArab Muhammad Khan had seven sons: Isfandiyar Khan, Habash Sultan, Ilbars Sultan, Abu'l-Ghazi Khan, Sharif Muhammad Sultan, Khorezmshah Sultan, and Avghan Sultan. Habash Sultan and Ilbars Sultan were the sons of the same mother and grew up in Khiva. They were extremely fearless and cruel. Because of the calumny of ruffians (*awbāsh*) and the wickedness of villains, they became disobedient and rebelled against their father. Therefore, the khan twice led an army against them and fought them. During the last campaign he fell into their hands. Habash Sultan (129) blinded his own father. This happened in 1030 A.H.[a] [*Qiṭʿa.*] It was ʿArab Muhammad Khan who built the ʿArab Khan madrasa in Khiva.[224]

Isfandiyar Sultan, Sharif Muhammad Sultan and Khorezmshah Sultan ensconced themselves in Hazarasp. Forty days later Isfandiyar Sultan left for Iraq, and Abu'l-Ghazi Sultan went to Bukhara; Sharif Muhammad Sultan [also] left for Bukhara and joined him.

Habash Sultan and Ilbars Sultan, having blinded their father, reigned together. After a year they had four persons killed in Khiva: their father, Khorezmshah Sultan and two infant sons of Isfandiyar Sultan—one three years old, the other one and a half years old. And they sent Avghan Sultan to Russia.[225] For the sake of transitory sovereignty they doomed themselves to damnation in both worlds. Be it clear and evident to the minds of men of insight who understand the world that Shiruye, of the dynasty of the Khosroes, put

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[a] 25 November 1620–14 November 1621 A.D. Abu'l-Ghazi (I, 287, II, 308) mentions the Year of the Hen as the corresponding cyclic year, which began in February 1621.

his father Khusraw Parviz to death at the instigation of the amirs, and six months later himself died of the plague. As Shaykh Nizami (may the mercy of God be upon him!) said about this kind of case:

(130) *Bayt*:
A patricide does not attain sovereignty,
But if he does attain it, it does not last more than six months.[226]

And caliph Mustansir of the ʿAbbasid dynasty also killed his father Mutavakkil ibn Muʿtasim ibn Harun, and he did not live more than six months. And ʿAbd al-Latif Mirza, a sultan of the [dynasty of] Gurganiya[a] also put his father Ulugh Bek Mirza ibn Shahrukh Mirza to a martyr's death, and within six months Baba Husayn killed him. Like them too, Habash Khan and Ilbars Sultan were killed by Isfandiyar Khan six months after the murder of their father. The duration of their reign was one year and six months. [*Qiṭʿa.*]

Isfandiyar Khan[227] was a wise monarch and a just king. Forty days after his father ʿArab Muhammad Khan was captured by his own sons, he left Hazarasp, and, as the circumstances required, went to Iran, to Shah ʿAbbas. With his help, he set off for Urgench, [on his way] having taken *nökers* from the Turkmens of Durun and the Balkhan Mountains.[228] At that time Urgench was abandoned [by the population] for lack of water, and [its people] built a fortress (*qalʿa*) on the bank of the [Amu] river, opposite Tok. When Isfandiyar Khan was entering the fortress, Habash Sultan was informed of it and fled to Khiva. Together with Ilbars Sultan, he took the troops of Khiva and set out for Urgench. Isfandiyar Khan was defeated and went to Manghïshlaq. He once again gathered troops, (131) came to Urgench, joined battle with the sultans, and gained victory. He captured Ilbars Sultan and killed him. Habash fled and went to the Manghïts, to Shanek Mirza, whom he had himself brought up. But this man who had once eaten his bread seized him and sent him to Isfandiyar Khan. The khan sent him the way of Ilbars Sultan as well.

Isfandiyar Khan ordered a general massacre of the Uyghurs [and] Naymans, who had helped to kill ʿArab Muhammad Khan. He became friendly with the Turkmens and brought them to his *yurt*. Consequently, other Uzbeks became hostile, rebelled and went to

[a] I.e. the Timurids.

Mavarannahr, to the Manghïts and to the Qazaqs. Isfandiyar fought many battles with Abu'l-Ghazi Khan who took the side of the Uzbeks, and finally he overcame Abu'l-Ghazi and sent him to Iraq. He became king in 1032 A.H.[a] and, after ruling for seventeen years, he died.[229] He left two sons, named Yushan Sultan and Ashraf Sultan. Nadr Muhammad Khan[230] brought them to Bukhara and gave them land in [the region of] Qarshi. In a chronogram about the date of his death the following is said: [*tārīkh*, the two concluding lines of which are]:

> Amongst the saints who were famous throughout the world there were seven kings;
> An eighth was this king, hence the chronogram is "the eighth king".[b]

(132) It follows from this chronogram that the duration of his reign was nineteen years. He was buried in an orchard near [the tombs of] the sultan of the pious and the pivot of the saints Hasan-Quli ʿAzizan,[231] and Qazi Muhammad ʿAzizan, and Jan Muhammad ʿAzizan. Be it known that his holiness Jan Muhammad ʿAzizan Khorezmi was a *murīd* of Qazi Muhammad ʿAzizan Khorezmi, who was a *murīd* of Hasan-Quli ʿAzizan Khorezmi, who was a *murīd* of Mustafa-Quli ʿAzizan Turkmen Khorezmi, who was a *murīd* of Amir ʿAli ʿAzizan Samarqandi Muzakhini, who was a *murīd* of Hafiz Basir Muhammad al-Vaʿiz al-Khuzari, who was a *murīd* of his holiness Mawlana ʿAli Bavardi, who was a *murīd* of Mawlana ʿAlaʾ ad-Din Maktabdar Abizi, who was a *murīd* of Saʿd ad-Din Kashghari, who was a *murīd* of Mawlana Nizam ad-Din Khamush Farkati, who was a *murīd* of Khoja ʿAlaʾ ad-Din ʿAttar, who was a *murīd* of his holiness Khoja Bahaʾ al-Haqq vaʾd-Din.[c] His majesty the khan entered the circle of disciples of the aforementioned late Jan Muhammad ʿAzizan. Having devoted himself for years to traveling the mystical path (*sulūk*), he performed innumerable mystical exploits, miracles and extraordinary deeds. Although he reached the highest levels and the loftiest ranks [as a king], his travel on the mystical path (*sulūk*) reached perfection. When his holiness Shaykh ʿAzizan (the mercy of

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[a] 4 November 1622–23 October 1623 A.D.
[b] *Shāh-i hashtum*, which gives the date 1051 A.H. (11 April 1641–30 March 1642).
[c] I.e. Baha' ad-Din Naqshband.

God be upon him!) was dying, he entrusted guidance and instruction (*tarbiyat va rukhṣat*) of the khan to the model of gnostics and the cream of those who have attained the divine unity, Shaykh of Shaykhs Qazi ʿAzizan (the mercy of God be upon him!), who was his *khalīfa*.[232] As [Isfandiyar Khan] had also reached undescribably high stages of mystical perfection from his association with Qazi ʿAzizan, he obtained an authority to be a spiritual guide (*irshād*). Despite (133) his occupation with the affairs of government, he perfected his devotion and asceticism, and, being dedicated to the spiritual guidance of the people, he graciously helped many Sufis (*sālik*) to attain the stages [of mystical perfection] which they sought.

Mathnavī:
How wonderful! [He was] fortunate in felicity and sublime in his qualities!
In him asceticism and kingship were combined.
Sometimes he reaped the fruits of his just deeds,
[Sometimes] achieved fulfillment from asceticism.
Sometimes he repelled injustice with his sword,
Sometimes he gave guidance to the people with his devotion.
He attained kingship in both worlds,
From the secret of the extinction of self he attained awareness (*fanā'*).[233]

At present his blessed tomb is a place of pilgrimage for people of every class and a place of visitation by the notables and the common people.[234]

Abu'l-Ghazi Khan[235] was a learned sultan and a mighty khaqan. He was born in 1014 A.H., the Year of the Hare,[a] when the sun was in the constellation of Leo, on Monday 15 Rabiʿ II.[b236] When he reached the age of sixteen, he was entrusted with the governorship (*ḥukūmat*) of Urgench, together with Habash Sultan. A year later he started to rule Kat. After six months, he set out with his father to fight Habash and Ilbars. When his father suffered defeat and was captured, he escaped the enemy and fled accompanied by one young warrior (*yigit*). On the way, his horse perished, and he remained without a mount. The warrior who was with him gave him his own

[a] Cf. note 236.
[b] 29 August 1605.

horse and himself stayed behind. This warrior was Umbay himself.[237] Khan did not know him, and since there was no time for questioning, he continued his way. His (Umbay's) story will be told in its proper place, God willing.[a] From there the khan came to Kat, but, not being able to stay there, he went to Mavarannahr and came to Imam-Quli Khan in Samarqand.[238] Six months later, Sharif Muhammad Sultan followed him. After two years, in 1033 A.H.,[b] he came to his elder brother Isfandiyar Khan (134) and was assigned the province (*vilāyat*) of Urgench. Since his elder brother favored the Turkmens, in the following year he fought him on the bank of the Khivanik,[239] at a place named Tash-Küprük, and then returned. They battled once again at Khoja-köl, on the bank of the Amu, and twenty Uzbeks and seventy Turkmens were killed. After this, the Uzbeks were suppressed, as was mentioned above, and Abu'l-Ghazi Khan went to Ishim Khan among the Qazaqs.[240] After this he was with Tursun Khan in Turkestan. After Ishim Khan killed Tursun Khan, [Abu'l-Ghazi] came to Imam-Quli Khan. After this he came to Khiva, amongst the Turkmens, and twice fought Isfandiyar Khan. Finally, they made peace, and Abu'l-Ghazi stayed with his elder brother.

At this time the dispersed Uzbeks gathered from everywhere in the region (*mawżiᶜ*) of Aral,[241] on the sea-coast, and lived there. Isfandiyar Khan became suspicious of his younger brother, seized him and sent to Iraq. In that year Shah ʿAbbas died, and his grandson, Shah Safi, who became king, was in Hamadan. Shah Safi sent Abu'l-Ghazi to Isfahan.[242] Eleven years later Abu'l-Ghazi fled from Isfahan and, by the way of Bistam, came to the Turkmens who lived in Mehin,[243] and stayed there for one winter. From there he went to the Balkhans and remained for two years with the Teke. From there he went to Manghïshlaq. At that time Manghïshlaq was under the Qalmaqs. The khan of the Qalmaqs brought Abu'l-Ghazi [to his camp] and treated him with honor and respect. One year later the Uzbeks of Aral presented the khan of the Qalmaqs with forty pieces of colored fabrics (*boyaq*) and took Abu'l-Ghazi Khan with them.[244] This happened in 1052 A.H.[c] Six months later Isfandiyar Khan died.[245]

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[a] See below, pp. 92–93.
[b] 1623/24 A.D.
[c] 1642/43 A.D.; cf. note 245.

(135) Abu'l-Ghazi Khan ascended the throne of sovereignty in 1054 A.H.,[a] at the beginning of the Year of the Sheep,[246] in the province (*vilāyat*) of Aral, at the age of forty. The Turkmens of Khiva did not accept his authority and read the *khuṭba* with the name of Nadr Muhammad Khan. Abu'l-Ghazi Khan twice raided Khiva. Nadr Muhammad Khan sent help to the Turkmens. Abu'l-Ghazi fought much with them also. Thereupon Nadr Muhammad Khan sent his grandson Qasim Sultan with a numerous army. When he came [to Khorezm], the khan also set out, came to Gandumkan[247] and sent out a raiding party. Only 200 men remained with him. At this time the troops of Khiva arrived, joined battle [with Abu'l-Ghazi] on the southern side of the Khivanik canal, and, being defeated by [these] two hundred men, turned back. [*Bayt.*] The khan also turned back and, having found the party which had gone on a raid, on the bank of the [Amu] river, went to Aral. After ʿAbd al-ʿAziz Khan ascended the throne of Bukhara,[248] Abu'l-Ghazi Khan again set out with an army, entered Khiva and defeated and crushed the Turkmens.[249]

He appointed 360 Uzbeks to official posts. To thirty two of them he gave seats near himself, as follows: two shaykhs al-islam, two qazis, one *raʾīs* from the descendants of Sayyid Ata, one *mutavallī*, one *naqīb*, four *ataliqs*, four *inaq*s, four *mīrāb*s, four *biy*s, one *parvānachī*, two *aqa*s, two *arbāb*s, four Chaghatay *inaq*s, as well as one vizier, who is now called *mehter*, and one *qoshbegi*. These [last] two had no place [to sit] and had to stand in the khan's presence.[250] The khan divided the Uzbeks into four groups (*gurūh*), which he called four *tüpe*, as follows: Uyghur [and] Nayman were one *tüpe*; the tribes of Durmen, (136) Yüz, and Ming were attached to the Uyghurs, and the descendants of the Prophet, together with the Shaykhs and the Burlaqs, were attached to the Naymans. Qongrat [and] Qïyat were one *tüpe*; the Jalayir and the ʿAli-eli were attached to the Qïyats. Nokuz [and] Manghït were one *tüpe*; the Keneges [were attached] to the Nokuz, and the Khoja-eli, about whom, God willing, I will tell [below],[251] were attached to the Manghïts. Qanglï [and] Qïpchaq were one *tüpe*; the On-Tört-Urugh were attached to them, so that [they all] were called On-Tört-Urugh. The khan distributed among all the Uzbeks [the lands on] the both sides of the Amu river, from Darghan[252] to the [Aral] Sea, as well as the lands along all canals (*nahrlar*) branching

[a] 9 March 1644–25 February 1645; see note 246.

from the Amu.[253] He resettled the people of Urgench, and, having built a town (*qalʿa*) to the west from Khanqah, gave them much land [there].[254] Now Urgench is that place; it is flourishing and prosperous, and it is the main center of commerce (*sawdā-khāna*) of Khorezm.[255] This happened in 1056 A.H., the Year of the Hen.[a]

After this, having put his country into good order, he planned to exterminate the Turkmens, who were his old enemies. At this time, three *sardār*s,[256] named Ghulam Bahadur, Din Muhammad Onbegi, and Urus Onbegi, with three or four thousands of Turkmens, pitched their tents and lived in the sands to the south of Hazarasp. The khan came to Hazarasp, and guilefully inviting them to a feast, made two thousand Turkmen drink the *sharbat* of death with the sheen of the sword.[b] Then he set out, plundered their encampments (*ḥasham*), took their families prisoner, and returned. After this, he turned against some Turkmens, who, having fled from Khiva, lived on the Tejen. Some of them he put to the sword, some he reduced to misery, and [then he] returned. (137) In 1059 A.H.[c] he led his troops against the Turkmens who had fled and gathered in the region of Khorasan called Bami Beurma,[257] and joined battle with them.[258] In accordance with [the words] "*And Our troops—they are the victors*,"[d] truth was victorious over the falsehood, and Umbay Inaq, with the warriors (*yigit*s) under his command, accomplished feats like Rustam[259] and killed Qahir Khoja, who was the *sardār* of the Turkmens.[260] So the Turkmen assemblage was defeated and put to the sword of the Uzbek warriors. The khan returned to Khiva with plentiful booty and innumerable prisoners.

The next year, which was the Year of the Cow,[e] a certain Dorji Tayshi from the Qoshut tribe of the Qalmaqs raided the province (*mamlakat*) of Kat and went back. In fifteen days the khan overtook them at a place named Bükrük-Bash and joined battle; he defeated and subdued the Qalmaqs and returned. After this, in the Year of the Hare,[f] the khan made a campaign with fifteen thousand troops

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[a] 1056 A.H. corresponds to 16 February 1646–4 February 1647 A.D.; the Year of the Hen was from February 1645 to February 1646. This should place the date given by Munis in Muharram 1056/February 1646.

[b] The text has a play on words: Pers. *āb* "water," means also "sheen"; Pers. *āb-i tīgh* is replaced here with Turkic calque *tīgh sūyī*, lit. "water of the sword."

[c] 1649 A.D.

[d] Qurʾān, XXXVII,173.

[e] 1059/1649.

[f] 1061/1651.

to repulse a tribe of Turkmens called Bayrach[261] on the banks of the Atrek and the Gürgen, which had become hostile. In this campaign, [the army] lost its way, and most of the people (*ulus*) dispersed, having been overcome with hunger and thirst. The khan, with four hundred men, found the tribe of Bayrach, massacred them, and returned to Khiva with large booty and unspeakable number of prisoners. In short, by many raids he subjugated all the Turkmen tribes.[262]

In the Year of the Dragon[263] three princes (*töre*) from the Torghaut tribe of the Qalmaqs, by the names of Mergen Tayshi, Oqcha-töbä, and Toghul, with numerous Qalmaqs, raided [the region] from Hazarasp to Darghan. The khan pursued them and, after fifteen days, overtook them in the place Sengin-ribat, encircled them and joined battle.[264] The Qalmaqs could not withstand him and came (138) to kiss the khan's feet and submitted to him. After this the khan led his troops against Bukhara six times. He captured Qara-Köl[265] twice, Kermine once, and Bukhara once, and returned with enormous riches and booty. Twice he confronted ʿAbd al-ʿAziz Khan face to face, and the last time he defeated him in battle. In this engagement Anusha Khan fought like Rustam and acquired great fame.[266]

At the end of his life, the khan appointed his son Anusha Khan king and [himself] chose to abdicate. In 1074 A.H.,[a] in accordance with the words "*Return unto thy Lord, well-pleased, well-pleasing*,"[b] he directed his steps away from the halting-place which is the transient world and, according to the the words "*Every soul shall taste of death*,"[c] drank to the dregs the unpalatable drink called death. The duration of his reign was 27 years.[267] He had a great understanding of poetry and knowledge of history, so that he wrote a history of his own dynasty, which he entitled *Shajara-i Türk* ("The Genealogical Tree of the Turks"). [*Qiṭʿa.*]

Anusha Khan was an auspicious khan, mighty as Jamshid.[268] In his time the Turkmen tribes could not rise in rebellion because they feared his punishment. He placed the reins of government in the mighty grasp of the great amir (*amīr-i kabīr*) Umbay Inaq. And the amir without peer, having the power of a strong mind, put the affairs of the state into good order and performed wise deeds. (139) When he died, his post was conferred on his son, amir Sayyid Muhammad

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[a] 4 August 1663–23 July 1664 A.D.
[b] Qurʾān, LXXXIX,28.
[c] Qurʾān, III,185.

Inaq.[269] The khan raided Mashhad twice and returned with much booty. When he went the third time, he captured Mashhad, performed the pilgrimage to the blessed tomb of his holiness Imam ʿAli ar-Riza,[270] and mounted the throne of Mashhad. For this reason he was called by the title *shāh*.[271] Before he finished dealing with that province, news came from Bukhara that, at the order of ʿAbd al-ʿAziz Khan, the descendants of Ilbars Khan had set out from Mavarannahr against Khorezm with a small army. The khan became enraged at this news, left Mashhad, crossed the Amu river above Charjuy, sent Sayyid Inaq with a small number of troops to Khiva, and himself moved against Bukhara. He pitched his august tent in the Dilkusha garden, which had been laid out by ʿAbd al-ʿAziz Khan. At that time ʿAbd al-ʿAziz Khan was away from Bukhara, having gone to Kermine to subdue the tribes of Qïpchaq and Khitay. The next day the brave Khorezmian warriors made a breach in the wall and entered the city. They sacked it from the morning till the afternoon. A contemporary poet, Mulla Sayyida-yi Bukhari,[272] lamented this event in a poem. (140) [*Mathnavī*, in Persian.] By the evening, the khan, mighty as heaven, sent an envoy to the city (*qalʿa*), promising kindness but demanding payment for protection (*māl-i amān*). As the aforementioned poet said: [*Naẓm* in Persian.] With amir Iskandar Saray Atalïq at the head, the eminent people of Bukhara went out of the city with numerous gifts and countless presents and kissed the ground in submission before the khan. The khan also showed to them kindness and goodwill and mounted the throne of Bukhara. And the *khaṭībs*[273] proclaimed from the pulpits (*minbar*) the august titles [acknowledging his sovereignty]. The following verse was [aptly] said on this subject:

> *Bayt*:
> The *khaṭībs* opened their lips [and made the *khuṭba*] in his name.
> That day was one of amazing turmoil.

After this Anusha Khan sent troops to pursue ʿAbd al-ʿAziz Khan and, having appointed his governor (*ḥākim*) in Bukhara, returned [to Khorezm]. The troops sent against ʿAbd al-ʿAziz Khan joined battle and were defeated. Therefore the governor in Bukhara became apprehensive, abandoned the city (*qalʿa*) and fled.[274]

(141) During the reign of Anusha Khan the river (*su*) of Kat dried up, and its people dispersed. The khan built for them a magnificent fortress (*qalʿa*) to the north of Yeti-Gumbez;[275] he had a canal (*arïgh*)

cut, and extended it to Aq-köl, and named it Yarmïsh ("Cut").[276] In 1092 A.H.[a] Anusha Khan had a great canal (*arïgh*) cut from the north of Khanqah to the south of New Urgench and New Kat, extended it beyond Ambar and Manaq,[277] and had it filled with water. And to the east of Ambar he had a great fortress (*qalʿa-i ʿālī*) built, and named it Shahabad.[278] Both the name and the chronogram for this canal was "Pur-Fayż" (Abundant), but now it is known as the Shahabad canal. Due to its abundance, many lands became cultivated, and five or ten towns (*qalʿa*) drink its water.[279]

At that time the people of Vazir divided into two groups and moved off. One group of them built a fortress (*qalʿa*) to the north of Gurlen[280] and settled there,[281] the second group built a fortress between Ambar and Shahabad and settled there. Now they are known as Chaghatay.[282] The reason of this is that the origin of this group (*jamāʿa*) is from the Chaghatay people (*el*). When amir Timur conquered Khorezm, he left them there.

In the time of Anusha Khan, due to the efforts of the amir Sayyid Muhammad Inaq, Jiyen Biy, an ancestor of this humble [author], was appointed to the post of [*mīrāb*, which had been held by] his father, Adina Muhammad Mirab ibn Dawlat Biy.

When the khan was old, (142) he left as his deputy in the kingdom the amir Sayyid Muhammad Inaq together with khan's son Khudaydad Khan, and accompanied by a thousand select mounted soldiers (*yïgït*) went to the two holy cities (Ḥaramayn, i.e., Mecca and Madina). Having performed the rites of pilgrimage (*ḥajj*) according to the requirements, principles and rules, he returned.[283] After the return of the khan and his reinstatement on the throne,[284] amir Sayyid Muhammad Inaq died, and his younger brother, Beki Jan Inaq, occupied his post. Some time later the khan bade farewell to this world. [*Qiṭʿa.*][285]

Khudaydad Khan, having ascended the throne of governance in conformity with his father's last will, occupied himself with administering the state. In his time Beki Jan Inaq died, and Khuday-Quli Inaq was appointed to this post. Khudaydad Khan was very stern and just king. But his reign, just as his life, and his life, just as his reign, were transient. His younger brother Arang Khan[286] killed him. His life lasted seventeen years, and his reign—two years.

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[a] 1681 A.D.

Arang Khan, after the death of his elder brother, mounted the [throne of] sovereignty due to the efforts of Khuday-Quli Inaq. He was very good-looking and handsome. (143) [*Mathnavī*.] He was by nature full of fun and pleasure-loving. The honorable Mawlana Vafa, who was the wonder of his time and a sweet-spoken poet, had an affection for him and was close to him. It is well known that there are many amusing stories and wonderful pleasantries of their relationship, including the following:

STORY (*ḥikāyat*): Mawlana Vafa did not care about this world, and he did not put any carpet in his cell except for a piece of felt or a mat. He lived in the ʿArab Khan madrasa. One evening the khan, accompanied by one *maḥram*, favored him with a visit. Stopping at the threshold of the cell, he said: "My master, what is with you? (or: what do you have?)" (144) The mawlana realized what happened, spontaneously stood up, performed the ceremony of bowing and chanted these improvised words:

Bayt:
What do we have, and what is with us?
We have one piece of felt and one mat.
For kings like you
We have a sincere prayer.

The khan entered and sat down, utterly delighted and extremely pleased. [*Bayt*.] He illuminated the darkness of mawlana's cell with the candle of his beauty for a long time and restored [Mawlana Vafa's] broken heart through his favor, [like an] architect [restoring a broken building], and, having given him a handful of gold, [the khan] returned to the court (*ordu*). The mawlana distributed this gold among those who lived in the madrasa and received [their] prayers for the prosperity of the khan.

ANOTHER STORY: Once the khan, not from a great impudence, but rather from a perfect affection, put his dagger to mawlana's throat and said: "Improvise a *ghazal*, or else I will erase the image of your existense from the pages of time with the flash of this dagger!" The mawlana improvised a complete *ghazal*, the opening (*maṭlaʿ*) and the closing (*maqṭaʿ*) verses of which are as follows:

maṭlaʿ:
The heart which is cut in two by the sigh [caused] by a dagger
Becomes a split nosegay from the paradise of delights.

(145) *maqṭaʿ*:
Cut with the Qazaq sword every time thousand times—
If Vafa'i perishes, sorrow will become an orphan.

The khan built an audience hall (*körünüsh-khāna*) in the citadel (*ärk*)[287] of Khiva. Mawlana Vafa was the architect (*bannā*) and decorator (*naqqāsh*) of this building. It was a very attractive and well decorated (*munaqqash*) structure. In the time of the late great amir ʿAvaz Biy Inaq, Khassa Qoshbegi demolished it. I have heard from Sayyid ʿIsam ad-Din Khoja, the son of the proof of mystics, the sultan of gnostics, the most noble of the high-ranking sayyids, his holiness Ishan Sayyid Muhammad Panah Khoja (the mercy of God be upon him!), that Adina Muhammad Biy ibn Sayyid Inaq, who was a ruler with undivided authority (*ḥākim bi'l-istiqlāl*)[288] of the Aral Uzbeks, for some reason bore a grudge against the khan and many times raided the environs of Khiva. Therefore the khan brought him [to Khiva], made him his own *ataliq*, and, by endless favors and innumerable presents, won him over. In his time Muhammad Riza Bek, a chief of the Qïyats, had a madrasa built opposite the White Mosque,[289] with its entrance (*ishik*) facing *qibla*.[290] The [following] was composed dating its [construction]:

Tārīkh:
In the time of Sayyid[291] Shah Arang Khan,
A pearl of the heavenly crown of Chingiz,
This madrasa, full of splendor, was built
Due to the efforts of a young noble
Who was himself a son of *ataliq* Khojam-Berdi Biy,
A chief of the Qïyats, whose retinue is sublime.
His good name bears the mark of the date of the year.
"Muhammad Riza Bek" says the pen.
But to count wisely:
"The top of the seventh heaven is less than the dust of his road."[292]

(146) In Aq-Saray, which is at a distance of one *farsakh*[293] from Khiva,[294] Arang Khan erected a wall (*qalʿa*) and public buildings, and, having spread the carpet of pleasure, he spent most of the time there in festive gatherings together with the pillars of the state and his closest nobles. It is told that the khan was a young man (*yigit*) of bold temper, and every night, after the sunset prayer, he would

mount a horse, fleet as wind, accompanied by two *maḥram*s, and come to Khiva, where he would enjoy the company and pleasures of rosy-cheeked girls, and would go back to Aq-Saray before dawn. [*Bayt.*] One night, when he was returning this way and came to the bridge on the Badarhan canal,[295] the horse stumbled, the khan fell off the horse, his head split, and he set out to the next world. One of the *maḥram*s remained with him, and the other went to his mother Tokhta Khanïm, who was a Turkmen of Darghan, and brought her the news. This brave woman, not giving way to despair, took four horses, came to her son, buried him secretly and went to Darghan. In a short time she reached her destination and came to her father's house. Her elder brother had a son who was of the same age and stature as Arang Khan and was like the khan in appearance; from his childhood he was brought up together with the khan. [*Nazm.*] (147) [Tokhta Khanïm] said that he was Arang Khan, and set out to Khiva with a thousand of mounted Turkmens. The amirs of Arang Khan who did not know what happened to the khan and where he had gone, were amazed, and when at this moment the news arrived that Arang Khan had gone to Darghan to see his father, and now he came with a thousand of his mounted Turkmen tribesmen, everybody went to meet him, and accompanied him to the court (*ordu*).

One month later, one of the ancestors of this humble [author], Jiyen Biy Yüz, who, due to the favor of Arang Khan and the efforts of Adina Muhammad Atalïq and Khuday-Quli Inaq, was distinguished among his relatives and exalted among the other amirs, was sent as an ambassador to Sultan Husayn Shah in Isfahan.[296] Two months after this event, Adina Muhammad Atalïq, who was the major pillar of the state, went hunting. When this son of a Turkmen (*Türkmen-zāda*) decided that the city was free of the presence of that eminent person, he seized seven of the great amirs (*umarā-yi ʿiẓām*) with Nazar Inaq Nayman at the head, and sent some of them to the Teke, some of them to Bukhara, and some of them to Aral. The Turkmens captured the country of Khorezm, and they held the Uzbeks in contempt. Soon after this his oppression and injustice became so great that he brought the common people (*fuqarāʾ*)[297] to the brink of ruin.

Adina Muhammad Atalïq heard about these events when he was hunting, and he went to Aral to gather troops from this region (*nāḥiyat*) and to do away with the Turkmens. When he reached the fortress (*qalʿa*) of Tok, he heard that 500 mounted Turkmens had taken to

the road to catch him and were not letting anybody pass. The atalïq had with him only forty huntsmen (*mīr-shikār*). Therefore he decided that it would be preferable and better to turn back and to go to Bukhara, and he made up his mind to return. When he reached Khoja-köl, he came across the aforementioned Jiyen Biy with 300 families (148) of Uzbeks. This is how it happened: When Jiyen Biy Mirab came from Isfahan and entered the environs of Khorezm, the news about the [Turkmen] plot reached him. Therefore he went through the sands to Hazarasp, secretly sent a man, got his family out and crossed the Amu. In a short time the oppressed Uzbeks fled from the tyranny of the Turkmens and joined him, and together they went in the direction of Aral. Having met the aforementioned atalïq, they decided to go to Aral, and, routing all the Turkmens they met on their way, they reached Aral. They raised Jochi Sultan, a descendant of Hajim Khan, as khan, gathered troops from the Qongrats, Manghïts, Qanglï, Qïpchaqs, and Khoja-elis, and set out against Khiva. When the common people (*fuqarā'*) of Khiva heard of their arrival, they attacked, killed the khan and slaughtered many Turkmens. The rest fled and wandered in the deserts and steppes, so that only one in a hundred escaped. They put Tokhta Khanïm to death by having a horse drag her. This happened in 1106 A.H.[a] [*Qiṭ'a.*]

Jochi Khan was a just [king] who took care of his subjects. In his time the people (*el*) was quiet. He reigned three years and passed from this world.

Vali Khan. He was also a descendant of Hajim Khan. He mounted the throne in 1108 A.H.[b] (149) In his time Khuday-Quli Inaq passed away. Vali Khan was almost insane and an ignorant man, and he could not establish order in the country (*yurt*). Therefore Adina Muhammad Atalïq deposed him and sent him to Dasht-i Qïpchaq, to the Qazaqs. The duration of his reign was one and a half years.

Shah Niyaz Khan was the son of Jochi Khan; some say that he was from common Uzbeks (*qaracha Özbekdin*), but the first account is more authentic. In 1110 A.H.[c] he attained royal rank. He was very brave and daring. He set out against the Qïzïlbashes and returned with rich booty. The Turkmen rebels came to him humbly and

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[a] 1694/95 A.D. (cf. note 285).
[b] 1696/97 A.D. (cf. note 285).
[c] 1698/99 A.D. (cf. note 285).

agreed [to pay] *kharāj*.[298] During his reign Shah Niyaz Khan made peace with Bukhara, and the subjects (*raʿāyā*) lived peacefully. Several years later he went to the next world. The duration of his reign is not known.

Shah Bakht Khan ibn Shah Niyaz Khan replaced his father, but after a year he chose to abdicate.

Sayyid ʿAli Khan was from the same stock (*jamāʿa*). He became king in 1115 or 1116 A.H.,[a] and after several days was deposed.

Musa Khan was a younger brother of Shah Niyaz Khan.[299] When he was exalted with the crown of sovereignty, (150) he made a reception for everybody (*bār-i ʿāmm*) and promised the common people and the subjects (*fuqarāʾ va raʿāyā*) kindness and consideration. He minted special *tanga*s with his own name.[300] In his time the inhabitants of towns and regions (*qilāʿ va bilād*) in the foothills from Merv to Astarabad paid [him] *jizya*[301] and *kharāj*. He surpassed other khans in magnificence and grandeur. After some time, the amirs of Khiva conspired to kill him. Therefore he fled and went to Merv. ʿAvaz Mehter killed him in Merv and brought his head to Khiva.

Yadigar Khan. He also was a descendant of Hajim Khan. He was a very just and wise king. At the beginning of his reign Adina Muhammad Atalïq passed away from the transitory abode to the eternal one. [*Nazm.*] Yadigar Khan entrusted the country (*vilāyat*) to some reliable people, and, with a numerous retinue, went to Mecca and Madina (Ḥaramayn). Having performed all the ceremonies of *ḥajj* and gained honor by making the pilgrimage to the blessed tomb of [Muhammad], the Refuge of Prophecy (may God bless him and give him peace!), he went home. In the region (*navāḥī*) of Syria (Sham) a big group (*jamāʿa*) of Beduins (151) gathered, confronted [him] and fought. In the end, they were defeated and fled. They (the Uzbeks) pursued them, plundered their tribes (*qabīlalar*), and continued on their way at a top speed. On the road, the governor of Baghdad gave a royal feast [in Yadigar Khan's honor] and let him go. Having passed Astarabad, by setting his noble feet in Khorezm, the dome of Islam, he rendered the paradise itself jealous.[302]

When the khan went on the *ḥajj*, the Aral Uzbeks started a rebellion, brought one of the Qaraqalpaq princes, Ishim Sultan,[303] and swore allegiance [to him]. Yadigar Khan twice went against them

[a] 1703/04 or 1704/05 A.D.

[himself], and sent troops three times. Each time there was heavy fighting.[304] After these events, the khan passed away in 1125 A.H., at the end of the year.[a305] [*Shiʿr.*]

Shir Ghazi Khan. He was a descendant of Sultan Ghazi Sultan. He was born and grew up in Bukhara the noble. At the beginning of his career he attended a madrasa, showed great diligence in study and achieved excellence and perfection. In the middle of [the month of] Ḥamal 1126 A.H.,[b] he was brought from Bukhara and put on the throne in the royal capital Khiva. The most learned of scholars and the cream of learned men, the greatest *mawlānā* and the venerable wise man Sayyid Muhammad Akhund[306] composed a chronogram about this. [*Tārīkh.*] (152) He was a great monarch (*ṣāḥib-qirān*) of this dynasty. At the news of his accession Ishim Khan and the Qaraqalpaq tribe (*khayl*) became frightened, left Aral and fled.

When my pen reached this point [in the compilation of this history], anarchy and rebellion occurred in the country of Khorezm, and a terrible accident happened to the late sultan, Eltüzer Muhammad Bahadur Khan (may God grant him forgiveness!).[307] Consequently the compilation of this book, which was written at the order of that late monarch, was delayed for a long time, or, rather, it was abandoned completely. When his majesty, the greatest khaqan, mighty as heaven, the most excellent of the sultans of this world, the most just of the great khaqans, the fortifier of state, monarchy and religion, the victorious conqueror Muhammad Rahim Bahadur Khan (may God strengthen his dynasty with felicity and protect his kingdom from disorder!) ascended the throne of kingship, he deigned to elevate this [author], the poor, humble Shir Muhammad, pen-named Munis, from the deepest contempt to the highest honor, by his infinite favors and royal largesses, and issued the following binding order: "Complete the compilation of this book and record the events of our [reign] threading them [like pearls on a string]." Consequently, I have started the work of compilation again; may God help me to finish it![c]

After Ishim Khan left Aral, all the chiefs and nobles of the Aral Uzbeks, headed by the Manghït Muhammad Baqi Biy ibn Muhammad Hafiz Biy, put the yoke of submission on their necks and had the

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[a] End of 1713 A.D.
[b] Middle of March 1714.
[c] See Introduction, p. XXVI.

honor of kissing the [royal] threshold. Muhammad Baqi Biy left his younger son Shirdalï in khan's service, and after he went to Aral, he died, and his younger brother ʿAvaz Baqi Biy was appointed to the governorship (*ḥukūmat*) of Aral. In the same year the Qïzïlbashes and the Turkmens who lived in the foothills from Merv-i Shahijan till Astarabad and the Balkhan, (153) and on the banks of the Atrek and Gürgen, brought the tribute of the *kharāj*, expressed allegiance (*ellik*), and were shown royal favor.

When the sun passed to the sign of Capricorn,[a] [the khan] set out with a huge army to rout the Qaraqalpaqs. The Qaraqalpaqs were unable to offer resistance, abandoned their property, cattle, and dwellings (*öylär*), escaped and, crossing the sea, where the water was covered with ice because of a severe cold[308] [*Nazm*], fled in the direction of the Yangi-su[309] and the Sïr-Darya. Shir Ghazi Khan, with a huge army, stopped on the sea-shore and sent the Nayman amir ʿAvaz Inaq, son of Nazar Hajji Inaq, with five thousand well-armed troops, in pursuit of the obstinate [enemies]. The aforementioned amir, rapidly advancing with all his army, overcame the enemies of the state upon the ice, massacred them, except for children and women, and turned the surface of the sea red with their blood; and he took the remainder into captivity and sent them to the khan. The khan exalted the aforementioned amir and the brave warriors with numerous gifts and returned to the royal capital Khiva. When the news of this spread through the regions of the world, the rebels from all border provinces (*aṭrāf-i mamālik*) took the steps of apology along the road of submission to the court, which is the refuge of the world. Among them Fulad Töre, Qaban Biy, and Baraq Biy from the Qazaq tribes, and Khal Nazar Bahadur and Aman-Durdï Bek from the Turkmens of Manghïshlaq and Adaq[310] came, (154) with presents suitable to the royal rank, to kiss the [royal] threshold.

In 1127 A.H., the Year of the Monkey,[b] when the godless heretic Rustam ʿAli Khan Shamlu in Mashhad harassed the Muslims, the khan led army against him, in accordance with [the injunction]: "*And [one who] struggles in the way of God.*"[c] On the banks of the Tezhen river

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[a] December 1714.

[b] 1127 A.H. corresponds to 6 January–25 December 1715 A.D. The Year of the Monkey was from February 1716 to February 1717. Apparently, the Hijri date should be emended to 1128.

[c] Qurʾān, IX,19.

he organized a battue (*jurga*).[a] He gathered troops from Turkmen tribes, besieged Mashhad for two days and captured it. The *ghāzī*s captured so much booty and so many prisoners that they were unable to take them with them. Rustam ʿAli Khan fled and escaped with great difficulty. The subjugated infidels agreed to pay *jizya* and [thus] avoided captivity. [The khan], having entrusted Mashhad to Sharif Khan, one of the Muslims of the city, set out to raid Nishapur. Some say that the Nishapur campaign took place in the Year of the Hen,[b] after the raid on Mashhad. But this humble [author] saw in one manuscript that [the khan] set out for the *jihād* on Nishapur immediately after the *ghazāt* on Mashhad, in the Year of the Monkey. In any case, he first sent a raiding party and, having arrived himself after them with numerous troops, he stopped opposite the walls of Nishapur, having drawn up [his troops] in battle array. He divided the *ghāzī*s into a number of groups and sent them on forays. The victorious army captured rich booty; and Jaʿfar ʿAli Khan, who was the elder son of the governor (*ḥākim*) of Nishapur, Hasan Khan, and famous by his courage, fell at the hand of the *ghāzī*s. After four days of siege Shir Ghazi Khan turned back. Nadir Shah, who at that time had not yet ascended the throne of sovereignty (155) and lived with his tribesmen near Nishapur, learned about the return of the army of Islam, went after them, and, having overtaken them, joined battle and killed the Manghït Esen Muhammad Uydachi.[311] Ish Muhammad Biy ibn Adina Muhammad Atalïq, whose munificent person at that time adorned the office of *inaq*, flashed the sword of valor together with Shirdalï, killed many infidel Shiʿites, and defeated the Qïzïlbashes. Shirdalï was wounded, therefore the khan took special care of promoting him in rank and increasing his stipend (*vazā'if*). They returned to Khiva victorious and happy.[312]

In the Year of the Hen,[c] one of Russian princes (*törelär*), Dawlat Keray, together with Andrey Guburnat and 30 thousand Russians, arrived in the region of Aral, coveting the Shaykh-Jalil Mountain, which is a gold and silver mine,[313] and indeed wishing to conquer Khorezm. The khan charged the Qongrat Qul-Muhammad Atalïq and the Nayman amir ʿAvaz Inaq, with an innumerable army, to defend [the country]. They made a false peace with Dawlat Keray,

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[a] Cf. on the vocalization of this word below, p. 265.
[b] From February 1717 to February 1718.
[c] 1717 A.D.

and, under the pretext of a feast, sent the enemies of the Muslim community to the hospitality of the depth of hell.

Mathnavī:
When you are taking a decision on some matter,
[Think,] is there a need to draw the sword for this.
Alexander often conquered a country by ruse,
When it could not be conquered in a battle.
Yes, prudent measure is a sign of felicity,
Felicitous people can not overlook it.[314]

In 1128 A.H., the Year of the Dog,[a] [the khan] led the troops to the region of Chinaran, by the Bardar road,[315] (156) but for lack of water they became frightened and turned back without reaching the prize which they sought. On this road most of the army perished. After the khan returned from Nishapur, Rustam ʿAli Khan again captured Mashhad, took Sharif Khan prisoner and beat the kettle-drum of independence. Therefore, in the Year of the Pig,[b] Shir Ghazi Khan gathered the army and went against Mashhad. In the torrent of the raid he destroyed most of its buildings and returned with plentiful booty and innumerable prisoners. When [I], this humble [author], was a child, [we] had a decrepit Mashhad-born [slave] inherited from my [great-]grandfather Ishim Biy. He would tell: "When Mashhad was raided by Shir Ghazi Khan, more than five thousand men and women were taken into captivity. I was one of them."[316]

In the Year of the Mouse,[c] Shirdalï, because of the evil-speakers, became apprehensive of the khan and went to Aral. He opened hostilities, and the next year he brought Shah Timur, a son of Musa Khan, from Bukhara and, with the consent of all the Aral Uzbeks, he raised him as khan.[317] He led troops against Besh-Qalʿa[318] five times, but was defeated, and most of his army perished in the land of the Yomut tribe (*khalq*) and in the vortex of the Amu. When, during these campaigns, he came for the last time, Qul-Muhammad Atalïq, who was a cousin and successor of Adina Muhammad Atalïq, went to repulse him with a great army; in the locality [named] Qara-

[a] The Year of the Dog (from February 1716 to February 1717) corresponds to Rabiʿ I 1128–Rabiʿ I 1129.

[b] The Year of the Pig (from February 1719 to February 1720) corresponds to Rabiʿ II 1131–Jumadi I 1132.

[c] The Year of the Mouse (from February 1720 to February 1721) corresponds to Rabiʿ II 1132–Rabiʿ II 1133.

Tal, in the region of Vazir,[319] the two parties met, and a battle began. In this battle the aforementioned atalïq was killed, the Yomut Qara Atalïq became prisoner of misfortune and captive of adversity, and the troops of Khiva dispersed. As a result of this, the sun of good fortune of Shah Timur Khan and Shirdalï Biy (157) rose, and they captured Vazir, Gurlen, Shahabad, Baghlan,[320] Uyghur,[321] Urgench, Khanqah, and Hazarasp, with the surrounding regions. Shah Timur Khan mounted the throne of sovereignty in Hazarasp, and Shirdalï Biy, with an innumerable army, having put the region of Besh-Arïq into the chains of submission, set up his military camp in the environs of Shat.[322] The amirs of Khiva also deserted [Shir Ghazi] Khan and joined the army of Aral, so that nobody remained in khan's service, except for amir Ish Muhammad Biy, the humble [author]'s great-grandfather the amir Ishim Biy, the great lord and illustrious counselor (*ṣāḥib-i aʿẓam dastūr-i mukarram*) Yarïm Divan,[323] and Dosïm Arbab.

One night the khan was seized with fear. He summoned the aforementioned amirs to a private audience and said: "The enemies of the state have captured the greater part of the country, and except for Khiva, Kat, and Qahraman,[324] no other provinces (*vilāyat*) have remained [in our hands], and, except for you, the amirs have also been treacherous. Now, it seems not wise to stay in this *yurt*. What do you advise?" When they heard these fearful words from the khan, Ish Muhammad Biy spoke the following cheering precious words: "Let his majesty, the khan's, fragrant mind not worry that we also may be treacherous. As long as we live, we will sacrifice our lives in his majesty's service, and the rebellious amirs will also [ultimately] repent and turn their faces in shame to the high court [of the khan], and with the help of the Lord, the Opener of the Gates, the enemies of the state will be got rid of." Having left the khan, they occupied themselves with the defense of the city. Very soon the rebellious amirs repented of what they had done, (158) fled [from the rebels] and came in utter humility. Due to the intercession of Ish Muhammad Biy, the khan pardoned their crimes and granted them their former posts and ranks (*manāṣib u marātib*).[325]

The Aral Qongrats had two governors (*ḥākim*), named Adam Biy and Bek Murad Biy, who were the greatest pillars of the state of Shah Timur Khan. The great amir Ish Muhammad Biy wrote to them: "If [you] our relatives (*qarïndashïmïz*) abandon the army of Aral, [our] kinship ties will be perfected." As soon as they learned the content

[of the letter], they rebelled with the Qongrat troops, left [Shah Timur] and came to the khan in Khiva. Shirdalï Biy [also] defected with the army of Aral, crossed the Amu and came to the Qaraqalpaqs in Aq-Yaqïsh.[326] Shah Timur Khan could not hold out in Hazarasp, crossed the Jayhun together with the Qaraqalpaq Buqan Biy and went to Shirdalï. And the whole [country of] Besh-Qalʿa was won over by the khan, except for the people (*khalq*) of Shahabad, who were the source of the sedition. By the order of the khan, Ish Muhammad Biy led the troops against this town (*balada*), besieged it for one month,[327] and, finally, having flooded it with water, captured it and put to death all the Shahabad rebels with the Manghït Muhammadi Bek at their head.

In [Shir Ghazi Khan's] time, in 1133 A.H., the Year of the Hare,[a] Shirdalï Biy and Shah Timur Khan, under the pretext of making peace, seized twenty-five chiefs of the Qongrats with Ötemish Atalïq at their head and made them drink abundantly [of the draught] of death. The next year, which was the Year of the Dragon,[b] they captured Qongrat,[328] made so great a massacre that nobody was left except the women and children, and so pillaged it (159) that nothing remained to support the grief-stricken widows. To those who escaped and fled, the khan, due to the efforts of Ish Muhammad Biy, granted [the region of] Yangi-Arïq[329] and consoled them with royal promises.

After this the clans of On-Tört-Urugh, who are also called the "Small Clans" (*Ushaq Urugh*), became the enemies of the Manghïts. To help them, Ish Muhammad Biy sent Ghayib Parvanachi with the troops from Besh-Qalʿa. Before the parvanachi could arrive, Shirdalï Biy brought the Qaraqalpaq ruler Er Nazar Biy with his troops and moved against the Ushaq Urugh. He captured the fortresses of Turghaq-Tama and Qulan[330] and destroyed them. Finally the Ushaq Urugh gathered to Aq-qalʿa and prepared for battle. The parvanachi also came to Aq-qalʿa, remained there for six months and twenty times did battle with Shirdalï. In the Year of the Snake,[c] in spring, he returned, having made the Ushaq Urugh move off.

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[a] The Year of the Hare was from February 1723 to February 1724, which corresponds to Jumadi I 1135–Jumadi I 1136.

[b] The Year of the Dragon was from February 1724 to February 1725, which corresponds to Jumadi I 1136–Jumadi I–II 1137.

[c] The Year of the Snake was from February 1725 to February 1726, which corresponds to Jumadi II 1137–Jumadi II 1138.

After this, a famine began among the Manghïts. [*Mathnavī.*] Having learned about this, Shir Ghazi Khan and Ish Muhammad Biy sent Sayyid Baltu Khoja Naqib to Aral with an army of 12,000.[331] The day after his arrival, the aforementioned naqib joined battle with Shirdalï Biy. Impelled by cowardice or innate faint-heartedness, he was, involuntarily and without any visible reason, seized with fear and, together with the Manghït Tengri-Quli Inaq, who (160) was also gripped by fear of death, broke the ranks of troops in the midst of fighting and fled. Most of the army perished during this horrible event. This episode is "*clearer than the sun*" (i.e., widely known) in the country of Khorezm, so that it has become a parable among the people.

In the Year of the Sheep, when the sun was in the sign of Capricorn,[a] Shir Ghazi Khan was killed by his slaves. The chronogram of his death is "Help against the ghulams!" (*Dād az ghulāmān*).[332] He was very just and learned monarch. Most of the time he spent in conversations with *'ulamā'*, learned men, and poets. Science and poetry flourished in his time. Mawlana Sayyid Muhammad Akhund compiled a *qaṣīda* on his virtues, and these three *bayt*s are from that *qaṣīda.* [*Abyāt.*] Twice every week he would hold audience (*körünüsh*). He would receive *jizya* from most regions (*bilād*) of Khorasan, and he had no troubles except from the Manghïts. Among his creations are Bagh-i Murad to the east of Shaykh-Arïq,[333] and a madrasa in Khiva to the south of the blessed tomb of his holiness, the pivot of the world and the greatest axis, Pahlavan Mahmud ibn Pir Yar Vali[334] (may the graves of them both be hallowed!). (161) [The madrasa] is a very tall building;[335] they made its chronogram "Abode of the learned" (*Maskan-i fāżilān*).[b] He reigned thirteen years.[336]

One of the learned men of his time was Mawlana Sayyid Muhammad Akhund who wrote a history entitled *Gulshan-i iqbāl* about his (Shir Ghazi Khan's) ancestors, his genealogy, the circumstances of his life and his victories. It was embellished with rhymed prose, metaphors, allegories, and all kinds of figures of speech. But before it could be copied it fell into the hands of the learned men (*fużalā'*) of Bukhara who, out of envy, destroyed it, tearing to pieces every

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[a] The Year of the Sheep was from February 1727 to February 1728; the sign of Capricorn corresponds to December. Thus, the Hijri date should be Rabi' II–Jumadi I 1140. Cf., however, notes 332 and 336.

[b] 1132/1719–20.

chapter, section by section and page by page.[337] "*O God, cut off the progeny of those who cut this!*" Mawlana Yahya who was also an outstanding man of [the khan's] time and took the pen-name "Musannad", also wrote a *mathnavī* dedicated to him (Shir Ghazi Khan), in a very beautiful style and with a pleasing content.

After him **Sarïgh Ayghïr**, one of the younger brothers of the Qazaq king Abu'l-Khayr Khan,[338] was brought [to Khiva] and raised as khan. That day was a Friday, and when he was riding to the communal prayer, his horse bucked, he fell off and died. [*Naẓm.*][339]

Bahadur Khan. He was also one of the abovementioned Abu'l-Khayr Khan's younger brothers.[340] After [the death of] Sarïgh Ayghïr, Ish Muhammad Biy brought him and put him on the khan's throne. Six months later, one night he climbed down behind the Aq-Shaykh building[341] and fled and [so] saved himself from the dangers of reigning.[342]

(162) **Ilbars Khan** was the son of Shah Niyaz Khan, but some think that he was one of the Qazaq sultans.[343] Due to the efforts of Ish Muhammad Biy and Jumʿa-Quli Atalïq, he mounted the throne of sovereignty in the Year of the Monkey, 1140 A.H.[a] In his time, for eight years the country (*yurt*) enjoyed peace and quiet. During these eight years the humble [author]'s [great-]grandfather, Ishim Biy, and the prudent vizier Yarïm Divan died. During this period the governance of the country was entrusted to Ish Muhammad Biy, whose mind embellished the world and could solve all problems, and the other amirs could not interfere. Therefore Allah Nazar Inaq, a descendant of Sultan,[344] and Jiyen Parvanachi, for some reason bearing a grudge against Ish Muhammad Biy, brought Er Ghazi Sultan, the eldest son of Shir Ghazi Khan, ensconced themselves in Shahabad and opened hostilities. This happened in the Year of the Dragon, on 17 Safar 1148 A.H.[b] Ish Muhammad Biy, with the honorable amirs and victorious army, besieged Shahabad for five months. When Shah Timur Khan and Shirdalï Biy heard about this their appetite was whetted, and they set out against Besh-Qalʿa with the army of Aral and the troops of the Qaraqalpaqs. Ish Muhammad Biy withdrew from Shahabad, went to repulse [the enemies] with the army of Besh-Qalʿa, and after much fighting at Qara-Tal, where Jumʿa-Quli Atalïq was killed, they were defeated, and returned and fortified

[a] 1727/28 A.D. The Year of the Monkey began in February 1728.
[b] 8 July 1735; the Year of the Dragon was from February 1736 to February 1737.

themselves in Khiva. Shah Timur Khan entered Hazarasp, and Shirdalï Biy came to Khiva with great pomp and splendor and encamped [his] accursed army at Meyvestan. Induced and instigated by Ish Muhammad Biy, the Manghït Hasan Murad Bek killed Shah Timur Khan in Hazarasp.[345] (163) When Shirdalï Biy heard this horrible news, his power was shaken, and, not being able to hold out, he was defeated and fled. [The army of Khiva] captured 3,000 Manghïts and Qaraqalpaqs and put them to death in revenge for the blood of the Qongrats.

{After this, in the Year of the Hare,[a] Ilbars Khan sent the Yomut Jiyen Vekil, with 3,000 Turkmens, in a raid against Khorasan.[346] They divided themselves into two parties; one went to the desert of Mane, the other—to the Aladagh and Semelqan region,[347] which is the abode of the Chamishgezek Kurds. They came and they were already in the midst of plundering, when the governors of those provinces arrived with Qïzïlbash troops, and a great battle took place. Many people on both sides were killed. Finally the Qïzïlbashes were defeated, and the *ghāzī*s,[348] having returned with plentiful booty, attained [the honor of] kissing the [khan's] threshold. At that time Nadir Shah had conquered Shamakhi and was before Ganja.}[349]

After this Allah Nazar Inaq concluded peace, and Er Ghazi Sultan fled and came to the Turkmens in Oq-Boyrï. In the Year of the Snake,[b] due to the efforts of Hasan Murad Bek, two *yigit*s from the Achamaylï Qongrats[350] killed Shirdalï Biy in [the locality] Qoychi-qayir, on the bank of Üch-Üzäk.[351] Be it known that Muhammad ʿAli, Berdalï, and Shirdalï were three brothers. Muhammad ʿAli had no progeny. Berdalï Biy had many children, but their names are unknown, except for Tubulgha Biy and ʿAbdallah Bek. Shirdalï Biy had three sons: Artuq Inaq, Sayyid ʿAli Biy, and Khuraz Bek. (164) Accounts of them will follow soon.

When all Aral [Uzbeks] and Qaraqalpaqs submitted to Ilbars Khan, he brought Hasan Murad Bek [to Khiva], granted him the post of *inaq* and made him the ruler (*ṣāḥib ikhtiyār*) of the whole tribe (*jamāʿa*) of Manghïts.

In 1150 A.H.,[c] the Year of the Horse,[d] prince Riza-Quli Mirza,

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[a] The Year of the Hare was from February 1735 to February 1736; cf. note 346.
[b] From February 1737 to February 1738.
[c] 1737/38 A.D.
[d] The Year of the Horse was from February 1738 to February 1739; the cyclic year should be corrected to the Year of the Snake.

son of Nadir Shah, captured Balkh, and in Rabi' II[a] set out for Mavarannahr. Therefore the ruler (*ḥākim*) of Bukhara, Abu'l-Fayz Khan, and Hakim Atalïq[352] asked Ilbars Khan and Ish Muhammad Biy for help. They sent them a reinforcement of 1,000 men, and Ilbars Khan himself followed them with a big army. The khan had not yet reached Bukhara, when the news came that the Qïzïlbash army in Qarshi had concluded peace with Abu'l-Fayz Khan and had turned back, and so the khan [also] returned.[353] During this campaign the cold was so severe that the ice-cover on the [Amu] river extended above Charjuy.

At the end of the Year of the Sheep, in the month of Zu'l-Qa'da 1151 A.H.,[b354] the khan left Ish Muhammad Biy in Khiva as his deputy, set out himself for Khorasan with the army of Uzbeks and Turkmens and arrived in Tezhen. At that time Riza-Quli Mirza, having returned from his father in India, was in Herat. He heard this news, and went with all possible speed to repulse [the enemies] and came to Sarakhs. At that time Ilbars Khan already had advanced to five *farsakh*s from Tezhen. The scouts (*qaravul*) of both sides clashed, and the *ghāzī*s captured and brought three Qïzïlbashes from the enemy's army. On hearing news about the prince from them, [the khan] considered it unwise to confront him, (165) turned the reins of departure in the direction of Amvar, besieged the fortress Qakhlan, which is between Nesa and Abivard, and was already close to capturing it. Its governor (*ḥākim*), who was at that time in Abivard, heard the news and came from Abivard with troops for reconnaissance. The khan thought that it was the army of the prince, lifted the siege, plundered the environs and returned [to Khiva].[355]

In the Year of the Monkey, 1152 A.H.,[c356] Nadir Shah, after the conquest of Bukhara, moved off from the environs of Bukhara on Sunday 16 Rajab,[d] and on Thursday the 21st of the aforementioned month[e] he passed Charjuy, intending to conquer Khorezm.[357] On Monday 13 Sha'ban[f] he reached Tive-Boyun. Muhammad 'Ali Ushaq,

[a] Rabi' II 1150/August 1737.

[b] 9 February–10 March 1739; cf. on the date note 354.

[c] 1739/40 A.D.; the Year of the Monkey was from February 1740 to February 1741. The Hijri year should be corrected to 1153.

[d] 6 October 1740 (which was Thursday). The Hijri date is given by Mahdi Khan, but without the day of the week.

[e] Thursday was 23 Rajab; 21 Rajab was Tuesday (11 October).

[f] 2 November 1740 (Wednesday). The date is apparently borrowed from Mahdi Khan, who does not mention the day of the week.

who came with an army of Uzbeks and Turkmens, confronted him and was defeated. On the 20th of the same month[a] Ilbars Khan and Ish Muhammad Biy and all the amirs of Khorezm came to Hazarasp with innumerable army to repulse [the enemy]. In Tuzlaq, which is called Sultan-Saray and where a very pure and clear salt—the like of which is very rarely seen anywhere in the whole world—is found,[358] the patrol (*qaravul*) of Ilbars Khan encountered the Qïzïlbash patrol, and cut off five or ten [of their] heads and brought them back.

In the region of Pitnak[359] they met [with the enemy] and joined battle. However much they exerted themselves to kill the infidels, *it was to no avail [?]*.[b] Finally the Muslims were defeated (166) and, being unable to remain in Hazarasp, ensconced themselves in the city (*balada*) of Khanqah. Nadir Shah pursued them and besieged the aforementioned city (*balada*). The army of Islam fought well, but was defeated. After seven days they were exhausted and left the fortress (*qalʿa*) under the terms of a truce. On Sunday the khan [also] left with the amirs. On Tuesday the 27th of the same month,[c] Nadir Shah put to death twenty amirs of Khorezm, with Ilbars Khan and Ish Muhammad Biy at their head.[360] At the beginning of the month of Ramazan Nadir Shah left Khanqah, laid siege to Khiva, erected the *sarkūb*s[361] and started bombarding [the city]. From the pounding by the balls of muskets, cannons (*tufang va top*) and swivel guns (*zanbūrak*), most of the buildings were destroyed.[362] After three days, Dost Muhammad Arbab[363] surrendered the city (*qalʿa*) to the shah. The shah stayed in the city for three more days. He gathered all the captives, men and women, who, in accordance with the holy *sharīʿa*, had been enslaved in the land of Khorezm, and turned them over to their kinsmen and relatives. In the same way he also took some Qalmaq and Russian slaves. Among them all, the number of Khorasanian captives exceeded twelve thousand, and four thousand [of them] were from the royal capital Khiva. He sent them to Khorasan, and, having built a fortress (*ḥiṣār*) at a distance of four *farsakh*s from Abivard, which he called Khiveabad, he settled them there.[364] From Khiva and Besh-Qalʿa he took four thousand *nökers* under the command of Er Niyaz Khan ibn Rahim-Berdi Atalïq ibn

[a] 9 November 1740.
[b] This passage in the text is not clear.
[c] 16 November 1740 (Wednesday).

Khuday-Quli Inaq ibn Sayyid Inaq ibn Umbay Inaq, (167) as well as 1,000 *kharvār*s of grain—each *kharvār* is 5,000 *bātman* according to Khivan weight,[365] and he took away all Qïzïlbash slaves, from whoever had them. Thus, one thousand *bātman*s of grain and fifty slaves, men and women, were taken from the humble [author]'s grandfather, Shir Muhammad Mirab, son of Ishim Biy, and his younger brother Sayyid-Quli Bek was taken as a *nöker*. From this one can judge about the rest.

Tahir Khan. He was the son of Vali Muhammad Khan,[366] who was one of the paternal cousins of the khans of Mavarannahr. When Nadir Shah was leaving, he put him on the khan's throne and left [some of] his own troops with him.[367] On 17 Ramazan[a] he set out from Khiva and went back to Khorasan.[368] Tahir Khan ruled for six months. He would cut off the ears and noses of offenders, and he used to promote Shi'a rites. Muhammad Mirab b. 'Ayd Mirab the Nokuz could not stand this tyranny, entered Kat, embarked on the path of hostility and unfurled the banner of resistance. He sent [his] men to Aral, appealed to Artuq and Sayyid 'Ali, who were governing that region at that time, and brought them [to Kat].

Nur 'Ali Khan was a son of Abu'l-Khayr Khan.[369] Artuq Inaq, Sayyid 'Ali Biy, and Khuraz Bek brought him with them, raised him as khan, and set out against Khiva. (168) With the help of the people (*khalq*) of Qahraman, they entered the city, and for three months fought the Qïzïlbashes under Tahir Khan who had ensconced themselves in the citadel (*ärk*). Finally, having [penetrated] to the well by means of a mine and filled it with earth, they left [the besieged] to thirst and [thus] captured [the citadel]. They dispatched Tahir Khan and the Uyghur Qutlï Khan to hell, together with the Qïzïlbashes. Having entered the citadel, Nur 'Ali Khan mounted the royal throne. The same year Artuq Inaq went to Iran, met the prince Nasrallah Mirza in Merv, and submitted a written report describing the dishonor and oppression meted out by Tahir Khan, so that the prince was pleased with the killing of Tahir Khan. With the permission of his father, the prince showered him with infinite favors and royal largesses, made Abu'l-Ghazi Sultan ibn Ilbars Khan a khan, entrusted him to the inaq and sent [them to Khiva].[370]

Abu'l-Ghazi Khan II. His name was Abu'l-Muhammad Sultan. When Nadir Shah made him khan, he gave him the *kunya* Abu'l-

[a] 5 December 1740.

Ghazi. When, in the Year of the Dog,[a] Artuq Inaq came from Iran, he deposed Nur ʿAli Khan, appointed Abu'l-Ghazi khan,[371] and he sent, with his younger brother Khuraz Bek, 60 distinguished Uzbeks to the shah as *nökers*. In 1155 A.H., on the fifth day of Ḥamal, which was Tuesday,[b] Abu'l-Ghazi Khan killed the Qongrat Kuchuk Inaq, at the instigation of the Qongrats Rahman-Quli Ataliq and ʿAshur Biy.

In 1156 A.H., the Year of the Mouse,[c] the Chowdurs ʿAli Bay and Oraz Bay started hostilities, made an alliance with the Yomuts and conducted such a massive raid against Besh-Qalʿa that nobody could venture to go out of his fortress (*qurghan*).[372] (169) The calamity of famine spread. Upon the advice of Abu'l-Ghazi Khan and Artuq Inaq, Muhammad Amin Mehter, one of the sons of Yarïm Divan, went to Iran and reported these events to the shah. To repulse the Turkmen rebels, Nadir Shah sent the great *sipahsālār* Fath ʿAli Khan ibn Ibrahim Khan, who was his own nephew,[373] with 40,000 brave troops, to Khorezm, the dome of Islam, and sent Khuraz Bek with him, having handed authority over this country to him. This event took place in the Year of the Cow, at the beginning of [the month of] Jawzā.[d] The *sipahsālār*, having routed the Turkmens, set up his camp in the place named Senger, which is to the north of Khiva and to the west of Gandumkan.[374] Six months later, at the end of [the month] ʿAqrab, he went back, by order of the shah.[375]

The following year the ruler (*vālī*) of the Qazaq *ulus*, Abu'l-Khayr Khan, came from the north of Khoja-köl, raided the region of Chilpuq,[376] and, having plundered the house of ʿAli the Qïpchaq, of the Qïpchaq tribe (*jamāʿa*), went back. In 1159 A.H., the Year of the Hare,[e] Khuraz Bek went to Nadir Shah in Iraq. In his absence, in the same year, Abu'l-Ghazi Khan put Artuq Inaq and Sayyid ʿAli Biy to death, together with their mother. Khuraz Bek heard about

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[a] From February 1742 to February 1743.

[b] 5 Ḥamal 1155 A.H. usually corresponds (in Khorezm) to 4 March 1742 (and the day of the week should be Sunday). But the year is given erroneously: Abu'l-Ghazi Khan came to Khiva only after 21 March 1742 (see note 370); therefore the date should be emended to 5 Ḥamal 1156/4 March 1743; the day of the week would still be not Tuesday, but Monday. If Tuesday is correct day, the date should be 9 Muharram 1156/5 March 1743.

[c] 1156 A.H. corresponds to 25 February 1743–14 February 1744; the Year of the Mouse began in February 1744.

[d] The Year of the Cow began in February 1745; the month of Jawzā corresponds to May.

[e] The Year of the Hare began in February 1747. 1159 A.H. (from 24 January 1746 to 12 January 1747) corresponds to the Year of the Leopard.

this in Iraq, asked the shah to send Ghayib Sultan with him, and with the support of the shah, conquered Khorezm.[377] On hearing the news about the arrival of Khuraz Bek, the amirs of Khiva seized Abu'l-Ghazi Khan and detained him in the 'Arab Khan madrasa. Khuraz Bek took him out of the madrasa (170) and put him to a cruel death, in revenge for the blood of his elder brothers and mother. The duration of his reign was five and a half years.[378] He was very learned and wise king, and he was a talented poet. In his poetry he used the pen-name Bayżā. He would often mingle with learned men and poets. In his time Khuraz Bek built the fortress (*qurghan*) of Chichi, to the north of the Atalïq-arna.[379] Now there are [still] remnants and ruins of it. [*Qiṭ'a.*]

Ghayib Khan. He is the son of Bahadur Khan.[380] In his youth, he went from the Qazaqs to Bukhara, and when Nadir Shah conquered Mavarannahr, he entered his service. He was with the shah's retinue in most of the battles and campaigns. He came with Khuraz Bek, and in the same year, when the sun was in the sign of Leo,[a] he was exalted with the crown of the Khorezmshahs. Two days after his accession, Khuraz Bek killed the eighteen *altun-jilaw*[381] who had been Abu'l-Ghazi Khan's accomplices in the murder of Artuq Inaq and Sayyid 'Ali Bek. During his time the subjects (*fuqarā'*) enjoyed peace, and the affairs of the state were in the mighty grasp and at the powerful will of Khuraz Bek, and Ghayib Khan had nothing except the title [of khan]. Therefore the khan was very depressed.[382]

STORY (*ḥikāyat*): It is transmitted by trustworthy narrators that the cause of Khuraz Bek's murder was the following. (171) In the Year of the Hen, 1165 A.H.,[b] while drunk, Kuchuk Bek ibn Muhammad Inaq Nayman committed an act of violence against a widow in Gurlen. At this time the khan was hunting in the vicinity of the Mount Shaykh-Jalil. This widow went [there] and complained of the injustice. The khan threatened Muhammad Inaq with the words of reproach and, having returned to the city (*shahr*), had Kuchuk Bek seized and imprisoned together with his companions. [At that time] Khuraz Bek was busy with digging a canal to reclaim the uncultivated and waste lands to the south of Gurlen, which is the tax-exempt property (*milk-i khāliṣī*) of the tribe (*jamā'a*) of Manghït. Being

[a] July 1747.

[b] 1165 A.H. corresponds to 19 November 1751–6 November 1752. The Year of the Hen was from February 1753 to February 1754, corresponding to Rabi' II 1166–Rabi' II 1167 A.H. (cf. note 384).

enraged at this event, he came to Khiva, freed Kuchuk Bek without khan's permission, and spoke some improper words to the khan. The khan was therefore consumed with the flame of hatred and decided to kill him. The next day, when he came to the audience (*körünüsh*), he was shot with a musket (*multuq bilä*)[383] and killed, and Shakir Bek was sent [to hell] after him.[384] Eighteen relatives of Khuraz Bek and sixty prominent Manghïts were put to the sword.[385] Artuq Inaq and Khuraz Bek were members of this tribe (*jamāʿa*), and they ruled the whole Khorezm with an undivided authority (*istiqlāl bilä*)—Artuq Inaq for six years, and Khuraz Bek for five and a half years. In their time the habits of tyranny and arbitrariness and the laws of injustice and corruption became widespread. But their generosity and munificence were reminiscent of Hatim's.[386] Bekabad is one of the constructions of Khuraz Bek.[387]

After this Ghayib Khan became an independent ruler.[388] Upon the intercession of some amirs, he pardoned the crimes of Kuchuk Bek. The same year he promoted the Qongrat Khoja-Quli Bek and bestowed the post of *inaq* upon him. The khan was a man of arrogant and cruel temperament. (172) At the end of his reign his tyranny and oppression passed the bounds of moderation, and he imposed a tax (*saliġh*) of 40,000 *ṭillā* on the subjects (*raʿāyā*) of Besh-Qalʿa. The poor and feeble could not get justice from him.[389] Therefore the Qïpchaq Matan Atalïq, the Nayman Ibrahim Inaq, and the Nokuz Ish Niyaz Naib,[390] who was also called Shanqay, started a rebellion in Gurlen, and they were supported by Babajan Aqsaq in Urgench. At this the khan was frightened, and in 1169 A.H., the Year of the Cow,[a] he appointed his younger brother Qarabay his regent (*qāʾim maqām*), went out [of the city], joined his father, Bahadur Khan, who had come with a great number of Qazaqs to see his son and was staying in Bagh-i Murad, and went to the Qazaqs in Dasht-i Qïpchaq,[391] where he died in the time of ʿAvaz Inaq, after being khan for many years. The duration of his reign in Khorezm was eleven years.[392] We have heard that he had thirty sons, including ʿAbd al-ʿAziz Khan, Shah Ghazi Khan, and Jahangir Khan. They will be mentioned soon, God willing. [*Qiṭʿa.*]

Qarabay Khan. He was called ʿAbdallah Khan, though some

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[a] 1169 A.H. corresponds to 6 October 1755–24 September 1756 (the end of the Year of the Pig and the beginning of the Year of the Mouse). The Year of the Cow was from February 1757 to February 1758, which corresponds to 1171 A.H. (cf. note 392).

say that his name was Bay Böri Khan; but the first [version] is more reliable, [since] Bay Böri is the name of the middle one of his elder brothers. That [brother] was a khan among the Qaraqalpaqs. The Qaraqalpaqs seized him and sent to the Uzbeks of Gurlen, and the amirs of Gurlen killed him. After this event, Qarabay (173) was deposed and sent to the Qazaqs, to his father and elder brother. The duration of his reign was four months.[393]

Timur Ghazi Khan ibn Muhammad Rahim Sultan. He was a relative of Shir Ghazi Khan, but some consider him a progeny of the khans of Mavarannahr.[394] After Ghayib Khan, all the amirs of Aral, Gurlen and Urgench, as well as the nobles of the Uzbeks living along the banks of the river [Amu], were firm and resolute in their opposition to the amirs of Khiva under Khoja-Quli Inaq. Both sides sent their men requesting help to Bukhara, to Muhammad Rahim Khan ibn Hakim Atalïq. Rahim Khan arranged a reconciliation between those who came [to him] and, having made Timur Ghazi Khan their common khan, sent [them back]. By common consent, he was raised as khan in Khiva.[395] Muhammad Amin Mehter ibn Kuchuk Bay ibn Dawlat Bay's capable person was adorned with the glorious robe of the vizierate. This happened in 1170 A.H., the Year of the Leopard, in [the month of] Jawzā'.[a] The rebellious amirs raised the banner of hostility once more, and, with an innumerable army, they set up their encampment in a village (*qarya*) named Davud.[396] They fought the army under Pir Khoja-Quli Inaq for one month, [until] the Manghït Bek Muhammad Inaq, a pillar of the rebellious army, made an agreement with Khoja-Quli Inaq, sowed dissention in the army of Aral and joined the army of Khiva. Consequently, the rebels were defeated. Having gathered the troops of Aral and Besh-Qal'a again, they put their train (*aghruqlar*) in the vicinity of the estate (*ḥaẓīra*)[397] of Pulad Sultan and besieged the city. The amirs of Khiva—Khoja-Quli Inaq, the Qïyat Yar Muhammad Inaq, the Manghït Ghayib (174) Inaq, and others—with the army of Khiva, fought against the accursed right wing of the rebels, which was in [the locality of] Nan-Yemes, and routed it. And the Yomut amirs Begenj 'Ali Sufi, Mengli-Geldi Saqaw, Il-Geldi Sardar, and Qahir-Quli, with the Yomut army, valiantly attacked the accursed

[a] 1170 A.H. corresponds to 25 September 1756–13 September 1757. The Year of the Leopard was from February 1758 to February 1759, and the month of Jawzā' was in May 1758.

left wing of the enemy and defeated them. They captured and killed Babajan Aqsaq and Sayyid Biy who for many years had been causing sedition everywhere in the *yurt*. Matan Atalïq, Ibrahim Inaq, and Ish Niyaz Naib went to Gurlen, but were unable to stay there and fled to Bukhara. Vays Bay, having abandoned Uyghur, also followed them. The whole region of Besh-Qal'a submitted to Timur Ghazi Khan and Khoja-Quli Inaq. This took place in 1171 A.H., the Year of the Hare, on 11 Jumadi II.[a] After a year, they returned from Bukhara, captured Uyghur and Gurlen again and fought for a full year. Finally, the post of Muhammad Inaq was given to Ibrahim Inaq, and a peace was concluded.

In the Year of the Sheep, on Friday 1 Shavval 1175 A.H.,[b] after the prayer of the Festival of Breaking the Fast (*'Īd-i Fiṭr*), by order of Timur Ghazi Khan and due to the efforts of Muhammad Amin Mehter, Muhammad Amin Bek ibn Ish Muhammad Biy killed Khoja-Quli Inaq in the hall of audiences (*körünüsh-khāna*), and Muhammad Inaq ibn Amir Atalïq killed Ibrahim Inaq. The same day Timur Ghazi Khan, with the support of Muhammad Amin Mehter, bestowed the posts of those two murdered amirs upon Muhammad Amin Bek and Muhammad Inaq. Muhammad Amin Inaq's power began on that day.[398]

In the Year of the Monkey,[c] enmity arose between Muhammad Amin Mehter and the khan because of some affairs of the state. Therefore, by Muhammad Amin Mehter's order, Safar (175) Dasturkhanchi[399] and 'Abd as-Sattar Bay killed the khan. On his death Mawlana Pahlavan-Quli Rawnaq[400] wrote a chronogram. [*Tārīkh.*] He was beguiling in his beauty and grace, and he was matchless in his kindness and elegance. He had two black sidelocks which he would always let fall in disorder onto his rosy cheeks. The wits of Khorezm called him "the king of dandies" (*shāh-i khūbān*). He spent most of his time on feasts and amusements with the amirs, drinking red wine from golden bowls served by rosy-cheeked pages. He was fifteen years old when he ascended the throne of sovereignty, and at the age of twenty-one he was killed. The duration of his

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[a] 11 Jumadi II 1171 A.H. corresponds to 20 February 1758. The Year of the Hare was from March 1759 to March 1760.

[b] The Year of the Sheep was from February 1763 to February 1764. 1 Shavval 1175 A.H. corresponds to 24 April 1762, but it was Saturday. 1 Shavval 1176/14 April 1763 was Thursday; Friday was 2 Shavval.

[c] From February 1764 to February 1765.

reign was seven years.[a] The khans who succeeded him had no authority and had to be content with the name of khan, while the power in the country and the appointment and deposition of khans was in the hands of the amirs.[401]

STORY (*ḥikāyat*): I heard from a learned man of that time: "On the day when Timur Ghazi Khan was killed I looked at the area in front of the gates of the citadel (*ärk*) and saw that the corpse of Timur Ghazi Khan was lying in the roadway. [*Shiʿr.*] (176) When I witnessed him in this state, I passed by, weeping in compassion, and reciting these two verses:

Shiʿr:
Alas, that this rosy (*gülgün*) cheek for which hearts (*köngül*) sighed
Is soiled by black dust and red blood.
Alas that this black sidelock which held the [whole] world prisoner
Lies dishevelled on the ground amidst straw and dust."

His tomb is in the vicinity of the illuminating [mausoleum of] his holiness Pahlavan Mahmud (may his grave be hallowed!).

Tawke Khan. His nickname (*laqab*) was Khudaydad, and he was one of the Qazaq khans. He came to Khiva for trade and was staying in a caravanseray. The day that Timur Ghazi Khan died, Tawke Khan was taken out of the caravanseray and put on the throne. He was a very kind man, just, pious, meek, and darvish-like. In his time the traces of sedition and civil unrest completely disappeared in the country of Khorezm. After the reign of a year and a half, (177) in 1178 A.H., at the beginning of the Year of the Dog,[b] at his own insistance he was relieved of the office of khan.

Shah Ghazi Khan was a son of Ghayib Khan. Some say that he was a son of Abu'l-Ghazi Khan; the most reliable story is that he was a son of Abu'l-Ghazi Khan, and that Ghayib Khan [later] took his mother [as a wife]. At the beginning of his reign ʿAbd ar-Rahim Arbab ibn Yarïm Divan invited Muhammad Amin Mehter to a banquet and killed him [there]. On the night of his death, Shir Baba Qoshbegi Bek, having obtained the sanction of the khan and Muhammad Amin Inaq, killed Muhammad Inaq. On that day the

[a] Thus the text—an obvious discrepancy with the preceding statement.
[b] 1178 A.H. corresponds to 30 June 1764–19 June 1765. The Year of the Dog was from February 1766 to February 1767.

post of vizier was bestowed upon ʿAbd ar-Rahim Arbab, and the rank of *inaq*—on the Manghït Muhammad Riza Bek. At the end of the reign of Shah Ghazi Khan the tribes of the Yomut and Chowdur became victorious and took possession of the *yurt*, and Miskin Raʾis Kati embarked upon the path of hostility and, together with his relatives, left [Khiva and went] to the Chowdurs. For this reason, {in 1181 A.H.}[a] Shah Ghazi Khan was deposed. He was an outstandingly handsome and supremely elegant man.[b] [*Nazm.*] He was deposed at the age of eighteen. The duration of his reign was two and a half years.

Abu'l-Ghazi Khan III was a son of Muhammad Rahim Sultan and a younger brother of Timur Ghazi Khan.[402] He was brought from Bukhara and in 1180 A.H.[c] (178) raised as khan. But his actions and manners were disagreeable, and, after he had reigned for one and a half years, Muhammad Amin Inaq drove him out. According to some accounts, the duration of his reign was one month.

Nur ʿAli Khan ibn Baraq Sultan.[403] He was one of the Qazaq sultans. In 1181 A.H., the Year of the Cow,[d] he became king, due to the efforts of Muhammad Amin Inaq. The same year, some amirs rose against Muhammad Amin Inaq and prepared for hostilities with him. Therefore Muhammad Amin Inaq went to the Yomuts. Eighteen days later ʿAbd as-Sattar Bay brought him back from the Yomuts, and the rebellious amirs went to his court with the steps of apology and repented their crimes.

At that time the Yomuts went beyond all reasonable limits in exercising their domination and supremacy, and their tyranny and oppression drove the subjects to extremity. Therefore Muhammad Amin Inaq, ʿAbd ar-Rahim Mehter, and ʿAbd as-Sattar Bay opened hostilities with the Yomuts and joined battle in ʿArabkhana,[404] but were defeated. The Yomuts pursued them and, having come to Qaratüpe,[405] were preparing for siege. Some people began peace talks, and the amirs came out [of Khiva for this purpose]. While they

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[a] 1767/68 A.D. The date (added in MS. C in margin) contradicts the one given below.

[b] Lit.: He also reigned in the *dīvān* of beauty and surpassed [everybody] on the arena of elegance.

[c] From 8 June 1766 to 28 May 1767.

[d] 1181 A.H. corresponds to 29 May 1767–16 May 1768. The Year of the Cow was from February 1769 to February 1770. MS. C has the word *sïchqan* (mouse) written above the line, but crossed out; the Year of the Mouse would be correct.

were talking with the chiefs (*akābir*) of the Yomuts, the Yomuts seized the amirs. The city people drove away the Teke and Salor, and the Yomuts took possession of the city. They put ʿAbd ar-Rahim Mehter and ʿAbd as-Sattar Bay with his five brothers to death, as well as the governor (*ḥākim*) of Uyghur ʿAbbas Atalïq and the governor (*vālī*) of Urgench Niyaz-Quli Bay, and appointed Miskin Raʾis to the post of vizier. They freed Muhammad Amin Inaq and made him *atalïq*, and in his place appointed the governor (*ḥākim*) of Aral (179) Khan-Keldi Biy as *inaq*. The Yomuts and the Qongrats of Aral seized power, and the authority in the country was in the hands of the Yomuts. Khan-Keldi Inaq turned over Miskin Mehter to the son of Ish Murad Qongrat, Dawlat Yar, let him kill the former, and entrusted the vizierate to ʿAbd ar-Rahman Mehter.

In that year 4,000 men who had gone to help Ahmad Shah returned.[406] In the same year, in the middle of [the month of] Mīzān,[a] Muhammad Amin Inaq, induced by Niyaz Parvanachi, who, after the murder of Miskin Mehter, fearing the Yomuts, took shelter in Hazarasp, started hostilities against the Yomuts and sent his younger brother ʿAdil Bek to seek help from Er ʿAli Khan ibn Abuʾl-Khayr Khan. At that time there was no king like him for grandeur and might in the whole of Dasht-i Qïpchaq.[407] Khan-Keldi Inaq fled, went to Qongrat, fought against Muhammad Nazar Biy for a long time, and fell at his hand. Niyaz Parvanachi gathered troops from [the people of the region] between Hazarasp and Urgench, and made a stand at Shat. After the arrival of Er ʿAli Khan, Muhammad Amin Inaq fought hard against the Chowdur and Yomut in Shahabad, drove the Chowdurs out of the country (*yurt*), and joined Niyaz Parvanachi in Shat. From there they came to Nawkhast,[408] and from Nawkhast—to Qahraman. At that time they fought battles with the Yomut army in a manner never seen since the time of Rustam and Isfandiyar.[409] The people of Urgench surrendered their town to the Yomuts. Therefore the army of Muhammad Amin Inaq and Niyaz Parvanachi dispersed, and Muhammad Amin Inaq went to Bukhara.

The Yomuts, having captured Khiva, deposed Nur ʿAli Khan.

(180) **Jahangir Khan ibn Ghayib Khan.** After Muhammad Amin Inaq left for Bukhara, the Yomuts took possession of Besh-Qalʿa and, having brought him (Jahangir), made him khan in Khiva.

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[a] Mid-September.

In his time famine began in Besh-Qalʿa, people were eating dogs and cats and kept alive by selling their children to the Qazaqs. On top of all this, plague broke out in Khiva. Therefore most of Uzbeks and Sarts dispersed and went to Aral and Bukhara, and the Yomuts would capture them and sell them to the Qazaqs. The cities of Besh-Qalʿa, among which Khiva was the principal one, became desolate. In Khiva no people remained except for forty families of the poor (*fuqarāʾ*).[410] At most Friday prayers, only three or four persons would recite the prayer. Tamarisk and saksaul showed their green [in the city], and wild animals lived in the ruins of houses. And all the farmland (*mazraʿa*), villages (*kend*) and lakes were covered with reeds and thickets.[411]

After Muhammad Amin Inaq returned from Bukhara, destroyed the Yomuts and brought the kingdom (*mamālik*) of Khorezm under his control, he deposed Jahangir Khan and sent him to his father. The duration of his reign was one year. After this the power of Muhammad Amin Inaq began to grow, and his greatness increased day by day.

Bölekey Khan ibn Nur ʿAli Khan ibn Abu'l-Khayr Khan.[412] He mounted the throne of sovereignty after Jahangir Khan. In his time the famine was eliminated and low prices established. Because of the words of some slanderers, after one month, Muhammad Amin Inaq deposed him from the throne of the khanate and sent him to his father's *yurt*. He was for a long time (181) the king of the Qazaqs on the banks of the Sïr and of the Qaraqalpaqs on the banks of the Yangi-Darya and left this world in the time of Muhammad Rahim Khan, in 1223 A.H.[a] His "jewel of the casket of virtue", that is, his beloved daughter, whose qualities equal those of Bilqis,[413] was taken in marriage by the late sultan Eltüzer Muhammad Bahadur Khan (may his manifest proof be illuminated!). Now she is included in the harem of his imperial majesty.[b]

Aqïm Khan. He was a grandson of Abu'l-Khayr Khan and a son of ʿAdil Sultan. His head was exalted with the crown of sovereignty after Bölekey Khan, in 1184 A.H.[c] He was surnamed ʿAbdallah Khan. At the end of that same year Niyaz Parvanachi killed Muhammad Inaq, Ish Niyaz Mehter, and ʿAbd ar-Rahman Bay. Therefore

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[a] Between 27 February 1808 and 14 February 1809.
[b] That is, Muhammad Rahim Khan.
[c] Between 26 April 1770 and 14 April 1771.

Niyaz Parvanachi was put to death, and Muhammad Amin Inaq began to exercise undivided rule. Aqïm Khan was a pleasant conversationalist, a good horseman, and crazy about falconry. Once in the time of the late amir ʿAvaz Inaq, Aqïm Khan came to Khiva travelling with an embassy and stayed in the house of the younger brother-in-law of one of the descendants of Sayyid ʿAla' ad-Din Khoja (may his grave be hallowed!),[414] Sayyid Ishan Khoja, who was both a teacher (*ustād*) and a neighbor of this humble [author]. At that time I was ten or eleven years old. I came to the house of the aforementioned khoja to play. When he saw me, he immediately peered [at me] and asked: "Are you a son of ʿAvaz Mirab? You resemble him, and we have often flown birds with your father." After I answered, he questioned me about my life and showed me (182) regal kindness. He was deposed in 1185 A.H.,[a] and at the time of the rebellion of Baba Bek and Kuchuk Inaq he came again and, having reigned for four or five months in Gurlen and one year in Khiva, was [again] deposed. He died in the time of the great amir ʿAvaz Inaq.

ʿAbd al-ʿAziz Khan ibn Ghayib Khan.[415] He reigned for some time after the first deposition of Aqïm Khan. He was a young man (*yigit*) of handsome face and fine character. He was an excellent archer. It is told that once khan went hunting in the vicinity of Qawruq-Tam and Astana,[416] accompanied by the amirs, nobles, and *bekzādas*[417] of the capital Khiva, with Muhammad Amin Inaq at the head. During the hunt, a boar happened to spring out of the thicket towards the khan. The khan shot him through the forehead with an arrow which came out at his tail and pinned him down to the ground.

Artuq Ghazi Khan. He was a brother of Timur Ghazi Khan. After ʿAbd al-ʿAziz Khan, he was brought from Bukhara and raised as khan. In his time Baba Bek ibn Niyaz Parvanachi came from Bukhara and, with the help of the beks of the Qanglï, captured Hazarasp. Kuchuk Inaq ibn Muhammad Inaq also joined their rebellion; they brought ʿAbdallah Sultan, a Qalpaq prince,[418] and raised him as khan in Gurlen. After much fighting, they concluded peace with Muhammad Amin Inaq in the region of Qosh-Küprük,[419] and Muhammad Amin Inaq brought ʿAbdallah Khan to Khiva, made him khan, and sent away Artuq Ghazi Khan to Bukhara.

[a] Between 15 April 1771 and 2 April 1772.

(183) **ʿAbdallah Khan.** After he mounted the throne of Khiva, the hostile amirs again kindled the flame of disobedience and rebellion in Gurlen, brought Aqïm Khan, and for five months there were no contacts with them except for exchanges of blows with sabers and arrows. At that time the governors (*ḥukkām*) of Vazir submitted to the inaq and, having brought Fazil Bek and the Qïpchaq Rahim-Berdi Atalïq with a part of the army [of Khiva to the town], turned Vazir over to them. After this the rebels trembled with fear, and Muhammad Amin Inaq came with an innumerable army and besieged Gurlen. Finally the besieged amirs had no choice but to make peace. They came with the inaq and put Aqïm Khan on the throne in Khiva, while Baba Bek remained in Gurlen. Vays-Quli Divan, set himself up as inaq, allied himself with Baba Bek and sharpened the saber of mutiny and rebellion once more. They brought the Salor troops from Hazarasp and fought innumerable battles with the army of Muhammad Amin Inaq. In the meantime the beks of Hazarasp submitted to the inaq, and, by the order of the inaq, Fazil Bek, Bek Pulad Atalïq, and the Hazarasp beks with Sultan Bek, the younger brother of Niyaz Parvanachi, at the head, went to Kat for the siege of Gurlen. After several days, the Hazarasp beks and the Gurlen amirs began to send letters to Baba Bek and Vays-Quli Divan secretly. Therefore the nobles (*akābir*) of Gurlen and the beks of Hazarasp were seized and imprisoned. Among them, the younger brother of Khoja-Quli Inaq, Eltüzer Mirab, the Nokuz ʿAshur Naib Gurleni, and Sultan Bek Hazaraspi, together with the beks of Hazarasp, were put to death. And Aqïm Khan (184) was deposed from the throne of sovereignty and sent to the Qazaqs.

Yadigar Khan. He was a Qalpaq prince (*töre*). He was brought [to Khiva] and exalted with the crown of sovereignty. After this, Baba Bek fled from Gurlen, entered Pitnak and fortified himself there. After much fighting with Atajan Khoja Shaykh al-Islam and Allash Atalïq the Qïpchaq, he could not hold out and went to Bukhara. This happened in 1186 A.H., at the end of the Year of the Snake.[a] The late prince (*amīrzāda*) Hasan Murad Bek was born in that year. In the Year of the Sheep,[b] Muhammad Amin Inaq for some reason became offended with the khan and deposed him. After

[a] 1186 A.H. corresponds to 4 April 1772–24 March 1773. The end of the Year of the Snake fell upon February 1774.

[b] From February 1775 to February 1776.

this he (Yadigar) twice more became khan and was twice deposed. His last deposition took place in 1204 A.H., the Year of the Dog,[a] and after this he reigned no more. In the time of ʿAvaz Inaq the Qaraqalpaqs killed him. He was a keen pigeon-fancier.

Abu'l-Fayz Khan. He was also a son of Ghayib Khan. After the first deposition of Yadigar Khan, he became king, thanks to the efforts of Muhammad Amin Inaq. In his time anarchy and rebellion were brought to an end, and thanks to its tranquility, which was just like a rosegarden, the garden called the state became so calm it would have aroused the envy of the garden of Eden! With the august birth in 1190 A.H., the Year of the Monkey,[b] of his imperial majesty, the sultan, caliph of the ages, cream of the sultans of the world, exemplar of the great khaqans, made victorious by the Lord whose help is sought, Abu'l-Ghazi Muhammad Rahim Bahadur Khan (may God make his kingdom and sovereignty endure forever, and may he abundantly provide (185) his charity and benevolence to all creatures!),—the world's dark night became bright, and its bed of thorns became a rosegarden. [*Nazm.*] (186) And in the Year of the Dog,[c] when the sun which illuminates the world passed to the sign of Aries, on the day of Nawruz, a Thursday (187) morning,[d] this humble [author] was born. In the same year was born the great prince (*amīrzāda-i aʿzam*) and the most noble among the men, Majd ad-Dawla va'd-Din Muhammad Nazar Bek. [*Nazm.*]

In autumn Baba Bek came from Bukhara and entered Pitnak. He joined battle with the ever-victorious army [of Khiva], was defeated, and, subdued and crushed, fled back to Bukhara. (188) At the end of the aforementioned year Abu'l-Fayz Khan died of smallpox, and the great amir Muhammad Amin Inaq brought Yadigar Khan back and put him on the throne of sovereignty.

Pulad Ghazi Khan. He was a son of Safar Sultan ibn Ilbars Khan, one of the sultans of Bukhara, and was related to Timur

[a] 1204 A.H. corresponds to 20 September 1789–8 September 1790; the Year of the Dog was from February 1790 to February 1791.

[b] 1190 A.H. corresponds to 20 February 1776–7 February 1777; the Year of the Monkey was from February 1776 to February 1777.

[c] From February 1778 to February 1779.

[d] It is not clear whether Munis mentions here the Persian Nawruz (21 March 1778; but the day of the week should be Saturday), or the Khorezmian Nawruz, which was 22 days earlier (see Introduction, pp. XLIII–XLV), on 27 February (which was Friday).

Ghazi Khan. In his time, in the Year of the Pig,[a] in [the month of] Ḥamal,[b] Yadigar Khan came to Jan Murad Inaq in Aral, among the Manghïts, and stirred up uprisings, while Baba Bek brought Pulad Ghazi from Bukhara and captured Hazarasp, so that numerous disturbances occurred in the kingdom (*mamālik*), and the *yurt* was shaken. At this time Badal Divanbegi, the vizier of amir Daniyal,[420] came with an innumerable army, and Baba Bek and Jan Murad Inaq gained strength; rebellions took place in Baghat[421] and Gurlen, and there was much fighting between them and Muhammad Amin Inaq.[422] Finally the sun of Muhammad Amin Inaq's good fortune rose high, the enemies of the state became weakened and hard pressed, and Jan Murad Inaq left Gurlen under the pretext of an armistice and went to Aral. Baba Bek was forced to make peace, deposed Yadigar Khan with the help of Badal Divanbegi, brought Pulad Ghazi Khan to Khiva, and the latter was raised as khan. This happened in the Year of the Cow.[c] The same year the late ʿAbdu Karim Bek, the martyr prince,[423] was born. Pulad Ghazi Khan was deposed in the Year of the Hare,[d] after the murder of Baba Bek, and the previously deposed Yadigar Khan was again appointed to reign, as was mentioned before. (189) After some time, he was again deposed and sent away to the Qaraqalpaqs.

Abu'l-Ghazi Khan IV. He was a son of ʿAbdallah Khan and relative of Yadigar Khan. In the Year of the Dog,[e] after the deposition of Yadigar Khan, he became king. In his time, in 1205 A.H., the Year of the Pig,[f] the late Muhammad Amin Inaq died. His elder son, Jamal ad-Dawla va'd-Din Amir-i Kabir ʿAvaz Biy Inaq succeeded to his father's post. God willing, these events will be mentioned at their due place. And in the Year of the Dog,[g] 1217 A.H., on the morning of Monday 22 Jumadi I,[h] Abu'l-Ghazi Khan insisted on abdicating and went to the Qaraqalpaqs. The news of his death

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[a] From February 1779 to February 1780.
[b] March.
[c] From February 1781 to February 1782.
[d] From February 1783 to February 1784.
[e] From February 1790 to February 1791.
[f] 1205 A.H. corresponds to 9 September 1790–29 August 1791; the Year of the Pig was from February 1791 to February 1792.
[g] From February 1802 to February 1803.
[h] Sunday, 19 September 1802.

was received in the late khan Eltüzer Khan's reign. He had a sparse beard and a dark complexion.

Abu'l-Ghazi Khan V. He was a son of Yadigar Khan. On Sunday 28 Jumadi I of the same year,[a] he was brought from the house of his maternal uncle in Khanqah and raised as king. That year he was eighteen years old. In his time, on Thursday 26 Zu'l-Qa'da 1218 A.H.,[b] Eltüzer Bek was appointed to the post of *inaq*, and on the first day of Zu'l-Hijja,[c] the great amir Jamal ad-Dawla va'd-Din 'Avaz Biy Inaq passed from this world to the next one. God willing, these events will be related in detail in their due place. On (190) Saturday 12 Sha'ban 1219 A.H.,[d] Eltüzer Khan deposed Abu'l-Ghazi Khan, and on the [following] Monday he took his place on the throne of sovereignty. And after the horrible event with the late khan Eltüzer Muhammad Bahadur Khan, on Sunday 12 Jumadi I 1221 A.H.,[e] Abu'l-Ghazi Khan was again put on the throne of sovereignty, thanks to the royal favor of his imperial majesty, the sultan mighty as heaven.[f] And on Thursday night 7 Shavval of the same year,[g] he was deposed, and the rule of the Chingizid dynasty in the country of Khorezm came to an end. Praise and thanks be to God that the inheritance of sovereignty and power and the succession to caliphate and imperial rule have been destined to his khaqanic majesty's family which is as sublime as the firmament and as mighty as heaven, whose *khuṭba* is adorned with the august [title caliph] as in [the verse] "*Surely I am setting in the earth a viceroy* (*khalīfa*),"[h] and whose coinage is ornamented with the auspicious *laqabs* [referred to in the verse] "*Surely God bids to justice and good-doing.*"[i] The bases of the pillars of his magnificence are seemingly referred to in [the words] "*As though they were a building well-compacted,*"[j] and the arch of the portico of his

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[a] Saturday 25 September 1802 (Sunday 26 September, if based on the era of 16 July 622).

[b] Wednesday 7 March 1804 (Thursday 8 March if based on the era of 16 July 622).

[c] 12 March 1804.

[d] Thursday 15 November 1804.

[e] 27 July 1806.

[f] That is, Muhammad Rahim Khan.

[g] Wednesday 17 December 1806 (Thursday 18 December if based on the era of 16 July 622).

[h] Qur'ān, II,30.

[i] Qur'ān, XVI,90.

[j] Cf. Qur'ān, LXI,4.

justice in [the words] "*And whosoever enters it is safe*,"[a] and his felicitous banner is [seemingly] embroidered in gold with [the words] "*We have given you a manifest victory*,"[b] and the sword of his valor [appears to] gleam with [the words] "*That God may help thee with mighty help*."[c] [*Nazm* (190–192).]

[a] Qur'ān, III,97.
[b] Qur'ān, XLVIII,1.
[c] Qur'ān, XLVIII,3.

(193) Chapter IV, mentioning the noble forefathers and honorable ancestors of his royal majesty the lord of the fortunate conjunction of planets,[a] among whom everyone is a radiant star in the constellation of governance and each one is a gleaming gem in the jewel-chest of nobility

People versed in history tell that at the time of Alanqoa's grandfather, Dobun Bayan,[424] the dwellings and habitations of the Qongrat[425] tribe, who belonged to the Mongol people, were situated on the banks of the river Qūlā.[426] At that time the king of all Qongrats was **Qaljiday Khan**[427] from the clan of Balghalï.[428] He was a very just and learned person. In his time the power and wealth of the Qongrat tribe increased, and the human mind was inadequate to count the number of their sheep and other animals. He had a younger brother named Saljiday and a son named Qadan Khan. When Qaljiday Khan was dying, he divided his *el* and property into two parts, gave them to these two, and went to the next world.

When **Qadan Khan** came to the throne, Saljiday Khan, instigated by the devil, rose in rebellion. After much fighting he captured and imprisoned Qadan Khan, and the latter died in prison. (194) [*Shi'r.*]

Saljiday Khan, after he captured Qadan, became the ruler of all Qongrats. For five generations after him the kingdom remained with his descendants. The name of the last king was Qaravul Khan ibn Timaj Khan ibn Keskün Khan ibn Uranji Khan ibn Burqay Khan ibn Saljiday Khan. The whole tribe of Burqut[429] descends from Burqay.

Jayilghan Khan was a very prudent and wise man. He descended from Qadan Khan ibn Qaljiday Khan, in the following way: Jayilghan Khan ibn Aghanay Khan ibn Suntay Timur ibn Qawchin ibn Qadan Khan. The aforesaid Qawchin also had another son named Kürley; the whole tribe of Kürleüt[430] descends from him. Jayilghan Khan was a contemporary of Tümene Khan.[431] After his *el* and followers had become numerous, he rebelled, killed Qaravul Khan, and, having ascended the throne of his forefathers, became the king of all Qongrats. He subjugated the surrounding *el*s, and the khans of the Mongols

[a] I.e. Eltüzer Khan.

and other rulers of the Turks could not deviate from his judgment. He had a son named Mönge and a daughter named Aruja Khatun. He gave this daughter in marriage to the great-grandfather of Chingiz Khan, Qabul Khan[432] ibn Tümene Khan. She had six sons; they were all called Qïyat.[433] After some time, having made his son Mönge his heir, Jayilghan Khan left this world. (195) [*Mathnavī.*]

Mönge Khan was a powerful and magnanimous king. He had seven sons: Pashan, Sengi, Jamuqa, Baysun, Arslan, Qubday, and Söyünch. Most of the Qongrat clans are their descendants. Mönge sent the four sons who were older than Arslan, together with 20 thousand families of the Qongrat, to the banks of the river Qara-Müren;[434] they took possession of this place and settled there.

After the death of Mönge Khan, **Arslan Khan** was distinguished with the crown of sovereignty and the throne of justice. It is related that Yarqaq[435] ibn Qabul Khan had been a son of Aruja Khatun, and that the king of Khitay, Altan Khan, had killed him. Therefore Arslan Khan came with an army, plundered a region of Khitay called Khanbalïgh,[436] killed an amir of Altan Khan by the name of Toqu Chingsang,[437] and returned home. He was honored and esteemed among the khans of Mongolistan. He had ten sons; the name of the eldest was Dey Noyan. Having handed over to him the administration of the *el*, he went the way of his forefathers. [*Qiṭʿa.*]

Dey Noyan Khan.[438] {His original name was Darïtay; Dey Noyan was his surname (*laqab*).}[439] He was a just king and a courageous monarch. When he ascended the throne of his father, he opened the door of munificence and generosity (196) to the poor and poured the seeds of justice and clemency into the coffers of the military (*sipāhī*) and the people (*raʿiyyat*). He was a contemporary of Yesügey Bahadur.[440] He had three sons, Qayā Khan,[441] Terk Amal Khan,[442] and Taghachar Noyan,[443] and a daughter, Börte Qauchin Khatun;[444] Yesügey Bahadur took her [as a wife] for Chingiz Khan. Jochi Khan, Chaghatay Khan, Ögetey Khan, and Toluy Khan were born from this daughter, as mentioned above. Dey Noyan Khan made Qayā Khan king of the Qongrats on the Qara-Müren, made Terk Amal Khan his own heir, and made Taghachar Noyan an *amīr-i lashkar*[445] of the latter. Qayā Khan died in the time of Güyük Khan ibn Ögetey Qaan. Chaghatay Khan took his two daughters as wives.[446]

When Dey Noyan Khan died, **Terk Amal Khan** ascended the throne. It is related that at first his soul was inclined to oppression

and his nature brought about sedition, and therefore there was famine and scarcity in his dominions. [*Bayt.*] After this had happened, he repented, set the foot of truth on the path of justice, and looked with favor on his subjects. By the grace of the Most High God, the famine was eliminated, and a sheep cost less than one *aqcha.*[447] When Chingiz Khan came to the river Qūlā during his war with Ong Khan Kereit, he asked for help from Terk Amal Khan, and with this help he overcame his enemies.[448] (197) [*Mathnavī.*] After Chingiz Khan had ascended the throne, he asked Terk Amal Khan to send him Taghachar Bahadur, whom he made his own *amīr-i lashkar.*[449] He used to send him with a strong army against large countries. In 615 A.H.[a] Qodu, younger brother of Toqta Beki, the khan of the Merkits, who was with his sons in the land of the Naymans, started a rebellion; then Taghachar Bahadur came, together with Sübedey Bahadur, overtook and captured Qodu on the banks of the river Jam-Müren,[450] and, upon his return to Chingiz Khan, was favored with many awards. {Banakati and the history *Rawżat aṣ-ṣafā'* relate}[451] that in 617 A.H.[b] Chingiz Khan sent Taghachar Bahadur to Iran together with Jebe Noyan and Sübedey Bahadur in pursuit of Sultan Muhammad Khorezmshah. When they approached Herat, an arrow struck him; he went to the next world, and his troops joined with those of Jebe Noyan and Sübedey Bahadur. Chingiz Khan became furious at this and dispatched Elchigitey Noyan with 80 thousand men against Herat. He came and captured Herat, making a general massacre and destroying the walls and the buildings [of the city].[452] Terk Amal Khan, having reigned for 35 years, (198) in 618 A.H.[c] gave up the life which he had held in trust to the angel of death.[453] He had four sons. The name of the eldest was Tinim Güregen.[454] Chingiz Khan loved him very much and gave him in marriage his daughter Tumayun, as is told by Banakati. Therefore he was called Güregen: in the Mongol language, the son-in-law is called Güregen. The names of Terk Amal's younger sons were Elchi Noyan, Achay, and Tüken.

Tinim Güregen. Chingiz Khan appointed him to the post of his father, put all the Qongrats under his command and granted him

[a] 1218/19 A.D.
[b] 1220/21 A.D.
[c] 1221/22 A.D.

the title (*laqab*) *noyan*. In the Mongol language *noyan* means *amīr al-umarā'*;[455] after Chingiz Khan conquered China (Khitay), the title *khan* remained with no one else. Tinim Güregen accompanied Chingiz Khan in most of his campaigns. In the battle between the khan and Sultan Jalal ad-Din Khorezmshah on the bank of the Indus (Sind), Tinim Güregen fought hard, killed the sultan's standard-bearer, and wounded the sultan. The sultan was defeated and saved himself by jumping into the river. The khan bestowed upon Tinim Güregen many awards and favors and elevated his rank above [that of] the other amirs. Upon the return of Chingiz Khan from Iran, Jochi Khan came to the hunting ground of his father, and when Chingiz Khan sent his son back to his dominion, he sent with him Tinim Güregen, together with his *el* and *ulus*, as his deputy (*vakīl*) and *noyan*. Jochi Khan also held him in great esteem and did not undertake anything without his advice. Towards the end of his life Tinim Güregen became a Muslim.[456] He had a son by the name of Musa Güregen. In 631 A.H.[a] (199)—some say in 633 A.H.[b]—Musa Güregen succeeded his father.[457] Batu Khan ibn Jochi Khan promoted him and married him to a daughter of Hülegü Khan ibn Toluy Khan, named Taraqay Khatun. She bore him Noqay Noyan and Tudaku Khatun; this daughter (Tudaku) was married to Sultan Ahmad Tegüder ibn Hülegü Khan. Musa Güregen died in 663 A.H., in the time of Berke Khan.

Noqay Noyan[458] was a great *noyan* and an illustrious general. He was born in the time of Batu Khan. When Berke Khan moved his army against Abaqa Khan, the king of Iran, he put him in the advance guard. Noqay fought Abaqa's troops in the region of Shirvan and defeated them, but then his fortunes were reversed: an arrow hit him in the eye, and his troops were put to flight.[459] After the death of Berke Khan, Mengu Timur Khan was proclaimed khan with the assistance of Noqay. Due to his efforts, Mengu Timur Khan sent an army and conquered the land of the Bulghar, and the khan granted Noqay this country. He appointed his elder son Aghaday Bahadur, with 30,000 tents (*öylük*) of the Qongrats and 100,000 tents of other Turks, to govern this province, and returned to his *yurt*.[460] Therefore the people of this country are called the people of Noqay

[a] 1233/34 A.D.
[b] 1235/36 A.D.

(*Noqay eli*). In Ramazan 686 A.H.[a] [Noqay] received from Mengu Timur Khan 80,000 men under Terktay Bahadur, (200) set out towards Iran against Arghun Khan, and, having joined battle with the amirs of Iran, returned home. It is told that Toqtaghu Khan ibn Mengu Timur Khan fled and went into hiding from his *el* for fear of Tuda Mengu Khan and wrote to Noqay Noyan: "My cousins have united against me, so I am resorting to you for protection." Therefore [Noqay] made the effort and set out towards Saray.[461] On his way he told everyone he met: "Old age is despoiling the kingdom of my body. I am abandoning contests and strife, and I have no intention of fighting with anybody. But I have a decree (*yarlïq*) of Sayin Khan[462] saying that, if any of his descendants or clan or *ulus* rebels and goes astray, I should arrange reconciliation and incline their hearts to agreement with one another." When the whole *el* of Jochi heard these deceitful words, they obeyed [him]. When he approached Saray he sent a man to Toqtaghu saying: "Be ready, and come with the troops as soon as possible." The princes who were in Saray, on hearing that Noqay Noyan came with an admonition, went to welcome him, escorted him into the town, and politely stood in attendance. And he said by way of admonition: "My children, I have served your fathers, and they always took my advice. [*Nazm.*] Listen to my disinterested words: your well-being depends on concord; hold an assembly (*quriltay*), so that I may give you peace." While they were talking thus, all of a sudden Toqtaghu Khan arrived with a numerous army and immediately put to death Tuda Mengu Khan and the princes. (201) He let Noqay Noyan go with all honors to his *yurt*. When he firmly established his reign, he repeatedly summoned Noqay Noyan and appointed him his own *atalïq*.[463] And it is told that Saljiday Güregen from the Uyghur tribe, who was a maternal grandfather of Toqtaghu Khan,[464] married his son Yaylaq to Noqay Noyan's daughter Qadaq.[465] The son-in-law was an infidel; therefore he held the [Noqay's] daughter in contempt. The daughter did not obey him, and they began to quarrel. [*Mathnavī.*] The daughter was offended by the tyranny of this infidel, and she let her father know it. Noqay Noyan became angry and took his daughter by force from his son-in-law.[466] Toqtaghu Khan, due to their kinship, took the side of Saljiday and Yaylaq. Because of that enmity

[a] October–November 1287.

arose between him and Noqay Noyan, so that Toqtaghu Khan set out against Noqay with an innumerable army. Noqay Noyan also gathered his *el* and *ulus* and sent a messenger to his elder son Aghaday Bahadur, who governed the countries of the Bulghar, Cherkes, and Qazan[467] as his father's deputy. Aghaday also gathered troops from the whole *el* of Noqay and joined his father. Manghït Sonqor Mirza, who lived on the river Atil (Volga) close to the *ulus* of the Qongrat,[468] fearing the *noyan*, (202) was compelled to come and be in his service. Horsemen were also received from other Turks who lived nearby. [*Mathnavī.*] With all this innumerable army [Noqay] went against Toqtaghu Khan and drew up the battle array. [*Naẓm.*] (203) In short, the warriors spurred their horses, and the combat began. In this battle Aghaday Bahadur, fighting heroically, killed fifteen notable warriors, the foremost of whom was Saljiday Güregen, and wounded many people. Thereupon the khan became furious and induced [his] army to fight. Despite his old age the *noyan* also, holding the *tugh*,[469] spurred his horse towards the khan. The khan could not hold his ground and fled. Aghaday Bahadur, with his father's right wing (*būrānghār*), fought the left wing (*juvānghār*) of the khan's army. Manghït Sonqor Mirza accompanied him, but his ties with Toqtaghu Khan were stronger; therefore, when Aghaday Bahadur was in the thick of the fight, [Sonqor] attacked him unawares, delivered a blow from behind, and killed him. Having cut off his head, [Sonqor], with his troops, joined the khan. Encouraged by this, the enemies turned back and charged the *noyan*. The troops which were with the *noyan* had dispersed while gathering the booty, and only a few men remained with him. They could not stand their ground and were defeated. A Mongol by the name of Urus captured the *noyan* and took him to the khan. On the way the *noyan* heard of the death of his son, gave a heavy sigh from the bottom of his heart, and yielded his soul. His age was 92, but some say that he was 81. This happened in 713 A.H.[a470] He had seven sons; except for Aghaday Bahadur, nothing is known of their names and lives.[471]

Aghaday Bahadur had been a very brave and audacious man. He reigned in Bulghar for 22 years. During the days of his reign he made raids against the Urus and the Cherkes, subdued these countries, and appointed governors there. (204) He restored the city

[a] 28 April 1313–16 April 1314.

walls of Hajji-Tarkhan, which had been in ruins since the time of Jochi Khan.[472] He raised *jizya* from most of the infidels. His munificence and generosity knew no bounds. Thus, for instance, a merchant named Fakhr ad-Din Muhammad Khorezmi came to Bulghar for trade purposes; one day, when Aghaday Bahadur was returning from a hunt, [the merchant] presented [him] a pair of Khorezmian apples and two pairs of Samarqand pomegranates. Bahadur made a sign, and his treasurer gave the merchant 300 *balïsh* of gold.[473] Rewards and favors of this kind were numerous. [*Nazm.*] It is a pity that he did not reach old age; in 713, in the disaster with his father, Manghït Sonqor Mirza killed him, as was mentioned above. His age was 35.

He had a son by the name of **Naghday**. He was a governor of the Cherkes. On hearing the terrible news about his father and grandfather, he fled from the Cherkes together with Qïpchaq Esen Bugha Chechen, a friend of his father,[474] and came to Özbek Khan [who was] in the lower reaches of the Atil. Özbek Khan promoted him and granted him the title *noyan*. After the death of Toqtaghu Khan, Özbek Khan became the king of the whole *el* of Jochi, and he conferred on Naghday the post of the *amīr al-umarā'*. Upon the arrival at Saray of his holiness, the sultan of gnostics and the cream of mystics, the pivot of the world and the greatest axis, the support of saints, Sayyid Ahmad Sayyid Ata[475] (may his tomb be illuminated!), (205) Özbek Khan became a Muslim, made the whole *el* of Jochi Muslims and gave them the designation (*laqab*) Uzbek. After this he conferred on Naghday Biy the designation (*laqab*) *biy*, [and ordered] that they should henceforth call *noyans* "*biy*", to distinguish it from the custom of the infidels.[476] It is told that the justice of Naghday Biy was extraordinary. One day people complained about damage: "Your younger son Barïn Mirza goes every day for the hunt, and passing the head (*saqā*) of our canal he destroys it with the feet of his horse." The biy apologized to them: "Come tomorrow morning, I shall decide your case." When Barïn Mirza returned home from the hunt, Naghday summoned him to his presence, passed sentence and had him executed by hanging from a tree. The next morning, when the people came and saw what had happened, they cried in lamentation and threw themselves at the feet of the biy saying: "May our souls be your ransom, why have you done this!" Naghday Biy said: "If I do not do everything in my power to repulse an oppressor, God will call [me] to account." [*Mathnavī.*] (206) Moreover, he was

a perfect saint (*kāmil-i mukammil*) and a pious mystic (*ʿārif-i ṣāḥib-dil*). He joined the "chain" (Sufi lineage) of his holiness Sayyid Ata (may his grave be hallowed!) and reached the highest degree of mystical perfection (*kamālāt*). It is told that Naghday Biy would not begin to pronounce *takbīr*[477] until he had a vision of the blessed Kaʿba. [*Bayt.*] When his holiness Sayyid Ata (the mercy of God be upon him!) came to Khorezm, [Naghday] made his eldest son, Harun Mirza, his deputy under Özbek Khan, resigned from his post, and came with his holiness the Sayyid to Khorezm. By the order of his holiness the Sayyid, he settled in Old Kat, which in those days was inhabited; from time to time he would come to Baqïrghan[478] and serve his *pīr*.[479] After some time he died in Kat and was buried in a mausoleum (*ʿimārat*) which he himself had built in the vicinity of [the tomb of] his holiness Shaykh ʿAbbas (may his glorious grave be hallowed!).[480] There still exist remnants of this building; but Naghday's age and date of death are not known.[481]

After his father went with his holiness Sayyid Ata to Khorezm, **Harun Mirza**[482] became *amīr al-umarāʾ* under Özbek Khan and governed the people. (207) In the time of Janibek Khan his position was very high; in 758 A.H.[a] Janibek Khan, setting out to Iran against Malik Ashraf,[483] left him as his deputy. He was a very good soldier and knew well the laws and rules (*yasaq va yosun*) of the art of war. After the death of Janibek Khan, Berdibek Khan killed the khan's relatives and also made Harun a martyr. He lived 45 years. [*Shiʿr.*]

Timur Biy, on hearing the news about his father, made an end to peace (*el*) and opened hostilities. He plundered most of the lands of Berdibek Khan, led away his own *el* and *ulus*, and settled on the banks of the Sïr. He obeyed no king and never visited a king's court. It is told that he was especially skillful in the art of falconry and most of his time was spent in flying birds. He paid salary to 1,000 huntsmen. After he had reached maturity, he never missed a single prayer of his own free will and never fell back upon sorcery (*siḥr*) out of negligence [of Islam]. He was 55 when he went to heaven. (208) He had five sons, in the following order: Idris Bek, Qutluq Biy, Qalman Bahadur, Taghay Bek, Burge. Idris Bek had died before his father and left one son by the name of Ish-Quli; some believe

[a] 1357 A.D.

that the clan (*uruq*) Ish-Quli[484] comes from his descendants, and some say that they come from some other Qongrat. [*Nazm.*]

Qutluq Biy was a brave and courageous man. He took over the *el* and *ulus* after his father and promoted the customs of justice and equity. At this time a certain Shirin Mirza, one of the descendants of the Manghït Sonqor Mirza, who had killed his great-great-grandfather Aghaday Bahadur, was the ruler of the Manghït. To fight him, Qutluq Biy set out on a raid with an elite of 2,000 brave warriors. One night they attacked his camp, captured and killed Shirin Mirza, plundered his retainers taking many prisoners, and returned home. [*Bayt.*] For some time he did his best to enjoy the good things of life, and in 823 A.H.[a] he chanted the answer "Here I am" to the voice [from heaven], "*Return unto thy Lord.*"[b] His age was 33, and he left three sons: Menglish Bahadur, Talïsh Bek, and Berdish Bek. (209) [*Bayt.*]

Menglish Bahadur became heir to his father, but because of his infancy he was unable to rule the *el.* Qalman Bahadur governed the *el* on his behalf, and when Menglish Bahadur had reached the age of l8 he handed over to him the post of his father and resigned. Menglish Biy was extremely brave, and therefore the title (*laqab*) *bahādur*[c] was added to his name. It is told that he paid salary to 3,000 soldiers and would raid the Qalmaqs.[485] At the age of 40 he was paralyzed and could no longer mount and dismount a horse. He had fifteen sons. He made his eldest son, Musa Biy, his heir, and in 856 A.H.[d] he bade farewell to this world. His age was 44. [*Nazm.*]

Musa Biy was a contemporary of Yadigar Khan.[e] At this time a grandson of Shirin Mirza named Qojash Mirza was the ruler of the Manghït. He gathered an army and set out against Musa Biy. News of this reached the *el* of Qongrat when he came within a distance of two days' march. Most of the Qongrat troops had gone for a *jihād* against the Qalmaqs. Musa Biy sent messengers to the *el,* and 200 men gathered [under him]. With these 200 men he set out and joined battle. They made very great efforts and killed many

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[a] 1420 A.D.
[b] Qur'ān, LXXXIX,28.
[c] On the title *bahādur* see note 46.
[d] 1452 A.D.
[e] On Yadigar Khan see above, pp. 25–26.

Manghïts, but finally, (210) because of their small number, they were defeated and fled, and Qojash Mirza returned, having plundered a part of the *el* and taken prisoners. When Musa Biy came to the camp (*ordu*) of Burge Sultan, the son of Yadigar Khan, and asked for help, Burge Sultan, rendering homage to him, said: "Praise be to God, our *el* is numerous; it is inferior to the subjects of no other khan. Now let us together proclaim my father *khan*, and you will become the senior (*ulugh*) *biy*. After this let us march against your enemy." In short, they called together the whole *el*, made a great feast and enthroned Yadigar Khan. [After this] Burge Sultan and Musa Biy gathered an army and went out against Qojash Mirza. They took Qojash Mirza unawares and killed him, and defeated and subdued the Manghïts. They spent the winter in this region and in spring they made the *el* move off and came to Yadigar Khan. The khan put gold girdles and precious robes on them and made Musa Biy the governor of all his dominion.[486] Musa Biy, having handled the affairs of the state for a long time, departed to heaven in the time of Abulek Khan,[a] after Shïbani Khan had killed Burge Sultan. He had four sons {and one daughter}: Aqman Bahadur, Muhammad Bek, ʿAli Bek, Khudaydad Bek. Muhammad Bek was with Burge Sultan; during the melee at [the murder of] Burge Sultan,[487] Keray, a *nöker* of Shïbani Khan, killed Muhammad Bek. As for ʿAli Bek and Khudaydad Bek, the circumstances of their lives are not known. {The daughter was married by Ilbars Khan; Sultan Ghazi Sultan and Muhammad Ghazi Sultan were born of this daughter.}

(211) **Aqman Bahadur.** After the death of his father, he became an atalïq under Ilbars Khan. He accompanied Ilbars Khan during the capture of Urgench and was entrusted with the governorship of Tersek, as was already said in the history of Ilbars Khan.[488] He was very esteemed in the time of Sufyan Khan and Buchugha Khan. He departed to heaven in 933 A.H.[b], at the beginning of the reign of Avanesh Khan; his age was 79. As a memento of himself he left two sons: Haqq Nazar and Kün Toghar. [*Nazm.*]

Haqq Nazar Sïrtlan. At the death of his father he was 53 years old. Having taken up his father's post, he maintained equity and justice among his *el.* He became known under the nickname Sïrtlan

[a] On Abulek Khan see above, p. 26.
[b] 1526/27 A.D.

("Hyena"), for the following reason: Once when he was young, he was hunting, and a big hyena came across and rushed at him; he repulsed this attack and finished off the hyena with a single blow. From then on he was called "Hyena." He was an inaq of Avanesh Khan. At the time when ʿUbaydallah Khan captured Khorezm and killed Avanesh Khan, Haqq Nazar was in Durun with Din Muhammad Khan and was collecting *zakāt* from the Turkmens and raiding the Qïzïlbashes. (212) Haqq Nazar accompanied Din Muhammad Khan when he came to Khorezm and fought the army of ʿUbaydallah Khan. In this battle his younger brother Kün Toghar Bahadur killed 60 people with his spear.[a] Haqq Nazar Sïrtlan passed away in the time of Aqatay Khan.[b] [*Mathnavī.*]

Alaq Bahadur. Aqatay Khan promoted him and granted him the post previously held by his father. He was a very brave and valiant man. Most of the time he participated in ʿAli Sultan's raids against the Qïzïlbashes[489] and set an example of gallantry. No one who met him in battle escaped with his life. In the time of Hajim Khan, five years after the death of ʿAli Sultan {in 981},[c] he fell by the sword of an infidel[d] named Hasan ʿAli Khan during a raid on Tehran. He had only one son.

Bundash Mirza. He was a meek and darvish-like person. Most of his time he would talk with the *ʿulamāʾ* and sit with the learned men (*fużalāʾ*). The poor and the needy enjoyed the munificence of his table. Hajim Khan persuaded him to be appointed to succeed his father. Some time later he gave up his post, preferring a secluded life. After this, however hard the khan tried to persuade him to assume a post, he would refuse. He died in the time of ʿArab Khan, in (213) 1022 A.H.,[e] and took a place "*in a sure abode, in the presence of a King omnipotent.*"[f] He had three sons: Umbay Inaq, Sultan, and the name of the youngest one is unknown.

Umbay Inaq. In his youth he had very little contact with the sultans and, not wishing to serve anybody, he occupied himself with falconry and farming. When Habash Sultan and Ilbars Sultan rebelled

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[a] Cf. on this above, p. 33.
[b] On the dates of reign of Aqatay Khan see note 185.
[c] Cf. on the date note 202.
[d] That is, of a Shiʿite.
[e] 1613/14 A.D.
[f] Qurʾān, LIV,55.

against their father, ʿArab Muhammad Khan, and the khan went against them with his army to teach them a lesson, but was defeated, Umbay Inaq was also in this army. Having escaped the enemy, he fled in a certain direction together with Abu'l-Ghazi Khan. On the way, Abu'l-Ghazi Khan's horse fell, and he remained dismounted. Umbay mounted him on his [Umbay's] own horse, and remained dismounted himself. The khan did not know his name, and, having no time to ask, went off, as was mentioned above.[a] [*Qiṭʿa.*] [There follows (pp. 213–215) a 'parable' (*tamthīl*) about two amirs of Timur, Inanj Oghlan and Jalal Hamid, one of whom sacrificed his life to save the other.[490]] (215) When the enemies arrived, they rendered justice to the zeal and courage of Umbay, did not touch him, and even praised and lauded him. When Abu'l-Ghazi Khan ascended the throne he repeatedly had it proclaimed, "If the *yigit* who did me that good service is alive, let him appear so that I may repay him for his kindness." Umbay heard it, but, due to his great magnanimity, did not appear since such a thing would be an act of a hireling. The khan met him by chance during a hunt, recognized him, and, (216) after bringing him and holding a royal feast, appointed him to the post of inaq and entrusted him with the administration of all the affairs of the state. When the khan drove the Turkmens from the country, many of them gathered in Bami Beurma under the command of Qahir Khoja. The khan sent troops against this band, and Umbay Inaq killed the aforementioned Khoja and uprooted the rebels.[491] Umbay died in the time of Anusha Khan. He was a good-natured and smooth-spoken man. He had four sons: Yaʿqub Bek, Yusuf Bek, Sayyid Inaq,[492] and Beki Jan Inaq. No posterity was left from Yaʿqub Bek and Yusuf Bek. At present, Shah Niyaz Atalïq, who is the atalïq of his majesty the king, is a descendant of Beki Jan Inaq, in the following way: Shah Niyaz Atalïq ibn Iskandar Biy ibn Dosïm Chura-aghasï[493] ibn Rustam Inaq ibn Beki Jan Inaq.

Amir Sayyid Inaq was appointed to the post of his father. Abu'l-Ghazi loved him like a son and raised him together with Anusha Khan. That is why he came to be called Sayyid Bek Sultan. In the time of Anusha Khan, *he ruled all affairs of the kingdom and monarchy* after his father. The khan also maintained a close friendship with him, would never undertake anything without consulting

[a] See above, pp. 43–44, and note 237 on p. 558.

him, and appointed his elder son Adina Muhammad Bek as the governor with undivided authority (*ḥākim bi'l-istiqlāl*) for the Uzbeks of Aral. Sayyid Inaq accompanied Anusha Khan on most of his campaigns. But in the campaign against Bukhara, which followed the conquest of Mashhad, (217) [the khan] sent him back, fearing for [the safety of] Khorezm. While he was away, returning from Bukhara, some of the amirs, led by the Manghït Adina-Quli Atalïq, blinded the khan. The inaq, on hearing this news, put the khan's elder son Khudaydad Sultan on the throne, and took revenge upon those who had conspired with the atalïq and participated in the blinding of the khan. The atalïq escaped, having fled to Bukhara.[494] The inaq passed away in the time of Khudaydad Khan, after the death of Anusha Khan. He was exceptional in his shrewdness and sagacity and famous for his courage and bravery. [*Bayt.*]

He had seven sons. However hard I tried, I could not find out their names, except for Adina Muhammad Atalïq and Khuday-Quli Inaq. Among the descendants of Khuday-Quli Inaq were Er Niyaz Khan and Ishal Naib. There are at present [about] twenty quiver-bearing young men (*yigits*) who belong to this family (*jamāʿa*).

Adina Muhammad Atalïq. In the time of his father, he was appointed to the governorship (*ayālat*) of Aral. After [the death of] his father, the post of inaq was conferred upon Beki-Jan. Adina Muhammad was offended by this, and many times raided Besh-Qalʿa with the brave men of Aral, as has been told above. Finally, Arang Khan brought him [to Khiva], made him his own *atabek* and *atalïq*,[495] and turned over authority in the kingdom to his mighty grasp. After the incident with Arang Khan, (218) he went with Jiyen Biy Yüz, one of the ancestors of this humble [author], to Aral, brought the troops of that country (*mamālik*), drove out the Turkmens from the *yurt*,[a] and became an all-powerful ruler (*jumlat al-mulk* [?] *va farmān-ravā*) in the whole country (*bilād*) of Khorezm; and the deposition and appointment of khans and amirs was in his hands. In the time of Yadigar Khan he passed from the rosegarden of the transitory world to the garden of eternity and travelled from the meeting place of parting to the bed-chamber of union.[b] [*Mathnavī.*]

In generosity and munificence Hatim-i Ta'i would have been his

[a] See on this in more detail in chapter III, pp. 52–53.
[b] In the text world-play with Sufi terms *firāgh* and *viṣāl*.

slave, and Ma'n-i Za'ida his obedient servant.[496] He had three beloved sons, each of whom was

Bayt:
A sparkling gem in the jewel-chest of nobility
And a shining sun in the constellation of governance.

One of them was the amir Ish Muhammad Biy, another was Niyaz Bek, and the third—Dostan Qoshbegi who was honored by being appointed qoshbegi in the time of Shir Ghazi Khan and was killed by the Qïzïlbashes together with Ilbars Khan and Ish Muhammad Biy. He had three sons: 'Abd ar-Rahim Bek, 'Abd al-Jabbar Bek, and 'Abd as-Sattar Bek who was killed with his father. 'Abd as-Sattar Bek left two sons: Sayyid Nazar Bek and 'Abdu Karim Bek. Sayyid Nazar (219) Bek died in the time of Muhammad Amin Inaq; he had one son named Muhammad Panah Bek, who died in the time of 'Avaz Inaq, in 1214 A.H.[a] The line of 'Abd ar-Rahim Bek came to an end. The aforementioned 'Abdu Karim Bek was wounded and died when Baba Bek and Kuchuk Inaq came with an army against Khiva.[b] 'Abd al-Jabbar Bek also died in the time of Muhammad Amin Inaq. Qazi Vays Bek, 'Abd as-Sattar Bek and Muhammad Riza Bek are his sons.

Amir **Ish Muhammad Biy** was for some time inaq in Shir Ghazi Khan's reign. [Then] this post was given to Allah Nazar Bek, a descendant of Sultan,[c] and [Ish Muhammad] himself was honored with the rank of *biy*, that is, of *amīr al-umarā'*. He participated in many events, among them the following: Time after time he fought the Manghït Shirdalï Biy with his forces and seven times drove them out of the country. Some of these events are described in detail in the biographies of Shir Ghazi Khan and Ilbars Khan.[d] In revenge for the blood of the Qongrats, he put many people from the house of the Manghïts to death. Due to his efforts, Shirdalï Biy was also killed, in the Year of the Monkey, 1152 A.H.[e497] By order of Nadir Shah, amir Ish Muhammad Biy was killed in Khanqah, together

[a] 1799/800 A.D.
[b] Cf. on this below, p. 127.
[c] Sultan—son of Bundash Mirza, see above, p. 92.
[d] See above, pp. 55–63.
[e] 1152 A.H. corresponds to 9 April 1739–27 March 1740; the Year of the Monkey began in February 1740.

with Dost Muhammad Atalïq ibn Dawlat-Berdi Atalïq, of the Qanjighalï Qongrats, and Sayyid Nazar Bek ibn Er Nazar Naib, of the Bögejeli Qongrats.[a] He was 63 years old, and the duration of his rule (*ḥukūmat*) was 25 years.[b] (220) [*Shi'r.*]

He was a bright-minded and prudent man. The sultans and the amirs could not undertake anything without consulting him. He had five illustrious sons, namely: 'Abdu Karim Bek and 'Avaz Bek—they were killed together with their father,—the great amir Muhammad Amin Inaq, amir Fazil Biy, and 'Adil Bek, who died in his youth; Muhammad Panah Bek and Muhammad Karim Bek, [who are alive] now, are his sons. As to those two aforementioned amirs, an account of them (221) will follow now, God willing. But the death of the aforementioned 'Avaz Bek is surmised, but is not certain: when Nadir Shah captured the amirs of Khorezm, he hid and was missing. The following story confirms it: in the days of *Muhammad Rahim Khan's* *beklik* I was in his service most of the time, and at that time I heard the following from his majesty's blessed mouth: "My ancestor (*babam*) 'Avaz Bek hid at the time of the tumult of Nadir Shah, and after the murder of his father he left the country (*yurt*) with the pilgrims, and had the honor of circumambulating (*tavāf*) *Mecca and Madina* (may God increase them both in honor and nobility!). As a result of the vicissitudes of life and the reverses of fortune, he traveled about for a long time, and finally settled in the region of Hijaz; he became an amir in that country, and came to my grandfather (*babam*) Muhammad Amin Inaq with the water of the Zamzam[498] and [other] gifts and presents." [*Mathnavī.*]

THE BIOGRAPHY AND ACCOUNT OF VICTORIES OF THE GREAT AMIR ABU'N-NASR MUHAMMAD AMIN INAQ

(222) When his father amir Ish Muhammad Biy was killed, he was eleven years old. Dost Muhammad Arbab secretly kept him, together with his younger brothers, under his guardianship, and did his best to bring him up. After the death of the aforementioned arbab, he lived in great poverty [*Qiṭ'a*], until once, in the time of Ghayib Khan,

[a] Cf. on these events in chapter III, p. 65.
[b] I.e. from 1128/1716.

he was going somewhere on horseback; he came upon Khuraz Bek in all his pomp, and the latter saw a dignified young man (*yigit*), with a stature of a lion; the signs of his felicity and fortune were, like the radiance of the sun, visible from his fortunate visage, and the rays of glory and grandeur emanated, like beams of light, from his auspicious countenance. [Khuraz Bek] stopped and asked: "Whose son are you?" He said: "I am the son of Ish Muhammad Biy, and my name is Muhammad Amin Bek." When Khuraz Bek returned home, he realized that Muhammad Amin's perfection would be the cause of the ruin of his power (*dawlat*), and, impelled by hereditary hatred, sent his men to seize him. Muhammad Amin Bek heard about this and hid, together with his younger brothers, until Ghayib Khan put to death Khuraz Bek with his relatives.[499] After this they came out [of hiding] and occupied themselves with farming on their private lands (*milkiye yerläridä*) left by their father. In the time of Timur Ghazi Khan, (223) Muhammad Amin Mehter made great efforts and exerted himself to obtain promotion for Muhammad Amin Bek, and he had him enter the khan's service. He attracted the khan's favorable attention to himself by his laudable deeds and praiseworthy services, and advanced from day to day. His friendship and benevolence were agreeable to nobles and commoners, and he became more popular month by month. [*Qiṭʿa.*]

How Khoja-Quli Inaq was killed because of the infamy of his vicious ideas and foolish desires, and how Muhammad Amin Inaq, with God's help and His divine assistance took in his hand the seal of rule and reclined upon the throne of governance.

Be it clear and evident to sagacious and perceptive people endowed with insight that, after Khuraz Bek and Ghayib Khan, Khoja-Quli Inaq Qongrat took power together with Yar Muhammad Inaq Qïyat. After they made peace with Ibrahim Inaq and Matan Atalïq, Yar Muhammad Inaq died, and full authority over the kingdom (*mamālik*) of Khorezm was in his (Khoja-Quli's) mighty grasp. Arrogance found its way into his mind, and he did not show regard for the khan and Muhammad Amin Mehter. Therefore they (224) began to fear each other; Khoja-Quli Inaq decided to kill the khan, Muhammad Amin Mehter and Muhammad Amin Bek, and he made Ibrahim Inaq his accomplice in this matter. The mehter learned about it, and, by

order of the khan, Muhammad Amin Bek seized Khoja-Quli Inaq during an audience (*körünüsh*) and killed him, while Muhammad Inaq killed Ibrahim Inaq. This happened in the Year of the Sheep, 1175 A.H., on Friday 1 Shavval,[a] and it took place at the end of the [month of] Ḥamal,[b] after the prayer of the Festival of Breaking the Fast (*ʿĪd-i Fiṭr*). The same day, before the Friday prayer, Muhammad Amin Bek was appointed to the post of *inaq*, and his able person was adorned with the precious robe of the office of amir (*imārat*). Muhammad Inaq was also designated as Ibrahim Inaq's successor. At that time, Muhammad Amin Inaq was 32 years old. The beginning of his rule and the start of his authority date from that day. [*Qiṭʿa.*]

The grand vizier Muhammad Amin Mehter, who was the head of the chancery and the administrator of the kingdom (*ṣāḥib-dīvān va niẓām al-mulk*), (225) gave him all due support and arranged such a joyous feast on the occasion of the good news of the appointment to the post of amir that the sublime heavens, despite their grandeur and splendor, girded themselves with the bejeweled celestial girdle for service at the banquet, and the gold-domed sun, despite its majesty and perfection, came as a footman with the brush of its gilded rays. Venus, the bringer of pleasure, having attached her musk-scented locks as cords to her mellifluous harp (*chang*), began to sing, and the quick-witted Mercury, having taken his pen with its musk-black ink, adorned the pages of a *toy-nāma*, [the fruit of] his imaginative fancy.

Bayt:
However much you try to imagine the arrangement of this feast,
It is unimaginable and beyond your fantasy.

The khan, the amirs, the *ʿulamāʾ*, and the learned men (*fużalāʾ*) were present at this feast, and they were greatly honored with precious gifts and made contented with endless enjoyments. The subjects and inhabitants [of Khorezm] (*fuqarāʾ va masākīn*) were also drowned in the ocean of pleasure and intoxicated with the cup of delight, and they eloquently prayed that the rule and felicity [of Muhammad Amin Inaq] should abide and [his] grandeur and splendor should last forever. [*Mathnavī.*]

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[a] 24 April 1762 (the day of the week was Saturday).

[b] The month of Ḥamal ends actually on 20 April, according to common Iranian calendar, and on 29 March, according to Khorezmian calendar; see Introduction, pp. XLIII–XLV.

(226) How the Yomuts captured the *yurt* for the first time and put to death the vizier ʿAbd ar-Rahim Mehter and his younger brother ʿAbd as-Sattar Bay with their relatives; and how Muhammad Amin Inaq became *atalïq*, and Khan-Keldi Biy was appointed in his place.

*** In 1178 A.H.[a] Muhammad Amin Mehter was brought one night by ʿAbd ar-Rahim Arbab ibn Yarïm Divan, who was father-in-law of the aforementioned mehter, to his guest-hall (*mihmān-khāna*), on the pretext of attending a banquet, and was killed by him, after which ʿAbd ar-Rahim was exalted with the rank of vizier. Having taken the administration of the state in the grasp of his care, he made every effort to expel the tribes (*jamāʿa*) of Yomut and Chowdur, who were favorably disposed to Muhammad Amin Mehter. As a consequence numerous disturbances began, the Yomuts gained the upper hand, and Miskin Ra'is, having made an agreement with the aforementioned party, went out [of Khiva] with his relatives, as was mentioned above. During these events, [the influence of] Muhammad Amin Inaq was somewhat shaken because of the enmity of the amirs, some of whom were plotting against him. Muhammad Amin Inaq, although not submissive or powerless, observed vigilance and caution, went out [of Khiva] to the Yomuts and lodged in the house of Mengli-Geldi. Eighteen days later, ʿAbd as-Sattar Bay ibn Dost Muhammad Arbab ibn Yarïm Divan, who had long been favorably disposed to him and his sincere friend, went after him and brought him [back] from the Yomuts. Shortly after this, they together brought troops of the Teke and Salor, to defend themselves against the domination of the Yomuts. (227) At that time the majority of Yomuts lived within the confines of Yangi-Arïq and Astana. Muhammad Amin Inaq, ʿAbd ar-Rahim Mehter, and ʿAbd as-Sattar Bay, with the troops of Besh-Qalʿa, the Teke, and the Salor, moved against the Yomuts, and set up their camp in the salt-marsh of ʿArabkhana, also called Mizan.[500] They remained there for two months, fighting the rebels. Khan-Keldi Biy and Muhammad Nazar Biy, the governors (*ḥākim*) of Aral, came with the army of Aral and joined the Yomuts. The governor (*vālī*) of Hazarasp Niyaz Parvanachi also revealed his secret hostility and began to send letters of support to the Yomuts. Having become aware of this concealed secret, ʿAbd ar-Rahim Mehter

[a] 1 July 1764–30 June 1765.

sent the Qïpchaq Rahim-Berdi Atalïq to defend Hazarasp, and also sent men to seize Niyaz Parvanachi. Miskin Ra'is, who was an ally [of the parvanachi] due to their friendship, reported this [to the parvanachi]. The parvanachi left the camp [of the Khivan army] with the troops of Hazarasp and joined the Yomuts. Having received assistance from the Yomuts, he left in great haste and entered Hazarasp before Rahim-Berdi Atalïq. The atalïq returned, fearful and frightened, without having reached his goal, and the parvanachi appointed men under his younger brother Sultan Bek to defend the town, and came to the Yomut army. As a result of this, discord developed among the amirs, and so the army of Khiva dispersed and entered the city. Khan-Keldi Biy, Niyaz Parvanachi, and the Yomut chiefs pursued them with a large army, and, having stopped in the locality of Qara-tüpe, sent raiding parties around Khiva. Muhammad Amin Inaq and ʿAbd ar-Rahim Mehter, with the army of the Teke, the Salors, and Khiva, made sorties to defend [the city] for five days and fought so hard that the rebels were already close to defeat. Consequently the rebels sent an envoy and spread a rumour that they were suing for peace. (228) Because some of the amirs insisted, Muhammad Amin Inaq and ʿAbd ar-Rahim Mehter agreed to peace and, having left ʿAbd as-Sattar Bay in the city (*qalʿa*), left [the city] and set off for the mosque of Ish Nazar Sufi, which lies between Ängärik[501] and Qara-tüpe, on the bank of a canal and on the road. From the other side, the chiefs (*akābir*) of the Yomuts came, seized the great amirs while pretending to shake hands and embrace them, bound them and put them in fetters. Next day the mob (*ʿavāmm*) of the city (*shahr*) [of Khiva] attacked and drove the Teke and Salor troops out of the city (*qalʿa*). The Yomut army pursued [them] as far as Orta-quyu,[502] so fiercely that most of the Teke and Salor were killed.

Having taken his remaining relatives, ʿAbd as-Sattar Bay left [Khiva] together with the Teke and Salors intending [to go] to Bukhara. He separated from this group (*jamāʿa*) and stopped at the house of Söyünch Bay in Qara-Mazï.[503] The Yomuts heard about it, sent [their] men, who seized him, together with his son ʿAbd al-Qadir Bay, and having brought them back, they killed them together with five [other] relatives, of whom the most important was ʿAbd ar-Rahim Mehter.

ʿAbbas Atalïq and Vays Bay, who left the camp on the day when the army dispersed, came to Uyghur and took over the command

of the garrison. When the Yomut Qahir-Quli Sardar came to Uyghur with two hundred men, the Aynaq clan (*jamāʿa*) seized them and handed them over to Qahir-Quli. Qahir-Quli brought them to Khiva and killed them. [The Yomuts] decided also to kill Muhammad Amin Inaq. Khan-Keldi Biy, Muhammad Nazar Biy and Mengli-Geldi Saqaw did not agree with this and gave [him] protection. Due to the intercession of other nobles (*akābir*), they also released other amirs from prison. They deposed Nazar Atalïq and appointed Muhammad Amin Inaq as *atalïq* instead of him, and exalted Khan-Keldi Biy with the post of *inaq*. They entrusted the governorship (*ḥukūmat*) of Aral to Muhammad Nazar Biy and (229) sent him back to his country (*diyār*) with the army of Aral.

After this, authority in the country (*yurt*) was in the hands of Khan-Keldi Inaq and the Yomuts. They bestowed the post of vizier (*vizārat manṣabïn*) upon Miskin Raʾis and left all state and other affairs (*umūr-i mulkī va ghayr-i mulkī*) in his powerful hands, and cheerfully devoted themselves to plundering the property of the people (*fuqarāʾ va raʿāyā*). [*Shiʿr.*]

How Muhammad Amin Inaq opened hostilities against the Yomuts and brought Er ʿAli Khan; how the Yomuts captured Khorezm for the second time and the inaq left for Bukhara; and [other] events occurring in this period.

*** *It is about the Turkmen tribes (*aqvām*) that the words "*They themselves did the wrong*"[a] are said, and it is about their deads that the words "*Will shed blood*"[b] are written.* Among these tribes (*ṭavāʾif*) especially the tribe (*ṭabaqa*) of the Yomut and the tribe (*qabīla*) of the Chowdur are the chiefs of the villains and rebels and the heads of (230) the disobedient and obstinate. They gave full powers to Khan-Keldi Inaq, who was a well-wisher and friend of this people, and disregarded other amirs, among whom the chief was Muhammad Amin Inaq, and even mistreated and disgraced them. And, moreover, they began, in a tyrannical way, to stretch out their hands disgracefully and usurp the property and women of the people (*fuqarāʾ va raʿāyā*). In 1182 A.H., the Year of the Mouse,[c] at the beginning

[a] Cf. Qurʾān, XLIII,76.
[b] Qurʾān, II,30.
[c] 1182 A.H. corresponds to 17 May 1768–5 May 1769; the Year of the Mouse was from February 1768 to February 1769.

of [the month of] Mīzān,[a] five months after the murder of ʿAbd ar-Rahim Mehter, they had Dawlat Yar ibn Ish Murad Qongrat and Jinjel Ushaq kill Miskin Ra'is. Most of the amirs were frightened by this, and one of them, Niyaz Parvanachi, entered Hazarasp and raised the banner of resistance. Muhammad Amin Inaq, according to the sense [of the words] "*Truly, God loves the patient,*"[b] endured and tolerated the mistreatment and despotism of the Yomuts for a long time, looking for an opportunity in conformity with [the saying] "*Watch for opportunity according to circumstances.*" He found that the proper moment had come and, having conspired with most of the amirs against the Yomuts, took command of the city [of Khiva]. Khan-Keldi Inaq left the city (*qalʿa*) with great difficulty, went to Qongrat and entered it.[504] Muhammad Nazar Biy fled from Qongrat, came to Manghït,[505] and for two and a half years there were hostilites and fighting [between them]. Finally, Muhammad Nazar Biy gained victory, captured Khan-Keldi and killed him, and became ruler with undivided authority (*ḥākim bi'l-istiqlāl*) of the country (*mamālik*) of Aral.

By the order of Muhammad Amin Inaq, Niyaz Parvanachi gathered the troops of Hazarasp, Besh-Arïq, Khanqah, and Urgench, and set up his camp in Shat. Within a single year, until they joined Muhammad Amin Inaq, they had 53 battles with the Yomut army. In these battles many men fell on both sides; (231) among them, on the side of the parvanachi, Muhammad Ziya Bay Urgenchi was killed. As to Muhammad Amin Inaq, he sent his men to the Teke and Salor, and he sent ʿAdil Bek to Er ʿAli Khan ibn Abu'l-Khayr Khan, the king of the Qazaqs. One thousand men came from the Teke and Salor, and the inaq sent them to the parvanachi. In [the month of] Ḥamal,[c] Er ʿAli Khan, Aychuvaq Töre, and Barmaq Biy came from the Qazaqs with 1,500 courageous and valiant warriors, and they camped in [the region of] Shahabad, on the border of Kenjek,[506] because the Chowdur dwellings (*manāzil*) were in Ambar and Manaq, and because in Muz-Kumgan[507] there were also Yomuts, who had taken possession of the fortress (*qurghan*) of Chaghatay.

After the arrival of Er ʿAli Khan, Muhammad Amin Inaq went with the Khivan troops to Shahabad, joined the khan, and sent his

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[a] The month of Mīzān began in Khorezm on 2 September. Thus, the event is dated middle of Rabiʿ II 1182/middle of September 1768.

[b] Cf. Qur'ān, III,146.

[c] March 1769.

men for the troops from Gurlen, Vazir, and Baghlan. From among the Qaraqalpaqs came Qurban Tay Biy Khitay, Aman-Quli Biy Keneges, and the Qongrats Esen-Keldi Mahram and Ghayib Bahadur, with 500 men, while from Aral came Sayyid Nazar Bek, the younger brother of Muhammad Nazar Biy Qongrat, as well as Murtaza Khoja, with numerous troops, and they joined the inaq. [*Naẓm.*] (232) Muhammad Amin Inaq fought fiercely against the army of the Chowdurs and Yomuts, and in most of the battles he was victorious, except in two cases, when he was defeated. After one month the Aral troops, having established contacts with the rebels, abandoned the fortification (*senger*), left and returned to Aral. Consequently, Barmaq Biy with most of the Qazaqs, fearing both the Qaraqalpaq army and the troops of Besh-Qalʿa, went home to their dwellings. There remained only the troops of Khiva and Er ʿAli Khan with a small handful of the Qazaq troops. Since Qalandar Qoshbegi acted like a villain, sowing dissention among the remaining troops and intending to go to the Yomuts, he was arrested. [The Khivan troops] moved from Kenjek and made a fortification (*senger*) near the gates of Shahabad. At this time Muhammad Amin Inaq became sick, the enemies of the state gathered strength, and the army of Khiva could not go beyond the moat till the end of [the month of] Saraṭān.[a] [*Mathnavī* describing the extreme heat at that time.]

(233) One day the brave warriors went on foot, and, having fastened the skirt of zeal to the girdle of endeavor, crossed the canal of Shahabad and rushed at the positions of the rebels. The rebel troops took to flight and only with great difficulty could they rescue Mengli-Geldi Saqaw, who, having dismounted his horse, was exhorting the rebels to fight. After this the rebels could never again come insolently and besiege [the Khivan camp].

At that time Shah Niyaz Bek and Qara Bahadur, who now are invested with the posts of amirs, along with forty brave warriors under Anna-Berdi Salor and At-Qïran Salor,—each soldier outdoing Rustam and Isfandiyar on the arena of courage,—dealt a smashing blow to the Yomuts and Chowdurs, defeated and crushed them, and, having plundered their property and livestock, returned to the *senger.* They went on reconnaissance raids in various directions and gathered information about [the situation] in the villages (*qaṣabāt*)

[a] End of June 1769.

and environs (*mazāfāt*); encountering detachments of the Yomuts and Chowdurs during these raids, they annihilated them or took them prisoner. This continued until at the end of [the month of] Asad[a] they captured the fortress (*qurghan*) of Chaghatay and overcame the enemies of the state. At that moment the news arrived about the birth of his excellency prince (*amīrzāda*) Qutluq Murad Inaq. Muhammad Amin Inaq and the great prince (*amīrzāda-i aʿẓam*) ʿAvaz Bek, (234) becoming intoxicated with joy and gladness from the excellent wine of this good news, made the messenger share their happiness and achieve much sought-after wealth by bestowing on him copious gifts and numerous favors. The great amirs (*umarā-yi ʿiẓām*) and noble chiefs (*ruʾusā-yi kirām*) followed suit and also gave rewards, each one according to his circumstances. And, since his happy birth was seen as a blessing, he (Qutlugh Murad) was given the aforementioned name.[b] [*Qiṭʿa.*]

In short, with every passing day Muhammad Amin Inaq['s star] was ascending, and with every passing moment, [that of] the enemies of the state was declining. In the middle of [the month of] Mīzān the pan of the scales of fortune of the tribe of Chowdur became too light; the Chowdurs paid for the merchandise of peace with the jewels of submission as weighed by self-humiliation, fastened the burden of departure to the weeping of flight and went to Manghïshlaq. After this Muhammad Amin Inaq gathered troops from everywhere, went to Shat and, together with Niyaz Parvanachi, raided the enemies of the state. Ish Pulad Atalïq the Uyghur and Muhammad Inaq the Nayman were offended by the parvanachi and, under the pretext that they had to get more money,[c] went to Uyghur and Gurlen and did not return. As to Muhammad Inaq, he could not remain in Gurlen and left for Bukhara. Some time (235) later, Muhammad Amin Inaq and the parvanachi moved off and stopped in Nawkhast. In this place the great prince (*amīrzāda-i aʿẓam*) ʿAvaz Bek and ʿAdil Bek became sick and for many days remained upon their sick beds; ʿAvaz Bek recovered, whereas ʿAdil Bek departed to God.

The Yomuts, having left Yangi-Arïq and Astana, stopped on the bank of the Khivanik, in the region of Safcha.[508] Therefore Muhammad Amin Inaq and Niyaz Parvanachi moved from Nawkhast and made

[a] End of July 1769.
[b] *Qutlugh* means "happy," "bringing happiness."
[c] The text is not clear.

for Qahraman. At that time the fighting with the rebels was so heavy, that its like had not occurred since the time of Rustam and Afrasiyab.[509] One such battle took place in the region of Nawkhast: the rebels were at first victorious and, having encircled the Qazaq troops, began to annihilate them. Some brave warriors, having seen this, drew the sabers of courage from the sheaths of vengeance and in successive attacks destroyed the army of the foes and killed many of the enemies of the state.

With every passing day the ever-conquering army became more victorious and triumphant, and the rebels came close to being exterminated. At that time Muhammad Sa'id Bay, who held the governorship of Urgench in his able hands and who dealt many blows to the Yomuts, went to Bukhara on the instructions of Muhammad Amin Inaq, and 'Abd ar-Rahman Bay Urgenji, his younger brother, was a retainer of the inaq. Therefore the heads of the villains and the chiefs of the malignants, 'Abd ar-Rahim Arbab Urgenji and Sayyid-Quli Bay, having found that Urgench was abandoned, sent out the runner of impudence onto the arena of villainy, and, at the beginning of [the month of] Thawr,[a] let the Yomuts into the town of Urgench; and, having arrogantly pulled out their neck from the collar of obedience, they cut the ties of concord with the sword of rebellion. (236) In accordance with the saying "*Horror upon horror*," in addition to this horrible incident and seditious event, the news about it spread around, and disturbances and insurrections started everywhere. [*Mathnavī.*] This happened on the first night of [the month of] Thawr and in the middle of Zu'l-Hijja.[b]

Most of the relatives of Muhammad Sa'id Bay and 'Abd ar-Rahman Bay fled and came [to Khiva]. Muhammad Amin Inaq, Er 'Ali Khan, and Niyaz Parvanachi, having learned about this at dawn set out against Urgench. When they reached the Chandur-Qïyat bridge on the bank of the Shahabad canal[510] they stopped. There were five or six hundred Yomut horsemen before the southern gates of the town of Urgench. A detachment of fighters under Allah-Berdi Bek the Nayman attacked them, but before they became engaged and the battle started, the troops of the Teke, Salor, Qazaqs, and Qara-qalpaqs were about to disperse. The inaq perceived this, said: "Stay

[a] Early April 1770.

[b] The first night of Thawr in Khorezm was on 31 March; if "the middle of Zu'l-Hijja" is the 15th of the month, then the date is 11 April 1770.

with me, for I see signs of the troops turning against us," and brought back the fighters who were to go into battle. At this moment the troops of the Teke and Salor deserted the army and, having passed Isma'il Ata,[511] (237) made their way to their habitations. And the Qazaq warriors under Er 'Ali Khan, as well as the troops from [other] regions (*aṭrāf*), were thrown into disorder and dispersed to their countries. [*Naẓm.*] No [troops from] other regions (*diyār*) remained, except for the army of Khiva, Hazarasp and Khanqah. [*Shi'r.*]

When the inaq and the parvanachi witnessed this, they turned the reins of their benevolence towards the town (*balada*) of Khanqah and stopped at the halting place (*qadamgāh*)[512] of Sayyid Ata (the mercy of God be upon him!). After holding counsel in accordance with the words "*And take counsel with them in the affair*,"[a] it was decided that Muhammad Amin Inaq would go in person to Bukhara to seek help from Amir Daniyal Atalïq. Muhammad Amin Inaq entrusted the aforementioned town (*balada*) to Ish Niyaz Bay Khanqahi and lavished great care on its defense, and, having recited the mid-day prayer, set out in the direction of Hazarasp. He appointed Ish Qabil Bay, the younger brother of Ish Niyaz Bay, and Abdal Khoja Mutavalli to serve in his retinue, dismissed [Ish Niyaz Bay] with full honor and esteem beyond description, and bid farewell in grief and sorrow. [*Naẓm.*] (238) At the time of the evening prayer, he set off towards the town of Hazarasp. Niyaz Parvanachi gave a royal banquet, rendered praiseworthy service, and took care of the preparations for travel. Muhammad Amin Inaq left Fazil Bek, prince 'Avaz Bek, and Jiyen Qoshbegi in Hazarasp with Niyaz Parvanachi, and rode to Pitnak. 'Abd al-Ghaffar Naib and 'Uthman Ghaza rendered him excellent service, and at night he crossed the river on boat (*kimä*)[513] and stopped [on the other bank]. From there he set off and after three days lodged at the home of Muhammadi Bay in Eljik.[514] In this journey sixty people were in attendance upon him in his company: none of the great amirs (*umarā-yi 'izām*) was there, except Khassa Qoshbegi, who at that time had the honor to serve as *mīrāb*, and the father of this humble [author], 'Avaz Mirab; of the beks, there were Shah Pulad Bek, 'Abdu Karim Bek, Shah Niyaz Bek—who is now the great (*ulugh*) *atalïq*,[515]—Muhammad Riza Bek ibn 'Ashur Biy, Bay Nazar Biy—who later became *biy* and *atalïq*,—Baba

[a] Qur'ān, III,159.

Bek ibn Niyaz Parvanachi, the Naymans Rahim-Berdi Bek and Allah-Berdi Uydachi—sons of Khuday-Berdi Darugha ibn ʿAvaz Inaq; of the *bay*s, there were ʿAbd ar-Rahman Bay Urgenchi, Ish Qabil Bay Khanqahi, and Niyaz Muhammad Bay Qahramani. Muhammadi Bay entertained them day and night and gave a fine banquet. Bek Pulad Bek ibn Vays Bay, who, when his father had been killed by the Yomuts, had gone to Bukhara and lived in Köl-i Kalan, heard that the inaq was a guest of Muhammadi Bay, and came and joined him there. (239) On their way the governor (*ḥākim*) of Üsti village (*qarya*),[516] Bek Muhammad Dadkhah,[517] who was from the tribe (*khalq*) of Khïzïr-eli,[518] came out to greet the inaq and insisted that he stop at his home. He gave a royal banquet and sang the following melody: [*Ghazal*, describing the feelings towards the guest.] After the end of the banquet [the inaq] left the house of the *dadkhah* and deigned to visit Bek Pulad Bek's reception room (*ẓiyāfat-khāna*) in Köl-i Kalan. The latter also extended due hospitality to him, (240) and left nothing in his entertainment unattended to. From there they mounted the horses and made for the city of Bukhara.

On their way Muhammad Inaq Nayman, Khojam-Berdi Qoshbegi, and Muhammad Saʿid Bay Urgenchi, who had earlier left Khorezm fearing the tyranny of the Yomuts and had been living in Bukhara, came to welcome [the inaq] and were honored with the kissing of [the inaq's] hand. From Amir Daniyal, Nadir Yasavulbashi[519] went to meet him, and after fulfilling the conventions of questioning and inquiry, having brought [the inaq] to the reception (*salām*) of Amir Daniyal, he escorted him to the house for ambassadors (*ilchi-khāna*). Imam-Quli Biy and several great amirs came from Amir Daniyal, said flattering words and entertained [the inaq]. And all the time Muhammad Saʿid Bay was in attendance upon [the inaq] and, observing the duties of perfect service and great devotion, took upon himself all expenses and [payments for] all that was necessary.

Now listen [to an account] of the events in the kingdom (*mamālik*) of Khorezm. When Muhammad Amin Inaq went to Shat, he appointed most of the amirs and beks to defend the royal capital Khiva. They took all proper care and exerted every effort for defense [of the city] and the repelling [of attacks], so that the enemies of the state were unable to penetrate and harass. After Muhammad Amin Inaq went to Bukhara, Khuday-Berdi Bay and Muhammad Amin Aqa of the Chaghatay people (*khalq*) conspired with some of the ignorant rabble and the mob (*juhhāl u ʿavāmm an-nās*), and in 1184 A.H., the Year

of the Leopard, on 1 Muharram,[a] they surrendered the royal capital Khiva to the Yomuts. On that day the Yomuts seized and killed Nazar Atalïq, ʿAbd al-Jabbar Bek, and Allah-Berdi Bek ibn Murad Qoshbegi. Taji Biy the Qïyat—who had fled from Urgench the night it was captured by the Yomuts, had come to the exalted camp and, by the order of Muhammad Amin Inaq, had gone to Khiva and had been staying there—(241) together with Qutluq Muhammad Inaq and Mawlam-Berdi Uydachi fled from Khiva and went to Hazarasp. Having passed [Hazarasp], Taji Biy came to the inaq in Bukhara. Ish Nazar Mirab the Nokuz fled and went to Gurlen. ʿAbd ar-Rahman Mehter ibn Pahlavan-Quli Bay Toqsavul concealed himself and escaped by hiding in the house of Khal Niyaz Onbegi. Iskandar Biy and Qochqar Bek were rescued by Artuq Bakhshi who gave them protection. And most of the population fled and dispersed to Khanqah, Hazarasp, Bukhara, and Aral.

Having taken possession of Khiva, the Yomuts deposed Bölekey Khan, brought Jahangir Sultan, the son of Ghayib Khan, and raised him as khan. They made amirs those Uzbek nobles who were their accomplices and well-wishers. Among them, from the Qongrats, Allah-Quli, the younger brother of Khoja-Quli Inaq, was made *inaq*, and Qara Qalandar was made *qoshbegi*; from the Uyghurs, Ish Pulad Atalïq, who submitted to them, was reconfirmed in his former post; from the Naymans, Tash Pulad Shaytan attained the post of *inaq*, and Maqsud Atalïq was reconfirmed in his position; the rank of vizier was bestowed on ʿAbd ar-Rahim Arbab, and Sayyid-Quli Bay was entrusted with the governorship of Urgench; and so on. [*Nazm.*]

(242) Several days later, the nobles (*akābir*) of Gurlen under Ish Nazar Mirab found it necessary to come to terms with the enemies of the state and to submit to them, in accordance with the saying "*Necessity permits the unlawful.*"[b] Kuchuk Bek ibn Muhammad Inaq went with his family to Bukhara and came to serve [Muhammad Amin Inaq]. After this, the rebels took possession of all provinces (*jamīʿ mamālik*) of Khorezm, except for Hazarasp, Khanqah, and Aral, and the people (*fuqarāʾ va raʿāyā*) could not be masters of their life and property. The tyranny and oppression of the Yomuts knew no limits, so that it became impossible to go from one town (*qalʿa*)

[a] 26 April 1770.
[b] An Arabic proverb.

to another. [*Qiṭʿa.*] (243) As a result, famine and scarcity spread over the country (*diyār*) of Khorezm, and plague and pestilence appeared. Most of the nobles and notables (*maʿārif u mashāhīr*) and even the common people (*fuqarāʾ va raʿāyā*) began to leave the country, quarter by quarter (*maḥalla maḥalla*) and tribe by tribe, and, according to the saying "*Flight from what is unbearable is the practice of prophets*," dispersed through all countries of the world. They went especially to Bukhara, thus saving themselves from the calamity of famine. People who were unable to flee could subsist by selling their children to Qazaqs and Qalpaqs. The Yomuts also began to kidnap the children and sell them.

Most of the towns (*qilāʿ va bilād*) became desolate. Rural regions (*kentlär*)[520] and fields (*mazraʿalar*) became thickets and jungles, and the lakes were overgrown with reeds. In the royal capital Khiva the high buildings collapsed, and in their place tamarisk and saksaul flourished. Human beings were replaced by wild beasts. Thus, in the [once] flourishing city (*shahr*) [of Khiva], only forty families of subjects (*raʿiyat*) remained; and I heard from some that there were in fact not more than fifteen families. At Friday prayer, mostly [only] three or four men would be present. The rebels stayed around the city.

The famine became so severe that, in accordance with the saying "*Whosoever is compelled by famine . . .*,"[a] the pangs of hunger made the meat of dogs and asses lawful to eat for all creatures. And in some places they would eat human beings. A story is told that in the village (*qarya*) of Janik Shaykh[521] five women made their home together in a ruin and would kidnap and eat the children of the inhabitants; it is alleged, moreover, that when they found adults alone, they would attack them, skin and eat them. When people learned about it, they killed those women. Another person told the following story: "With a group of twenty people we fled from the tyranny of the Yomuts and went in the direction of Bukhara. In Bazergan[522] we saw four people who kindled a fire and were sitting and eating kabab. (244) When they saw us, they fled to a thicket. When we looked around we realized that they apparently killed some person and were making kabab from his flesh. We gathered the remaining meat and bones of this unfortunate [victim], read the funeral prayer over him, and buried him." It is also told that, in

[a] Qurʾān, V,3.

the village (*qarya*) of Gulbanbagh,[523] a certain Nazar Muhammad Sufi had a little son, who was very beautiful. One day he disappeared. However hard his mother searched, she could not find him. She had a woman neighbor. In despair, she entered the house of this woman and saw that she was cooking soup. Having become suspicious, [the mother] investigated, and it became clear that [the neighbor] had skinned her son and was cooking him. This woman was stoned and killed. Mulla Ish Niyaz who was a very witty and jovial man—he died in 1216 A.H.—was most of that time busy slaughtering asses and making them into pastry (*sambūsa*) which he would sell to the Yomuts. Because of it, he was nicknamed "Ass-slaughterer" (*eshek söyghan*). [*Mathnavī.*] (245) God protect us from such things!

After the wheat was reaped, there was some relief from this great disaster and enormous calamity.

How Muhammad Amin Inaq, not having obtained support from Amir Daniyal, put the foot of reliance into the stirrup of departure and turned his face toward return; how he, with God's help and boundless guidance, subdued and destroyed the enemies of the state and brought the kingdom (*mamālik*) of Khorezm under his authority.

The narrators of traditions and stories say the following: Amir Daniyal, because of his malignant Manghït nature, did not treat Muhammad Amin Inaq with the honor and respect that was due to his dignity and rank, and even tried to humiliate and offend him. [*Qiṭ'a.*] (246) First he promised help, then did not keep his promise. It happened this way: Once he sent a man to Muhammad Amin Inaq saying: "Find me 40 thousand golden dinars, since I am preparing a big army to help [you], and it has to be equipped." Muhammad Amin Inaq was unable to raise that money. Muhammad Sa'id Bay opposed it, [but] he got [this sum] by borrowing it from Mulla Er Nazar Bukhari, his maternal uncle, and brought it [to the inaq] on four golden trays. Imam-Quli Biy, who had very close relations with the inaq, due to his great friendship with him, prevented this money being sent to Amir Daniyal, saying: "It is certain that this mean, ignoble man will not help you, but will take the money and put it in his treasury." Therefore this money was not delivered. [*Nazm.*] The luxurious robe of [the verse] "*Fulfill your covenant*"[a] is the garment

[a] Cf. Qur'ān, II,40.

of true men, and the loathsome cell of [the verse] "*Those—they are the liars*"[a] is the refuge of the unmanly. On every unfortunate person who fled from the country of Khorezm because of the tyranny of the Yomuts and the calamity of famine (247) and hunger and who took upon himself and his family the misery of exile and foreign land and came to the land of Bukhara, [Amir Daniyal] imposed a tax (*saliġh*), which he called duty (*bāj*), of one *ashrafī*,[524] whether it was a man, a woman, a very old person, or an infant. And from those who were unable to pay it was taken through punishments and torture. [*Fard.*]

After some time an embassy from the enemies of the state went to Bukhara; it included the Yomuts Mengli-Geldi Saqaw, Dönmes Sardar, and Niyaz Qïlïch Bek, and from the Uzbeks, Eltüzer the Qongrat, Elchi Inaq the Uyghur, Bek Pulad Sufi the Nayman, and others. On their way, Mengli-Geldi died; having taken his corpse with them, they went further. Amir Daniyal, to spite Muhammad Amin Inaq, showed his joy about their sad arrival and treated them with honor and respect. He had a royal tent and enclosure (*bārgāh u sarāparda*)[525] pitched in the locality Chizmandï, had Muhammad Amin Inaq and the ambassadors of the enemies of the state seated opposite to one another, arranged debates and disputations among them, and himself took their (rebels) side. Imam-Quli Biy and Bek Pulad Bek took the side of the inaq and, bringing the testimony of irrefutable arguments and clear proofs, demonstrated their superiority and confidence.

When it repeatedly proved hopeless to achieve the goal through Amir Daniyal, the signs of hostility and enmity [between him and the inaq] became manifest.[526] At the end of [the month of] Sunbule[b] [Muhammad Amin Inaq] gathered able-bodied men from among the Uzbeks who came from Khorezm, resolutely gripped the very firm handle of the saying "*And whosoever puts his trust in God*,"[c] and put the foot of intention into the stirrup of departure. (248) [*Nazm.*] The total number of the troops gathered was three hundred men.

FROM AMONG INCIDENTAL OCCURRENCES: When Muhammad Amin Inaq was already leaving the city of Bukhara with the intention of returning to Khorezm and was passing the portico of Saray-i Tash,[527] Dönmes Sardar, who was sitting, with several other Yomuts, at the

[a] Cf. Qur'ān, XVI,105.
[b] End of August.
[c] Qur'ān, VIII,49, LXV,3.

threshold of the aforementioned [caravan-]saray, said in a threatening and admonishing tone: "Look here, inaq, if you are going with these troops to your *yurt*, what is left to the Yomuts but to oppose you! [But] as soon as you come and conquer the whole country, you will drive away the Yomuts from the country (*yurt*), and if my family falls into your hands, take care of them." Muhammad Amin Inaq said, with all goodwill and candor: "We will take care of them, God willing." Due to providence, the words of Dönmes Sardar came true, and his family was captured. Muhammad Amin Inaq, keeping his promise, (249) favored them with his gifts, and sent them to Dönmes Sardar, after the latter returned from Bukhara and joined his people on the Gürgen.

THE EFFECT OF A DREAM: Before Muhammad Amin Inaq decided to return and intended to come back, one night he was vexed and distressed about the vicissitudes of time and the cruelty of rebels, and with the malevolence and ignobility of Daniyal Atalïq. Suddenly he fell asleep and dreamed the following: The lord of the Rizavi Sayyids, the most distinguished of ʿAlï's descendants, the cream of saints, the model of the pious, the pivot of the world, the greatest axis, his holiness Ishan Sayyid Muhammad Panah Khoja (may God illuminate his tomb!), who was one of the heads (*akābir*) of the *khoja*s of Khoja-eli, was at that time engaged in giving spiritual guidance to his pupils in the town of Khoja-eli. He appeared, together with several Sufis, before [the inaq] and said: "Come up and return, since the kingdom is conferred upon you, and your enemies are crushed." He was filled with joy at this and began to make preparations for return.

THE SIGN OF A MIRACLE: The same year, in the Friday mosque of Khiva, after the end of Friday prayer, a pious man named Niyaz Shaykh proclaimed in a loud voice: "Oh, men, there is good news: the earthly misfortunes and the divine punishments have been lifted from the heads of people, since the kingdom has been handed over to its master, and tyranny is crushed and destroyed!" Soon after this, Muhammad Amin Inaq came from Bukhara, conquered Khorezm, made the kingdom flourishing and the subjects prosperous. [*Mathnavī*.]

(250) In short, in the Year of the Leopard, the last day of Jumadi I, which was the 4th of [the month of] Mīzān,[a] Muhammad Amin

[a] The last day of Jumadi I (1184 A.H.), the Year of the Leopard (1770) was 20 September; thus, the 1th of Mīzān was 17 September, which does not coincide with either Khorezmian or common Iranian calendar.

Inaq came to Hazarasp. Already before this, the Nokuz Ish Nazar Mirab, having conspired with the nobles (*akābir*) of Gurlen, had killed his fellow tribesman Qïlïch Naib, who had been a friend of the Yomuts, and had cut off the hands of the Yomut tyranny from Gurlen. Being encouraged by this good news, Niyaz Parvanachi had sent Qutluq Murad Hajji with a small handful [of men] to Khanqah to capture Urgench. The night Muhammad Amin Inaq came to Hazarasp, he joined Ish Niyaz Bay, Niyaz Khoja, and Qaraghay Qalmaq with forty *yigits* to Qutluq Murad Hajji and sent them on two boats down the canal of Shahabad against Urgench.

Be it known that Niyaz Khoja was a progeny of Sayyid Ata and the younger brother of Abdal Khoja Mutavalli. He was a very brave and courageous man, so that, after Muhammad Amin Inaq went to Bukhara, he would attack the Yomuts in the night and raid them in the daytime with forty audacious fighters (*yigits*) from Khiva and Khanqah, and thus throw the enemies of the state into confusion and disarray. [*Nazm.*] (251) Furthermore, Palaq and Ish Niyaz Gulbanbaghi, two brothers, who were rogues (*ʿayyār*) of Khiva and were very quick and smart, [*mathnavī*], came to Khanqah after the Yomuts had taken Khiva; and, having gathered forty more men of their own kind, they would slip in, like robbers, through smoke-holes [in the roofs],[a] cut off the heads of the Yomuts with all their families and rob them of their clothes. One night Taghi Sultan, who was one of the Yomut nobles and a very strong man, went out to the end of his *aul* to relieve nature. Palaq (252) clutched him, and, during the fight, Palaq stumbled and fell. Taghi Sultan fell on top of him, and Palaq yelled: "Help!" ʿAbd al-Qayyum Shaʿir Janik-Shaykhi asked: "Are you on top or beneath?" "Beneath," [he said]. ʿAbd al-Qayyum Shaʿir killed Taghi Sultan with one blow. Having robbed Taghi Sultan of his clothes, they returned. Their deeds were numerous; if I were to describe them all, there would not be enough place for them in this compendium (*mukhtaṣar*). The Yomuts, who lived in rural regions (*kentlär*), out of fear of them (the *ʿayyār*s), fled and went to the vicinity of Khiva, so that no enemies of the state remained to the east of Pir-Nawkhast.[528] [*Bayt.*] [Muhammad Amin Inaq] also sent them (the *ʿayyār*s) to Niyaz Khoja. The same night [the men of the inaq], having passed Urgench on boats, sent Ish Niyaz and Palaq to the people of Qaravul and Buldïmsaz,[529] who belonged to the

[a] Apparently, smoke-holes of the yurts.

clan (*uruq*) of Muhammad Sa'id Bay, and, with the help of that people, they entered the town through the southern gates and captured Sayyid-Quli Bay with his subordinates.

The next day, when the news of the arrival of Muhammad Amin Inaq to Hazarasp was received, they beat the drums of joy in Urgench and, having appointed Qutluq Murad Hajji to defend Urgench, Niyaz Khoja, with the army of Khanqah and Urgench, went against Uyghur, which he captured at once. This happened in the afternoon (*ulugh chāshtgāh*). Having taken the troops of Uyghur, he captured the fortresses (*qurghanlar*) of Durmen and Qara-tüpe, between mid-morning and noon (*tush bile peshīn arasïda*), and marched against Buryachi.[530] The khojas of Buryachi, under 'Arab Khoja, showed disobedience, and there was fighting. (253) The brave warriors, encouraged by Niyaz Khoja, stormed and captured the fortress (*qurghan*) and sacked it. This happened at the time of the afternoon prayer (*namāz-i 'aṣr*). Having accomplished so many deeds during one day, Niyaz Khoja returned to Urgench victoriously.

At that time the people of Qahraman and Bekabad started hostilities [with the Turkmens] and ensconced themselves in the fortress (*ḥiṣār*) of Qahraman. And below Qahraman there was a group of Yomuts who were oppressing these people (*el*). The governor (*ḥākim*) of Bekabad, the Manghït Yaw Böri Naib, who, by his courage, was a wolf of war,[a] went to Urgench and asked Niyaz Khoja and Qutluq Murad Hajji for troops to repulse the Yomuts. They sent Karim-Berdi Inaq, one of the Uyghur nobles (*ashrāf*), who is now one of the great (*ulugh*) *atalïq*s, along with fifty of the best warriors. Karim-Berdi Inaq and Yaw Böri Naib entered the fortress (*ḥiṣār*) of Qahraman at night, and at dawn they took the troops of Qahraman and Bekabad, attacked the Yomuts, crushed and destroyed them, and returned with a great amount of booty. Niyaz Khoja and Qutluq Murad Hajji sent a dispatch about the victory (*fatḥ-nāma*), together with one-fifth of the booty,[531] to Muhammad Amin Inaq. [*Mathnavī.*]

Some say that this event happened before Muhammad Amin Inaq came to Hazarasp. In any case, Muhammad Amin Inaq and Niyaz Parvanachi took the troops of Hazarasp (254) and came to Khanqah. Ish Niyaz Bay and the nobles (*akābir*) of Khanqah were honored with kissing the hand [of Muhammad Amin Inaq]. Muhammad

[a] A hint to the name Böri, lit. "wolf."

Amin Inaq stayed there for one day, and then made the town (*qurghan*) of Urgench a paradise garden thanks to the joy brought by his arrival. He stayed there seven days, gathering troops from all provinces (*aṭrāf-i mamālik*). At that time a man came [from Khiva], from Qazi Khoja Nazar and Baba Khoja Ra'is, saying: "Go quickly, since we will surrender Khiva." Muhammad Amin Inaq sent him back and occupied himself preparing for the campaign. He appointed Muhammad Inaq and ʿAbd ar-Rahman Bay to defend the town (*qurghan*) of Urgench, sent Niyaz Chekchek *altun-jilaw*, with 400 archers (*mergen*),[532] having arranged to meet them near [the tomb of] Abdal Baba;[533] he himself, with the amirs, took the assembled troops and at the time of the night (*khuftan*) prayer left Urgench and went forward. The total number of these troops was 600 men.

On their way, they got completely lost in the [locality] Megejik-köl, and in the morning they reached Köche-Küprük.[534] During this confusion half of the troops remained behind dispersed. Muhammad Amin Inaq and the amirs, being vexed and heart-broken over these frightful events, stopped at the bank of the Khivanik canal. [Next morning] they performed their ablutions again, and when they were reciting the early morning prayer (*bāmdād*), they were directing it to Him who decides all [man's] needs, in such a total abasement and undescribable humility that all the soldiers were touched and cried. Finally, after deliberations, they dispatched the *altun-jilaw* Qalandar Dasturkhanchi with fifty men to bring back the archers (*mergen*). The dasturkhanchi overtook the archers in Gulbanbagh and sent them back, and himself went further, with the soldiers under his command, raided the Yomuts who lived in Pir-Nawkhast and Peshkanik,[535] and returned. In the meantime, having sent the dasturkhanchi after the archers (*mergen*), Muhammad Amin Inaq and Niyaz Parvanachi considered it better and preferable to go themselves also, and they followed the dasturkhanchi. (255) Having come across the returning archers in Topraq-qalʿa before noon, they sent them to Urgench, and themselves stopped, anxious and worried about the dasturkhanchi. At this moment two men from the troops of the dasturkhanchi brought a Yomut whom they had taken prisoner. He falsely reported that the Yomut army had gone to raid Hazarasp that night. On hearing this news, Niyaz Parvanachi became worried,[536] and, at his insistence, [the army of the inaq] turned to the Hazarasp road in pursuit [of the Yomuts]. When the vanguard of the army reached Yangi-Arïq and Pisteli, the Yomut troops in Khiva, having heard

about the raid, rushed from everywhere, overtook the rear of the army [of the inaq] in ʿArabkhana and Mizan-sengeri and joined battle. Muhammad Amin Inaq and Niyaz Parvanachi returned from Yangi-Arïq and drew up in battle array facing [the enemy]. Muhammad Amin Inaq had less than a hundred men with him, and most of them had already reached Pisteli.[537] There were only thirty men led by Shah Niyaz Bek ibn Iskandar Biy, Muhammad Amin Sarïgh, Ish Nazar Bahadur the Jalayir, and Yakhshi Muhammad the Qataghan who were engaged in the battle with the enemies of the state. As to the army of the Yomuts, it gradually grew to six thousand men. [*Mathnavī.*]

(256) When the troops which had gone to Pisteli heard what happened, they returned and joined the inaq. At this moment, the Nokuz Ish Nazar Mirab said to the troops, in order to inspire and encourage them: "It is impossible to flee from here and to escape, let us trust in the assistance of the Most High God and let us charge all together, hoping that we will rout the enemy. And if we are killed, we will die with honor!" [*Nazm.*] Everybody found strength in these words, and Muhammad Amin Inaq dismounted his horse, took a handful of soil, put it to his bosom and said: "Oh, Lord, I am handing over the jewel of my soul to Thee, and the dust of my body—to the earth!" When the troops saw this, they gave such a cry (257) that it reverberated upon the earth and in the sky. Then, supplicating the Court of God Most High and with firm reliance upon the true faith, they charged the enemies of the state. Before they reached them, Muhammad Amin Sarïgh the Qanglï and Ish Nazar Jalayir Gurleni pierced Qahir-Quli Ushaq, who was the chief (*sarvar*) of the Yomut tribe (*jamāʿa*), with a deadly spear and killed him. The rebels, having witnessed this frightful thing, took to flight, as is said by the Most High: "*Say: the truth has come, and falsehood has vanished away; surely falsehood is ever certain to vanish.*"[a] [*Nazm.*]

AN EXEMPLARY STORY (*tamthīl*): In 946 A.H.,[b] upon an inducement and instigation of ʿUmar Ghazi Sultan ibn Sultan Ghazi Sultan, ʿUbaydallah Khan led an army to Khorezm, captured that country, killed Avanesh Khan, entrusted Khorezm to his own son ʿAbd al-ʿAziz Khan and went back. At that time Avanesh Khan's elder son, Din Muhammad Khan, was ruling Nesay and Bavard[538] in the region

[a] Qur'ān, XVII,81.
[b] 1539/40 A.D.; see above, pp. 32–33.

of Khorasan. When he heard what had happened, he came with an army of 3,000, captured Khorezm and made Khiva his capital. ʿAbd al-ʿAziz Khan fled and came to his father. Therefore ʿUbaydallah Khan (258) moved against Din Muhammad Khan with an army of 40,000.[539] He himself stopped at Tive-Boyun, appointed two amirs named Pirim Oghlan and Hafiz Qongrat as chief commanders, gave them an army of 30,000 with most of the amirs, and sent them to Khorezm. When they came to Hazarasp, Din Muhammad Khan rushed from Khiva to repulse them. With [only] 3,000 men, the amirs of Khorezm did not deem it prudent to confront the army of Bukhara and advised to go instead to Khorasan. The khan did not accept [their advice] and went forward. The amirs went ahead of him, dismounted their horses, prostrated themselves [before the khan] and supplicated [him], but he did not accept [their request]. When they begged him for the third time, Din Muhammad Khan dismounted the horse, took a handful of earth and said: "Oh, my Lord, my soul I have handed over to you, and my body—to the earth." [Then] he placed this earth to his bosom and said: "This earth is the earth of my grave, and my clothing is [my] shroud." Then he looked at the amirs and said: "If your life means more to you than mine, don't go into the battle, and if you are with me—don't stay behind." These words impressed them, and they all said unanimously: "May our souls be your ransom!" The khan was re-assured by these words, joined battle with that great army in the region of Besh-Arïq, at Lake Kerdenkhast, which is now known as Lake Nokuz,[540] and was victorious. He pursued [the enemy] till Hazarasp, made a general massacre, and captured Hafiz Qongrat and Pirim Oghlan with most of the amirs. [*Shiʿr.*]

(259) When the Yomut army took to flight, Muhammad Amin Inaq and Niyaz Parvanachi, with the brave warriors, pursued them and, killing the rebels, reached the bridge on the canal of Pir-Nawkhast. [Here] the Yomuts turned back and charged [the Uzbeks]. The brave warriors did not retreat, but, having mixed [with the Yomuts], killed Muhammad ʿAvaz, the son of Mengli-Geldi Saqaw, and Muhammad Panah Aqa-yi Rafaniki, and took prisoner a Yomut named Käkä Bay, from the clan (*urugh*) Qojuq. After this, the Yomut army could not stop anywhere, and a majority of them dispersed, took their families and tried to flee. Allah-Berdi Uydachi the Nayman and Qurban-Quli Qazi pursued them with thirty courageous warriors (*yigits*), and, before they could reach [the tomb of] Abdal Baba

(may God illuminate his grave!), overtook the Yomuts in two or three places and killed and captured many people. Niyaz Khoja and Sayyid Muhammad Bay ibn Dost Muhammad Arbab with a small number of men were pursuing and killing the rebels on the road to Qum-Yasqa.[541] When they reached Qum-Yasqa, the rebels saw that they were not numerous, attacked and killed these two unfortunates. [*Nazm.*] After this the Yomuts dispersed, and some of them entered Khiva, but could not remain there and, having left through the Ata gate,[542] took those members of their families who were at hand, and fled to the Gürgen.

Muhammad Amin Inaq entered the city (*shahr*) victoriously, appointed Fazil Bek[543] to defend it, and himself, (260) with his victorious army, pursued the enemies of the state for one *farsakh*; he made a general massacre, returned with a great amount of booty and innumerable prisoners, and made the royal capital Khiva like a paradise, because of the joy brought by his arrival. The brave warriors chased [the Yomuts] for two days and returned, having killed and captured many people, while the foes scattered in all directions. When the Yomuts were defeated at ʿArabkhana, ʿAbd ar-Rahim Mehter Urgenchi, who was the head of the rebels, went into lake Gulbanbagh and hid there in the water. The Nayman Dost Niyaz Bahadur ibn Nefes Darugha captured him in the lake and brought him [to Khiva]. The inaq killed him and sent his head to Urgench. [The inaq] exalted Ish Niyaz Bay Khanqahi with the robe of vizierate,[a] and entrusted the affairs of reign and the matters of state to his mighty grasp. And he honored ʿAbd ar-Rahman Bay with the robe of a *raʾīs*. [*Nazm.*]

In short, the people (*raʿāyā va fuqarāʾ*) enriched themselves beyond all measure with the property which had been accumulated by the enemies of the state through their tyranny, and the whole kingdom (*mamālik*) of Khorezm, having been brought under the authority of Muhammad Amin Inaq, lived in peace and tranquility. Sayyid-Quli Bay was required to pay one thousand *ashrafī*; (261) his guilt was pardoned due to the intercession of Muhammad Saʿid Bay, and he was appointed to serve in the administration (*ḥukūmat*) of Urgench under the aforementioned *bay*. [Muhammad Amin Inaq] exalted everybody who showed his courage because of friendship to him with posts and awards. After two months, he deposed Jahangir Khan,

[a] That is, the post of *mehter*.

brought Aqïm Khan ibn ʿAdil Sultan from the steppe and enthroned him. In a short time the scourge of famine was eliminated, and the prices became so low that they were selling a large sheep for two *yarmaq*,[544] and 40 *bātmans* of wheat or 60 *bātmans* of millet, by Khivan weight, for one *dinar*. At that time one Khivan *bātman* was equal to three and a half Tabriz *bātmans*.[545] Those who had left [the country] and emigrated returned to their abodes and homes, everyone set to cultivation and building on his own land (*öz milkida*), and the country (*yurt*) became more beautiful, populated and flourishing than ever before. All the people, both lowly and noble, prepared for rejoicing and set the *qānūns*[546] to a joyful tune. [*Nazm.*]

(262) It is related that in those happy days the customs of kindness and the rules of generosity were raised to such a level that, if, for instance, someone would express his need to another, the other would not hold back even if that need required his life—but, in accordance with the saying "*Compassion for God's creatures*," would sacrifice his life in satisfying this need. And [even] if the first one could boast of having silver, the other would sell himself in order to shower [him] with gold, according to the words, "*And they prefer [them] above themselves*,"[a] and still apologize [for the inadequacy of his gift]. [*Nazm.*]

A story is told that at that time there was a darvish. One day, when the stack of his ease was ruined by the whirlwind of poverty, and when his distressed family was destroyed by the torrent of want, he sent a man to one of his friends, because of his great need, saying: "This is the time for assistance, and this is the moment for generosity." His friend also excelled in the arena of darvishism. (263) [*Bayt.*] Despite his poverty, he did not see it consistent with generosity to send the messenger back empty-handed, and so he borrowed one *ashrafī* pledging to work for somebody for one month, and sent it to his friend, saying: "Pardon me, take it, this is all that I have managed to find." [*Qiṭʿa.*]

AN EXEMPLARY STORY (*tamthīl*): It is transmitted from one of the companions of the prophet: "In the battle of Uhud, when many Muslims and companions of the Prophet fell martyrs,[547] I brought a jar of water and walked between the fallen to give water to all those who were still alive. I found three companions of the Prophet, who

[a] Qur'ān, LIX,9.

were moaning from the severity of their wounds and thirst. When I offered one of them water, he said: "Give it to that one, since he is more thirsty than I." I brought [water] to the second one, and he pointed to the third one. And the third one pointed to the first. When I came to the first one, he had already entrusted the life which he had held in trust to the angel of death. The same way I came to the second and the third one, and they both were already dead." (264) [*Qiṭʿa.*]

How Niyaz Parvanachi, having risen in rebellion, invited Khojam-Berdi Qoshbegi from Bukhara, with his consent; how [the paravanachi] entered Kat with his help, and raised the banner of disobedience; the news of the birth of the late monarch Eltüzer Muhammad Bahadur Khan; the martyrdom of some of the noble amirs; the end of those imprudent amirs; and the establishment of the great amir Muhammad Amin Inaq firmly on the throne of governance.

*** In 1185 A.H., the Year of the Hare,[a] self-conceit found its way into the mind of Niyaz Parvanachi, and abetted by Jan Murad Inaq and Taji Biy, he began to fail to show due respect to Muhammad Amin Inaq and to interfere in public and private affairs (*umūr-i mulkiya va ghayr-i mulkiya*). When the villains of Hazarasp, lead by the mob of the Qanglï, committed acts of violence and oppression against the population (*fuqarā' va raʿāyā*), so that the latter could not dispose of their fields and their produce, Niyaz Parvanachi acquiesced in this tyranny and injustice, and the oppressed could not obtain justice. Muhammad Amin Inaq (265) opposed Niyaz Parvanachi committing such improper actions and cut off the tyrants' aggressive hands from [harming] the oppressed. Therefore Niyaz Parvanachi became furious, went to Hazarasp and set out on the path of disobedience and rebellion. Niyaz Parvanachi sent a man to Khojam-Berdi Qoshbegi, who for some unaccountable reason had been vexed with Muhammad Amin Inaq and had remained in Bukhara, and invited him to form an alliance. Khojam-Berdi Qoshbegi accepted this, came to Hazarasp, and, being encouraged by his assistance and support, [the parvanachi] took the troops from Hazarasp and entered Kat. Here he openly

[a] 1185 A.H. corresponds to 15 April 1771–3 April 1772; the Year of the Hare began in February 1771.

raised the banner of rebellion, gathered the nomads from the environs to the fortress (*qurghan*) of Kat and ensconced himself there.

Muhammad Amin Inaq was angered by this terrible event and sent two thousand troops under Jan Murad Inaq and Bay Nazar Biy, who was *qoshbegi* at that time, to defend Shahabad. They came to Shahabad and joined battle with the army of Khojam-Berdi Qoshbegi. In this battle, on the rebel side, Ish Pulad Bek, a cousin of Niyaz Parvanachi, was struck and killed by an arrow shot by Baghi Bek Dasturkhanchi. From this side, Chin Pulad Bek ibn Elchi Bek, the younger brother of Khassa Qoshbegi, was taken prisoner by the rebels and was killed to revenge the blood of Ish Pulad Bek. [*Bayt.*]

Jan Murad Inaq, who was himself, from the beginning, a well-wisher and friend of Niyaz Parvanachi (266) and was assisting and inciting this improvident amir to disobedience and rebellion, as was indicated above, in accordance with [the saying] "*Nothing comes from the wicked but wickedness,*"[a] now too raised the dust of sedition with the whirlwind of his wickedness, abandoned his own troops and joined Khojam-Berdi Qoshbegi. Be it known that the beginning of Jan Murad Inaq's rebellion goes back to that day. [*Qiṭʿa.*] Consequently, the army of Bay Nazar Biy was shaken and took to flight. The troops of Kat pursued them and made many people prisoners of misfortune and captives of sorrow. Muhammad Amin Inaq was enraged, insisted upon preparing for the destruction of the rebels, and, [in accordance with the words] "*And take counsel with them in the affair,*"[b] opened the threshold [of his court] to the amirs. They did not approve the idea of setting out and advised reconciliation, in order that the dust of sedition, which is unlikely to settle, should not remain high, and the soil of fright, which is unlikely to polish the mirror of the mind, should not make it disturbed. [*Qiṭʿa.*] (267) After the flame of Muhammad Amin Inaq's wrath was extinguished by the dampening opinion of the nobles of the state, he sent Fazil Bek and Qochqar Ataliq to Niyaz Parvanachi, and dispatched several amirs to Khojam-Berdi Qoshbegi. By taking great pains and making praiseworthy efforts, they concluded peace with Khojam-Berdi Qoshbegi and set the prisoners free.

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[a] Arabic saying.
[b] Qurʾān, III,159.

On this day, when the world-illuminating sun was in the sign of Leo,[a] [*nazm*], the country (*nāḥiyat*) of Khorezm (may God protect it from evil and want!) became the envy of the rosegarden of "*Iram [the land] of the pillars, the like of which was never created in the land,*"[b] due to the happy birth of his majesty the king, the lord of the fortunate conjunction of planets, conqueror of countries, the late Eltüzer Muhammad Bahadur Khan (may God illuminate [the tomb of this man who was a] proof of His [unity]!), and with his auspicious arrival the royal capital Khiva (may God protect her from fire and flood!) became the adornment of the garden [like] "*Gardens of Eden, therein dwelling forever and ever.*"[c] [*Shiʿr.*] (268) Therefore, his noble birth was recognized as being blessed and auspicious and he was given the name of Eltüzer.[d] [*Qiṭʿa.*]

Two days later Khojam-Berdi Qoshbegi went, together with [other] amirs, to Khiva, the seat of governance, to kiss the hand of Muhammad Amin Inaq and to congratulate him on [the birth of] a fortunate grandson of laudable qualities. In order to assure his peace of mind and to strengthen mutual concord, Muhammad Amin Inaq sent several nobles to meet him, and paying him much honor and respect, had him stay in Khiva in a pleasant home and a beautiful place. Despite this kindness, after the departure of Niyaz Parvanachi, this man colluded with him again and ruined himself on the path of evil.

And Niyaz Parvanachi, after Fazil Bek and [Qochqar] Atalïq went to him, made a deceptive reconciliation, hypocritically showing his concord with confirmed promises and firm pledges. [*Rubāʿī.*] (269) After this, he set off with his servants and retainers, turned the reins of departure in the direction of Khanqah and reached the gates of this noble city (*balada*). He arrested and fettered Ish Niyaz Mehter, ʿAbd ar-Rahman Bay Urgenchi and Niyaz Muhammad Aqa-yi Qahramani, who were sincere well-wishers and old friends of Muhammad Amin Inaq, and went to Khiva. The next day these prisoners were put to death. Muhammad Inaq the Nayman, who supported Muhammad Amin Inaq and opposed the parvanachi, hearing about this, was unable to remain in Gurlen and left for Aral, intending to go

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[a] In July.
[b] Qurʾān, LXXXIV,7–8.
[c] Qurʾān, XCVIII,8.
[d] Lit. "He who puts the people in order."

to the governor (*ḥākim*) of Aral, Muhammad Nazar Biy. On his way, on the bank of the Qulabiya, this enlightened amir was captured and detained by the sons of the ruler (*ḥākim*) of the Khitay Qaraqalpaqs, Qurban Tay Biy. Niyaz Parvanachi sent after him Jan Murad Inaq. Jan Murad Inaq took him from Qurban Tay and went back. On their way, when they reached the neighborhood (*maḥalla*) of Qarghalar[548] in the lower reaches of the [canal] Nayman [of] Gurlen, Muhammad Inaq begged Jan Murad Inaq: "Instead of going to Khiva and being killed [there] with torture and disgrace by such an enemy of mine as the parvanachi, [it would be] better [to be killed] at this place which is close to my clan (*uruq*)." Jan Murad Inaq accepted his request and gave his consent. Muhammad Inaq was pleased with this, and, at the mosque of this neighborhood known as the Balta Qargha mosque, having performed the mid-day prayer, he had himself shot by Balta Qargha, who was the elder (*ketkhuda*) of this neighborhood and (270) his own servant (*chākir*), and passed from the transient world to the eternal one. Jan Murad Inaq seized his property (*māl u jihāt*) and stopped in Chaghatay. At the time when Muhammad Inaq was killed, Niyaz Parvanachi [himself] was killed and a man was dispatched to free Muhammad Inaq and to capture Jan Murad Inaq—but it was of no use, since fate had worked its own way. [*Mathnavī.*] Jan Murad Inaq, having heard about this frightful event, fled from Chaghatay, crossed the Amu and went to Bukhara by the steppe road.

Now, listen to what happened to Niyaz Parvanachi. Having sent Jan Murad Inaq after Muhammad Inaq, he appointed a Nayman named Khuday Nazar Biy as *inaq* and, in cooperation with Khojam-Berdi Qoshbegi, took the reins of government into his hands despotically. He terrorized and suppressed the well-wishers of Muhammad Amin Inaq, and girded himself with the girdle of strife against Muhammad Amin Inaq. [*Nazm.*]

(271) Muhammad Amin Inaq began an investigation of these misdeeds and, in accordance with [the saying] "*Remedy a problem before it becomes a problem*," forestalled [the enemy]; and together with Bay Nazar Biy, he obtained Aqïm Khan's permission to kill these two imprudent amirs.[549] During the audience (*körünüsh*), Bay Nazar Biy, by the order of the khan and the inaq, gripped the parvanachi by the beard and slaughtered him with a knife, while Qalandar Dasturkhanchi and Niyaz Chekchek killed Khojam-Berdi Qoshbegi. "*Therefore*

take heed, you who have eyes!"[a] [*Bayt.*] Having learned about this horrible event, Taji Biy the Qïyat, who was a friend of the parvanachi, rushed with the Qanglï *yigits*, who were present there, and stormed the audience hall (*körünüsh-khāna*), but the *altun-jïlaw* beat them and drove back. They fled with great effort and unspeakable pain, seized Baba Bek, the son of the parvanachi, from Hazarasp and went to Bukhara. Amir Daniyal expressed sympathy with Baba Bek and promised him help. And, some time later, upon the intercession of some of his closest nobles (*aʿyān-i ḥażrat*), Muhammad Amin Inaq pardoned Taji Biy and brought him from Bukhara.

(272) How Baba Bek ibn Niyaz Parvanachi rose to arms and captured Hazarasp, and Fazil Bek moved against him with a numerous army; how the nobles (*akābir*) of Gurlen displayed enmity and deserted Fazil Bek; how all the Uzbeks began a rebellion, and Baba Bek came and joined them; how, due to the efforts of the Qongrat Hasan Qabil Sufi, the rebels entered the town Qosh-Küprük and, in great numbers, went to lay siege to the royal capital Khiva; and how, thanks to the Bek Pulad Atalïq's prudence, fighting turned to reconciliation, and the assemblage of rebels was dispersed.

People knowledgeable in history tell the following: The same year, in [the month of] Qaws,[b] Muhammad Amin Inaq gave a big feast and great banquet for his own son Niyaz Muhammad Bek and ʿAdil Bek's son Muhammad Panah Bek in the *ḥawlī* of Gandumkan—the place which has now been inherited by his majesty the sultan, mighty as heaven.[550] [*Rubāʿī.*] Following him, Bay Nazar Biy Qoshbegi immediately gave a feast in the same place. When it was finished, (273) Hasan Murad Parvanachi gave a big feast in Hazarasp, to which he invited Muhammad Amin Inaq with the great amirs (*umarā-yi ʿizām*) and the respected favorites. This was on Wednesday 23 Shaʿban.[c] Hasan Murad Parvanachi accomodated Muhammad Amin Inaq in his own house, and the great amirs—in the houses and residences of his relatives, and embarked upon entertainment and hospitality

[a] Qurʾān, LIX,2.
[b] I.e. 1185 A.H., November 1771.
[c] 30 November 1771 (Saturday).

on a royal scale. [*Nazm.*] The night was half over, when Baba Bek came and entered the town of Hazarasp.

Be it known that some villains of the Qanglï had sent a man to Baba Bek, inviting him, and had settled upon that night. Some say that Baba Bek came in three days from Bukhara, crossed the river upon the ice and sent a man to the fortress (*qalʿa*). There were no people in the fortress[551] except for Qunduz Analïq, a wife of Dosïm Inaq. With the assistance of this woman, Baba Bek took possession of the fortress. When Muhammad Amin Inaq heard about this, he decided to remain personally in Hazarasp (274) and to lay siege to the fortress with the troops of the region (*maẓāfāt*); but Fazil Bek and Bek Pulad Atalïq[552] did not advise him to remain, and, considering that it would be more beneficial to the interests of the state to return, they induced him to leave. Then Bek Pulad Atalïq, having taken Niyaz Muhammad Bek and Muhammad Panah Bek, who had remained in the banquet hall (*toy-khāna*), joined the inaq on his way.

When the inaq came to Khiva, most of the amirs [also] fled [from Hazarasp] and came. After this, the inaq attached the great amirs (*umarā-yi ʿiẓām*) to Fazil Bek, Bek Pulad Atalïq, Rahim-Berdi Atalïq and Bay Nazar Qoshbegi and sent them, with 10,000 troops, to lay siege to Hazarasp. They made their camp in Nayman,[553] because most of the districts (*maẓāfāt*) of Besh-Arïq had submitted to Baba Bek. Remaining in this locality for several days, they had many fights with the Hazaraspians. Having left this place, they set up their encampment in the locality of Durghadik.[554] Baba Bek came with a large army by way of Masʿud,[555] encountered one of Fazil Bek's outposts, joined battle and killed the Qïyat Ish Qabil Yasavul. On hearing this, the great amirs went to repulse [the enemy]. The two sides met to the south of Durghadik, between the canal of Khivanik and Yangi-Arïq, and a fierce battle began. The brave warriors drew their courageous swords and sent many of the rebels, headed by Chon Qara the Salor, to the nothingness of the depth of hell. [*Bayt.*]

Two days after this, the nobles (*akābir*) of Gurlen—Kuchuk Bek ibn Muhammad Inaq, Qurban-Quli Qazi, Shir ʿAli the Jalayir, and ʿAshur Bek the Nokuz—united in disobedience with Baba Bek (275) and, with the troops of Gurlen and Vazir, abandoned the victorious army, entered Gurlen and openly raised the banner of mutiny and rebellion. Therefore the great amirs (*umarā-yi ʿiẓām*) preferred to go back rather than to stay; they returned and were honored by arriving in Khiva before Muhammad Amin Inaq. When this happened,

all the Uzbeks changed their position and began to join the ranks of the rebels. Wherever the wicked, the instigators, and the malcontents were to be found, they displayed disobedience and gathered to the town of Gurlen. And answering the appeal of the rebels, Baba Bek also took the troops of Hazarasp and Besh-Arïq and came to Gurlen. Then all of them together brought ʿAbdallah Sultan from the Qaraqalpaqs[556] and raised him as khan in Gurlen. Muhammad Amin Inaq sent the amirs of Khiva under Fazil Bek, with the troops of the tribes (*el*) remaining faithful, to repulse them. Some say that Fazil Bek did not participate in this campaign, and Bay Nazar Qoshbegi was the commander. In any case, they made their camp in Kat and during two months had a great deal of stubborn fighting with the rebel army.

At this time Bek Pulad Atalïq, the governor (*ḥākim*) of Uyghur, who was a reliable friend and supporter of Muhammad Amin Inaq, secretly obtained the consent of Muhammad Amin Inaq and, in order to sow discord among the rebel community, ostensibly rose in rebellion, deserted Muhammad Amin Inaq and joined the rebels. After this, Esen Qabil Sufi, one of the nobles, or rather the villains, of the Qongrats of Qosh-Küprük, along with Tilew Qabil Sufi, his younger brother, (276) who was known under the nickname Kafir Sufi, began a mutiny and rebellion; and on Wednesday night 11 Zu'l-Hijja,[a] which was the second night of the Festival of the Sacrifice (*Qurbān ʿīdi*), they gathered the rebels and entered the town of Qosh-Küprük. The great amirs (*umarā-yi ʿiẓām*), on hearing this terrible news, were shaken, left Kat and returned to Khiva by the way of Qataghan.[557] After this Kat was also taken by the rebels.

Several days later the rebel amirs gathered troops from everywhere, and in superior strength and in great number went to lay siege to the royal capital Khiva, in order to destroy Muhammad Amin Inaq. They lined up their abominable ranks in the region of Rafanik,[558] and they had the accursed right wing and the ill-omened left wing fitted out with the degraded persons of some of the rebel amirs and mutinous heroes, while Baba Bek, Bek Pulad Atalïq, Qalandar Qoshbegi, Jan Murad Inaq, Kuchuk Inaq, and others stood in the center (*qalbgāh*). [*Shiʿr.*] (277) Bek Pulad Atalïq secretly sent a man to Muhammad Amin Inaq, saying: "Do not take anyone out

[a] 15 March 1772 (Sunday).

of the city for war and battle, since there is safety inside it." Therefore, without sending anybody [out of the town] for the defense, the inaq pitched an awning for himself over the New gates and sat there; he assigned the great amirs to other gates, towers and walls, and occupied himself with the defense of the city.[559] As to the rebels, they raided the neighborhoods (*maḥallāt*) of Yangi-qalʿa and Kebutar-khana in the environs of Khiva, and took as plunder the useless rubbish and wretched trash left behind [by the inhabitants], all of which did not add up to the worth of one *yarmaq*, and then they turned back. Having gathered again in great number after a short while, they went against Khiva and drew up the army in battle array on the bank of the Khivanik. And the brave warriors of Khiva obtained the permission of the inaq, went out of the city and, near [the tomb of] his holiness, the pivot of saints and the glory of the pious, the most excellent of those who achieve union with the divine, the most noble of those who attain mystical perfection, shaykh of the shaykhs of this world, the greatest axis, the pillar of religion and faith, *ishan* Makhzum Hajji (may his holy grave be hallowed!)—and this place became known as Nan-Yemes,—fought such an amazing fight and extraordinary battle against the rebel troops that the frightened voices of the onlookers reached heaven's ears. At the bridge over the Aq-yap,[560] Shah Niyaz Bek, son of Iskandar Biy, fought the rebel Esen Qabil Sufi, who was one of the brave men and the heroes of that time, and struck and wounded him with a murderous lance, so that (278) the aforementioned Sufi escaped from this misfortune only with great difficulty. And the brave warriors, with their sharp swords, dispatched many enemies of the state to the valley of destruction. But ʿAbd al-Karim Bek ibn Sayyid Nazar Bek ibn Dostan Qoshbegi was killed by a musket (*tufang*) ball shot by the enemies. "*Surely we belong to God, and to Him we return.*"[a]

At that time Bek Pulad Atalïq communicated with the inaq and promised to throw the rebel community into disorder. Therefore dissention began among the rebel amirs, their mischievous minds, leavened with wickedness, were seized with fear and terror and, in great confusion, they returned to Qosh-Küprük. At that time the people of Chaghatay offered their submission, and Muhammad Amin Inaq sent Qutlugh Muhammad Inaq with a detachment of victorious troops

[a] Qurʾān, II,156.

in order to defend this town (*balada*). The aforementioned inaq made praiseworthy efforts and took great pains to guard the above-mentioned town (*balada*), and every day he made two or three raids against Shahabad, subjecting it to plunder.

At the end of [the month of] Jawzā,[a] upon the advice of Bek Pulad Atalïq, an exchange of envoys and correspondence began, and reconciliation with Muhammad Amin Inaq was achieved, while Baba Bek, having returned to Hazarasp with the Hazarasp troops, persisted in his disobedience. All other rebellious amirs, under ʿAbdallah Khan, came together to Muhammad Amin Inaq in Khiva, and all were reinstalled in their dwellings and places of habitation (*masākin u mavāṭin*). For their peace of mind, Muhammad Amin Inaq, whose fortunate person was illuminated with the jewels of innate munificence and the ornaments of rare kindness, exalted ʿAbdallah Khan with the crown of sovereignty and made them (the amirs) proud and exalted with high ranks and great posts, so that (279) Jan Murad Inaq and Kuchuk Bek were made *inaq*s, Eltüzer Bek was made *mirab*, and ʿAshur Bek the Nokuz a *nā'ib*. [*Bayt.*]

And Tilew Qabil Sufi, who was a very wicked and rebellious man, feared the sword of punishment of Muhammad Amin Inaq and preferred to flee to the province (*diyār*) of Aral. He established complete understanding and friendship and kept company and union with Safardalï and Ish-Bol Atalïq, leaders of the Qongrat. In the garden of their designs, they cultivated the plant of hostility against Muhammad Nazar Biy, the governor (*vālī*) of the province (*mamālik*) of Aral, and when he toured the bazaar, they plundered the merchandise of life of this peerless amir. From the whirlwind raised by this news, the flame of Muhammad Amin Inaq's wrath flared up, and he sent Bay Nazar Qoshbegi to Aral, having given him a patent (*yarlïq*) to the governorship (*ḥukūmat*) of Aral and an order (*farmān*) to kill those sordid men; and he distinguished Khassa Bek ibn Elchi Bek with the post of *qoshbegi* (*qoshbegilik manṣabi*). Bay Nazar Biy went to that province (*diyār*), sent the murderers of the slain amir to the gulf of perdition, and ruled that province for a long time with undivided authority.

[a] End of May 1772.

How Kuchuk Inaq for the second time, together with the nobles (*akābir*) of Gurlen, embarked upon the path of disobedience, and, in agreement with Baba Bek, raised the banner to draw supporters; how Muhammad Amin Inaq, to punish them, sent a huge army; (280) the circumstances of the submission of the people of Vazir, and the cause of the martyrdom of Rahim-Berdi Atalïq; how the rebels, out of complete helplessness and exigency, made reconciliation and turned to the port of submission; and how Baba Bek, being crushed and subdued, went to Bukhara.

*** The wicked slanderers, leading [people] astray by accusation and malignity, turned those [who should be] guides to the right path into wanderers in the ruins of deviation and vagabonds in the deserts of delusion. They diverted the nobles (*akābir*) of Gurlen, led by Kuchuk Inaq, from the straight road of sincere friendship by repeated instigation and wicked seduction. Therefore Kuchuk Inaq, ʿAshur Naib and others, each under some pretext, went back to Gurlen and did not come to pay respect to Muhammad Amin Inaq. This happened in the Year of the Dragon, 1186 A.H., when the sun was in the sign of Virgo.[a] Muhammad Amin Inaq, out of his favor and pure clemency, repeatedly sent Qara Bahadur Mirab and others to them to call them back, but they, giving inadequate excuses and pretexts, stuck to their deceitful evasion and did not go together beyond the limits of Gurlen. [*Qiṭʿa.*]

(281) The late exalted amir, ʿAvaz Biy Mirab (may God pardon his sins and forgive his faults), the father of this humble [author], tells the following: "In this time of trouble, which was the end of [the month of] Mīzān,[b] I once went to Gurlen on some urgent business and lodged at the house of Kuchuk Inaq. Because of [our] kinship ties, in accordance with [the saying] '*A visit to kindred*,'[c] I made pitiful admonitions and gave friendly advice and tried to keep him from acts of rebellion and mutiny. He was inexorable, put me on a swift horse and in all haste let me go back. I had not yet reached Kat when a man came after me saying that the people of Kat had risen in rebellion. After this, together with this man, I hurried and

[a] August 1772.
[b] September.
[c] Part of a spurious *ḥadīth.*

brought the news of this event to Muhammad Amin Inaq."

When Kuchuk Inaq and ʿAshur Naib began the rebellion, they sent a man to Hazarasp and brought Baba Bek with the army of Hazarasp. Together they brought Aqïm Khan from the Qazaqs and enthroned him. And Baba Bek sent Muhammad Amin Sarïgh to the Salor tribe, whom he had brought before with their families and settled in the environs (*navāḥī*) of Hazarasp, and brought their troops to Gurlen. On their way Muhammad Amin Sarïgh, with the aforementioned troops, came upon the village (*qaṣaba*) of Bashqard, captured the people of Bashqard and killed them. At that time the governor (*ḥākim*) of Khoja-eli, Jan Pulad Biy, sent a man to Gurlen, which had already pulled its neck out of the collar of obedience. This man brought with him Yar Muhammad Bahadur and Taji Bay Cholaq together with a detachment of troops, and they seized and killed Yar Muhammad Biy b. ʿAvaz-Berdi Biy, with whom he (Jan Pulad Biy) had for some time had disputes regarding the administration.

To rout them, Muhammad Amin Inaq (282) sent a numerous army under Fazil Bek and the amirs attached to him against Gurlen. They made Kat the place of their fortunate encampment, and for a period of two months they incessantly fought the rebels. Due to the guidance of fortune, at that time the people of Vazir put their necks into the collar of obedience and surrendered the town of Vazir to Fazil Bek and the great amirs (*umarā-yi ʿiẓām*). Fazil Bek set up his encampment in Vazir and for a long time was occupied with the siege of Gurlen, until on 10 Zu'l-Hijja of the aforementioned year, on Sunday,[a] most of the soldiers dispersed to their homes because of the Festival of the Sacrifice. On that day the rebels went out of Gurlen in great number and sent some troops to raid the environs of Vazir. This group plundered the region of Vazir and fled. Fazil Bek and the great amirs, with the remaining troops, pursued them, made a surprise attack upon the rebels and started a fierce battle, in which the warriors, having drawn the swords of battle from the sheaths of vengeance, made such a slaughter that they raised hills out of the bodies of the slain enemies of the state. At that moment the rebels made an assault, and Fazil Bek, with some brave soldiers, set about repulsing them. Suddenly an arrow hit his throat, and he was wounded. Also the Qïpchaq Rahim-Berdi Atalïq,

[a] 4 March 1773 (Thursday).

who was continuously attacking and giving an example of bravery, was pierced by the arrow of fate and killed. So the ever-victorious army was defeated, and having withdrawn to the town of Vazir, they all departed from there and at midnight stopped in the fortress (*ḥiṣār*) of Chaghatay. By the order of Muhammad Amin Inaq, they went from there, again set up their encampment in Kat and occupied themselves with the siege of Gurlen.

During those days the oppression of the Salor troops became unbearable for the people of Gurlen, and they drove them out of the town. This tribe (*jamāʿa*) came to Hazarasp with great difficulties, (283) plundered this region (*nāḥiyat*), left again and set off for the province (*diyār*) of Merv. After this, Qutlugh Murad Inaq and Hasan Murad Parvanachi, from among the nobles (*ashrāf*) of the Qanglï, fled from Hazarasp, came [to Khiva] and were exalted with royal favors. [*Naẓm.*] After this Sultan Bek and Qochqar Bek, Baba Bek's cousins on the paternal side, who had been appointed [by Baba Bek] to guard Hazarasp, seized and killed the Salors ʿAyd Mahram and Khoja Murad Bek, who remained behind their tribe (*aḥshām*), put the collar of obedience upon themselves, came [to Khiva] with their relatives, and were honored with kissing the threshold of Muhammad Amin Inaq. [*Shiʿr.*] (284) Muhammad Amin Inaq took pains to treat them with honor and respect and sent them, with the army of Hazarasp, to Kat, to Fazil Bek.

After this, the great amirs and the ever-victorious army became encouraged and strengthened, and the rebels, being unable to go out of their camp, lived in total squalor and unspeakable hardship. At that time Sultan Bek, Qochqar Bek and others, along with the people of [whom it is said] "*the perverse follow them,*"[a] became incited to continue their sedition instigated by their old enmity and inherent malice, and sent envoys and letters to Baba Bek and Kuchuk Inaq, saying: "We will abandon the ever-victorious army." Fazil Bek and the pillars of the state became aware of this horrible secret and, by the order of Muhammad Amin Inaq, they arrested and put [the conspirators] into irons and sent them to Khiva. The inaq kept them for several days in prison, and then put them to death together with their retainers, so that they might make it known by this that "*if you do evil, you do it for yourself*".[b] As to Jan Murad Inaq, who also assisted

[a] Qurʾān, XXVI,224.
[b] Qurʾān, XVII,7.

those unfortunates during the aforementioned events, [Muhammad Amin Inaq] did not put him to death in acknowledgement of the friendship and concord displayed by his father, Bek Muhammad Inaq, and [instead] sent him with an embassy to Bukhara, to accompany the refuge of vizierate, ʿAlim Bay ibn ʿAbd ar-Rahim Mehter, saying: "Let him learn his place from the ever increasing and overwhelming vexation of travel and the difficulty of being abroad, and [let him] repent of plotting seditious deeds." However, this [man], according to the rule "*A malignant man will not become pure because of the vicissitude of fortune*,"[a] did not follow this advice and, because of his extreme malice, became strengthened in his enmity; (285) and after Baba Bek wandered out of the *yurt* and went to Bukhara, he colluded with him and became a promoter of a series of seditions, as will be mentioned in its [proper] place, if God Most High wills.

After this, Muhammad Amin Inaq went in person and besieged Gurlen. Totally helpless and completely despondent, the rebels reached the limits of endurance, went out, adopted the rules of suing for peace, and were honored with kissing the inaq's stirrup—except for Baba Bek, who crossed the river, went along the northern bank of the Amu to Pitnak, [re-]crossed the river, and entered the aforementioned town.

Due to his extreme generosity and extraordinary humanity, Muhammad Amin Inaq exalted Kuchuk Inaq, ʿAshur Naib and others with august favor and royal largesses and accommodated them in Khiva in fine dwellings and beautiful homes. He assigned the province (*ayālat*) of Gurlen to Ish Nazar Mirab and exalted ʿAshur Naib by appointing him to the excellent post (*manṣab*) of *mīrāb*. And, in consideration for them, he put Aqïm Khan on the throne of kingdom. After this he dispatched Atajan Khoja Shaykh al-Islam and Allash Atalïq the Qïpchaq with an innumerable army to Hazarasp to lay siege to Pitnak. They seized the crops of the Salors and divided them among the troops, besieged Pitnak and engaged in stubborn fighting with Baba Bek. Finally Baba Bek was exhausted, left Pitnak and fled to Bukhara. The shaykh al-islam and atalïq seized Pitnak, captured and subdued many people of the tribe (*jamāʿa*) of Qanglï, and returned victoriously to Muhammad Amin Inaq.

After this the entire kingdom (*mamālik*) of Khorezm recognized the authority of Muhammad Amin Inaq, except for Khoja-eli, where

[a] Cf. Qurʾān, LII,30.

Jan Pulad Biy remained firm and resolute in his rebellion. The inaq, realizing that the highest resolution was necessary and essential in order to rout and annihilate him, (286) bestowed the diploma (*yarlïgh*) for the province (*ayālat*) of Khoja-eli upon Yakhshïlïq Biy ibn Bek-Turdï Biy and sent him against Jan Pulad Biy. [Yakhshïlïq Biy's] ancestors, from grandfather to father, were of old supporters of this (inaq's) illustrious house; but because of unfavorable circumstances, he had lived in poverty and difficult straits, and obtained his sustenance in the service of ʿAvaz Mirab, the father of this humble [author], until [the inaq] took care of advancing and promoting him. Jan Pulad Biy was unable to resist him and went to Bukhara. [There] he became a close friend of Baba Bek and Jan Murad Inaq, came with them to Pitnak and was killed. This event will be told in its proper place.

Be it clear and evident to the knowledgeable and the sagacious people endowed with insight that there is much disagreement in [the accounts of] the extraordinary events involving Baba Bek and Kuchuk Inaq. Therefore, having encouraged the swift-writing pen, I have recorded two different versions retained by [human] memory: one is the story which was just told, and another one which was briefly narrated in the third part of the third chapter dealing with the [history of the Chingizid] khans.[a]

Nazm:
In the contradictory versions of this passage, I, with lamentations,
Made many corrections over several days.
My heart bled, and my mind was full of sorrow,
For the contradictions became no fewer.
Therefore I took the swift-running pen
And tuned two different stories.
Do not make me weep from blame:
Pardon me for this matter, friends!

(287) To secure the confidence and to strengthen the agreement with the rebellious amirs, Muhammad Amin Inaq took great pains and made many efforts promoting and elevating them, and the young plant of [their] desires became greener and greener and more flourishing from the whiffs of the breeze of favor and from the outpourings

[a] See above, pp. 76–79.

of the clouds of generosity. Therefore the level of their happiness and felicity was promoted to the throne of grandeur and magnificence. Among them, Eltüzer Mirab ibn Khoja-Quli Inaq, ʿAshur Mirab the Nokuz, Qurban-Quli Qazi the Nayman, and Shir ʿAli the Jalayir became intoxicated with the drink of good fortune and wealth and, in accordance with [the words] "*Man waxes insolent, for he thinks himself self-sufficient*,"[a] became ungrateful and girded themselves with the girdle of zeal to demolish Muhammad Amin Inaq's edifice of existence. Muhammad Amin Inaq learned about this and seized them, together with Kuchuk Inaq, whom liars and slanderers accused of belonging to the same group; he imprisoned them in the dungeon of calamity and the prison of distress. Some time later, [Muhammad Amin Inaq] investigated their affair, cut the thread of their life with a pitiless sword and let Kuchuk Inaq out of prison and, with the beam of the lights of clemency and the glare of the suns of compassion, took him from the darkness of abjection to the open air of nobility; he granted Kuchuk Inaq his previous post (*manṣab*) and conferred upon him the province (*ayālat*) of Gurlen with its surroundings. [*Bayt.*]

(288) How Baba Bek and Jan Murad Inaq came from Bukhara for the second time and captured the town of Pitnak, and how, being defeated in the battle with Khassa Qoshbegi and Bek Pulad Ataliq, they again went to Bukhara.

*** In 1192 A.H.[b] Baba Bek and Jan Murad Inaq, together with some ill-omened enemies of the state, set off from Bukhara, came to Charjuy, took the troops of the Salor and the Sariq, and went to Khorezm. Due to the efforts of the nobles (*akābir*) of Pitnak, they entered the town of Pitnak, took possession of that region (*nāḥiyat*) and sent troops in a raid to the environs of Hazarasp. This happened at the end of [the month of] Sunbule,[c] but some say—in the middle of [the month of] Mīzān,[d] "*according to the contradicting accounts*".[e] The flame of wrath of Muhammad Amin Inaq was kindled and blazed from the whirlwind of this news, and he sent the

[a] Qurʾān, XCVII,6–7.
[b] 1778 A.D.
[c] End of August.
[d] Mid-September.
[e] Arabic expression.

prudent amir Khassa Qoshbegi, with some amirs and military commanders and victorious troops, to rout them (Baba Bek and others). Khassa Qoshbegi came to Hazarasp with great pomp and exerted himself to lay siege to Pitnak the same day. Muhammad Amin Inaq sent Bek Pulad Atalïq with the remaining amirs to aid him. They joined the qoshbegi in Hazarasp and marched in superior numbers against the rebels. The encounter of the two armies took place at the eastern foot of Chingiz-qïr.[561] [*Mathnavī.*]

(289) The brave warriors, having pulled the saber of valor from the sheath of vengeance, fought and slaughtered from morning till noon and gave examples of bravery on the battlefield. But the battle remained drawn and neither side showed signs of victory or defeat. [*Mathnavī.*] At this moment, on Bek Pulad Atalïq's order, this humble [author]'s illustrious father, amir ʿAvaz Mirab, and ʿAbd al-Latif Darugha the Uyghur took 300 men from the army's left wing, passed to the north of Baba Bek's troops, plunged into a canal which separated the two armies, (290) crossed it and attacked the rebels from the rear. Bek Pulad Atalïq moved to their aid with an innumerable army, passed the place called Kömülgen and appeared in the rear of the enemies of the state. At this moment, according to [the saying] "*That God may help thee with mighty help,*"[a] the wind of victory began to blow into the atalïq and the qoshbegi's victorious banners, and, according to [the saying] "*God will surpass, and He cannot be surpassed,*"[562] the dust of calamity settled upon Baba Bek and Jan Murad Inaq's helmets of fortune, and being unable to withstand the assault of the brave warriors, they were defeated and fled to the town. The victorious soldiers pursued them and, shedding the blood of the fleeing [rebels] with the swords of courage, began pillaging and plundering. Most of the rebels, under Baba Bek, did not enter the town of Pitnak, but dispersed towards Tuzlaq, intending to go to Bukhara. A group which had entered the town escaped from the gulf of perdition with great difficulty and innumerable hardships, and followed Baba Bek. The great amirs took Pitnak by force, committed the property of the townsfolk to the flame of pillage, and gladdened the victorious troops with plentiful booty. The brave warriors who pursued the fugitives passed Tuzlaq, made an attack, killed and captured many people and returned victorious and triumphant.

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[a] Qurʾān, XLVIII,3.

One of the slain rebels was Jan Pulad Biy Khoja-eli, who had also come from Bukhara with Baba Bek and Jan Murad Inaq. When they were defeated by the victorious army, he (Jan Pulad Biy) entered the town of Pitnak together with some other fugitives, and (291) when they saw that things were going badly, and were fleeing from the town with great difficulty, he was struck upon his left arm by a murderous lance against the [city] gate. Due to his great strength and dexterity, he escaped, but on the Sultan-Saray height (*qïr*) he became weak from the severe bleeding and fell from his horse. ʿAbd al-Latif Darugha captured him, cut the thread of his life with a sharp sword and brought his head to the victorious amirs.

One day later, the qoshbegi and the atalïq, together with the great amirs, appointed a governor (*ḥākim*) for Pitnak, returned to Muhammad Amin Inaq, and were honored with copious gifts and numerous favors.

How Jan Murad Inaq and Baba Bek came from Bukhara for the third time and each began a tumult and rebellion in a certain part of the land of Khorezm, as if they were knight and queen threatening the chess king, and moved a castle against Muhammad Amin Inaq; how Muhammad Amin Inaq sent an army to repulse them, and many battles took place between them; how Badal Divanbegi came from Bukhara and joined them with reinforcements; how they came to the verge of a checkmate from the attacks of the [Khivan] heroes,[563] so that one of them, under the pretext of making peace, left Gurlen and went to Aral, and the other one, by reconciliation, attained the rank of *parvānachī* as a token of mutual friendship and concord; and about their final ruin and the details of their annihilation and destruction.

*** In the aforementioned Year of the Dog,[a] in the middle of the holy month of Muharram 1193 A.H.,[b] when (292) the sun that brightens the world was in the sign of Capricorn,[c] Jan Murad Inaq, together with some rebels—who, because of the villainy of their wickedness and obstinacy, had been homeless in Mavarannahr, wandering in

[a] February 1778–February 1779.
[b] 18 January–16 February 1779.
[c] December according to Khorezmian zodiacal calendar, and 22 December–19 January according to common Iranian zodiacal calendar.

abasement and lost in hardship,—came from Bukhara by the steppe road (*qïr yoli*) to the lower Aq-Yaqïsh. They took troops of the Manghït Qaraqalpaqs under Sarïtay Biy and of the Khitay Qaraqalpaqs under But Bahadur and Baraq Bahadur, and, with the help of Ahmad Bek, Bek Balta Atalïq and Muhammad Ziya, entered Manghït and seized the reins of governance over that people (*el*). They raised ʿAbd ar-Rahman Sultan, from the Qaraqalpaq princes (*törelär*), as khan.[564] In those days the tribe (*ulus*) of Manghït was living on the western bank of the Qarabayli-Üzäk,[565] where they had built a fortress (*qurghan*); and the tribe (*khalq*) of Nokuz lived on the eastern bank of the Sarïbay river, where they had built a fortress (*qalʿa*). After Jan Murad Inaq conquered Manghït, he went with a numerous and vengeful army against Nokuz. He seized this fortress (*qalʿa*) peacefully, took one hundred soldiers under Jan Muhammad Biy, from the Nokuz nobles, and returned to Manghït.

Muhammad Amin Inaq sent most of the honorable amirs, under Fazil Bek, against Manghït with 12,000 troops thirsting for blood. On their way they heard about the Nokuz affair, and, covering the distance in great haste, came to Nokuz three days after this event and besieged and captured it. Having destroyed the city wall (*qalʿa*), they deported this tribe (*el*), appointing Khoja Nazar Mirab as their head and sending them to Besh-Qalʿa. After this Fazil Bek set up his camp in this place, and much fighting with Jan Murad Inaq followed. [*Bayt.*] (293) In these battles Fazil Bek was victorious, except for one battle, in which the right wing of the ever-victorious army was partially defeated and Sayyid Nazar Bek, of the descendants of Dostan Qoshbegi, was struck by the arrow of fate and drank from the cup of martyrdom the delectable drink [about which it is said] "*Every soul shall taste of death.*"[a] After this the brave soldiers pulled the sabers of valor from the sheaths of vengeance and, in successive attacks, defeated the Manghït army and killed Quchan Bek, a brother of Jan Murad Inaq. Some time later, after making peace, they returned.

At that time the tribe (*khalq*) of Teke, one of the Turkmen tribes (*ṭavāʾif*), came as *nöker*s and settled in the regions of Yangi-Arïq and Astana. Prompted by the natural malice and innate ignorance characteristic of these tribes of evil temperament, they began to perpetrate certain improper deeds, and sometimes even evaded the execution

[a] Qurʾān, III,185, XXI,35, XXIX,57.

of the [inaq's] binding order—so that, during the aforementioned campaign, they took the liberty of not serving under Fazil Bek. Therefore, after Fazil Bek returned, Muhammad Amin Inaq drove them out of the country (*yurt*).[566]

Several days later, Baba Bek, who was the source of sedition and the cause of rebellion, took Zaman Bek of the Teke and At-Qïran Bahadur of the Salor with a hundred men and sent them to Jan Murad Inaq as reinforcements, under his own younger brother ʿAbd ar-Rahman Bek. On this occasion Mawlana Pahlavan-Quli Rawnaq[567] compiled and sent [him] the following verse, mocking [him]:

Bayt:
Do not threaten me with your Sarïtay and But [and] Baraq!
What harm can come to my penis from At-Qïran and your Anglaq!

(294) Be it known that "from your Anglaq" is a reference to Zaman Bek. So Qazi Muhammad Niyaz Nishati, who was a close companion of Jan Murad Inaq, wrote and sent the following verse in reply:

Bayt:
Do not threaten me with your Bay Nazar and Bek Pulad!
What harm can come to my penis from the Turkmens, the Chowdurs, and your rebels!

Muhammad Amin Inaq, on hearing this news, acted prudently and cautiously, and dispatched Taji Biy Qïyat with two hundred men to defend Khoja-eli. At this time Jan Murad Inaq killed Jan Muhammad Biy the Nokuz, who had intended to kill him (Jan Murad), together with Jan Murad's younger brother.

In [the month of] Mīzān,[a] Baba Bek went from Bukhara to Charjuy, took the troops of the Teke and the Salor, came to Hazarasp and entered [the city]. Rushing through the streets, they killed Ish Muhammad Naib the Qongrat, while Muhammad Niyaz Inaq and Baba Darugha, having jumped out from the city wall (*qalʿa*), fled on foot and came to Khiva.

Muhammad Amin Inaq sent most of the amirs, under Khassa Qoshbegi, with an innumerable army, to besiege Hazarasp. They made their camp in Mitan[568] and besieged Hazarasp for twenty days, and twice, near the mausoleum of the exemplar of saints, the cream

[a] September.

of pious, his holiness Ishan Baqi Khoja (the mercy and forgiveness of God be upon him!) great battles with the rebels took place the like of which had not been seen since [the time of] Rustam and Afrasiyab. [*Mathnavī.*]

(295) In the meantime, in the same [month of] Mīzān, Jan Murad Inaq heard about the arrival of Baba Bek at Hazarasp, raised the banner of hostility with the army of the Manghïts and Qaraqalpaqs and set off against Khoja-eli. He besieged this people (*el*) for seven days and conquered it with the help of the common people and the rabble (*ʿavāmm u juhhāl*) of the community (*el*) of Qulab.[569] Taji Biy and Yakhshïlïq Biy, together with the nobles (*akābir*) of Khoja-eli, fled and escaped. Jan Murad Inaq remained there for several days, assembled the troops of the neighboring Qaraqalpaqs, and set off against Yumri.[570] He took this town after a short siege and set off against Vazir. The governor (*ḥākim*) there was Oraz ʿAli Naib the Manghït, known under the nickname Bashmaq. (296) He went out to greet Jan Murad Inaq and let him into Vazir. On hearing this horrible news, the ever-victorious army was shaken and dispersed from Mitan. Therefore the kingdom (*mamālik*) was thrown into confusion, and the regions (*bilād*) of Besh-Arïq were occupied by Baba Bek, while the people of Tash-qalʿa[571] submitted to Jan Murad Inaq. [*Nazm.*]

Muhammad Amin Inaq again assembled an army and divided it into two parts. He sent one part, under Khassa Qoshbegi, Vali Atalïq, Salih Inaq, Muhammad Niyaz Inaq, and others, to repulse Baba Bek. They set up their camp in Alaja,[572] because Baba Bek had made his camp in Baghat. Having entrusted another part to Fazil Biy, Bek Pulad Atalïq, Bay Nazar Biy, Qutluq Muhammad Inaq, Kuchuk Inaq, and others, he sent it against Tash-qalʿa and against Jan Murad Inaq. They set up their camp in Baghlan Qïyat and busied themselves by sieging Tash-qalʿa and Vazir. Meanwhile Jan Murad Inaq went, in full strength, against Gurlen. [His army] met with the troops of Gurlen and the troops of Khiva, and a great battle took place. Jan Murad Inaq was unable to withstand [them] and fled; two hundred men from the Aral and Qaraqalpaq army were killed, and one hundred (297) were taken prisoner. One of these prisoners was Esen Qabil ibn Jan Pulad Biy. He was a very sharp-sighted and far-seeing fellow; the Uzbeks call such people *qïragha.* It was told that he could see a man at the distance of one day's travel—and some say, at the distance of two days' travel—and

could distinguish the color of his robe and horse. When Jan Murad Inaq came from Bukhara to Manghït, Esen Qabil was his servant and companion. One morning he said: "Man riding a camel is visible and he is coming in this direction." Jan Murad Inaq asked: "When will we meet him?" He said: "Tomorrow." At that time, next morning, they met that man, as he had said. [*Bayt.*] When Jan Murad Inaq captured Khoja-eli, Esen Qabil's paternal uncle Ish Qabil Biy killed the elder brother of Chaqan, Jan Murad Atalïq. Therefore Chaqan asked Muhammad Amin Inaq to deliver Esen Qabil in his hands and he killed him.

At that time, by the order of Muhammad Amin Inaq, the troops of the Yomut, who were Turkmens of Khorasan and Gürgen, arrived. Be it known that the Yomuts form two groups (*ṭā'ifa*): one is called Bayram-Shahlï,[a] and the other one is called Choni-Sheref; the latter group (*ṭabaqa*) is known also as Qara-Choqa. Muhammad Amin Inaq promised them his favor and sent the Bayram-Shahlï to help Fazil Bek and designated the Qara-Choqa to aid Khassa (298) Qoshbegi.[573] After this, these two armies fought the rebels on two sides of the country for five months, until, in the middle of [the month of] Ḥut,[b] Fazil Bek left Baghlan and laid siege to Tash-qal'a, having built a rampart (? *ḥavāla*) so that the rebels could not raise their heads above the city walls. At the end of [the month of] Ḥūt, Ahmad the Jalayir, Khuday-Berdi Naib the Nokuz, and the common people (*'avāmm*) of Gurlen, led by Vays-Quli Divan, brought Jan Murad Inaq from Vazir and let him into Gurlen. Kuchuk Inaq, Berdish Atalïq, Allah-Quli Qazi, Yar Muhammad Bahadur, Bek-Turdï Tejen, and others, with their relatives, fled and departed. Because of this horrible event, the army of Fazil Bek at Tash-qal'a dispersed.

At this moment Baba Chal Atalïq started hostilities, having ensconced himself in the fortress (*qal'a*) of the community (*khalq*) of Ala-Buluk[574] and raided Urgench. The flame of Muhammad Amin Inaq's wrath blazed up from the whirlwind of this event, and he set off against them with an innumerable army. For two days he laid heavy siege against this people (*el*) and [then] committed their fortress to the flame of fury and made general massacre, sparing only babies and women. It is told that the number of those slain in this massacre

[a] In Turkmen pronunciation Bayram-Shalï.
[b] Mid-February.

was more than five hundred, not counting those who were burnt. [*Shiʿr.*] (299) After Muhammad Amin Inaq finished the massacre, he placed the aforementioned amirs under the command of Fazil Bek again and sent them, with a large army, against Jan Murad Inaq, while he himself turned back, victoriously and triumphantly. On reaching Khiva, he occupied himself with the affairs of the state and the army.

As to Fazil Bek, he set up his camp in Kat and after a month went from there and, having built a *senger* in the place named Shaghallar, laid siege to Gurlen and Tash-qalʿa. At that time amazing battles and tremendous fighting took place, and, especially in the vicinity of Qatïgh-köl,[575] due to his courage and martial skill, Bek Pulad Atalïq inflicted such blows on the rebels that the *dāstān* about the battle of twelve knights (*davāzdah rukh*)[576] fell into oblivion. Khassa Qoshbegi also defeated Baba Bek and did not let him go out of the town. Therefore Baba Bek sent a man to Amir Daniyal Atalïq, asking for help and reinforcements. Amir Daniyal appointed Badal Divanbegi and Mirza ʿAli Dadkhah, from among the amirs of Bukhara, with a brave army of two thousand men, designated Pulad Ghazi Sultan to be the khan [of Khiva], and sent them to help Baba Bek and Jan Murad Inaq. (300) They came to Hazarasp, went with Baba Bek to Baghat, encamped [there], and sent Mirza ʿAli Dadkhah to Gurlen, to Jan Murad Inaq.

Muhammad Amin Inaq, having heard about these events, assembled troops from the vicinity [of Khiva] and sent reinforcements to the qoshbegi. Therefore the qoshbegi, being strengthened and encouraged, fought Baba Bek and Badal Divanbegi so fiercely that Badal Divanbegi could not go out of his encampment and regretted that he had come. In these battles Vali Atalïq and the Yomut warriors fought fairly well and killed many Bukharans. Several days later Muhammad Amin Inaq in person took the army of Khiva and set out against Gurlen. Therefore Jan Murad Inaq was seized with fear and terror; having concluded a truce, he left Gurlen, fled to Aral, entered the fortress (*qalʿa*) of Manghït and fortified himself there. Muhammad Amin Inaq took possession of Vazir, Gurlen and Tash-qalʿa with the surrounding regions and marched, with the ever-victorious army, against Baba Bek and Badal Divanbegi. The latter were unable to offer resistance and, having sent an envoy, sued for peace sincerely. Muhammad Amin Inaq accepted their request and pardoned their crimes. He granted Baba Bek the rank (*manṣab*) that

his father had held and, having brought Pulad Ghazi Sultan to Khiva, exalted him with the crown of sovereignty. Badal Divanbegi, having saved his own life, returned to Bukhara.[577] This happend in the Year of the Cow,[a] the leap-year 1196 of the Hijra,[b] in [the month of] Ḥamal.[c]

In the Year of the Hare,[d] Baba Bek, instigated by the devil, resolved upon hostility to Muhammad Amin Inaq and drew several people under Baghi Bek Dasturkhanchi into his conspiracy against his highness. (301) Some of these people who had reached high ranks due to the patronage of Muhammad Amin Inaq were guided by their reason, abstained from the infamy of ingratitude and brought Muhammad Amin Inaq decisive evidence and clear proof of this secret. At this time Baba Parvanachi was occupied with the wheat threshing on his estate (*ḥawlī*) in Rafanik. Muhammad Amin Inaq sent a man to kill him, and, in accordance with [the saying] "*A recompense for that they were doing,*"[e] made him earn retribution for his deeds; and he also dispatched Baghi Bek Dasturkhanchi after him, by reason of [the words] "*with those who follow them.*"[f] And ʿAbd ar-Rahman Bek fled and went to Bukhara.

Baba Bek was a very learned and intelligent man. In his assembly there was never a lack of conversation with scholars and poets. But it did no good, since he would never rest from doing evil and causing sedition, and caused much blood to be shed unjustly. [*Qiṭʿa.*] Baghi Bek Dasturkhanchi was also a good-natured and experienced man, and he also had some inclination for poetry. Once he was asked: (302) "What was it that made you a friend and accomplice of Baba Parvanachi despite his malice and blood-thirstiness?" He answered: "[His] talents." [*Qiṭʿa.*]

As to Jan Murad Inaq: After he went to Aral and fortified himself in the fortress (*qalʿa*) of Manghït, for a long time he repeatedly fought with the army of Muhammad Amin Inaq and stood firm on the path of enmity. Finally, the people (*ulus*) of Manghït suffered enough from his wickedness, expelled him and drove him out to

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[a] From February 1781.
[b] 16 December 1781–5 December 1782.
[c] March.
[d] From February 1783.
[e] Qurʾān, XXXII,17, XLVI,14, LVI,24.
[f] Cf. Qurʾān, IX,100.

Bukhara. They submitted to Muhammad Amin Inaq, and ʿInayatallah Bek, son of Hasan Murad Inaq, was appointed to govern them. At that time Salih Inaq died, and ʿInayatallah Biy was brought [to Khiva]; the rank (*manṣab*) of *inaq* was bestowed upon him, and the governorship of Manghït was entrusted to Sayyid Nazar Biy, one of his brothers. Some time later, Keday Bahadur and Bek Balta Atalïq, who were nobles (*akābir*) of the Manghïts, killed Sayyid Nazar Biy, together with his son Arzï Bek Darugha, and opened hostilities. Muhammad Amin Inaq sent an army to rout them. Being unable to withstand [it], they sent a man to Jan Murad Inaq imploring him to bring troops from Bukhara. That ill-omened man accepted [the invitation], assembled many of the rebels who had fled the country (*yurt*) to his side, came from Bukhara and entered Manghït. Muhammad Amin Inaq several times sent troops against him and (303) subjected them to a severe siege, so that the roads by which grain was usually brought from the region of Manghït were closed and the crops of this region (*nāḥiyat*) were completely destroyed. This tribe (*el*) was famine-stricken, and they were near to seizing Jan Murad Inaq with his followers and delivering them. Therefore Jan Murad Inaq was forced to make peace, received protection from Khassa Qoshbegi and Bek Pulad Atalïq and, accompanied by them, was given the honor of coming to Muhammad Amin Inaq. Muhammad Amin Inaq did his best to show him honor and respect, and bestowed upon him the rank (*manṣab*) of *atalïq*.

Some time later he also was seized by that same passion and temptation which had afflicted Niyaz Parvanachi and Baba Parvanachi, and in the Year of the Dog, 1202 A.H.,[a] in [the month of] Sunbule, he got his punishment, together with his followers and retainers, and was buried in a tomb (*maqbara*) which he had built himself at the luminous mausoleum of the cream of the sublime sayyids, pivots of saints, glory of Sufis, Sayyid Hasan Khoja and Sayyid Husayn Khoja (may God grant both of them mercy and forgiveness!). On hearing this horrible news, Ahmad Bek and Keday Bahadur fled from Manghït and went to Bukhara by the Irdar road.[578] Muhammad Amin Inaq sent ʿInayatallah Inaq with a huge army to Manghït and, having

[a] The Year of the Dog was from February 1790, which corresponds to Jumadi II 1204–Jumadi II 1205, and the month of Sumbule is August; thus, the date is August 1790 (based on the cyclic year given by Munis). If the Hijri year is correct, it should correspond to 1788, the Year of the Monkey.

had this tribe (*el*) deported, made them settle on the bank of the Atalïq-arna, where a fortress (*qalʿa*) was built [for them].[579] He appointed Tengri-Berdi Biy, who was also a son of Hasan Murad Inaq, to govern this tribe (*el*).

The story of the death of Muhammad Amin Inaq and a memoir of his laudable qualities and worthy deeds.

Be it known and evident to perceptive and knowledgeable people endowed with insight that Muhammad Amin Inaq was very learned and clever, (304) with a taste for life and pleasure. He was adorned with the pearls of wisdom and sagacity, and bedecked with the garments of prudence and keen-wit. He would temper his punishment with justice and his wrath with kindness. His dignity and majesty were so great that everyone who ever saw him would be seized by trembling in all his limbs. [*Fard.*] In courage and valor he was incomparable in his time and unique in his epoch. [*Nazm.*] He exerted himself to show honoring and reverence to the *ʿulamāʾ* and the learned men (*fużalāʾ*), and he was totally devoted to showing respect and esteem for the pillars of the state and the closest nobles. He was, rightly, persistent and diligent in raising the banners of the noble *sharīʿa* and the Muslim community and would inquire about the welfare of scholars and mystics.[a] He was always sitting in his sublime audience-hall (*körünüsh-i ʿālī*) with the great amirs, and, despite the fact that he was eminent among his contemporaries thanks to the power of his mind and justness of his decisions, he would constantly consult them, according to [the saying] "*And take counsel with them in the affair*,"[b] and would ask advice of their world-enlightening opinion.[580] (305) In accordance with [the saying] "*And compassion is due to the creatures of God*,"[c] he would scatter the grain of compassion to the subjects and population and would support their troubled souls. From his infancy till the end of his life he never intentionally abandoned the habit of early rising, in accordance with [the words] "*Keep vigil the night, except a little (a half of it, or diminish a little)*."[d] He was extremely devoted and faithful to the honorable sayyids and the noble shaykhs.

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[a] Lit.: "men of madrasas and khanaqas."
[b] Qurʾān, III,159.
[c] Arabic saying.
[d] Qurʾān, LXXIII,2–3.

He passionately loved hunting and falconry. By his appreciation of merit and valuing people's service he was distinguished among the exalted sultans and the mighty amirs. But sometimes his nature showed an inclination to joviality, and he took pleasure in humorous and witty conversation. Most of the time he strove to erect buildings and do charitable deeds. For example, in 1200 A.H.,[a] the wall (*qurghan*) of the royal capital Khiva, which, due to the battering caused by events, had, since the time of the arrival of Nadir Shah, lain in utter ruin just like suffering hearts of plaintives, and without foundations just like the shacks of the poor,[b]—was rebuilt thanks to the construction erected [as it were] by his favor, so that its towers and ramparts became equal to the top of the castle of heaven, and the bottom of its moat reached the lowest point on earth. [*Nazm.*] (306) Besides this, he also erected other buildings which boasted of equality with the edifice of heaven, among them the Madrasa-i Inaqiya, which is the refuge of *'ulamā'* and the dwelling of scholars.[581] [*Mathnavī.*]

In 1203 A.H., at the end of [the month of] Qaws,[c] the dignified prince (*amīrzāda*) Fazil Biy was giving a great feast. After Muhammad Amin Inaq retired from the feast, his noble person was affected by a sickness which became graver every day, and his weakness and illness grew constantly. After this disease lasted for five months, {in 1204 A.H., on Friday 29 Rajab}, in the Year of the Pig, at the beginning of [the month of] Thawr,[d] he felt some relief and, having summoned the great *'ulamā'*, the noble amirs, the honorable courtiers (*nudamā'*) and the magnificent princes, he opened the door of admonitions and advices before them. He scattered the jewels of his words among the people in this assembly, as follows: "Every living soul which has ever set the foot of existence in the garden of this world must travel with the foot of non-existence to the nightchamber of the next world, and every breathing being who had once entered the town of life must go with the caravan of death to the city of annihilation. So too has my turn come, (307) so that at last I feel

[a] 3 November 1785–22 October 1786.

[b] Cf. on the destruction of Khiva above, p. 65.

[c] 1203 A.H. corresponds to 2 October 1788–20 September 1789; the Khorezmian month of Qaws was from 1 to 29 November. Thus, the date is November 1788.

[d] The Hijri date given by Munis corresponds to 13 April 1790 (but the day of the week was Tuesday); the Khorezmian month of Thawr is from 31 March. But the corresponding cyclic year is the Year of the Dog (the Year of the Pig was from February 1791).

the signs of passing away. [*Nazm.*] Now, it is necessary that you recognize my elder son ʿAvaz Bek as my heir-apparent; and do not violate his orders and prohibitions in the affairs of the state and business of the kingdom, and, as you set him to advance on the path of vicegerency, do not allow yourself to deviate from the ways of benevolence and consent, lest the bride of state and kingdom which comes from the felicity of this concord, should leave this dynasty and go to strangers." After this, looking at the great prince (*amīrzāda-i aʿzam*), pivot of the state and the faith, ʿAvaz Biy Inaq, he let loose the pearls of eloquently strung words: "O my dear son, I obtained this dominion and country by taking upon myself a lifetime of great difficulties and innumerable hardships, and I attained the destruction of the enemies of the state on the surface of the earth by drawing the sword and by divine assistance and grace. If you wish that you too may reign for [many] years, do not rely upon gold and the treasury, since wealth is perishable; and do not become attached to the army since an army may waver according to circumstances. [Instead of this,] maintaining benevolence and kindness, civility and politeness in [all] affairs, you must gladden and content those great *ʿulamāʾ*, who are certainly the pillar of faith and the support of the true religion, with high ranks and continuous pensions (*vazāʾif*), and take due care to expand the Muslim community and the noble *sharīʿa*. And you must (308) make a point of promoting the ranks and elevating the positions of those dignified amirs, who are [your] sincere friends and long established well-wishers. Do not try to do anything in state or other affairs without consulting them; while showing them benevolence and consideration in accordance with the dignity and rank of each, you must increase and extend their friendship for you—since they are the pillars of the state. And do not cut the kinship ties with your brothers, and respect the rights of relatives, since kinship ties prolong life and increase substance. And take care to bring the subjects (*raʿāyā*) from the level of subjection to the degree of friendship, through perfect kindness and compassion beyond description, so that their hearts will be obedient to you. [*Bayt.*]"

Two days later, on Sunday 1 Shaʿban,[a] [Muhammad Amin Inaq], having drunk the draught of death from the cup of [the words] "*Every soul shall taste of death*,"[b] passed to the next world, in accord-

[a] 15 April (Thursday).
[b] Qurʾān, III,185, XX,35, XXIX,57.

ance with [the saying] "*Return unto thy Lord, well-pleased, well-pleasing.*"[a] [*Rubāʿī.*] (309) He was eleven years old when his father Ish Muhammad Biy was killed, and at the age of 32 he ascended the throne of governance (*imārat*), and when he reached the age of 61, he handed over the life entrusted to him to the angel of death. The duration of his rule was 29 years. He was buried at the mausoleum from which brightness issues forth, [the tomb] of the sultan of gnostics and the proof of mystics, ʿAla' ad-Din Khoja[582] (may the mercy and forgiveness of God be upon him!). He had many children. Besides those who died in their childhood and during his lifetime, there were eight sons,[b] as follows: the great amir, Jamal ad-Dawla va'd-Din ʿAvaz Biy Inaq and Niyaz Muhammad Bek—these two were from one mother; Muhammad Niyaz Bek—he was the only son of another mother; Muhammad-Quli Bek—also the only son of yet another mother, and he died three years after his father, at the age of fifteen; Muhammad Murad Bek, Muhammad Riza Bek, and Ish Muhammad Bek—these three were from still another mother. Their story will come in its proper place,[c] God willing. Qazi Safa, Qazi Mir ʿAvaz, Qazi Khoja Nazar, and Muhammad Zahid Akhund, who were very learned *ʿulamā'*, were his contemporaries. And among the noble shaykhs, his contemporaries were *Sayyid Muhammad Panah Khoja, Sultan Khoja, Zahir Ishan, ʿAyd Muhammad Ishan, Qul-Muhammad Khoja, and the venerable Baqir Jan (may God illuminate their graves!).*

How the great amir Jamal al-Mulk va'l-Milla va'd-Din ʿAvaz Biy Inaq ascended the throne of governance (310) and began to be engaged in the affairs of government.

*** When Muhammad Amin Inaq's sun of life was close to the sunset of death, that is, the day before the decease of the aforementioned amir, which was the last day of Rajab, ʿAvaz Biy Inaq, with the assistance and consent of the pillars of the state and the closest nobles and in accordance with the will of his father, at the most propitious time and the most auspicious hour ascended the throne

[a] Qur'ān, LXXXIX,28.
[b] Munis mentions only seven sons.
[c] See below, pp. 240, 244–255.

of government. He completed the funeral ceremony for his illustrious father, gave a funeral feast (*āb u āsh*), befitting the royal dignity, for the subjects and population, had the sacred Qur'ān read many times from the beginning to the end, and [thus] gladdened the pure soul of his father. Having finished the observance of the rites of mourning and the customs of lamentation, he gave a great feast and remarkable entertainment to celebrate the good news that he had become the ruler. [*Mathnavī.*] (311) After the festivities he sat in the chamber (*dīvān-khāna*) of government and administration, devoting himself with utmost zeal to royal and imperial affairs, and threw the light of the sun of his consideration upon both the high and the humble. As was the custom of his father, he confirmed the dignified *ʿulamā'* and the honorable amirs in their previous posts and appropriate ranks, and reconfirmed the governors and vicegerents of all provinces (*aṭrāf u javānib*) in their existing governorships and vicegerencies. He severely rebuked and effectively punished the Yomut ruffians and the Chowdur scoundrels, who, at the time of the death of Muhammad Amin Inaq, impelled by their innate wickedness, raided the provinces (*aṭrāf-i mamālik*), plundering and seizing the property of the population; he obtained restitution from them, and extended the protection of his compassion and benevolence over the heads of the subjects (*fuqarā' va raʿāyā*). [*Qiṭʿa.*]

At the end of the same year, on the bridge Qum-Yasqa, the sons of Qalandar Qoshbegi, in revenge for the blood of their father, seized and killed Bay Nazar Biy, who had been honored with the post (*manṣab*) of *atalïq* after the death of Dawlat Niyaz Atalïq. ʿAvaz Inaq granted his post to Shah Niyaz Bek and made the latter an *atalïq*.

(312) How ʿAvaz Inaq, in his extreme kindness, delegated full authority over the administration of the state to ʿAbd ar-Rahman Mehter, and how the mind of that miserable man, becoming conceited about this favor, was affected by a vicious delusion, and from the ill luck of this delusion reached the verge of ruin.

** ʿAvaz Inaq, in his plentiful compassion and abundant justice, made the garden of state flourish and bloom and put the affairs of administration in good order. ʿAbd ar-Rahman Mehter was his old servant and had for long enjoyed his patronage; due to the royal kindness and infinite favors of Muhammad Amin Inaq, he had

ascended to the highest dignity and the most exalted rank, and ʿAvaz Inaq, according to the existing custom, bestowed upon him the post (*manṣab*) of vizier.[583] Due to inaq's perfect kindness and extreme favor, he took care to promote and support ʿAbd ar-Rahman Mehter to the summit of his desires and raised the degree of his might and dignity above the Pleiades. He entrusted his wisdom which could solve any difficulty with resolving the problems of administration and the affairs of the kingdom and made him a partner and companion (*sahīm u sharīk*) to Khassa Qoshbegi. Some time later, ʿAbd ar-Rahman Mehter, being unable to carry the burden of such a kindness and benevolence, grew conceited about his felicity and grandeur and, in accordance with [the saying] "*Surely Man waxes insolent for he thinks himself self-sufficient*,"[a] he was affected by a vicious delusion of arrogance and haughtiness; and, turning away from the road of self-restraint, he set the foot of self-adulation on the path of rebellion. He did not show due respect to ʿAvaz Inaq, according to [the words] "*His existence is like non-existence*," and began to govern without consulting him. [*Fard.*] (313) His sons interfered, by brute force, in administrative affairs. Thus, ʿAbd ar-Rahim Bay, having seized the key to duties and taxes (*bāj u kharāj*), dismissed and removed Mir ʿAli Divanbegi and Ata Niyaz Divanbegi,[584] who had been in charge of this. Pahlavan-Quli Bay beat the drum of grandeur with extreme magnificence and undescribable pomp, ignoring illustrious amirs and powerful nobles (*kubarāʾ*). ʿAbd al-Jabbar Bay, for his part, engaged in drinking and brawls and had no other thought than to humiliate and insult the children of his master. And so on.

In his utter clemency and patience, ʿAvaz Inaq overlooked such improper behavior and impudence, and respecting the privileges of [his] long service did not interfere, until ʿAbd ar-Rahman Mehter, not being punished for these crimes, began utter sedition and rebellion and prepared himself to demolish the edifice of ʿAvaz Inaq's state and even to destruct his life. ʿAvaz Inaq was informed about these vain dreams and villainous delusions, and he had Mir ʿAli Divanbegi kill him during an audience (*körünüsh*); and he had his sons seized and imprisoned. This happened on the morning of Thursday 12 Ramazan, in the Year of the Mouse, 1206 A.H.[b] Pahlavan-Quli Bay

[a] Qurʾān, XCVI,6–7.
[b] 3 May 1792.

escaped and went to the Yomuts. The tribe (*khalq*) of Yomut, fearing the wrath and anger of ʿAvaz Inaq, brought him back and handed him over. A week later ʿAbd ar-Rahim Bay, (314) Pahlavan-Quli Bay and ʿAbd al-Jabbar Bay, after [their property] was exacted from them and confiscated, were sent [to their death] after their father.[585]

ʿUmar Khoja Naqib compiled two chronograms on this event, one of them blaming [ʿAbd ar-Rahman Mehter], namely: "The delusion of the worthless[a] Sart," and another praising him. [*Tārīkh.*] But these were people of very generous and munificent habits and liberal and beneficent intensions. In the field of generous giving they erased the legendary kindness of Maʿn-i Zaʾida, and in the arena of bestowing gifts they achieved the abrogation of the story of the largesse of the Barmakids.[586] Their bountiful tables were always open to all subjects, and the jewels of their largesses were always being scattered upon the heads of all people. For example, during the Yomut famine, when a piece of bread cost more than hundred thousand human souls, ʿAbd ar-Rahman Mehter distributed portions [of food] from his kitchen to the hungry people of Khiva once every day. In particular, his (315) elder son ʿAbd ar-Rahim Bay was very eager and strove for perfection in charity and good works. The repairs to the Friday mosque of Khiva and the [building of the] mausoleum (*ʿimārat*) of his holiness Ism-i Mahmud Ata (may God bless his spirit!), are among his charitable deeds.[587] But, at the end of their lives, their laudable habits and worthy actions became corrupted, they trespassed their own limits and were [therefore] subjected to punishment, as mentioned before. [*Nazm.*]

How Khoja Murad and Töre Murad Sufi tuned the *qānūn* of sedition, bent the common people (*ʿavāmm*) of Qongrat to their will through fraud and deceit and became disobedient; how Yakhshïlïq Biy took their side and was punished; how Töre Murad Biy, by thievish methods, captured the fortress (*ḥiṣār*) of Khoja-eli and caused turmoil among the troops of ʿInayatallah Inaq; how he fled from Khassa Qoshbegi and was defeated by the victorious army; and the story of the extension of their disobedience and the continuation of their rebellion.

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[a] The text has *kalta*, lit. "short"; cf. on this word Vel'iaminov-Zernov, *Issledovanie*, II, 275.

Be it known to sagacious and knowledgeable people that Sayyid Nazar Biy, a younger brother of Muhammad Nazar Biy ibn Qul-Murad Ataliq ibn Bek Murad, had three sons named Khoja Murad, Töre Murad, and Shah Murad Bek.[588] When Muhammad Amin Inaq dismissed Bay Nazar Biy (316) from the governorship (*ḥukūmat*) of Qongrat, he entrusted the governance of this province (*nāḥiyat*) to Sayyid Nazar Biy and made him the ruler with undivided authority (*ḥākim bi'l-istiqlāl*) of the land of Aral. Khoja Murad and Töre Murad would sometimes go and stay in Khiva, and at other times would reside in Aral, and would live thus according to the circumstances. This continued till the Year of the Cow, 1207 A.H.,[a] when Yolli Bay Chowdur, who was grazing their cattle and conducting commerce [for them], had to pay *zakāt* to the tax-collectors (*bājgīr*) on his merchandise. They therefore came from Khiva in anger, and by force and violence seized money and cattle from the tax-collectors (*bājbān*) stationed in Khoja-eli and went to Qongrat. Scheming fraud and deceit, they began to visit the *khānqāh* of the guide of mystics, Khuday-Quli Ishan, and dressed themselves in the clothes of Sufis. Outwardly rejecting violence and calling themselves Sufis, they assumed the appearance of hermits, until the common and ignorant people (*ʿavāmm u juhhāl*) and ruffians and scoundrels of that province (*nāḥiyat*), being deceived by this imposture, began to believe them. [*Qiṭʿa.*]

When they saw that the [favorable] image created by this imposture was imprinted on the minds of some simpletons and that the impression made by this fraud had taken a hold upon the souls of some weak-minded persons, they quietly and confidently claimed the allegiance of the people (*ulus*) of that country (*diyār*), (317) and with every passing day increased their authority. Having subjected the whole people (*el*) of Qongrat, they left no authority with Sayyid Nazar Biy. Beating the drum of disobedience and insubordination, they set the foot of boldness in the arena of rebellion and sedition. To teach them a lesson and punish them, in 1208 A.H.,[b] the great amir ʿAvaz Biy Inaq sent the powerful amirs and the bold soldiers under Khassa Qoshbegi, with the army of Besh-Qalʿa and the four *tüpe*, against Qongrat.

[a] 18 August 1792–7 August 1793; the Year of the Cow was from February 1793.
[b] 8 August 1793–27 July 1794.

When the victorious army came to the borders of Qongrat, they (Khoja Murad and Töre Murad) arrived to welcome them, came to show respect to the great amirs with gifts and presents and deceitfully made a sham peace, on the condition that next year they would come and pay respect to ʿAvaz Inaq with the *zakāt* and *kharāj* of the land (*yurt*) of Aral. Under this pretext they turned back the exalted amirs and the victorious army and occupied themselves with bringing their cause to completion and fruition.

In 1209 A.H., the Year of the Leopard, in [the month of] Jadī,[a] the governor (*vālī*) of Khoja-eli, Yakhshïlïq Biy, due to the calumny and temptation of Chaqan, Pirim Yar and others, [*Bayt*], began to disobey ʿAvaz Inaq, locked the fortress (*ḥiṣār*) of Khoja-eli, and drove away the revenue and toll collectors (*bājgīr u rahdār*) from this province (*navāḥī*). Secretly showing his comity to the Sufis (Khoja Murad and Töre Murad), he sent them a letter of submission (*iṭāʿat-nāma*). When this horrible news (318) reached the noble ears of ʿAvaz Inaq, the latter, out of his favor and kindness toward servants, ordered the enlightened amir Shah Niyaz Atalïq to bring this wanderer in the ruins of deviation and vagrant in the deserts of ignorance, that is, Yakhshïlïq Biy, with his followers and dependents, by means of advice and admonitions, to the straight road of obedience and submission, and, treating him with benevolence and favor, to let him drink the good wine of compliance and surrender. However, that ill-omened man, led astray and seduced by some liars and people with evil thoughts, believed that this extreme felicity and great happiness would bring him calamity and cause trouble; and he sent Pirim Yar with a detachment of troops to meet Shah Niyaz Atalïq and did not let him enter the town, but turned him back. Some tell that at that time Yakhshïlïq Biy, having fallen from his horse and broken ribs on his right side, was on his sick-bed, and this thing was done without his knowledge and consent.

In 1210 A.H.,[b] the Year of the Hare,[c] ʿAvaz Inaq sent his illustrious uncle Fazil Bek[589] to Qongrat to Khoja Murad Sufi and Töre Murad Sufi to guide them to the way of obedience and to the path

[a] 1209 A.H. corresponds to 28 July 1794–16 July 1795; the Year of the Leopard was from February 1794, and the month of Jadī corresponds to December.
[b] 17 July 1795–5 July 1796.
[c] From February 1795.

of friendship. Fazil Bek went to that province (*diyār*) and stayed at their houses. Although a fire of hostility and malignity was blazing in their minds which were fermented with wickedness, they outwardly poured the water of reconciliation on this fire, showed joy and cheerfulness at the auspicious arrival of Fazil Bek and exalted his glorious head above the highest heaven. Having completed the entertainment and hospitality due [to him], they clung to numerous excuses and sundry pretexts in their evasion and procrastination and sent most of the nobles and grandees with Fazil Bek to Khiva (319) to finish the business of reconciliation.

On his way, Fazil Bek stopped in Khoja-eli and warned Yakhshïlïq Biy, with kind admonitions and friendly advice, about the crimes of rebellion and sedition. He encouraged and induced him to arrange submission and made a pledge to take him to ʿAvaz Inaq and to intercede for the pardon of his previous crimes. In the confusion and hesitation caused by certain liars and apprehensive people, that man of ill-omen and ill fortune refused to and refrained from accompanying Fazil Bek and [instead] sent Chaqan and the nobles (*akābir u maʿārif*) of Khoja-eli with him. [*Qitʿa.*] [*Nazm.*] I heard that after Yakhshïlïq Biy saw Fazil Bek off, he very much regretted and repented that he had not gone himself. But it was already done, and it was to no avail. [*Qitʿa.*]

(320) ʿAvaz Inaq distinguished and exalted Sayyid Nazar Biy and Chaqan Atalïq among their equals with royal largesses and infinite favors and entrusted them with the governorships (*ayālat*) of, [respectively], Qongrat and Khoja-eli. He gave Chaqan a secret order: "If Yakhshïlïq Biy sets the foot of obedience on the orbit of submission, send him to [my] sublime court, without touching him or doing him any harm; but if he firmly follows the path of rebellion, cut the thread of his life with the sword of punishment!" With this commission ʿAvaz Inaq sent him, accompanied by Tengri Yar Bek, one of the relatives of Khassa Qoshbegi, to assist him.

Yakhshïlïq Biy, having heard about this, obediently came to the place of consent and submission, sent his brothers to meet them and brought them into the town with honor and respect. Having delivered the administration (*ayālat*) of this people (*el*) to Chaqan, he chose himself the corner of obscurity and the closet of seclusion. After Sayyid Nazar Biy left for Qongrat, that ungrateful bastard (i.e. Chaqan) decided, because of his love for command and power, that the existense of Yakhshïlïq Biy would cause sedition and the reduction

of his own power, and he attacked and surrounded the *ḥawlī* of Yakhshïlïq Biy with nobles and commoners, the old and young of Khoja-eli. Yakhshïlïq Biy, having ensconced himself there with his sons and one servant named Yolïsh, was repulsing the attacks until a ball from a musket (*multuq*) hit his third son Muhammad Nazar in the forehead (321) and he expired. His father took him in his arms and, kissing him on the forehead, entered the house. After this, being unable to withstand arrows and stones, he came out of the yard with his two sons named Iskandar and Qalandar and the aforementioned Yolïsh and, forcing his way through the crowd with great difficulty and unspeakable hardship, he rushed into the house of his spiritual master, the lord of gnostics and the guide of mystics, Keday Khoja Ishan (may God save him!), hoping that, due to the protection and intercession of his holiness, they would escape from this gulf of perdition. But, exhausted from standing there under the [rain of] arrows from the people (*el*) and the blows of stones and clods of clay, he went out into the street; he had forbidden his sons to draw the sabers, [saying]: "We will not pass from this world in mutiny and rebellion!" Reciting the declaration of faith, he stepped forward. At this moment a log was thrown from the roof. This log hit him on the head and he fell. People rushed upon him, struck him with sabers and sticks and killed him. This happened in [the month of] Jawzā.[a] Some people protected his sons and saved them from the gulf of perdition. This humble author compiled a chronogram dating this event. [*Tārīkh.*]

When the news reached ʿAvaz Inaq, he sent this humble author's father (322) to Khoja-eli to claim the property of Yakhshïlïq Biy. My father came to Khoja-eli and, having taken away the property of Yakhshïlïq Biy from everyone who was holding it, he brought his children and wives to Khiva and delivered them to his highness the amir.

Within two months after this event occured, the Sufis in Aral learned of Chaqan's carelessness and negligence, and one night Töre Murad Sufi came with two hundred men and entered the town of Khoja-eli. That night, Chaqan Biy, banqueting with some whores, had become very drunk from the cup of carelessness. When he became aware of the uproar made by the rebels, he stood stupefied

[a] May 1795.

and then, fearing for his life, without getting dressed, he jumped naked from the city wall (*qalʿa*)[590] and fled. His elder son ʿAydaq, who was a rather good warrior, fought the rebels and was killed. Öte-Quli Atalïq, Pirim Yar, Rahman-Quli Atalïq and Nurman ibn Chaqan, with their relatives, fled and left. [*Naẓm.*]

Having taken possession of this province (*mamlakat*), Töre Murad Sufi seized and executed ʿAvaz-Berdi Atalïq, a noble of Khoja-eli, together with Qara Nawruz the Qongrat, who shortly before this had come on some business by the order of ʿAvaz Inaq. He deported some of the nobles of Khoja-eli, beginning with Rahim-Berdi Atalïq, to Qongrat, (323) and, encouraged by the support of the community (*jamāʿa*) of Qulab, entrusted the governorship (*ḥukūmat*) of that town to Dosïm Biy.

After Chaqan Biy fled and came [to Khiva], ʿAvaz Inaq assembled troops from the provinces (*mamālik*) and sent illustrious amirs and soldiers, adept at hunting the enemy, under Khassa Qoshbegi, with a great army and innumerable troops, against Khoja-eli to teach the rebels a lesson. Khassa Qoshbegi stopped in the locality Aqqum[591] on the bank of the river [Amu] and sent forward Vali Atalïq, ʿInayatallah Inaq and Shah Pulad Parvanachi with one thousand men, while he himself remained there to wait until the victorious troops assembled. The aforementioned amirs advanced at great speed and with great haste; they left Shah Pulad Parvanachi with the transport at Keneges-qalʿa, while Vali Atalïq and ʿInayatallah Inaq with 700 men went further and, having stopped in the region of the Yangi-yap, sent a raiding party to the environs of Khoja-eli.[592] Incidentally, on the same day Töre Murad Sufi went out of Khoja-eli with cavalry and infantry and was harvesting wheat in the lower reaches of the Yangi-yap and in the environs of Mizdahqan.[593] When he learned what was going on, he went with the troops which he had at hand from the south of the Besh-Tam height. They overtook the troops of Vali Atalïq and ʿInayatallah Inaq and, before the latter could become aware of it, mixed with them and started killing and slaughtering. At that time the aforementioned amirs had with them no more than 300 men. [*Mathnavī.*] (324) At this moment ʿInayatallah Inaq's horse fell and he remained dismounted. He was a very good archer and wanted to repulse the enemies shooting his bow. But his bow-string broke, the rebels fell upon him and took him prisoner. [*Qiṭʿa.*] Vali Atalïq took the saber of bravery in the hand of valor and he was killing the enemies and seditionists when

his horse also fell, and he was taken prisoner. After this some of the warriors (325) were killed; one of them was Metek the Keneges. Most of them were taken into captivity and fetters. Having learned this news, the men who had been sent with the raiding party fled and came to the parvanachi. Chaqan also fell from his horse during this engagement and escaped with great difficulty, while Öte-Quli Atalïq captured his horse and joined the Sufi.

It is told that, when Vali Atalïq was taking leave of the qoshbegi, he said boastfully: "Do the people of Aral have enough strength to withstand us? If they go out of the town, we will slaughter them all in one attack and bring you their heads on carriages!" Certainly, all this happened because of the misfortune and evil of these words, since the flame of God's wrath blazes up from the whirlwind of such vice, and the sea of His rage rises in flood from the gale of such speech. [*Qiṭʿa.*]

Töre Murad Sufi sent the prisoners to the town, while he himself came with 600 men to Kuyuk-qalʿa[594] and besieged Shah Pulad Parvanachi. At night he returned to Khoja-eli and two days later he brought ʿInayatallah Inaq out of prison and had the Qongrats, the Manghïts and the Khoja-elis fall upon him and kill him. Seven days later Khassa Qoshbegi came with numerous troops thirsting for blood and set up his camp in Kuyuk-qalʿa. (326) Then he set out with a large army against Khoja-eli. The encounter of two parties took place on the bank of the river (*nahr*) Yamghurlï, at the crossing (*kechu*) Qarabash. A fierce battle began. The brave soldiers pulled the arms of valor out of the sleeves of courage, drew the sabers of bravery out of the sheaths of vengeance, drove the runners of ardor onto the field of battle and engaged in so much slaughter and bloodshed that the enemies of the state could neither resist nor withstand them and hastily retreated in disarray. The vengeful soldiers forced the pace and, without giving the marksmen (*mergen*), who took position before the lines of the rebels, any time to shoot at the attackers, put all of them to the sword. After this Töre Murad Sufi took flight and entered the town. This place is called now "The Marksmen Destroyed" (*Mergen Qïrïlghan*). In this battle the Qongrat Khoja Niyaz Qosh-Küprüki, an illustrious soldier, was killed.

Khassa Qoshbegi besieged the town until nightfall and then returned to the camp. In this manner he kept the rebels under a heavy siege for three months and waged many battles and all kinds of fights. During this period he maintained the place of his fortunate encamp-

ment at the Qarabash crossing for a long time. Meanwhile Vali Atalïq, Allah-Berdi Biy the Qïpchaq and Qara Bek the Manghït, together with seven other men, escaped from captivity and came [to the camp]. Soon after this they made the encampment of the great army at the head (*saqā*) of the Sallï [canal].[595] One day the qoshbegi devised a ruse: he left the army's heavy baggage in this place and went off in the direction of Khiva. The army of Aral learned about this and, thinking that the ever-victorious army had fled, hastily marched after the qoshbegi. They overcame the army's rearguard at Aq-tüpe and joined battle. (327) The great amirs turned back and destroyed the community of rebels. Töre Murad Sufi escaped, having fled with two hundred men, and the rest were killed or taken prisoner by the brave warriors.

After this Töre Murad Sufi, dejected and broken, sent an envoy and made peace, but when the great amirs went back, he again persisted in disobedience and rebellion. Khassa Qoshbegi and Bek Pulad Atalïq repeatedly led the army against Khoja-eli and for seven years taught Töre Murad Sufi good lessons and dealt him crushing blows. It would perhaps be beyond the scope of this compendium to detail all the wonderful events that occured during this time. Therefore, that swift-paced runner, the pen, has promptly directed his steps to the arena of abridgement.

How, due to the vicissitudes of time, prince Mahmud lost his kingdom because of the conflict with Zaman Shah; and how he went to Bukhara in search of help and reinforcements, was detained by Shah Murad "Valī-niʿamī",[596] escaped through a ruse, and went to Khorezm; ʿAvaz Inaq's kindness and favor to him, and the [later] events of his life.

*** In 1212 A.H., the Year of the Snake,[a] the munificent sultan, prince Mahmud, elder son of Timur Shah son of Ahmad Shah Afghani, the king and sovereign of India and Khorasan, was in conflict with his brother Shah Zaman over the [succession to the] kingdom, and after much stubborn fighting, was many times defeated and put to flight as a result of various vicissitudes and misfortunes.

[a] 1212 A.H. corresponds to 25 June 1797–13 June 1798 A.D.; the Year of the Snake was from February 1797 to February 1798. The events described took place at the beginning of 1798.

(328) Then he went to the province of Merv in order to obtain, through the assistance and help of amir Nasir ad-Din Töre,[597] reinforcements from the latter's father, Shah Murad "The Benefactor" (*Valī-niʿamī*)[598] and to seek his kingdom. Amir Nasir ad-Din provided him with hospitality for one or two days and then sent him to his father to Bukhara. Shah Murad Valī-niʿamī did not treat him with honor and respect according to his dignity and rank, and indeed he confined him and kept in custody like a prisoner.[599]

Qiṭʿa:
Do not have an inclination or desire for the company
Of a person who has baseness in his nature:
No good will come from him, nay he will make
Efforts to harm and humiliate you.

Prince Mahmud, having been informed about [Shah Murad's] vicious thoughts and unfavorable opinion, gave bribes to some [of his] amirs and favorites, and, under the pretext of going on the *ḥajj*, obtained permission to leave. In 1213 A.H.,[a] when the sun was in the sign of Gemini,[b] he hastily left Bukhara and went to Khorezm. Amir ʿAvaz Inaq sent the exalted amirs and the princes mighty as heaven to greet him, and let them bring him with full honor and indescribable pomp and accomodate him in the residence (*dawlatkhāna*) of Ata Niyaz Arbab, which is a fine dwelling and pleasant place. ʿAvaz Inaq, out of his great magnanimity and extreme kindness, provided entertainment and hospitality and every day assigned a large sum and considerable funds for Mahmud's allowance. He put at his service Balta Niyaz Aqa, the refuge of rule and the instrument of governance, as well as Muhammad Amin Aqa, Kuchuk Arbab, and Muhammad Arbab, who were prominent among the Sart community, and several times in the evenings would himself honor (329) the prince with a visit and show his consideration, questioning him about the circumstances of his life. Truly, a guest is a gift provided by the generosity of the Bestower of Gifts and [as] pure gold from the Lord the Creator of Men; base people do not understand the value of such a gift, and noble people never cease to appreciate the benefit of such a present. [*Qiṭʿa.*]

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[a] 14 June 1798–3 June 1799.
[b] May 1799.

In the meantime, having heard that prince Mahmud had gone to Bukhara, Shah Zaman sent an envoy to Shah Murad Valī-niʿamī with numerous gifts and copious presents, saying: "Kill the prince, or seize him and send him here, so that the basis of [our] friendship and the edifice of [our] concord might become stronger." For this reason Shah Murad Biy was very sorry and regretted that he had let the prince out of captivity and set him free, and he sent Mulla Balta, one of his confidants, as an envoy to the sublime court of ʿAvaz Inaq with the following request: "Send the prince back here." ʿAvaz Inaq flatly rejected his request and sent the envoy back with an unpleasant answer.

After the sun had passed to the sign of Libra,[a] the prince requested: "Let me depart, so that I might go to Baba Khan, the king of Iran,[600] and regain my country (*yurt*)." ʿAvaz Inaq accepted this request and prepared and put at his disposal all necessities and provisions for travel. He invited prince Mahmud to his palace, giving him a royal feast and showing him august favor; he gave him honor and respect and made his companions and servants happy and satisfied with numerous favors and copious gifts. Having dismissed the prince with all honor, he himself accompanied him for a distance of one *yigach*[601] (330) and then assigned the Ushaq Nazar Atalïq, one of the Yomut nobles (*akābir*), to escort him, and bade him farewell.[602]

When prince Mahmud came to Tehran, he also enjoyed honor and kindness from Baba Khan. In 1214 A.H.,[b] with the help and assistance of the Qïzïlbash army, he set off and conquered Kabul and Qandahar; he had Shah Zaman blinded and imprisoned in Bala Hisar.[603] Having ascended the throne of kingdom, he brought his father's empire under his own authority. Three and a half years later, in 1218 A.H., at the end of Jumadi I,[c] his younger brother Shujaʿ al-Mulk rose in rebellion, seized him and imprisoned him in Bala Hisar. And now we have heard that, thanks to the assistance of the vizier, Mir Hamid, in 1224 A.H.[d] Shah Mahmud had been released and had captured Qandahar, defeated Shah Shujaʿ al-Mulk and killed him,[604] and had become the exalted king of most of India,

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[a] September.
[b] 1799/800 A.D.
[c] Mid-September of 1803.
[d] 1809 A.D.

Kashmir and part of Khorasan. In the same year, in Zu'l-Hijja,[a] *his majesty* Muhammad Rahim Bahadur Khan (may God keep the pillars of his power upright and ever perpetuate the marks of his majesty!) received a friendly letter (*ikhlāṣ-nāma*) from him.[605]

How Töre Murad Sufi came from Aral and, with the assistance of Oraz ʿAli Supaq, captured Manghït; how the illustrious amirs, with a huge army, moved against him; how Muhammad Niyaz Bek and Dawlat Yar Bek, having entered Kat, perished there; and how the late king Eltüzer Muhammad Bahadur Khan went against Manghït, and Töre Murad Sufi made peace with him.

*** (331) The Manghït tribe was afflicted by the robbery and extortions of the Yomut villains and [so], in Rajab 1215 A.H.,[b] left the bank of the Atalïq-arna, built a *küren* and a fence (? *chep*) on the bank of the river [Amu] in the region of Basu, in the area situated between Yumri and Qïpchaq,[606] and settled there. At that time the Manghït tribe's (*ulus*) ruler was Masaw Biy, son of Tengri-Berdi Biy. Oraz ʿAli Supaq contended with him for the post (*manṣab*) of governor; his words neither convinced nor pleased the inaq's servants, and he even lost his previous position. Therefore wicked hatred and dissent grew stronger in his heart, and the flame of rancor and malevolence flared up in his breast, and he sent a man to Khoja Murad Sufi and Töre Murad Sufi, inviting them to Manghït. They sent Husayn Biy, Baba Bek and Khudayar ibn Dawlat Yar, along with a detachment of troops, together with his messenger. The same year, in [the month of] Ḥūt,[c] on the night of 21 Ramazan, which was a Wednesday night,[d] they entered Manghït and lodged at the residence of Oraz ʿAli Supaq. Oraz ʿAli Supaq seized Masaw Biy with the people close to him and put them in prison. The next day he executed Masaw Biy and sent his head to Qongrat.

On the 26th of the aforementioned month, which was a Friday,[e] ʿAvaz Inaq sent the great amirs, under Shah Niyaz Atalïq and Bek

[a] 6 January–4 February 1810.
[b] 17 November–16 December 1800.
[c] February.
[d] 4 February 1801.
[e] 9 February 1801 (Monday!).

Pulad Atalïq, with a large army against Manghït. They set their camp near the fortress (*qurghan*) of Yumri. On the 28th of the same month[a] they went towards Manghït and joined battle. Muhammad Niyaz Bek ibn Khuday-Berdi (332) Inaq with his brave warriors defeated the rebels, entered the *küren* on their heels and started killing and sacking. At this moment Shah Niyaz Atalïq maintained the rules of prudence and caution and prevented his troops from entering [the *küren*] in full strength. But this caution was a mistake. When the rebels saw that nobody followed the brave warriors, they attacked again, charged the soldiers and fought fiercely. Because they were so few in number, the brave warriors gradually retreated and, in accordance with [the saying] "*Beware of evil*," left the *küren*. When this happened, Fayzallah Onbegi from the tribe (*urugh*) of Khïzïr-eli, having penetrated deep into the streets of the *küren*, was fighting there. The common people (*ʿavāmm*) of Manghït rushed upon him and killed him. If not for Shah Niyaz Atalïq's negligence that day, the *küren* of Manghït would have been conquered. But this was God's will and divine providence. [*Rubāʿī*.]

After the holiday [of the fast of Ramazan],[b] Töre Murad Sufi came with the army of Aral and entered Manghït. Three times he audaciously went out of the *küren* and joined battle with the illustrious amirs and the soldiers, hunters of their enemies, but being defeated under [rain of] blows from the brave warriors, he every time ensconced himself in the *küren*. In these battles Qïlïch Inaq, Muhammad Niyaz Bek ibn Khuday-Berdi Inaq, and Muhammad Jan Bek, (333) son of Qutlugh Muhammad Inaq, accomplished astonishing and extraordinary feats, to the extent that the roar of approval and the exclamations of applause of the soldiers caused tumult among those dwelling in the castle of heaven. This was but the first heroic exploit of Muhammad Jan Bek. After this frightful battle and horrible fight, Töre Murad Sufi was unable to withstand and resist the victorious army and, frightened and fearful over the protraction [of the hostilities], was no longer able to remain at ease in the *küren*. [*Mathnavī*.] Finally, after due consultation and deliberation, he sent a man to his elder brother Khoja Murad Biy, saying: "We have entered the gorge of siege and fallen into the precipice of danger,

[a] 11 February 1801.
[b] After 13 February 1801.

and, except for the river [Amu], all other routes of escape have been closed. If the boats (*kimä*) are not sent, we will perish." When Khoja Murad Biy heard this terrible news, he was very worried, and having assembled a hundred boats, put ten marksmen (*mergen*) in every boat; (334) and with the boats he sent his younger brother Shah Murad Bek along with a hundred horsemen. They came up the river and entered Manghït. Among those who came with Töre Murad Sufi to Manghït was Baba Bek ibn Khojam-Berdi Qoshbegi. Many years before he had gone to Qongrat following the path of sedition and rebellion, and had become a companion of the Sufis (i.e. Töre Murad and Khoja Murad). Now, according to the scheme of Töre Sufi, he secretly came [from Manghït] to Kat, and conferred with his younger brother Chumaq Bek and the latter's son Shah Niyaz Bek. Having viciously confused the minds of these two and tempted them with impudence, he got them to deviate from the rectitude of the straight road, and they agreed and made arrangements, saying: "As soon as you bring the army, we will surrender the fortress (*qurghan*) to you." After this Baba Bek went to the Sufi and brought him the good news. The Sufi placed Muhammad Niyaz Bek ibn Khoja-Quli Inaq and Dawlat Yar, with one hundred select fighters who were the cream of the Aral army, under his command and sent [them to Kat]. At dawn they entered Kat with the help of those two inauspicious men.

This happened in the Year of the Dog, 1216 A.H., Tuesday morning, on 12 Zu'l-Qa'da,[a] which was the end of [the month of] Ḥamal.[b] At that time the great amir 'Avaz Biy Inaq was busy dredging the Khivanik canal. Every day he would dignify and exalt the people of the *qazu* works with the honor of his presence. That Tuesday too he set off for the *qazu*, according to the established custom.[607] On that day this humble author was also in his retinue. When we reached a certain place at one side of the *qazu* [area], Mahmud Niyaz Bek, the elder son of Tengri-Berdi Bek the Nayman, and Ibrahim Inaq's son Muhammad Sa'id Ataliq, who had fled from Kat, came. 'Avaz Inaq handed over the *qazu* work to some trustworthy (335) people and returned to the city (*shahr*) to dispatch an army for the siege of Kat. The same day he assembled troops from the environs of Khiva

[a] 16 March 1802.
[b] The Khorezmian month of Ḥamal should end two weeks later.

and on Wednesday sent the late khan Eltüzer Bek against Kat. But before his highness arrived, Qurban-Quli Bek, with the people of Kat, slaughtered and captured the rebels.

In brief, this is the story: When the enemies entered the town, Qurban-Quli Bek had no choice but to submit and show humility. On Wednesday morning he conspired with the inhabitants of Kat, and they barricaded the streets, fell upon the rebels and started killing them. At that time the enemies of the state were sitting at the city gate, Dawlat Yar was playing music, and they were humming languorously, unaware of what was going on. When Shah Niyaz Bek heard the people of Kat shouting, he went out into the street and saw that things were turning bad. He boldly threw a spear at Qurban-Quli Bek, but Qurban-Quli Bek, with the people of Kat, rushed at him and killed him. They also slaughtered or captured the rebels who were assigned to the city gates, under Muhammad Niyaz Bek. Dawlat Yar went out through the door at the gates and fled, but a worker at an oil-press (*juvāzchī*) struck his horse and killed him. [*Rubāʿī.*] (336) They killed sixty people and took thirty prisoners; by the order of ʿAvaz Inaq, the latter were also executed. Eleven men fled and escaped the gulf of perdition. [My] honorable and exalted teacher, the cream of the descendants of ʿAli, Sayyid Muzaffar Khoja Mutavalli, compiled the following chronogram on this event:

Dogs died in the Year of the Dog.[a]

This humble [author] described these events in a poem, wich includes a description of spring and an encomium in praise of ʿAvaz Inaq. [*Mathnavī* (336–340).]

(340) After this, ʿAvaz Inaq sent his majesty the late monarch Eltüzer Muhammad Bahadur Khan[608] against Manghït, to reinforce and help the great amirs. His majesty *set up his camp in Yumri and gladdened the great amirs and the brave soldiers with his appearance*. Already before this, Töre Murad Biy was upset and disturbed by the siege which the victorious army had laid and by the aforementioned events. When he heard *about the arrival* of his majesty, in accordance with [the saying] "*Fear upon fear,*" a fear compounded with [the previous] fear seized his mind, which was leavened with

[a] The sum of numerical meanings of letters in the words *Sagān dar sāl-i sag murda ast* is 1216.

wickedness. He did everything he could to effect a reconciliation: humbling himself totally and expressing his apologies in a manner beyond description, he sent an envoy to [Eltüzer's] sublime court and begged: "Because I am ashamed about my old crimes and my new sins, I do not even dare to rub my forehead on the ground before his majesty. If, however, he himself would, out of his mercy to the humble, (341) restore light with rays from the sun of his presence to these damaged eyes of mine, his lowly servant, he would not be ungenerous." His majesty complied with this request, mounted his horse, came from the camp to Manghït, and lodged at the headquarters (*qosh*) of Töre Murad Sufi. After giving entertainment and exercising hospitality, the latter, in the presence of his majesty, confirmed and strengthened the obligations of the peace agreement with a strong pledge and firm oath, and asked him to allow the hostile clan (*uruq*) of the Manghït tribe (*ṭavā'if*) under Oraz ʿAli Supaq to go with him. His majesty agreed and returned to the august camp. After Töre Murad Sufi went down the river [Amu] to Aral, his majesty went back with the exalted amirs and the victorious army and came to the royal capital Khiva triumphantly and happily.

A description of the qualities of ʿAvaz Inaq and a story of his death.

Let it be apparent and known that the great amir Jamal ad-Dawla va'd-Din ʿAvaz Biy Inaq (may God grant him forgiveness!) was the most eminent of the Uzbek dynasty and the most perfect of the house of Qongrat. [*Naẓm.*] (342) He was adorned with personal dignity and precious qualities and embellished with the ornament of intellect and the finery of sagacity. In his respect for the *ʿulamā'* and honor to the amirs, in rising early and appreciating the quality [of men], he followed his father exactly, in accordance with [the proverb] "*The son is the essence of his father.*" He was very good-natured and agreeable. He always accompanied his father, except when he remained in Hazarasp with Fazil Bek while his father went to Bukhara. During his amirate he once set out to chastise and terrify the Yomut rebels, but in all other cases he would depute the great amirs [for such purposes], while he would himself always remain in the capital (*dār al-imārat*) dispensing equity (343) and justice. There was no cursing or swearing in his speech. In his reign, the garden of the kingdom was green and blooming, as the blossoms of tranquility multiplied and it rained from the clouds of prosperity, and his subjects enjoyed

peace and tranquility. During his reign most people showed a great desire to acquire knowledge and learning, and in assemblies and at gatherings there was talk only on [such subjects as] excellence and virtues, the reading of books, poetry, and the telling of anecdotes. He was extremely persistent and diligent in the propagation of the *sharīʿa* and was a great friend and protector of the holy men and ascetics.[609]

In [the month of] Qaws 1218 A.H.,[a] he occupied himself with the preparation of a circumcision feast (*toy*) for two little princes, Ismaʿil Bek and Ibrahim Bek (may the Most High God protect them from misfortunes and sorrows!). At that time his noble person was suddenly afflicted by jaundice from congestion of the bile; with every day his illness grew worse, and he took to his sick-bed, due to his great weakness. After several days his illness was subsided somewhat, and he occupied himself with the preparations for the feast. In Shaʿban[b] he gave a great feast, to describe which the pen's tongue becomes dumb and the tongue's pen speechless. [*Qiṭʿa.*] When he finished with the feast, the pain and weakness returned again. (344) He received no benefit from the healing and cures dispensed by ingenious physicians and skillful doctors, and, after the illness had progressed for four months, he passed away at the end of [the month of] Ḥūt, on Monday, the first day of Zu'l-Hijja,[c] from the transitory abode to the eternal one and went to the "*sure abode, in the presence of a King Omnipotent.*"[d] Famous learned men and eloquent poets compiled numerous chronograms and innumerable elegies (*marāthī*) about this. Among them this humble author compiled a chronogram and an elegy. [*Tārīkh.*] (345) The elegy takes the form of a *tarkīb-band.* (345–353) [*Tarkīb-band.*]

(353) His highness, the late ʿAvaz Inaq, ascended to the post of amir (*imārat manṣabi*) at the age of forty. He lived 53 years, and the duration of his rule was twelve years and eleven months. From the next day after his death, which was a Sunday,[e] it rained continuously for twenty-five days in the country (*diyār*) of Khorezm, and most of the buildings were destroyed. Eight *illustrious sons* remained

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[a] November 1803.

[b] 15 November–13 December.

[c] 12 March 1804. The Hijri date contradicts the zodiacal date: the end of the Khorezmian month of Ḥūt should be on February 27 (see Introduction, p. XLIII sq.).

[d] Qurʾān, LIV,55.

[e] Cf. above: the next day after the death of ʿAvaz Inaq should have been Tuesday.

as his memorial, each of them a sun in the constellation of nobility and a flawless pearl in the jewel-box of good fortune. These sons are: *The great amir (*amīr-i kabīr*)* Ghiyath al-Mulk va'd-Din Qutlugh Murad Inaq; the late king, Abu'l-Muzaffar va'l-Mansur Eltüzer Muhammad Bahadur Khan; the prince of noble birth, Hasan Murad Bek; *the exalted khaqan, mighty as heaven* Abu'l-Muzaffar va'l-Fath Muhammad Rahim Bahadur Khan (may God extend the [protective] shade of his reign over the heads of the people till the Day of Resurrection!), [the description of] whose excellent qualities and laudable virtues is one purpose of the compilation of this compendium (*mukhtaṣar*); the auspicious prince Jalal al-Milla va'd-Din va'd-Dawla Muhammad Nazar Bek; the late prince ʿAbdu Karim Bek,—these [six] all are from one mother; and princes Ismaʿil Bek and Ibrahim Bek—these two are from another mother. God willing, each will receive duly honorable mention (354) in the proper place.

In the time of ʿAvaz Inaq, on Sunday night 18 Rabiʿ II 1215 A.H., which was the Year of the Monkey,[a] the illustrious father of this humble [author], ʿAvaz Mirab ibn Shir Muhammad Mirab ibn Ishim Biy Mirab ibn Hasan-Quli Atalïq ibn Oraz Muhammad Bukavul ibn Dawlat Biy ibn Keray Biy ibn Muhammad Jan Sufi Biy Yüz (may God grant him forgiveness!), passed away. One week before this terrible event, his grandson Töre Murad Bek, son of Muhammad Niyaz Bek, had flown to the garden of paradise.

Let it not be concealed and hidden from the minds of articulate and eloquent people endowed with insight that it has happened that the events of the [time of the] Chingizid dynasty which reigned in the land (*diyār*) of Khorezm were not registered in history after Abu'l-Ghazi Khan ibn ʿArab Khan, and, [as far as] this chapter [is concerned], the circumstances and victories of Ish Muhammad Biy and Muhammad Amin Inaq also appear not to have been committed to writing. This humble [author] has exerted himself to the best of his ability, and searched for [information about] the circumstances and events of their [time], compared and verified what had been found, and has recorded it. But the history of most of the events has not been found. Therefore the work of compilation has been long delayed and deferred. [*Shiʿr.*]

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[a] 7 September 1800.

(355) Chapter V

The events of [the reigns of] his royal highness[a] and of his caliphal majesty,[b] which are [like the delightful] spring breezes and the scattering of roses, as well as their victories, which are as vernal rains, make the rosegarden envious and arouse the jealousy of paradise. Of these two, God willing, one now reigns in the palace of [divine] mercy and reposes on the throne of [divine] forgiveness in the next world, and the other at present adorns the throne in the palace of the caliphate and embellishes the imperial seat at the court of the sultanate, and illumines the abode of [all classes], nobles and commoners, with the radiance of the sun of his justice, and adorns the garden of both the highest and the meanest with the drops from the cloud of his generosity (may God raise the banners of his reign and extend the days of his rule!).

The purpose of the compilation of this book and the aim of the writing of this compendium is to recall and recount the events of the lives and the vestiges of their majesties' victories. However, be it known that, first, according to the binding order of his majesty, the late king, the sultan now in paradise, Eltüzer Muhammad Bahadur Khan (may God rest him in peace!), this compendium had been [written] adorned with that monarch's august titles and embellished with his auspicious designations. But before the account of the Chingizid Uzbek dynasty which reigned in the country (*diyār*) of Khorezm, the Dome of Islam, was finished, (356) in 1221 A.H.,[c] at the time when the events of Shir Ghazi Khan's life began [to be described], the boat of that monarch's life sank in the whirlpool of death;[d] and because [the author] was overwhelmed by the vicissitudes and adversities of time, the compilation of this book was abandoned. [*Bayt.*] In particular, when the severity of misfortune and calamity befalling the patron affects the fate of his helpless [dependent], how can he find the courage to continue writing with calm and peace of mind?! [*Qit'a.*]

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[a] I.e. Eltüzer Khan.
[b] I.e. Muhammad Rahim Khan.
[c] 1806 A.D.
[d] I.e., he drowned (see below, p. 228).

When *his majesty* (357) Mu'izz ad-Dawla va'd-Din Abu'l-Muzaffar va'l-Fath Muhammad Rahim Bahadur Khan (may God extend the shade of his justice over the people's heads and strengthen the pillars of his reign till the Day of Resurrection!), ascended the throne of caliphate and, aided by his felicity and good fortune and assisted by divine guidance and direction, removed the remnants of *riots and calamities* from the land of Khorezm and repulsed them from the walls (*ḥiṣār*) of Khiva, [*Naẓm*] this humble [author], who had always been *one of his majesty's old and loyal servants*, made the sight of his hope clear again through the radiance of the sun of the khan's favors, and cheered [even the farthest] recesses of his mind thanks to the spring breeze of the khan's largesses; [his majesty] issued a royal order and an exalted command in the following terms: "Do not permit yourself to fail in the pursuit of writing and complete your book; and also embellish and adorn it with the precious jewels of our laudable qualities and praiseworthy events." This is why this chapter consists of two sections (*faṣl*).

Section 1
A fine account and glorious praise of his majesty the king, magnificent as Jamshid, whose crown is [brilliant] as the sun, (358) whose refuge is in divine pardon and whose dwelling is in God's mercy, the exemplar of khaqans, the cream of sultans, Jalal ad-Dawla va'd-Din Eltüzer Muhammad Bahadur Khan (may God grant him forgiveness!)

Be it revealed to learned and wise people whose minds bring beauty to the world that the august birth of the aforementioned king occured one year after the Yomut disturbance, in 1185 A.H., corresponding to the Year of the Hare,[a] when the sun which illuminates the world was in the sign of Leo,[b] as has already been mentioned above in the account of the reconciliation of Khojam-Berdi Qoshbegi and Niyaz Parvanachi with Muhammad Amin Inaq.[c] When [Eltüzer Khan] reached adolescence, signs of his rectitude and honesty became apparent and evident in his appearance with every passing day, and rays of intellect and maturity emanating from his felicitous forehead became manifest and clear with every passing year. In accordance with the saying: "*The search of knowledge is an obligation*,"[d] he was overwhelmed with a strong desire for learning, and, having chosen for a long time to seclude himself and live in a madrasa, he sought the benefits of studying the sciences. [*Qiṭ'a.*] But, being in the prime of life and having the desires of youthful vigor, he sometimes would arrange pleasure feasts on the carpet of joy and set an example of carousing, [*Naẓm*] (359) and sometimes, to enjoy the steppe and the pleasures of the chase, he would set out on a hunt and engage in falconry and hunting. [*Shi'r.*]

(360) Once his majesty, with forty huntsmen, was occupied in the usual way with the hunt in the lower side of the region of Khurram, which was a meadow green and blooming like the rosegarden of Iram[610] and a verdant field pleasant as the garden of Eden. By coincidence, the same day his *royal majesty* Abu'l-Muzaffar va'l-Mansur Muhammad Rahim Bahadur Khan (may God perpetuate his kingdom!)

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[a] 1771 A.D.
[b] July.
[c] See above, p. 122.
[d] A *ḥadīth* (see 'Abd ar-Ra'uf al-Munawi, *Fayḍ al-qadīr*, Beirut, IV, 1391/1972, pp. 267–268).

also went hunting from another direction and was engaged in chasing game. His majesty the khaqan[a] had a custom and habit that wherever he went, whether for a hunt or for any other purpose, he would supply and arm his servants and retainers with the implements of war and equipment for battle. Having done the same this time, during the hunt the servants of his majesty the khaqan saw from afar signs of the late khan's [retinue], and, because of [their] suspicion and temperament, they drew their swords and lances and charged the retainers of the khan. His majesty [the khan], becoming aware of this and not knowing whether they were friends or enemies, remained very upset and desperate about being unarmed until he discovered who it was. (361) [*Mathnavī.*] (362) Since then his majesty the late khan took utmost care in preparing arms and weapons and showed concern for military affairs and diligence in the command of the army. He invited the heroes of his time and the famous brave warriors from every corner of the world and all nations to serve under him and began to master the important rules of conducting the affairs of the state and even engaged in arranging the duties of kingship. Wherever the enemies of the kingdom and religion and the foes of the faith and state raised their heads in revolt, he would scatter and destroy the harvest of their property with the whirlwind of a raid, and would undermine and demolish the foundation of their assemblage with the flood of a foray. Although there were many wonderful and outstanding events during the time of his majesty's *beklik*, for the sake of brevity, two [stories] will suffice.

The first event: How the late khan dispersed the Qaraqalpaq rebels who had been assembled like a harvest by making a whirlwind of a foray and extinguished the torch of their revolt with the wind of a raid.

****** In the middle of Muharram 1218 A.H.,[b] his majesty the late khan Eltüzer Muhammad Bahadur Khan (may God illuminate his [tomb—his life is a] proof [of God's unity]!) *arrived* at a *ribāṭ*[611] on the other side of the Amu, which he had built in 1216 A.H.[c] (363) This *ribāṭ* is a fortress (*ḥiṣār*) with a high wall and a spaciously built struc-

[a] I.e. Muhammad Rahim.
[b] Early May 1803.
[c] 1801/02 A.D.

ture. *Its pleasant court recalls the garden of Iram, and its fragrant air brings a whiff of a breeze from paradise.* [*Mathnavī.*] While his majesty stayed there for several days, his *nökers* gathered to him. This was because at that time a villain named Bek Muhammad Qaraqchi had appeared among the Khitay Qaraqalpaqs living in the regions of lower Aq-Yaqïsh, the upper reaches of the river (*nahr*) Tengri-Yar, and in Yartï-qum,[612] and, together with ruffians and rascals from his tribe (*el*), had joined Khoja Murad Biy and Töre Murad Sufi and was committing highway-robbery. One of the leaders (*akābir*) of that tribe (*jamāʿa*), Shukr ʿAli Biy, became distressed and worried about the disgrace of having Bek Muhammad nearby and sent a man to his majesty's court. Upon his insistence and urging, his majesty, after the troops had gathered, set out and arrived at Khoja-köl. (364) On Thursday the 28th of the same [month of] Muharram[a] he went from Khoja-köl to Yartï-qum. In this campaign many sons of the nobles (*akābirzādalar*) were in his retinue, for instance: Sayyid Muzaffar Khoja, the holder of the high status of sayyid and the distinguished calling of *naqīb* (*niqābat-dastgāh*); from among the Nayman nobles (*ashrāf*)—Oraz ʿAli Bek, the son of Kuchuk Inaq, who has now succeeded his father, and Muhammad Jan Bek, the son of Mawlam-Berdi Uydachi; from among the Qongrats—Muhammad Niyaz Bek, the son of Khuday-Berdi Inaq, who now has been elevated to the post of *maḥram-bashi*[613] under his royal majesty, and Yusuf Bek, who [now] holds the post of *yüzbashi*; from the tribe (*urugh*) of Ala-Buluk—ʿAbdallah Sardar, and others. After advancing at great speed for two days, they entered that region, and before noon his majesty divided the troops into groups and sent them on raids. Bek Muhammad Qaraqchi, who was the source of sedition, had learned [about the raid] in advance and had fled and hidden in a thicket. [*Nazm.*] (365) His tribe (*el*) also fled and was making its way through the desert of flight. The victorious soldiers overtook them and set about killing and plundering them. Having subdued and destroyed the rebels with blood-shedding swords and deadly lances, they plundered their property and cattle and captured their wives and children. [*Shiʿr.*] All this continued till the evening. The group which was dispatched after Bek Muhammad Qaraqchi searched hard for him, but no traces of this villain were found.

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[a] 19 May 1803.

When the raiders gathered under the victorious banner, his majesty divided the booty amongst the troops, and everyone received a great amount of property. (366) It is specifically mentioned that the share of Muhammad Niyaz Bek was equal to 200 *ṭillā*, and [the shares of others] were similar to this. Among the prisoners were thirty seven virgin girls of perfect beauty and exceptional slenderness. His majesty entrusted the prisoners to reliable and virtuous people and went home victorious and triumphant. On Wednesday 4 Safar,[a] he arrived in Khiva, the seat of governance, and was honored by an audience with his illustrious father. One month later the nobles of that tribe (*el*) came with gifts and presents, had the honor of kissing the [royal] threshold, and they donned the necklace of obedience. They agreed to pay *zakāt* and *kharāj*, took back their wives and children and were allowed to return to their country (*diyār*).

The second event: How the late khan set out towards Khoja-eli and burned down the gates of the fortress of that people (*el*) with the fire of his wrath.

*** In Jumadi II of the same year,[b] his majesty, *the late king* Eltüzer Muhammad Bahadur Khan set out against the fortress (*ḥiṣār*) of Khoja-eli and burned down its gates with the flame of his anger. The explanation of this statement is as follows. In 1216 A.H.,[c] Töre Murad Sufi made peace with his majesty in the *küren* of Manghït and thus, with the benedictions of firm promises and binding agreements, delivered his soldiers from the bondage of siege and the trap of revenge, as was mentioned above.[d] (367) After he went to his country (*diyār*), impelled by his wicked nature towards persistent preparations for [new] criminality, he came with his subordinates and assistants to the tribe (*uruq*) of Qanglï, which lived on the other side of the Amu, where they had summer pastures; he forced them to leave their locale and brought them to Qongrat. His majesty was enraged by this violation of [his] oath and breaking of [his] promise and, in accordance with the words "*Whosoever breaks his oath breaks it but to his own harm*,"[e] he set out towards [Töre Murad Sufi's] domin-

[a] 25 May.
[b] September-October 1803.
[c] 14 May 1801–2 May 1802.
[d] See above, pp. 163–164.
[e] Qur'ān, XLVIII,10.

ion (*qalam-ravī*) and resolved to give him a good lesson and a clear chastisement through fire and pillage. But, because of some obstacles, this design was postponed and suspended. After the raid against the Qalpaqs, the fame of his majesty's firmness and the rumor of his greatness spread to all quarters, and the enemies of the kingdom and religion and the foes of the faith and state *were seized with fear and terror*. Therefore some chiefs and eminent people of Khoja-eli showed [their] far-sightedness, by secretly sending letters and messages to his majesty's court, asking: "If the rays from the mooncrest of the flag-staff of [your majesty's] victorious banner light up the eyes of these unfortunates, as does the bright sun at sunrise, and the tutty[a] of dust raised by the victorious army, like the collyrium of Solomon, clears the vision of these perturbed ones, we will open the gates of servitude before your servants and surrender the city to them." Therefore, on Monday 3 Jumadi II of the aforementioned year,[b] his majesty set out with an elite force of 400 fighters, each of whom was famous and renowned for his bravery. [*Mathnavī.*] (368) Having set out from a *ribāṭ* in the region of Gurlen, in the lower reaches of the Nokuz, which also was a private estate (*milk-i khāliṣ*) of his majesty and had been newly built by him, he *moved his victorious troops in the direction of Khoja-eli.* [*Fard.*]

On the night of the 4th of this month, which was a Tuesday, he arrived in that region (*diyār*) (369) and secretly sent a man to the people who had invited the royal troops, to inform them of their arrival. But the previous day their secret design had been accidentally discovered by Dosïm Biy and Öte-Quli Ataliq, who was the governor (*vālī*) of that city, and they had sent these people to Qongrat, under the pretext of some important business. The man sent [by the khan], having learned this, returned without result. His majesty was annoyed upon hearing this news; he went towards the southern gate of the aforementioned fortress (*qal'a*) and stood at the bridge on the bank of the Yamghurli canal (*nahr*) *like a mountain, with great firmness and dignity.* [*Shi'r.*]

At that time the two halves of the gate were still open. By the order of his majesty, the warriors rushed to the gate, and they were close to entering the city. At this moment one young man from the clan (*ṭā'ifa*) Qaracha, named Orazaq, having noticed the approaching

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[a] *Tūtiyā'*, a medicine for the eyes.
[b] 1218 A.H.–19 September 1803.

warriors, (370) closed the gate and locked it. The warriors thrust their sabers through the split between the two halves of the gate, cleft his breast, which was full of enmity, like the two halves of the gate, *and sent him to the next world*. By royal command, they made the two halves of the gate a target of their swivel guns (*zanbūrak*) and heavy muskets (*shamkhāl*),[614] *showered arrows of terror upon the guards* and wounded ʿAli Bay Atalïq and many other men, so that the guards could not hold out under the gate and dispersed into the streets (*kucha*). At this moment the fire of the warriors' anger flamed up and they set the gate alight with the flames of wrath. With the smoke of this fire, which reached the very sky according to the words "*Be on the watch for a day when heaven shall bring a manifest smoke*,"[a] they made [the vision of] the Day of Resurrection clear on this dark night and made evident and manifest to the people of the city the meaning [of the words] "*It will cover the people; this is a painful chastisement.*"[b] The intensity of this fire destroyed the gate and the armory, *and the rising smoke mingled with sparks looked like a blue sky [filled] with innumerable stars.* [*Nazm.*]

(371) The nobles (*akābir*) of this city—Dosïm Biy, Öte-Quli Atalïq, Hasan ʿAli Khoja, son of Yakhshïlïq Biy Iskandar Atalïq, Hasan Murad Sarï and others, each of whom was asleep at home, dead drunk with the wine of heedlessness, were awakened by this terrible uproar and horrible tumult and, stupefied and full of despair, they decided to open the northern gate and to flee. Dosïm Biy, who was an old wolf and sly fox, cut the chain of their fear and the rope of their anxiety with the file of calmness and the scissors of delay, and got them to rally [around him]. *He gathered the people (*jamāʿa*) of Qulab, who were the instigators of the seditions but, terrified by this horrible event, had dispersed like the constellation of the Bear, and appointed Öte-Quli Atalïq and Hasan ʿAli Khoja, with some riflemen (*tufang-andāz*), to the towers to defend the wall (*qalʿa*); he himself, meanwhile, together with Iskandar Atalïq, Hasan Murad Sarï and others, drove the rabble and mob to the gate and had them barricade it with stones and clods of earth. (372) Muhammad Jan Bek b. Mawlam-Berdi Uydachi, who was one of the grandsons of the amir ʿAvaz Inaq the Nayman and a fearless and daring fighter, and who was a relative and brother-in-law of this humble [author],

[a] Qurʾān, XLIV,10.
[b] Qurʾān, XLIV,11.

was *by the order of his majesty in command of the fighters who were setting [the gates] on fire; he was suddenly hit by an arrow shot from the city wall (*qalʿa*)* and fell, with a deep and dangerous wound, on the bridge before the gate. His majesty had his wound healed by the poultice of attention and sent him back. After this the fire of his wrath flared up, and he became resolute and eager *to take the city by force* and to give the rebels an eloquent chastisement with the pitiless sword. *Some among his retainers who supported him and were trustworthy, respectfully addressed him, saying*: "The city wall (*qalʿa*) is a very strong and impregnable structure, with the gate barricaded and resistant to fire. If, despite its impregnability and strength, it is destroyed like a handful of soil by the whirlwind of the assault of the victorious army it is possible that some of the priceless warriors, each of whom is worthy of the *kharāj* of the entire world in the bazaar of valor, will be injured, and all this quantity of potsherds is not worth the dust of their feet. Now, in the interests of the state, it is proper that the royal force should return." Because he was mild and humane by his nature, his majesty accepted their request and turned the reins of kindness in the direction of return. When they reached the region of Mayli-chungul,[615] on Thursday evening, Muhammad Jan Bek (373) passed away as a result of his fatal wound. He was forty years old. His majesty came back to Khiva on Friday, the 7th of this month.[a]

How the late khan adorned the rank of amir with the jewel of his august being and established the ring which bears the seal of governance through engraving [his] auspicious titles [on it].

**** When the illness of the great amir *Jalal ad-Dawla va'd-Din* ʿAvaz Biy Inaq (may God illuminate his tomb!) became aggravated and his weakness grew, as was explained above, the great amirs and the noble confidants (*umanā-yi kirām*), having realized from the severity of his pain and his condition that *his death was near*, sent a messenger to his majesty *the late khan*, Eltüzer Muhammad Bahadur Khan, who at that time had gone on some business to the other side of the Amu, and informed him of his father's condition. His majesty returned on the wings of haste and, after receiving the honor

[a] 7 Jumadi II 1218/23 September 1803.

of an audience with his father, he was offered the rank of heir to the throne (*valī-ʿahdlik*), by his father's order and consent, through the efforts and with the assistance of Fazil Biy and Shah Niyaz Ataliq, and the unanimous consent (*ijmāʿ va ittifāq*) of the princes (*amīrzādalar*). His majesty (Eltüzer Khan) first declined and refused to take such a serious step, but then, seeing their insistence, he accepted it.[616] On the morning of Thursday 26 Zu'l-Qaʿda 1218 A.H.,[a] corresponding to the Year of the Pig,[b] (374) *when the sun was in the sign of Pisces,* [*Mathnavī*], *he was elevated from the rank of a *bek* (*beklik rutbesi*) to the rank of supreme amir (*imārat*).[c]* It took place in Khiva, the seat of governance, in his father's chancery (*dīvān-khāna*)—the same chancery which has now been inherited by *his majesty Abu'l-Muzaffar va'l-Fath Muhammad Rahim Bahadur Khan*.[617] Having thrust the diploma [appointing him] to govern (*ayālat manshūri*) into his blessed crown,[618] he took the seal-ring of rule (*ḥukūmat*) into his skilful hands. He began to administer the affairs of the kingdom (*mamlakat*) and to be engaged in the matters of sovereignty (*salṭanat*), and he brightened and illumined the hopeful eyes and happy minds of the inhabitants of the capital (*dār al-imāra*) with the light of favors and the radiance of bounties. The drumbeat of sovereignty at the royal court[619] was tuned to the heavenly drummer, and with its resounding echo brought to the minds of the dwellers of the court of heaven and the inhabitants of the earth the happy news: "*This is a sign of a mighty empire!*" [*Nazm.*] (375) And the poet Surur compiled the following chronogram [on this event]:

Tārīkh:
The mighty lord, the refuge of faith,
Eltüzer Biy Inaq, the sphere of splendor!
Six days passed, and twenty more,
Of the month of Zu'l-Qaʿda, not more and not less,
When he rose to the summit of the amirate
In Khiva, like the greater luminary.
The date of this event the pen of Surur
Wrote as "The joy of the people of Khiva".[d]

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[a] 7 March 1804 (Wednesday).
[b] From February 1803.
[c] Lit.: "to the summit of the rank of amir."
[d] The sum of numerical meanings of letters in the words *Surūr-i ahl-i Khīvaq* is 1218.

When five days passed after this event, on Monday, the first day of Zu'l-Hijja,[a] his illustrious father, the great amir, the late ʿAvaz Inaq, died. When, after [the rites] of shrouding, carrying to the grave, interment and mourning, [Eltüzer] finished with the giving of alms at the royal funeral feast and the reading of the whole of Qur'ān, he went to the royal chancery (*dīvān-khāna-i ʿālī*) and held public audience (*bār-i ʿāmm*) to the pillars of the state and his closest nobles. Busying himself with the affairs of the kingdom and the matters of government, (376) he showed his beneficence and confirmed the great amirs and the honored governors (*ḥukkām*) in their former ranks and posts (*marātib u manāṣib*), and even showed them special honor by promoting them in their ranks (*madārij*) and increasing their salaries (*vaẓā'if*), and exalted them by presenting them with golden robes of honor and numerous gifts (*inʿāmāt*). He cast the shade of the phoenix of compassion upon the heads of the subjects and inhabitants, and, by elevating the standards of justice and enforcing the provisions of the *sharīʿa*, eliminated oppressive customs and innovations (*bidʿat*).[620] [*Shiʿr.*]

At the time of the great amir ʿAvaz Biy Inaq's death, the Yomut ruffians, impelled by their innate evil and inborn wickedness, extended their tyrannous hand to all provinces (*mamālik-i aṭrāf*) and seized the property of certain subjects (*fuqarā' va raʿāyā*) by theft and robbery. His majesty demanded the return [of the property] by effectively punishing them and subjected them to the torture of prison. In order to exalt the banners of his own majesty and to humiliate the enemies of the state, he had a golden *tugh* made, which shone like the sun and was worthy of his own majesty; for the resplendent mooncrest of its flag-staff 1,000 *mithqāl*s of gold[621] were expended, and it was adorned and embellished with precious jewels.

Naẓm:
(377) Its pole was made of an upright tree of felicity,
Of a free cypress from the garden of victory.
But it was incased in silver and gold,
Like the figure of an idol, from head to foot.
Its mooncrest (*mahīja*) was like the bright moon.
[Nay!] Say not like a moon—[but] like a magic mirror (*āyina-i jān*).

[a] 12 March 1804.

A scarlet banner was seen upon it,
Like a tongue of flame in the wind.

As a good omen, [Eltüzer] named it "the banner of victory," [which is a chronogram] from which its date also can be calculated.[a] He also had four banners (*baydaq*) made out of pure silver,[b] which were assigned to the four *tüpe* of the Uzbeks.[622]

How, because of the disobedience and rebellion of the tribe of Yemreli, the late khan set in motion the banner of departure to teach them a lesson, and how those miserable [rebels] were caught in the defile of siege, and how they clutched the protective skirt of his royal majesty with fingers seeking mercy and thus escaped from the gulf of perdition.

*** The Khorasan Turkmen tribe of Yemreli, because of its own wickedness and despite its small number, began to oppose the tribe of Teke, who had been their neighbors and masters from of old; and war and strife between them lasted for a long time, until, because of the ill luck of their disobedience, the Yemreli were finally defeated and subdued. Their dwellings and places of habitation (378) were seized by the Teke, and they *wandered in the desert of vagrancy for a long period*, unable to settle or even to rest anywhere because of their wickedness and meanness. Finally, *at the end of the late great amir ʿAvaz Biy Inaq's rule*, they brought their belongings and dwellings to the country (*diyār*) of Khorezm and settled along the canal (*arïgh*) of Aman-Quli, on the land (*milk*) of the Keneges, in the region of Khoja-eli. At the time of the aforementioned amir's death, *when his majesty Eltüzer Muhammad Bahadur Khan had not yet busied himself with state affairs*, the ruffians and scoundrels of the said tribe, i.e. Yemreli, led by Allah Nazar Bahadur from the tribe (*urugh*) Khoja-eli,[623] came to the Irdar road and attacked and plundered a Bukharan caravan returning from Russia—[a caravan,] which was, in fact, *an immense treasure*,—killing some of the merchants. They divided the *bajaqī* [coins] which were made of European gold (*Farang ṭillāsi*), very pure and of highest proof,[624] using [their] cups and shields, while no one even paid any attention to the fine mer-

[a] The sum of numerical meanings of letters in the words *Liwā-yi zafar* is 1217 (cf. the previous date mentioned—1218).

[b] It means that their flag-staffs were made of silver.

chandise and exquisite goods, which consisted of European ware (*ajnas-i Farangi*) and Chinese brocade (*dībā-yi Khitāyī*). Allah Nazar Bahadur, as the commander, was given two shares of *bajaqī* [coins], therefore he became known under the nickname Bajaqi. Consequently, the ruler (*vālī*) of Bukhara, Mir Haydar Padishah, sent a friendly letter (*ikhlāṣ-nāma*) with ʿAbdallah Bek, one of his own relatives, and Padishah ʿAziz Sadr, one of the Sayyids of Mirakan,[625] who were sent to say prayers (*fātiḥa-khwānliq*) of condolence at the mourning for the death of ʿAvaz Inaq and of congratulation for his majesty's becoming the amir, and declared: "If the property of the Bukharan (379) merchants is taken away from the Yemreli robbers and returned to its owners, it will be consistent with the rules of friendship and concord." His majesty accepted this request and sent a man to the Yemreli demanding the aforementioned property. Because of their love for gold, the Yemreli trod the path of deviation and hostility and refused to give [the captured goods], and they sent the envoy home without letting him attain his goal. [*Qiṭʿa.*]

As a result of this, his majesty's wrath flared up, and he sent *tovachi*s, ferocious as Mars, to all provinces to gather troops, appointed the Asaf of the age,[626] *ṣāḥib-dīvān*, the grand vizier and the honored counselor, Nizam al-Mulk va'd-Din Muhammad Yusuf Mehter to protect the kingdom (*mamlakat*), and on Sunday 26 Muharram 1219 A.H.[a] *he set out from the capital and camped in the region of Aqqum, on the bank of the Amu*. He stayed in this place and waited for four days, to let the army assemble. On Friday, the first day of Safar,[b] he set out from this place and moved against those miserable [Yemreli] with numerous troops and an army thirsting for blood, like a raging sea and the revolving heavens. (380) [*Mathnavī.*] *Thus they arrived at the bank of the Sevgenli [canal].[627] When the rebels learned about this frightful event*, they sobered up from the intoxication of their carelessness and awoke from the sleep of their rebelliousness, and the nobles (*akābir u ashrāf*) of that tribe, under Geldi Khan, their hands begging for mercy, clutched at the skirt of humility: they sent a man to the royal court saying: (381) "We obey and submit to the orders and prohibitions of the servants of his majesty.[c] We will gather that property and go to you to render service." As

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[a] 6 May 1804.
[b] 11 May.
[c] "Servants of his majesty"—a usual euphemism for the person of monarch.

a result of this, the royal army remained there for several days. During this stay, the great princes and the honored sons of beks (*amīrzāda-i ʿiẓām va bekzāda-i zu'l-iḥtirām*), who accompanied his majesty on this campaign, made a royal feast with an archery contest (*ṣadāq toyi*), and each one, according to his status, entertained the late khan appropriately. They brought [Eltüzer] a horse with gilded stirrups and gem-studded bridles, along with handsome Chinese-born[628] slaves as grooms, and were gladdened by the royal favors and numerous gifts from his majesty. *In particular, his majesty Muʿizz ad-Dawla va'd-Din Abu'l-Ghazi Muhammad Rahim Bahadur Khan (may God perpetuate his kingdom!) made a royal feast such as the pen is incapable of describing, and even if a hundred thousand scribes were to try to do so, they could never get beyond [even] the very beginning. [*Nazm.*] (382) When he finished with the entertainment, he presented to his elder brother a swift horse, [*Shiʿr*] (383) along with a handsome slave of Khorasanian origin named Muhammad ʿAli as groom.* [*Nazm.*] The late khan, in turn, presented his majesty with special favors and largesses.

(384) There is [a saying which] asserts that "*Anyone making a pilgrimage to a [saint's] tomb is credited by the Most High God with a full year's piety for his every step.*" Accordingly, when they finished with feasting and rejoicing, his majesty *made a pilgrimage to the blessed tomb of his holiness Shamʿun, which is situated in the environs of Khoja-eli, on the Mizdahqan height (*qïr*); some assert that his holiness is one of the apostles mentioned in *Qiṣaṣ*, and in some histories his name is written Samsun the Recluse (*ʿābid*).[629] His majesty, inspiring fear in the wicked minds of the enemies of the state*, as he passed before the gates of the fortress (*ḥiṣār*) of Khoja-eli and along the bank of the canal (*nahr*) Yamghurlï, gained honor by making pilgrimage to the noble tomb of his holiness Shamʿun Nabi, and was blessed with divine emanations and definite signs of divine grace. At that time Muhammad Sharif Khoja, the distinguished son of his holiness, the pivot of saints, the glory of the pious, the lord of gnostics, the guide of mystics, the sun of religion and faith, Sayyid Tursun Khoja Ishan (may God extend the shade of his guidance upon the heads of his disciples!) arrived from Khoja-eli. He brought food, drink, presents and gifts, and made a public declaration and pledge of loyalty and allegiance from [the people of] Khoja-eli. His majesty appointed the aforementioned khoja to be trustee of the donations [brought by the pilgrims] to the blessed tomb and exalted him with

royal largesses and infinite favors. His majesty went back to the royal camp, hunting on his way, and arrived at the sublime court. At that moment the Yomut villains Muhammad Niyaz Körche Sardar and Aq Muhammad Sufi (385) Aqsaq, each well known for malice and sedition, left the royal army in the night and came to the Yemreli. By basely leading them astray and wickedly instigating them to rebel, they induced this stray group, which had been previously obliged to pledge its submission, to once more raise the banner of revolt by promising them help and assistance. After sunrise, his majesty the late khan sent Tengri-Berdi Bek, the governor (*ḥākim*) of Kat, as an envoy, to threaten and admonish these miscreants. Induced into misdeeds and persuaded by those two men who were astray and of ill omen, to whom the words "*The wicked, who whispers in the breasts of men*"[a] could justly apply, the Yemreli seized the aforementioned bek and began to build walls (*qal'a*) and to dig a moat (*khandaq*). The fire of anger of his majesty flared up fiercely from the whirlwind raised by this news, and he set out the next day to teach these rebels a lesson and chastise them. He appointed amir Vali Atalïq with the troops of the Qanglï-Qïpchaq to be in the vanguard, and sent Ishim Bahadur the Nayman with some famous warriors forward to conduct a raid. They fell upon the region of the Yemreli, and *inspired terror in the hearts of the rebels*. At that time the late khan arrived with great pomp and splendor, surrounded the fortress (*qal'a*) and drew up the victorious battle array.

Mathnavī:
The ever-victorious army lined up its ranks,
They made the enemy's place a stage.
(386) The heroes looked for battle,
The brave launched their horses on the arena.
The troops raised a tumult,
It stirred up confusion among the besieged.
The muzzles of muskets (*tufang*) turned towards the fortress,
They cast forth fire like the mouths of dragons.
The falconets (*jazā'ir*) and the swivel guns (*zanbūrak*) roared,
Their fire and smoke filled the world.
An earthquake fell upon the fortress,
And a fire [of terror struck] the souls of the people of the fortress.

[a] Cf. Qur'ān, CXIV,4–5.

At this moment the royal court issued an order to Baba Atalïq, one of the Manghït nobles, to Muhammad Niyaz Mirab, the elder brother of this humble [author], and to Allah Nazar Bay Khanqahi, the governor (*ḥākim*) of Khanqah: "Let the people of *qara cherik*,[630] with the troops of Khanqah at the head, build a *sarkūb*." Obeying the order, they chose a place commanding the fortress from its south-western side, and appointed collectors (*muḥaṣṣil*) as ferocious as Mars and superintendants (*muvakkal*) as awful as lions; and, thanks to great assiduity and praiseworthy efforts, in a short time they erected a *sarkūb* of earth and straw in the said place, [of such a height that] those who climbed to the top of it could see the people in the fortress as if under their feet. [*Naẓm.*] (387) By royal order, skillful marksmen who could shoot from there without missing their mark, even if their target were the eye of a black ant in a dark night, climbed to the top of the *sarkūb*, and rained down on the heads of the rebels a hail of bullets which struck like lightning from thundering muskets (*tufang*) and *shamkhāl*s which set their enemies on fire, in accordance with the words "*And we made them things to stone satans.*"[a] [*Shi'r.*]

In short, the rebels saw that they were assaulted on five sides[b] by the fire of war and the lightning-bolts of disaster, and Geldi Khan Kör, who was the chieftain (*ulughï*) of the seditious community, together with some other elders (*akābir*), agreed among themselves that salvation lay in reconciliation. They sent Tengri-Berdi Bek, whom they had previously detained, to his majesty, to offer their humility and present their submission, and asked for mercy. His majesty the late khan, who had been enraged with the unseemly behavior of the seditious tribe, (388) rejected their request and he agitated and raised the sea of the ever-victorious army to sink the boat of lives of those accursed people in the whirlpool of disaster. A second time the shrewd Geldi Khan sent one of the Yemreli beks, Sayyid Nazar Bek, to *his majesty, Abu'l-Muzaffar va'l-Fath Muhammad Rahim Bahadur Khan, to beg for his protection*. Due to his magnanimity and humanity, his majesty indicated his consent to intercede with his elder brother for their old crimes and their new sins by coming to the gate of the fortress. The Yemreli elders (*akābir*) under Geldi Khan, having been granted the honor of kissing his majesty's feet, put Muhammad Niyaz Körche and Aq Muhammad Sufi, who were the

[a] Qur'ān, LXVII,5.
[b] I.e. from four sides on the ground and from above (from the *sarkūb*).

promoters of the chain of sedition, in fetters and chains, and handed them over to his majesty's servants. His majesty sent them (the elders), with copious gifts and numerous presents, to kiss the feet of his elder brother and again asked him to pardon their old crimes. His majesty, the late khan, respecting the concern shown by his [present] majesty and in conformity with the words: "*The best forgiveness comes from strength,*"[a] pardoned their crimes and raised them to the distinction of becoming soldiers (*nöker*) of his royal majesty (i.e. Muhammad Rahim). After this, according to the instruction of his elder brother, his royal majesty made this tribe move off and assigned them a place of dwelling and habitation among the Yomuts, in the region between Aq-Saray and Muz-Kumgan. The late khan hunted for several days on the banks of the river [Amu], and on Friday 22 Safar,[b] arrived, victoriously and triumphantly, in Khiva, the seat of governance.

Several days later, through the intercession of the great amirs, (389) he condescended to draw a curtain over the crimes of those two ill-starred ingrates, that is Muhammad Niyaz Körche and Aq Muhammad Sufi, and let them out of jail. He demanded from the Yemreli that they return the Bukharan property, and [then] handed it over to ʿAbdallah Bek and Padishah ʿAziz Sadr, and dismissed them, having attached Khuday-Berdi Inaq to them as [his] ambassador. The ruler (*vālī*) of Bukhara, Mir Haydar, instead of expressing gratitude, said some senseless words and sent Mirza ʿAbd al-Khaliq Tubbat, one of the learned men of Bukhara, [to Khiva] as an envoy. The late khan became very angry at this, would not greet the Mirza, but [instead] said some unpleasant things and had him go back. This was the first unpleasantness between them (i.e. Eltüzer and Haydar).

About the decrees issued by the late khan in [Khiva,] the abode of greatness.

One of them was the following. Tyrannous customs and unlawful innovations (*bidaʿ*), which are considered blameworthy by reason, divine law, natural justice and truth, and perverse by [people of] different religions and various faiths and all nations, had been persistently practised and spread in the country (*diyār*) of Khorezm since the time of Abu'l-Ghazi Khan ibn ʿArab Muhammad Khan, nay

[a] Arabic proverb.
[b] 1 June 1804.

since the conquest of Chingiz Khan. Payments (*vazā'if*) and special dues (*marsūmāt*) to impious sultans and oppressive amirs were assigned from the property (*amvāl*) of the subjects (*fuqarā' va raʿāyā*), and everybody, through usurpation and supremacy, would collect tax (*salghut*) from the subjects for himself and make them perform the corvée (*bīgār*).[631] His majesty, the late khan, in accordance with the saying "*Compassion for God's creatures*," put an end to such exactions by oppressors from the subjects and, by exalting the standard of justice and raising the banner of punishment, eliminated and erased the manifest tyranny and the shameful oppression (*bidʿat*), which contravened Islamic law, from the surface of the earth.[632] [*Bayt.*]

(390) Another [decree] was the following. He endeavored to revive the custom of wearing the turban (*dastār u ʿimāma*), which is the crown of Muhammad and his *sunna*.[633] A binding decree was issued to old and young, nobles and commoners (*khāṣṣ u ʿāmm*), that they should wear turbans (*dastār u ʿimāma*). Within three days, therefore, not a single man remained in the kingdom (*mamālik*) of Khorezm whose stature was not exalted by wearing [a turban which is] crown of [the prophet] Muhammad.[634]

By another decree he executed Bek Pulad Ataliq. He was a noble of the Uyghur tribe (*qabā'il*), from the clan (*tabaqa*) of Qotur, and the son of Vays Bay. Due to the promotion and support [provided him] by Muhammad Amin Inaq, he was elevated to the highest ranks and loftiest positions and became the chief commander of the army (*sipahdār*) and the very incarnation of the kingdom (*ʔjumlat al-mulk*). Amir ʿAvaz Inaq, like his father, held him in high esteem and, in gratitude for his previous service, did not pay attention to his later impudent actions. Bek Pulad Ataliq, guided by felicity, did not exceed the limits and brought down the sabers [of the army] upon the enemies of the state and killed them in the service of the inaq. When the reins of authority in the kingdom passed to the mighty grip of his majesty, the late khan, he forbade the oppressive amirs to commit acts of injustice and tyranny. This was too onerous and unbearable to him (Bek Pulad), and due to his extreme ignorance, he changed his conduct and habits and re-doubled his arrogance and unseemly behavior; nay, behaving as if the late khan's justice and punishment were nonexistent, he did not remove his erring foot from the paths of tyranny and the roads of oppression. [*Bayt.*] (391) Therefore his majesty was vexed with him and prohibited him from committing acts of oppression and injustice. He was not restrained,

but, because of ignorance and deviation, was drawn and turned toward rebellion and hostility and continually complained and grumbled in secret about the late khan. Gradually, he reached the point when he was ready to foment sedition and rebellion. Intending to spread it, he sent all his sons, except for the youngest, Muhammad Oraz Bek, to Uyghur, to prepare everything needed for rebellion and mutiny. Sayyid Murad Inaq the Uyghur, who was one of the notables (*akābir*) of the Aynaq clan (*jamāʿa*), learned about this secret and revealed and disclosed his vicious design and vain scheme in the presence of the late khan, giving decisive evidence and clear proofs. Therefore the sea of his majesty's anger was agitated and aroused by the whirlwind of this news, and he resolved to sink the boat of Bek Pulad Atalïq's life. [*Naẓm.*] On 6 Jumadi II of the aforementioned year,[a] when the above-named atalïq came to the royal audience (*körünüsh-i ʿālī*) after the morning prayer and was dismounting his horse, in response to a sign from the king, Muhammad Amin Bulbul, one of the *altun-jïlaws*,[635] and Qandïm Sardar ripped him up from two sides with sharp daggers and released the bird of his soul to fly away from the cage of his heart. His majesty (392) sent Sayyid Murad Inaq to Uyghur to seize his sons. But he did not go fast enough, and before he entered Uyghur a groom of the murdered atalïq brought the news to his sons. They left Uyghur, together with the sons of Taji Atalïq ibn Vays Bay, under Rahmat-Quli Bek, as well as Shir Naib, Ish Muhammad Darugha, Jahangir Bek son of ʿAbbas-Quli Atalïq, and others, with their children and servants,—altogether forty or fifty people. They crossed the Amu and went to Bukhara, to Mir Haydar Padishah.[636] Be it known that the names of the sons of the aforementioned atalïq are as follows: Muhammad Niyaz Bek, Muhammad-Quli Bek, Ata Niyaz Bek, Yakhshi Murad Bek, Muhammad Murad Bek, Adam Bek, and Muhammad Oraz Bek. This Muhammad Oraz Bek was seized and remained in prison for a long time, but was [later] released through the intercession of some nobles (*ashrāf*). The life-circumstances of the others will be mentioned in their proper place, if God Most High wills.

[a] 1219 A.H.; 11 September 1804.

How the Yomut and the Yemreli villains, having united in their rebelliousness, took the road to the valley of deviation, and how the late khan led the army and ousted them from the kingdom (*mamlakat*) to punish them.

*** The tribe (*firqa*) of the Yomut, of the Turkmen tribes (*ṭabaqāt*), who are notorious and exceptional among their kind for their wickedness and meanness, and who are famous and outstanding among mankind for their boldness and firmness, are divided into three groups (*ṭabaqa*). Two of them are named Choni-Sheref, (393) and, because they wear black shawls (*qara shāl*), they are called Qara-Choqa.[637] This group (*jamāʿa*) obeys the Qïzïlbashes and lives within the limits of Khorasan, in the Balqan Mountains and within the confines of the Gürgen. And one group (*ṭabaqa*) is known under the name of Bayram-Shahlï. In olden times they had also lived within the limits of the Balqan, the Gürgen and the Atrek. In the time of Shir Ghazi Khan, the martyred amir Ish Muhammad Biy had brought this group to Khorezm, because of the rebellion of Shah Timur Khan and Shirdalï Biy, but when Nadir Shah came, they again left for their old places of residence. Later they repeatedly came and were again expelled. Muhammad Amin Inaq also drove them out of the country (*yurt*), but during the affair of Baba Bek brought them back and assigned them places of residence in the region of Aq-Saray and Muz-Kumgan, which is at a distance of approximately three *farsakh*s from the royal capital Khiva.[638]

This group (*ṭabaqa*) is divided into four clans (*urugh*), namely: Salaq, Orus-Qoshchi, Okuz, and Ushaq. This group numbers more than seven or eight thousand tents (*öylük*). Qïlïch Kem, the son of Muhammad Niyaz Körche from the clan (*jamāʿa*) Orus-Qoshchi, after his father was released from jail, wandered among the Yomuts and the Yemrelis and gathered around him several scoundrels and ruffians. At the beginning of the aforementioned Jumadi II he set out, with the alleged purpose of raiding the Qïzïlbashes, and fell upon the tribe (*jamāʿa*) of Teke within the limits of Khorasan, who were friendly (*el*) and paid *kharāj* to his majesty the late khan. Having attacked those members of this tribe who lived in the land (*diyār*) of Akhal, and having killed many innocent people, captured children and women and plundered their cattle and property, they went back. In the Turkmen language "Akhal" is the name given to marshy (*zaykash*) places abundant in water.[639] This country (*diyār*) belongs to

the districts of Nesa and Bavard. It abounds in springs, and rice is grown there; it is apparently because of this that it is called Akhal.

Having heard about this incident, the late khan was enraged (394) and sent the amir Qïlïch Inaq and Sultan Mirab, at the head of a detachment of the ever-victorious troops, to meet them, to seize this group of rebels, and to bring them [to the khan] after restoring their property and captives to the Teke. The men assigned hurried, but before they reached the road, Qïlïch Kem and most of his companions had already passed. The [troops] assigned rushed after them, captured some of them, seized the property and the captives and brought them to the late khan. His majesty sent messengers to the Yomut nobles (*akābir*) saying: "Seize Qïlïch Kem with his companions, and bring them in chains." Because of their disobedience and ingratitude, sedition and rebellion, the Yomuts evaded the execution of the order which should have been instantly obeyed, did not give the collectors (*muḥaṣṣillar*) a clear answer, but sent them back without results. Fanned by this event, the flame of his majesty's wrath blazed up, and he sent *tovachis* as vengeful as Bahram and *yasavuls*[640] as warlike as Mars to all provinces to assemble an army. As his deputy in the city (*shahr*) he appointed *Jamal ad-Dawla va'd-Din* Qutluq Murad Bek—who has since been promoted to the post of *inaq*—and placed in his highness's service Nizam al-Mulk va'l-Milla Muhammad Yusuf Mehter, the prudent vizier, wise as Asaf. On Monday, the 20th of the aforementioned month,[a] he set out from Khiva, the seat of governance, and *set his camp* in his own *ḥawlī*, in the village (*qarya*) Kuyuk-Tam,[641] which is a pleasant place, *to wait until the ever-victorious army assembled there*. The next day, a Tuesday, he set out with great pomp and victorious splendor and set his camp below the village of Uzbek-yap,[642] on the banks of the drainage canal (*zaykash*) and the lake. At that time news arrived that Qïlïch Kem with some ruffians and villains had taken to the road and, having encountered the rear of the army in the vicinity of Shaykh-qal'a,[643] (395) had wounded one man and fled. Several amirs were ordered to set out and to teach those scoundrels a good lesson. Those so assigned went in the direction of the rebels, sighted them from afar and were about to retaliate against them with their sharp swords. At that moment Qaqa Sardar, who was a friend and

[a] Jumadi II 1219; 25 September 1804 (Tuesday).

servant of this dynasty, intervened, together with several chiefs (*ṣanādīd*) of the Yomut and eminent people (*mashāhīr*) of the Yemreli; they agreed and undertook to bring the villains who were under Qïlïch Kem fettered and bound and let the amirs return to the royal camp, as was ordered by the late khan. *On Wednesday morning his majesty mounted his horse* and, under the guise of reviewing the troops, moved towards the Yomuts to settle the affairs of this tribe (*jamāʿa*) promptly. When he was passing the sands to the north of Shaykh-qalʿa, the commoners and nobles of the Yomuts and the Yemrelis came, and very humbly rubbing their foreheads on the ground before the hooves of his majesty's horse, they requested: "Give us one of your men, and we will capture and deliver our malefactors under Qïlïch Kem, or, if we are unable to do so, we will move off." [His majesty] attached Nadir Muhammad Kutval,[644] a Qongrat noble, to them and moved off in the direction of Senger. The next day he waited for the Yomuts till breakfast, but they had not come by the appointed time. His majesty therefore set off against the rebels. On the way, Mengli Murad Sardar, from the Yomut side, went to meet them and asked for a delay, claiming that the assigned men had already captured the villains and were bringing them. (396) *Thanks to his shrewdness and perspicacity*, his majesty perceived what the Yomuts had in mind and forced Mengli Murad to clear the way, and the ever-victorious army [marched on] with flying banners after him. [*Mathnavī*.]

When they reached the swamp (*zaykash*) to the east of the Yangi-yap, in the region of Bend-i Ramin,[645] near the blessed tomb of his holiness, the pivot of the world, the great tutor (*lālā-yi aʿẓam*), Shaykh Razi ad-Din ʿAli Lala[646] (may God bless his grave!), the Yomut, Yemreli and Mashrïq[647] rebels drew up in battle array facing the swamp, with the intention of blocking the way. Amazing! These ignoramuses do not know that sticks and straws cannot block the current of a swelling river nor withstand a flame which can consume the entire world. *At the first assault, the rebels fled and scattered*. At the bridge over the Yangi-arïq they regrouped and prevented the ever-victorious army from crossing. As ordered by the khan, amir Vali Atalïq and the whole victorious army fought valiantly and captured the bridge. At that moment, (397) Khal Niyaz Yeser, one of the Okuz nobles (*akābir*), delivered three or four Okuz villains with their families. Thereupon, the perspicacious amir Shah Niyaz Atalïq came before the army and stopped the warriors from continuing the

fight, as the khan had ordered. At that time news came that the Turkmen rebels under Quvanch Sufi had abandoned [their army] and left for Aq-köl. The remaining troops of the Yomut, who had again nearly closed their ranks, dispersed in different directions like the constellation of the Bear and disappeared like the morning star. [*Shi'r.*]

The late khan wished that the rebellious tribe be destroyed and plundered and their families taken captive. The closest nobles and the pillars of the state, under Shah Niyaz Atalïq, appealed to the khan, saying: "Although this tribe displayed its impudence, they did not persist in their evil ways, and now, fearing the blow of punishment and wrath from your servants, are leaving and going away without causing harm or damage. Moreover, they are old *nöker*s of your noble ancestors and great forefathers. They have not abandoned hope of serving [your] honored dynasty, and they will seize and hand over their evil-doers, wherever they may be. Now it would be an act worthy of [your] felicity and generosity that you should not press or molest them, but you should return victoriously and stop at Senger, [to see] how the matter with them turns out." Although his majesty (398) knew how gross was their sedition and how great was their rebellion, he accepted the opinion of his great amirs and departed in the direction of Senger. On the way, Nadir Muhammad Kutval came from the Yomuts; he brought the news that the Turkmens had been unable to seize their villains and ruffians, and confirmed that they were leaving.

After his majesty arrived at the sublime court, some soldiers went during the night to the habitations (*yurtlaq*) of the Turkmens, on his majesty's instructions. They captured plenty of livestock (*māl u mavāshī*) and plundered many dwellings, and brought news that some Turkmens had gathered in the region of Aq-Saray with the intention of attacking the ever-victorious army. Early next morning, therefore, his majesty sent Qandïm Sardar with a strong detachment to repulse them, and after sunrise [he himself] unfolded his banner, ever victorious and bright as the rising sun, moved it towards Ghaziabad,[648] and marched on Aq-Saray. On the way the qazi of the Yomuts, Mulla Nuri Qazi, came to him, together with Qaqa Sardar, and implored him: "We were unable to overcome the wicked (*yamanlar*), and therefore we left. Now have mercy upon us, so that our families should not be trampled under the feet of horses!" His majesty complied with their request, but on one condition: "If you remain

in the region of Aq-Saray and Muz-Kumgan till noon or cause any trouble to the soldiers who are scattered and reconnoitering in that region, you will be held responsible for it."

At that time Qandïm Sardar returned with a large booty, after having fought and dispersed those Turkmens who had gathered and killing one of the Yemreli villains. After his majesty the late khan permitted Qaqa Sardar to leave, he and the troops of the Ushaqs (399) gathered the property which was left over after their migration; and when they moved on, they encountered some soldiers of the ever-victorious army. Impelled by their innate wickedness, inherent in the very nature of this misbegotten tribe, they violated the conditions agreed upon before the late khan, fought the soldiers and wounded one of them. When this news reached his majesty, he assigned amir Vali Atalïq and ʿAbdallah Sardar, at the head of numerous troops, to punish them. Those so assigned caught up with them and attacked and defeated them. In this battle ʿAbdallah Sardar fought fairly well, struck Qaqa Sardar with a lance, knocked him off his horse and captured it. The warriors also set examples of valor and returned with rich booty. After this the whole victorious army divided in groups, raided those places, drove out the Turkmens and took to plunder and spoil. Thus were fulfilled [the Qurʾān's words] "*God has promised that you will take much spoils*":[a] bountiful booty fell into the hands of the troops, so that they became rich. [*Mathnavī.*]

His majesty stopped between the lower reaches of the Aq-Saray and the Muz-Kumgan [canals] and ordered the remaining troops to go plundering also. At that time one young (*yigit*) Uzbek, who had lived among the Yomuts for a long time, fled [from them] and came, bringing news that, being in fear and terror, the Turkmens could not remain at Aq-köl, into which the Lower Dawdan [river] flows,[649] (400) but had gone towards the Quba-tagh. His majesty sent several fighters to reconnoiter Aq-köl and [himself] returned to Senger. The next day, which was Saturday, the 25th of the month,[b] he again raised the banner of departure, *and arrived at the hill (*täl*) of Aq-Saray with great pomp*. Earlier he had sent the cream of the heroes of the age and the elect of the famous warriors, Yusuf Niyaz Bek the Qongrat, Muhammad Jan Bek son of Qutluq Muhammad Inaq the Qïyat, Baba Darugha the Qïpchaq, and Qandïm Sardar, along

[a] Qurʾān, XLVIII,20.
[b] Jumadi II 1219, 9 October 1804 (Tuesday).

with a detachment of troops, towards Aq-köl, so as to ensure that any Turkmen villains who might be found in that region would receive eloquent chastisement and a good lesson. They went to that place, where they met a Yomut and Yemreli army and joined a fierce battle with them. When the news of this reached his majesty's ears, he sent his uterine brother, *his majesty* Abu'l-Muzaffar va'l-Fath Muhammad Rahim Bahadur Khan, putting a big detachment of troops headed by *amir* Qïlïch Inaq under his [brother's] command as reinforcements. The [troops sent earlier] had defeated the rebels and captured rich booty before his majesty arrived and were privileged to kiss his stirrup when he met them on the way. His majesty showed great kindness and favor to them in the name of his elder brother, turned back to the royal army and came to his elder brother. *At sunset the late khan returned to the royal camp.* He remained there for seven days, enjoying himself. (401) Within one month after this, the common people (*fuqarā' va raʿāyā*) of the cities (*bilād*) of Besh-Qalʿa took possession of the property and the cultivated lands of the rebels and prayed for the wellbeing of the late khan.

How the late khan unfolded his victorious banners, setting out to destroy the rebels, and how he subdued and destroyed them after fierce fighting, and returned.

While the khan remained [in camp], a series of reports arrived indicating that the rebellious Turkmens had assembled at the southern skirt of the Quba-tagh, and were molesting the gatherers of firewood (*otunji*) and the cultivators on the banks of the Atalïq-arna and beyond it, and were killing some of these unfortunates. The late khan therefore had the ever-victorious army prepare arms and provisions and on Monday 5 Rajab[a] set out from that *senger* with great pomp and splendor and *arrived at Kat, where he lodged at the house of Tengri-Berdi Bek*. This bek entertained him appropriately and served him excellently. In return, royal gifts and infinite favors were showered upon him. [*Qiṭʿa.*]

As they were leaving Kat news arrived about a [Turkmen] raid on the people of Khitay who lived in the region of Aq-qum, at the head of the Payanda-arïq.[650] (402) The details of this incident are as

[a] 30 September 1804 (Sunday).

follows. Qïlïch Kem set out with 200 villains of the Yomut and Yemreli, and fell upon the aforementioned people at midnight, surrounded their *küren*,[651] and tried to destroy it from all sides. Incidentally, most of Khitay men (*yigitlär*) were working in the fields, and there were only ten or fifteen people in the *küren* capable of bearing arms. Awakened by the tumult [of the attackers], these unfortunates, together with their women and children, took sticks in their hands, gathered stones and lumps of clay in their laps and resisted the rebels defending the perimeter of the *küren*. They tried their best, displaying the utmost zeal, and made great efforts to defend [the place]. At dawn the rebels stormed into the *küren*. They slaughtered all men from the age of fourteen up, captured many women, girls and boys, and then left. This place is now known as the "Enclosure of Martyrs" (*Shahīdlär ḥazīrasï*).

When the late khan heard this horrible news, he felt sorry for those fearless subjects (*fuqarā'*) and, supplicating the Most High God, he vowed: "I will not rest until I take revenge upon the rebels for the death of those unfortunates!" The same day he stopped in the lower reaches (*ayaq*) of the Khïzïr-eli, in the region of Gurlen.[652] At that place a man from the Khitays of Yangi-qal'a arrived and reported that the Yomut raiders were making forays two or three times a day. Amir Qïlïch Inaq, amir Qara Bahadur Mirab and Musa Naib were therefore sent to Yangi-qal'a with 600 men. They spent the night in Yangi-qal'a, but the raiders did not come until late in the morning. They took the troops of Khitay (403) and Qulan and went to Quba-tagh, but, not finding any trace of the enemies of the state, they went back. The reason for this was, that the rebels, learning that the late khan had set out against them and had arrived at Khïzïr-eli, feared a disaster because of Qïlïch Kem's great crime, so they dispersed and moved off to the Aman-Quli canal. Be it known that this canal had been constructed already before the Yomut famine, early in the reign of Muhammad Amin Inaq, by Aman-Quli Biy, the ruler of the Keneges Qaraqalpaqs, who had taken it from the Amu [river] close to the head of the Sevgenli [canal] and had brought it down to the land of the Keneges. That night the Yomut nobles (*akābir*) 'Avaz Bek and Berdi Bek Salaq and Nazar Bek Ushaq, who were old *nöker*s and servants of the late khan, came from the Yomuts and reported: "Our good people separated from the bad and, hoping for the benevolence of the servants of this court, seek the favor of permission to approach and the privilege of rendering service [to

his majesty]." His majesty was extremely angry, and neither answered them nor permitted them to go back.

The late khan stayed there for two days and, having finished preparations for the campaign, left on Friday the 9th of the month [of Rajab 1219].[a] On the way he sent Baba Kutval ibn Bay Nazar Biy, a Qongrat noble from Qosh-Küprük, as well as ʿAbdallah Sardar and Qandïm Sardar ahead, with a detachment of troops as advance guard (*qaravul*). At the foot of the Quba-tagh they encountered a group of Yomut villains and defeated them in a brief battle. They killed Adina-Quli Kör of the Qïrïmsa clan, who was a champion on the arena of impudence, cut off his head, brought it to the ever-victorious army when it entered the Geldi Khan sands, and were rewarded with gifts from the khan.

The next day [the royal army] left this place and (404) *set up its camp at the northern foot of the Quba-tagh*. That night amir Qïlïch Inaq and Muhammad Panah Bek, son of ʿAdil Bek, were sent through Buldïmsaz to the Qazaq road with 400 brave and daring fighters, each one the equal of a hundred Rustams in valor, to get information about these vagabond enemies of the state. When they reached the Qazaq road, they encountered a Yomut scoundrel named Chamcha Baba Sardar, who had gone to commit robbery to the [sedentary] regions (*vilāyat*) with several [other] scoundrels, had killed a man from Chuqur-qum[653] and was now going back. No fighting took place with them, because [the Turkmens], unable to withstand the bullets (*oq*), preferred to flee and dispersed. Two of the soldiers—Muhammad Niyaz Bek ibn Khuday-Berdi Inaq and ʿAbdallah Bek son of Qara Bahadur Mirab—pursued Baba Sardar, hit him and knocked him off his horse. That rascal immediately jumped up and killed the horse of Orus-Qoshchi Bahadur the Qïyat. At that moment [our] brave warriors rushed over and killed him and another Yomut named Dudar Qul. The rest escaped the vengeance of the brave soldiers and saved themselves under the cover of night, as in [the Qurʾānic metaphor]: "*And we appointed night for a garment.*"[b] Amir Qïlïch Inaq went back victorious, came to his majesty in the morning, and his majesty showed him honor and illumined him with the bright sun of [royal] favor.

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[a] 13 October 1804 (Saturday).
[b] Qurʾān, LXXVIII,10.

At breakfast time many Yomuts came, with their nobles (*ashrāf*)—Muhammad Niyaz Ataliq, Artuq Bakhshi and Khal Niyaz Yeser, and, through the mediation of certain retainers, they delivered the petition brought by ʿAvaz Bek to the royal court. At that time Hasan Murad Bek son of Murad Bek, an elder brother of Muhammad Riza Qoshbegi, together with the son of Tengri Yar Bek, Khuday Bergen Bek, and Jeren Qalmaq, went to the Aral road along with some soldiers, (405) killed the Yomut ruffian Ata Niyaz Üchekchi and brought his head back. The same day the late khan, upon the advice of the pillars of the state and his closest nobles, displayed his kindness by giving an answer to the Yomut nobles. The latter went to the Aman-Quli canal, where the good [people] separated from the bad, and came to Aq-Saray by the Qazaq [road]. The bad [people] also left and went to Bala-Yatan.

The late khan remained there for two days, while the troops found and brought from the skirts of the Quba-tagh the valuables which had been buried and hidden by the rebels. On Tuesday, the 13th of the month [of Rajab],[a] [his majesty] moved [his] ever-victorious banners against the rebels, towards the Aman-Quli canal. Having crossed this canal, the [troops] set up the encampment of the ever-victorious army at the time of the midday prayer at a place called Bala-Yatan. The rebels had left this place early in the morning and fled towards Aybugur[654] and Ereng. From this place [the late khan] *sent Muhammad Rahim Bahadur Khan, with 2,000 select soldiers*, in pursuit of the rebels. His majesty marched rapidly, reached the dry bed (*käl*) of the Sharqïrawq[655] and, not finding anyone, went back. On Wednesday the late khan left the transport in Bala-Yatan, assigned the Manghït amir ʿAvaz Inaq son of ʿInayatallah Inaq, who had suddenly become somewhat ill, along with *qara cherik*, to protect it, and raised the banner of departure in pursuit of the Yomuts. The advance-guard of the army overtook the rebels in Old Urgench, which is the ancient Khorezm, and captured plenty of booty and innumerable prisoners. From Old Urgench the road splits in two: one [fork] is the road to Manghïshlaq and the Qazaqs, which leads south, [then] goes to the west, (406) then inclines to the north; the other one is the road to Qum-chungul, which goes directly northwards.[656] From these two roads others branch off and intertwine.

[a] 17 October 1804 (Wednesday).

[The troops] saw that the Yomuts had divided and had taken these two roads. His majesty divided the army into four groups. One section, under the command of Ishim Bahadur Gurleni the Nayman, Hasan Murad Atalïq the Qïpchaq, and Baba Darugha Hazaraspi, was sent to the Manghïshlaq road, and another section, under the command of ʿAbd ash-Shukur Atalïq the Uyshun and Qutluq Muhammad Bek ibn Hasan Murad Atalïq, was despatched to the Qumchungul road. The other two sections [his majesty] retained with himself and, after visiting the holy tombs,[657] he climbed to the mausoleum (*gunbadh*) of Töre-Bakht Khanïm[658] and sat there surveying the environs.

Having passed a distance of one *farsakh*, Ishim Bahadur, Hasan Murad Atalïq and Baba Darugha overtook the Yomuts and defeated them. The troops captured plenty of property and livestock. Because the soldiers—led by Khuday Nazar Atalïq the Manghït and El Aman, a Qongrat from Alaja,—who had obtained the plunder were undisciplined, they returned to their homes and dwellings, bringing the [captured] property and livestock, so that few people remained with the commanders. [*Mathnavī*.] (407) I have heard that the aforementioned commanders themselves, together with the troops that remained with them, became maddened with the desire for booty and, hastily spurring their horses against the enemies, put some rebels to flight and then engaged in looting and pillaging. At this moment the rebels who were in the camp (*köch*) learned [what had happened to the Khivan troops] and got together and attacked them. After defending themselves for an hour, the Khivans had to fall back a bit because they were few. Therefore the Yomut troops gained courage and overcame the [khan's] ever-victorious army, which was unable to withstand them and fled. During this debacle seven or eight men were killed and Khuday-Bergen Bek son of Tengri Yar Bek was taken prisoner.

WISE REFLECTIONS (*ḥikmat*): There are five things that cause defeat and result in flight. The first is failure of commanders to maintain discipline among the troops by letting the reins of order and command slip out of their hands. The second is (408) weakness in the thick of battle. The third is for the troops to go after booty before the enemy's army is completely routed. The fourth is lack of steadfastness during the battle, whether due to fear or [bad] judgment. The fifth is to be overcome by fear and terror.

Out of shame, the fugitives did not appear before the late khan,

but went to the transport and only [later] went to welcome him when he was returning after defeating the rebels.

As to ʿAbd ash-Shukur Atalïq and Qutluq Muhammad Bek, they overtook the enemies of the state on the Qum-chungul road, but, because they were few, could not join battle; and so they dissimulated (? *madārā qïlïp*), stayed where they were and sent Tanak Bahadur to his majesty the late khan to ask for reinforcements. His majesty assigned *his majesty Muhammad Rahim Bahadur Khan and Qïlïch Inaq with 400 horsemen to aid them, and went after them* himself. On the way he dispatched some illustrious amirs and fearless warriors, in several groups, in different directions, so that they might find and punish the dispersed Yomut and Yemreli villains. *In the meantime his majesty [Muhammad Rahim] and Qïlïch Inaq promptly went ahead until they reached Qum-chungul*. After lining up the troops, he appointed Qïlïch Inaq to the center to protect the ever-victorious [royal] standard, while he himself took the necessary measures to punish the rebels and had the arms prepared along with everything needed for battle. [*Nazm.*] (409) *Together with his *nökers* and servants (*mulāzim*), he swiftly charged the enemy*. [*Shiʿr.*] Muhammad Niyaz Bek and ʿAbdallah Sardar, who always accompanied his majesty both at home and on campaign, also rushed at the enemy together with him. *Seeing that they were threatened by inevitable disaster, the enemies took (410) to flight.* In their flight, they did not even pay attention to their wives, children, animals, or property, which were north of Qum-chungul, but they ran northwards. The ever-victorious army, following upon their heels, did not notice in the thick of battle that their encampment (*köch*) was on another road. But some troops who came later went to the road where the encampment was; they captured plenty of booty and innumerable prisoners, and then came to the late khan. Between afternoon and evening prayers the ever-victorious army again overtook the rebels and stopped them, and heavy fighting ensued. Aq Muhammad Sufi Aqsaq, a cousin of Muhammad Niyaz Körche and an instigator and leader of mutiny and rebellion, tried, in his ignorance, *to block the way of the brave warriors*. ʿAbdallah Sardar rushed upon him and knocked him off with a blow of his lance and captured his horse. Seeing this, the rebels turned their hoses back in order to rescue him. At this moment his majesty the khan [Muhammad Rahim] arrived and with a swift assault put them to flight. He fell upon Aq Muhammad, cut off his wild head and sent it as a present to his

elder brother. They continued to pursue the fleeing [Turkmens] till the time of night prayers, killed many of them, took some prisoners, captured many women and children, seized ten thousand sheep as booty and went back.

The royal army had stopped to the north of Qum-chungul. There [Muhammad Rahim] reached [Eltüzer] and presented him with the booty and the prisoners. *The late prince* Hasan Murad Bek,—(411) the younger brother of the late khan and the elder brother of his majesty [Muhammad Rahim],—who, with his servants and *nökers*, had also pursued *the enemy*, also came to the [late khan] with plenty of booty and prisoners. The great amirs and the victorious warriors, who had also killed and captured many rebels in the environs, also joined the ever-victorious army with abundant booty.

I heard the following story from my late elder brother Muhammad Niyaz Mirab: "On that day I was also sent by the [khan's] order to a certain place with some of my servants, as were the [other] amirs. We killed five or six of those Yomuts and Yemrelis who had dispersed and we brought back seven prisoners. The same night, to avenge the blood of the Khitay martyrs, a royal order was issued to kill all prisoners, and so none of them was left alive. Their corpses made the place look like a cemetery."

At dawn they left this place and went in pursuit of the rebels. As they were passing the mausoleum (*gunbadh*) of Yusuf Bek, the sun rose, and signs were noticed that the enemy, which had previously divided and taken two roads, had re-united. From this place amir Vali Atalïq, Muhammad Panah Bek, and Muhammad Murad Bek were sent after them with a detachment of the army, to ensure that the enemies of the state would not escape before the royal army arrived. Those so assigned overtook the Turkmen rebels at Ereng, raced their horses ahead and did not let the rebels get away, while Shakir Divana Jabbarguy was sent to report to the late khan and ask for help. He reached the khan at the promontory of the Aybugur plateau (*qïr*) and reported to him what had happened. His majesty sent the khaqan [Muhammad Rahim] with reinforcements towards Ereng, having put amir Qïlïch Inaq, along with a big detachment, under his command. At the order of his majesty the khaqan (who is inspired by divine wisdom), they left the [main] road, (412) took the enemy in the rear and threatened their encampment (*köch*). Seeing this, the rebels stopped fighting Vali Atalïq and attacked his majesty's servants. At his majesty's order, they stood firm as a great rock, and

did not budge. [*Qiṭ'a.*] When the rebels witnessed their toughness and firmness, his majesty made a bold assault with the ever-victorious army, and [the two sides] mingled. [His army] began killing and slaughtering, capturing and pillaging, and shed the blood of the enemies of the state upon that frightful desert, by the blade of their brave sabers. [*Mathnavī.*] (413) In this battle his majesty the khaqan used his brave saber so effectively that it would have made Rustam and Isfandiyar bite their fingers in amazement; and he shed so much blood with his valiant lance that Nariman whose body was like an elephant[659] would have been sobered out of his intoxication of pride; and he shot his bold arrows so accurately that the haughty cuirass (?) must have felt itself a target for the arrow of shame; and he handled his battle-axe (*tabar*) so well that it would have prevented Abu Muslim Marvazi from boasting about his own skill with it.[660] [*Naẓm.*] (415) *His majesty was enthused by fighting and, attacking like lion, slaughtered the despicable enemies who dispersed like sheep. At that moment an ignorant Turkmen confronted him. When his majesty struck him with his lance, another Yomut villain, who was famous for his boldness and obstinacy, rushed up to his majesty from behind, intending to strike him. He did not know that his majesty's clear mind could penetrate even the secrets of the invisible. Aware of his intent, his majesty turned on him and thrust his lance into the [man's] breast, so that the head of the lance emerged under his shoulder-blade*. Despite his wound, the Yomut galloped ahead and instantly struck his majesty's blessed helmet with his saber, so that the saber broke. [*Rubā'ī.*] At this moment his majesty twisted the lance and pulled it out to twice inflict punishment on the Yomut. (416) That villain fell off his horse head first, and the lance broke. Fearing death, he got up and clutched the saber of Baltash the Durmen, who was also there. His majesty hit him again with the piece of the broken lance and knocked him off. The Yomut, confounded with fright, gripped the reins of his majesty's horse. His majesty struck him with the saber and split his head in two.

*At the same time amir Vali Atalïq was fighting the Turkmens like a fierce panther and a roaring lion; his horse stumbled, and the atalïq fell [from his horse]. Muhammad Riza Bek, who has now been promoted to the exalted post (*manṣab*) of *qoshbegi*, was fighting with his sword at that time; he rushed to amir Vali Atalïq, helped him and re-mounted him on his horse. Amir Qïlïch Inaq, 'Abdallah Bek ibn Qara Bahadur Mirab, and 'Abdallah Sardar also fought

well and killed many men. The war-cry of the warriors shook the battlefield, and from the flash of the blades of their sharp swords a thunderbolt of disaster fell upon the harvest of the rebels' lives. [*Rubāʿī.*] (417) At this moment the wind of victory blew into his majesty's banner, and the Turkmens fled in fear of their lives and seeking to escape. With the brave warriors who were with him, his majesty pursued them. When they entered the [Turkmen] encampment (*köch*), the Turkmens united in fervor, fearlessly attacked the ever-victorious troops and joined battle with them. The brave warriors also drew the swords of valor from the sheaths of vengeance and set about killing the enemy. [*Mathnavī.*] (418) In this battle the Yemreli Nawruz Kalla confronted Yusuf Niyaz Bek and wounded him; Muhammad Niyaz Bek came and wounded Nawruz Kalla. Muhammad Niyaz Körche tried to attack Muhammad Murad Bek, but Dawlat Qara-Köz struck him with his lance behind the ear and knocked him off. The Qongrat Niyaz Bek Kalla-Keser[a] fell upon Shah Niyaz Bek, a noble of the clan (*urugh*) of Mashrïq, a Turkmen tribe, and killed him. Similarly other brave warriors also fought fiercely and killed the rebels. Of the *ghāzī*s, Satïp-Aldï Bek son of Muhammad Nazar Naib, ʿAvaz Jan and two more men were killed.*

At this moment the late khan arrived with the ever-victorious army and drew it up in battle array. The two armies disengaged; his majesty the khaqan came with his soldiers to his elder brother and was received with great kindness and encouragement. The Turkmens also went to their encampment (*köch*) and set about lining up their ranks under Muhammad Niyaz Körche, Geldi Khan Yemreli and Qïlïch Kem. [*Naẓm.*] Warriors from both sides galloped forward and displayed their horsemanship and dexterity, and some skirmishes followed. The Yomut tribe has one peculiar (419) custom: whenever they are confused and desperate as a result of an enemy's onslaught, they rally and they charge and fight in battle array (*yasal*) and with standards (*tugh*) [raised]. If they are not victorious, they soon have enough of it and flee. No other people can make more violent assault than they, and no army can withstand such an assault. At that time the Yomut army, in battle array and with standards (*tugh*) [raised] in this fashion, rushed at the ever-victorious army, and fierce fighting began. By the khan's command, the *ghāzī*s for their part were

[a] Lit.: "Head-cutter."

fully taken up in repulsing the enemy [attack] and gave their all in order to kill and slay them. The two armies got to such close quarters that the men gave up fighting with lances and sabers and had to wrestle and grapple. Thus, amir Sultan Mirab grabbed a Yomut in his arms, and toppled him off his horse. In this fight amir Vali Atalïq, Yusuf Niyaz Bek, Bek-Turdï Tejen and Muhammad ʿAli Biy fought valiantly and, having killed many enemies, were themselves wounded. ʿAbd ash-Shukur Atalïq, Qazi Qurban-Quli the Nayman and Taji Darugha the Uyghur *were killed*. But after many of the enemies of the state had been killed, they were finally defeated and took to flight.

In this battle the number of Turkmens was more than ten thousand, while the ever-victorious army was less than one thousand, because most of the troops, having taken booty, had gone away, and the detachment entrusted to Ishim Bahadur had not come [to this battle] but, ashamed at its [earlier] defeat, had gathered at the camp, as mentioned above. Besides this, a great portion of the troops could not be with the late khan, because they had yet to arrive. It was only due to divine assistance and felicity that so small a force could defeat such an army.

(420) At this time one of the Khitay prisoners escaped from [Turkmen] captivity together with a slave and brought the news that, after the Turkmens had been defeated, they had taken their wives and children and fled, paying attention neither to their property nor animals (*māl u mavāshī*), so that most of their small children perished under the horses' hooves. The aforementioned Khuday-Bergen Bek at that time fled [from the Yomuts] and came across one fleeing Yomut on his way and killed him.

The late khan wished to pursue [the Turkmens] and to put all of them to the sword. The pillars of the state and the closest nobles, headed by Shah Niyaz Atalïq and Jaʿfar Khoja Naqib, addressed the khan: "The Yomuts have long been your *nökers*. Although they were recently rebellious and treasonable, they have already been punished for this. Yet they have no protection and refuge other than with your royal court. When they have spent some time in exile and distress, they will again turn to this [royal] threshold [of yours] in their helplessness and hopelessness. If it was your purpose to avenge the Khitay victims, then they have already been avenged tenfold." His majesty assented to the opinion of the amirs and in the afternoon he left that place. Stopping [only] once on the way, on the

night of Saturday, the 17th of the [same] month [of Rajab],[a] he arrived in Old Urgench. After leaving it, he halted at the station where the transport (*aghruq*) had been left. He remained at this station for three days and divided the captured booty among the ever-victorious troops. On Wednesday, the 21st of the [same] month,[b] he left this place and, proceeding from station to station,[661] he arrived in the royal capital Khiva, happy and victorious, on Monday the 27th of the month.[c] On that occasion this humble [author] compiled the [following] quatrain. [*Rubāʿī.*]

(421) As to the rebels, after fleeing for one station without looking back, they heard that his majesty had gone away without pursuing them or touching their property. They returned and remained in that place for several days, and after they had prepared everything for the journey, they went to the region of Gürgen. Qïlïch Kem, who was the instigator of all this sedition and rebellion, went to serve the Qïzïlbashes and died in Tehran. Those of the Yomuts who had feigned peaceful intentions and had therefore separated on the way [from those who went to the Gürgen] and returned, began to make secret contact with the Turkmens who made their residence in Ereng. Therefore his majesty the late khan also drove them out of the country (*yurt*).

How the construction of the sublime audience hall (*körünüsh-khāna-i ʿālī*) was completed, and how the late khan celebrated this lavishly.

After the victory over the Yemreli, *the late khan Abu'l-Ghazi Eltüzer Muhammad Bahadur Khan decided that it was necessary to build a high chancery (*dīvān-khāna*)[662] opposite his own residence, to the north of it, and he entrusted this construction to the great counselor and vizier, as wise as Asaf, Muhammad Yusuf Mehter.* So the above-mentioned mehter gathered skillful builders and experienced engineers from the surrounding countries, and proceeded with the construction of this building, lofty as heaven, lavishing on it great care and effort.

[a] 21 October 1804 (Sunday).
[b] 25 October 1804 (Thursday).
[c] 31 October 1804 (Wednesday).

Mathnavī:
(422) The vizier,—mighty as heaven, refuge of dignity,
Abode of good fortune, vehicle of generosity,—
Using all [his] authority, spared no effort;
Having opened his treasury, he lavished money.
He gathered the building tools,
Everything required was prepared.
The engineers with great diligence
Organized the construction work.
They began with the foundations,
The very heavens said to the master builder: "Well done!"
They built an excellent edifice, in a graceful form;
It was as spacious and noble as an abode of happiness.
It became as exalted as a celestial dwelling
And broad as the hearts of generous people.
The august foundation was built square,
The blessed building was built with goffered walls (? *mużallaʿ*).
On the northern side [so grand] an *ayvān*[663] was built
That Saturn would feel humbled seing it.
A large door was built opposite the *ayvān*,
[Built so that] they faced one other.
(423) On its eastern and western sides lofty buildings were erected,
Tents (*öylär*) looked out towards (?) the edifices.
All of it was adorned with gold,
All the roofs and walls were gilded,
A painting just like one by Mani[664] was displayed.
Its columns were perfect, like the figures of idols,
And its head reached the stars.
The sun would feel ashamed [at its own inadequacy] seeing its *shamsa*,[665]
The sky would vanish beholding its stalactites.
Along its edges were patterns of tiles,
Upon the tiles were carved ornaments.
Jasper and marble carpeted its courtyard,
It would seem a pity to step upon it.[666]

In this manner skilful builders and ingenious artists worked for three months on the construction and decoration of this lofty building and brought it to completion at the beginning of Shaʿban. To mark its

completion, on Thursday the 19th of the same month,[a] the late khan arranged so great a feast (*toy*) and so magnificent an assembly (*qural-tay*) that it defies all description. [*Qiṭʿa.*]

(424) At this feast, after the food and drink was finished, the nobles and the dignitaries of the royal capital Khiva, under *the amirs and the sons of amirs (*amīrzāda*)*, as well as the population and the grandees of the provinces (*mamālik*) of Besh-Qalʿa, were privileged to be awarded precious robes of honor from the wardrobe of gifts (*khayāṭ-khāna-i inʿām*). *The above-mentioned mehter was showered with gold*, and the architects, builders and artists who worked on the construction of this building, along with those who were under them, were gladdened with abundant gifts.

How the khan, [now] abiding in paradise, exalted the royal throne with his happy accession [to it] and gladdened the caliphal crown by placing it up on his [own] blessed head.

*** *That martyr for Islam, the late khan Eltüzer Muhammad Bahadur Khan, aspired to ranks greater than those which he held as amir and inaq, which required him to render caliphal honors to someone else. [*Nazm.*] (425) His noble mind thus became set upon achieving royal power, and on the third day of the aforementioned feast, which was Sunday, the 22nd of the month [of Shaʿban],[b] he stripped the robe of the sultanate from the body of Abu'l-Ghazi Khan Chingizi, and took the crown of the caliphate from his head,[667] and then sent him to his relatives, the Qaraqalpaqs.[668]* Next morning, through the efforts of his relatives headed by Fazil Biy[669] and by the consensus of the nobles, he attached the plume of sovereignty to the side of his hat,[670] took the ruler's seal[671] into his hand, and so he adorned and beautified the throne of sultanate and caliphate.[672] That day was 23 Shaʿban 1219 of the Hijra,[c] corresponding to the Year of the Mouse; the 11th of the month of Adhar of 726 of the Jalali era; the 14th of Tashrin-i Thani of 2116 of the Rumi era; the 17th of the Coptic [month of] Hator of 1521 of the Coptic era; the 19th of the old month Khurdad of 1174 of the ancient era of Yazdijird,—on Monday, when the sun was in the sign of Sagittarius.[673] [*Shiʿr.*]

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[a] 22 November 1804.
[b] 25 November 1804.
[c] 26 November 1804.

(426) Congratulating him upon this happy event, the learned men of Khorezm compiled and submitted *qaṣīdas* and chronograms. Among them, his excellency, *the master Sayyid Muzaffar Khoja (may God save him!) wrote a chronogram.* [*Tārīkh-i julūs.*] (427) This humble [author] also compiled a chronogram and a *qaṣīda* in his praise, to celebrate his majesty's accession. [*Tārīkh*; (428) the *maṭlaʿ* of the *qaṣīda.*]

How the late king set out for the first time against Aral; how, with God's help, the city of Khoja-eli was conquered and how he went against the city of Qongrat to punish the Sufis; how their haughtiness was eradicated by the swords of war and the hardship of siege; and how his majesty the khaqan showed his bravery and courage.

*** The same year, after the auspicious accession of the late khan, hostility arose between Khoja Murad Biy and his younger brother Töre Murad Sufi in the land (*diyār*) of Aral, because of some disagreeable and detestable affairs. It developed into dispute, so that Töre Murad Sufi left Qongrat in anger and went to the Manghïts. Fifteen days later, he secretly came to Qongrat one night and, with the help and assistance of some of the inhabitants of Qongrat headed by Ish Muhammad Akhund from the clan (*qabīla*) of Ish-Quli, took possession of the city. He besieged his elder brother in his *ḥawlī* and busied himself with the siege. This happy circumstance *became known to the late king.* Already before that his majesty had himself resolved to conquer Aral and had been busy with the preparations for the campaign. This news further strengthened his resolve, (429) and he sent messengers (*chāpār*) to [his] well-protected kingdom (*mamālik-i maḥrūsa*) to assemble the army. He appointed Qutluq Murad Bek as his deputy in the city (*shahr*), and on Friday 24 Shavval,[a] after the prayer, he inaugurated his auspicious plan and left the royal capital Khiva. Having spent the night in Kat, on Saturday he crossed the Amu [river] and lodged at his *ḥawlī*. The next day he was privileged to make a pilgrimage to the halting-place (*manzilgāh*) of his holiness, the pivot of the pious, the glory of the [Prophet's] successors, the sultan of gnostics, the decisive proof of those who achieve union with the divine, Uvays al-Qarani (may God be pleased with him!),[674] and, having obtained help and support from [his] pure spirit

[a] 25 January 1805.

(*arvāḥ-i ṭayyiba*), returned [to his *ḥawlī*]. On Monday, the 27th,[a] he crossed the Amu and came to the locality of Bürge. In this place the ever-victorious army gathered from all provinces (*aṭrāf-i mamālik*), group by group and party by party, and assembled under the shadow of the [khan's] ever-victorious banner.[675] [*Fard.*]

The number of troops and the quantity of tents were so great that if a man had left his detachment (*qosh*), he would have found it again only after three or four days of great effort and innumerable inquiries. On Thursday, the first day of Zu'l-Qa'da,[b] they moved on from this place and stopped at the eastern skirts of the Qubatagh. At this station an envoy came from the tribe (*jamā'a*) of the Yemreli who, having separated from the Yomuts, had remained at Aybugur; standing like a slave, he handed over this tribe's petition to submit to the servants of the court. On Sunday, the 4th of the month,[c] [the khan's army] left this place (430) and camped at the head (*saqā*) of the [canal] Kök.[676] At the same place an envoy arrived from the Chowdurs, saying that they wished for [the khan's] friendship (*ellik*) and that they submitted [to him]. His majesty honored the envoys [by presenting] silken garments and precious robes to them and, having pardoned the previous crimes and the recent offenses of the Yemreli and the Chowdur, issued a royal decree, in the following terms: "As soon as they learn that we have deigned to pardon them, they must set off and come under our secure protection, so that the Yemreli might be settled in the region of Muz-Kumgan and the Chowdur on the banks of the Atalïq-arna." On Tuesday, the 6th of the month,[d] after they had been dismissed, [his majesty] displayed the banner of departure [and moved on] with great pomp and victorious splendor. He spent the night on the bank of the Lawdan[677] and on Wednesday arrived in the region of Khojaeli. Group after group of illustrious warriors and vengeful heroes were sent in raids with the victorious army. They captured masses of booty and numberless prisoners in the environs of the town and received the honor of kissing the [royal] stirrup. The late khan, due to his gentle character and mild disposition, freed the prisoners. He set up his headquarters (*ordu*) opposite the town and raised the banner

[a] 28 January.
[b] 31 January 1805.
[c] 3 February 1805.
[d] 5 February 1805.

(*manjūq*) of his imperial court as high as the very stars; and, by setting up the ever-victorious tent and curtain (*sarādiqāt*), he made the environs of Khoja-eli resemble the [capital] city of China, nay the very garden of paradise. [*Mathnavī*: *The town, surrounded by Khivan troops, was like a boat in a stormy sea, and the inhabitants were in great fear, seeing their destruction imminent.*]

(431) At night [the khan] appointed Muhammad Biy and Allah Nazar Bay Khanqahi to guard the outskirts of the town, and after sunrise he set out with full pomp and splendor, displayed the ever-victorious banner before the city gates, drew up the ever-victorious army in battle array around the town, and sent *the most learned of the *ʿulamāʾ*,* Damulla Muhammad Vafa Qazi-ʿaskar and the faithful Muhammad Niyaz Mirab, the elder brother of this humble [author], a man who brought honor to the rank of amir, (432) as envoys to the nobles (*akābir*) of Khoja-eli to persuade them to submit and offer allegiance [to his majesty]. In accordance with his order, those so assigned went to the town, where they lodged at the *khānqāh* of the pivot of the world, the greatest axis, traveller on the roads of the mystical path, guide on the ways to the ultimate reality, Sharaf al-Milla va'd-Din Sayyid Tursun Khoja Ishan (may God extend the shade of his guidance over the heads of mystics!), and had the honor of kissing his hand. The great and the small of Khoja-eli, under Dosïm Biy, Öte-Quli Ataliq, Hasan ʿAli Khoja and Hasan Murad Sarïgh, gathered to this holy place. Those so assigned, mentioned previously, explained the purpose of their mission in the joy-emanating presence of his holiness the khoja, and thoroughly and solemnly warned Dosïm Biy and the ataliqs about the evil consequences of mutiny and rebellion, and summoned and directed them to follow the straight path of submission and obedience [to his majesty]. His holiness the khoja was in agreement with them and threatened and chided both the common people and the nobles who were present about the disgrace of disobedience and sedition. Following the injunction "*If two parties of the believers fight, put things right between them*,"[a] he directed them toward peace, and conforming to the meaning [of the Qurʾānic prescription]: "*Obey God, and obey the Messenger and those in authority among you*,"[b] he so effectively explained the benefits in this world and the consequences in the next world of submission

[a] Qurʾān, XLIX,9.
[b] Qurʾān, IV,59.

to the Prophet and of obedience and subjecting themselves to [their] rulers, that the people (*fuqarā'*) were on the point of rushing at the rebels headed by Dosïm Biy and seizing them. The rebels had been steadfast in their treason and had intended to defend the town and continue hostilities [against his majesty]. But when they witnessed this irresistible sign and clear happening, and fearing for their lives, they had no choice but to ask for mercy, and to beg my elder brother: "Let his excellency (433) the qazi remain with us while you present his majesty with the following petition: Let his majesty show his kindness to [us, his] servants, by sending his senior younger brother,[a] the great prince, the glory of the mankind, Hasan Murad Bek, together with the enlightened and wise amir Shah Niyaz Atalïq, to visit [us, his] despised slaves, so that we may enter under their protection and be granted the honor of kissing the dust [before the khan]." When my elder brother left the town and brought their petition to the late khan, the late khan, in his kindness, accepted their request and sent the aforementioned prince together with the aforenamed atalïq [to them]. To the people of the town they brought the glad news that his majesty had granted his favor and august mercy. Then all the nobles (*akābir*) headed by Dosïm Biy proceeded very humbly at the bridles of their horses and fell, like dust, at the feet of the late khan's horse. Although the great offense which they had committed made them liable to death and deserved [his majesty's] wrath and displeasure, his majesty acted in conformity with the saying: "*Forgiveness out of strength comes from the greatness of rank*," and he drew the curtain of indulgence over their endless crimes and released them to the aforementioned khoja.

That night my elder brother, the late Muhammad Niyaz Mirab, as well as Muhammad Biy, one of the nobles (*akābir*) of the Qanglï, and Allah Nazar Bay Khanqahi, one of the eminent (*ashrāf*) Sarts, entered the town with the troops under their command, as [his majesty] had ordered. They positioned themselves at the gates and entrances [to the town], assigned guards to the towers and ramparts, and guarded [the city walls]. The next day, Friday, the 9th of the month,[b] the late khan granted royal favors and infinite largesse upon the nobles of Khoja-eli and presented them with precious robes

[a] I.e. the eldest among his three younger brothers: Hasan Murad Bek, Qutlugh Murad Bek, and Muhammad Rahim Bek (later khan).

[b] 8 February 1805.

(*tashrīfāt*). For their part, they showered whatever [valuables] they had upon the sublime court of his majesty, just as the ant who brought a locust's leg to Solomon as a gift.[678] That day the late khan (434) toured the vicinity of Khoja-eli while on a hunting expedition. The next day, while falconing, he had the privilege of visiting of [the tomb of] Sham'un Nabi (peace be upon him!) in Mizdahqan, and scattered treasure as an offering upon his holiness, pivot of pivots, that bearer of the dignity of a sayyid, Sayyid Tursun Khoja Ishan, who was the guardian (*mutavallī*) of that tomb. On that day he ordered the *qara cherik* to destroy the city wall (*qal'a*). Under the blows of axes and thanks to the strength of the workers' arms, within three days the wall (*qal'a*) which had previously reached the sky and whose towers and ramparts were as high as the highest of the Pleiades, was razed so that [the words] "*We turned it uppermost nethermost*"[a] might aptly describe it.

At this time news came from Qongrat that, through the mediation of the Qongrat nobles, the two Sufis had been reconciled with one another and that Töre Murad Sufi had deposed his elder brother and taken over the post of the governor (*ḥukūmat manṣabi*). The noble mind of the late khan resolved to punish them, and he counted the troops of Khoja-eli and put them under the command of my elder brother Muhammad Niyaz Mirab. On Wednesday, the 14th of the month,[b] he set out from Khoja-eli to conquer Qongrat. Having crossed the river upon the ice, on Friday he stopped at the head of the canal (*nahr*) Qarabayli. In this place the nobles (*akābir*) of the Yemreli and the Chowdur, with their troops, had the honor of kissing the earth [before the khan]; they reported that they had sent their camps (*köchlär*), which had left Aybugur, to the [khan's] well-protected kingdom (*mamālik-i maḥrūsa*), as the khan had ordered.

On Sunday, the 18th of the month,[c] [the khan] set out from this place and stopped one *farsakh* above Qongrat. The next day, Tuesday, he went to the town and, having approached it from the eastern side, (435) drew up the ever-victorious [army in] battle array. Töre Murad Sufi also came out with the rebel troops and drew them up in battle array under the city walls (*qal'a*), on the western bank of the river. Warriors from both sides raced their horses to the battle-

[a] Qur'ān, XI,82, XV,74.
[b] 13 February 1805.
[c] 17 February 1805.

field and engaged in fierce fighting. [*Mathnavī*, describing the battle upon the ice of the frozen river.] *In this battle Töre Murad Sufi, because of his ignorance,[a] was himself fighting courageously. (436) But the victorious felicity of the late khan was reinforced by Muhammad Rahim Bahadur Khan who was striking the enemy with sword and lance, and Töre Murad, the "Sufi without a guide (*Ṣūfī-i bī pīr*)", being unable to withstand them, took flight. The [Khivan] warriors pursued them as far as the city wall (*qal'a*) and sent many rebels to hell.* In this battle Ish Niyaz Yüzbashi, a commander (*sarkār*) of the *shamkhālchī*, captured Qalman Bahadur, who was famous in the land of Aral for his courage and valor, and brought him to the khan.[b] Likewise, the brave soldiers brought innumerable heads [of slain enemies] and prisoners, and they were favored by royal gifts. From the ever-victorious army Pirim Yar Khoja-eli and Rahmatallah Chitgar Urgenchi were killed, and three or four men wounded.

After this, on Thursday, the 22nd of the month,[c] [the khan] *set up his camp close to the town, on the bank of the river,* and for fifteen days subjected the rebel assemblage to the privations of siege, and let loose on the town's people a hail of cannon-balls and bullets from cannons which pounded the walls,[679] *shamkhāl*s which brought calamity, and muskets which produced a thunder of iron. Sometimes he would initiate fierce fighting beneath the city walls and on every occasion he would defeat the rebels. On Saturday, (437) the 24th of the month,[d] in the course of the siege, the late khan went to the south of the city and prepared the siege weapons in order to surround it. Retaining the Sart troops with himself (*rikāb-i humāyūn mulāzimatida*), he divided the four sides of the city wall (*qurghan*) for the Uzbek army and assigned the sections (*buljār*),[680] in the following way: the eastern section was assigned to the Qongrat-Qïyat troops, which were put under the command of amir Qïlïch Inaq, Sultan Mirab, Qara Bahadur Mirab, and Pahlavan-Quli Qoshbegi; the south-east portion was allocated to the Uyghur and Nayman troops, which were put under the command of Karim-Berdi Atalïq and Oraz ʿAli Inaq; the south-west section was entrusted to the Nokuz-Manghït troops, which were put under the command of Baba Atalïq, ʿAvaz

[a] "Ignorance" means ignorance of duties of a subject.
[b] The same episode is ascribed to a later date below, p. 214.
[c] 21 February 1805.
[d] 23 February 1805.

Inaq, my elder brother Muhammad Niyaz Mirab, Bek Balta Mirab and Allah Nazar Biy; and the western side was assigned to the troops of On-Tört-Urugh, which were put under the command of amir Vali Atalïq, Yakhshïlïq Parvanachi, Muhammad Biy and Hasan Murad Atalïq.[681] The amirs mentioned took care of the blockade and on every side the warriors went to their guns and breastworks and layed siege. At that time, Töre Murad Sufi saw on all four sides [of the city walls] such an agitated and heaving sea of calamity and flood of battle that it seemed that the ship of his community, plunged in the gulf of trouble, would sink imminently into the ocean of dispersion. Therefore, with the approval of some nobles, he apologized to his elder brother, and restored to him the rank of amir and the post of governor, while he himself stayed and assigned the rebels, group by group, to the fortifications. The brave soldiers of the Nokuz-Manghït had in the meantime thrown carts (*araba*) into the moat and attached a ladder to the wall (*qurghan*). Töre Murad Sufi was prepared there and organized the defense. The khan's ever-victorious soldiers, seeing that the rebels were firmly defending the fortifications, (438) turned back on [the khan's] order.

On Monday, the 26th of the month,[a] [the khan] ordered amir Karim-Berdi Atalïq and amir Qïlïch Inaq, with 2,000 elite troops, to raid the region of Shor-köl and Mahipaz.[682] Those so assigned set out for that region, captured the livestock (*māl u mavāshī*) of the Qongrats and the Qaraqalpaqs and, having attacked the tribes (*qabā'il*) of Aymirza and Manatay, returned after five days with immense booty and innumerable prisoners, and received the honor of kissing the royal carpet. On Friday, the last day of the month,[b] which was the next day after the Nawruz of the Khorezmshahs[683] and the 2nd [of the month of] Ḥamal,[c] a fierce battle took place. The details of this event are as follows. On Friday, before the troops that had gone raiding returned, the late khan set out against the town with a few troops. When they were crossing the river, some Qongrat warriors came out and, as is common with soldiers, pranced on the battlefield. The [Khivan] warriors, thirsting like hungry lions for the blood of the rebels, rushed and attacked at full speed and surrounded the

[a] 25 February 1805.
[b] The last day (30) of Zu'l-Qa'da 1219–1 March 1805.
[c] On the Nawruz of Khorezmshahs (on 28 February) see Introduction, pp. XLIII–XLV. Nawruz is the 1st day of Ḥamal.

rebels as they would a fox. At this moment the late khan moved the ever-victorious banner and stopped to rest on the western side of the town. The *ribāṭ* of Töre Murad Sufi was on that side of the town, and some rebels came out of the town and entered this *ribāṭ*. *His majesty Muhammad Rahim Bahadur Khan was galloping in front of the troops with several brave soldiers under amir Vali Ataliq and saw the enemies (439) entering the *ribāṭ*, so he rushed on the *ribāṭ*; when the rebels saw him, they abandoned the *ribāṭ* and returned to the city. His majesty captured the *ribāṭ* and set it on fire. At this moment the Qongrat army, cavalry and infantry, came out and attacked the ever-victorious army in the rear. The late khan returned and rushed against them. The rebels thought that the ever-victorious army was in disarray, and so they all came, mounted and on foot, from all parts of the town, and made a general assault on the ever-victorious army, repeatedly coming to within one lance's distance of it. Seeing this, his majesty the khaqan and those warriors who were with him moved with lightning speed upon the rebels and set to fighting them. [*Nazm.*] (440) Finally the enemies of the state fled like a fox before a lion and found refuge in the town. The khan's brave soldiers pursued them as far as the moat and killed many of them. In this battle, the ever-victorious army captured rich booty and innumerable prisoners. Thanks to his royal majesty's valor and courage this large army, as numerous as ants and locusts, was utterly destroyed and the late khan gained victory. No brave warrior except his majesty ever achieved such a marvellous result.*

ANECDOTE (*nukta*): Iskandar Zu'l-Qarnayn was asked: "What is the sign of valor?" He said: "When one does not ask: what is the number of the enemy's army, but inquires: where is it. Those who judge this way are always victorious, and their enemy is defeated." [*Qiṭʿa.*]

(441) When the weather began turning mild and the spring wind began to blow, the chills ceased completely and the ice [on the river] became weak. If the ice had been broken, it would have been rather difficult for the army to pass across it and to return;[684] besides this, the provisions were diminishing and becoming scarce. Therefore, on 6 Zu'l-Hijja[a] [the Khivan army] turned back and stopped on the bank of the Qarabayli. The ice on this canal (*rūd*) had become weak and thin, and it was impossible to take the horses across it. Therefore [the khan] ordered my elder brother Muhammad Niyaz Mirab to

[a] 7 March 1805.

build a bridge, and for this work he was given the *qara cherik* from the region of Khanqah. At this moment news arrived that the army of Aral was pursuing the royal army. The late khan, with the troops that he had with him, went [against them], killed fifty rebels, put the rest to flight, and came back. On Friday and Saturday the ever-victorious army crossed the bridge and on Sunday, the 9th of the month,[a] it encamped at the Tash-guzar [crossing] on the Kök-Üzäk canal (*nahr*).[685] At this station they stayed two days. [The khan] distributed gold from his treasury to the soldiers who had distinguished themselves, whose horses had fallen and carts (*araba*) had been broken, and who had lost their belongings, and, according to the expression "*And he will return to his family joyfully*,"[b] [the khan] brought them joy and gladness by allowing them to go to their homes. (442) On Wednesday, the 12th of the month,[c] [the khan] stopped opposite the head of the Sallï canal. From this place he sent my elder brother Muhammad Niyaz Mirab to Khoja-eli to resettle this people (*el*). In accordance with the [khan's] binding order, he moved the [people of] Khoja-eli and brought them to the bank of the river. There he brought the boats (*kimä*), which had been gathered in this harbour by royal order, across the river, loaded their property and luggage onto the boats and transported them across the river to the right bank, along with their carts and animals. The late khan remained at the same station until this people (*el*) was moved. He gave a feast and ordered horse races and wrestling bouts. With copious gifts and numerous favors he brought joy to the men who had lost their horses and to the heroes who had killed their enemies. After the [people of] Khoja-eli had been moved, he departed from this place and, advancing rapidly from station to station, on Thursday, the 27th of the month,[d] he came to his *ḥawlī*. There he gave presents to all the nobles and dignitaries (*ashrāf u akābir*), and on Saturday, the last day of the month,[e] he entered the royal capital Khiva. As to the Khoja-eli, they were assigned place of dwelling and habitation in the region of Aq-Saray.[686]

[a] 10 March.
[b] Qur'ān, LXXXIV,9.
[c] 13 March.
[d] 28 March.
[e] 30 March.

How the late king raised the banner [of a campaign] against Aral for the second time and conquered that land (*diyār*), and how the rebellious Sufis placed the collar of submission on their necks, and how, thanks to the felicitous guidance of Khoja Murad Biy, they subjected themselves [to the khan].

*** His majesty the late khan Eltüzer Muhammad Bahadur Khan (may God grant him forgiveness!), *remained (443) in the city (*balada*) of Khiva for two months, to allow the horses and pack animals (*ulagh*)[687] to rest and become fat. On Saturday, 11 Rabiʿ I 1220 A.H.,[a] corresponding to the Year of the Cow, when the sun was in the sign of Gemini,[b] [the khan] set off in the morning to conquer Qongrat and set his camp in the locality of Aq-qum, on the bank of the Amu. He remained in this place for eight days in order to allow the ever-victorious army to assemble there.* On Sunday, the 19th of the month,[c] an envoy came from the governor (*vālī*) of Merv, amir Nasir ad-Din Din Nasir Töre, who was the second son of Shah Murad Vali-niʿamī and the younger brother of Mir Haydar, and brought a petition of submission. The explanation of this happy event is as follows. At the instigation of certain seditious slanderers and because of their ill-will, the ruler (*ḥākim*) of Bukhara Mir Haydar had, in Jumadi II of the previous year,[d] removed Din Nasir Töre from the governorship of Merv and sent two of his military commanders (*sarkarda*) [there]. Din Nasir Töre became aware of the secret design of his elder brother, seized the officers by a ruse and executed them. When the late khan's reputation of firmness and fame of his authority reached Din Nasir Töre, out of fidelity and loyalty, as well as out of his great fear of his elder brother Mir Haydar, he secretly sought his majesty's protection, read the *khuṭba* in Merv with the sublime name and honorable titles of the late khan and through an ambassador sent a letter to the royal court professing his loyalty and fidelity. After the ambassador received an audience, he was sent back to the city (*shahr*).[688]

Having left this place, the army stopped on Wednesday, the 22nd

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[a] 8 June 1805.

[b] In Khorezm this should have corresponded to May (see Introduction, p. XLIV); it seems that Munis refers here to a standard Iranian zodiacal calendar, in which Gemini (Jawzā) is from 22 May to 22 June.

[c] 16 June.

[d] August 1804.

of the month,[a] on the banks of the Chumanay canal (*daryacha*).[689] That same night the khan, (444) together with the pillars of the state and the closest nobles, crossed the Chumanay and set up the royal camp [on the other side]. Within two days the ever-victorious army crossed [the canal]. On Saturday, the 25th of the month,[b] [the khan] set up his camp on the bank of the river, on the left side of Qanglï.[690] On the same day, the late khan himself, with 150 men, each of whom had been selected from a thousand men, raided the town of Qongrat; *they killed many rebels and captured a large amount of booty. On Sunday they left this place and camped on the bank of the Amu, opposite Manghït-qalʿa. On the same day they went to the town, and a fierce fight with the enemy took place. [*Mathnavī.*] (445) His majesty Muhammad Rahim Bahadur Khan, together with my elder brother and amir Vali Atalïq, and some brave soldiers, drew the swords of valor from the sheaths of vengeance, attacked the rebel amirs with those who helped and assisted them, crushed them and pursued them until they escaped to the town, killing many of them.* [*Qiṭʿa.*] In this battle, Ish Niyaz Yüzbashi, a commander (*sarkār*) of the *shamkhālchī*, captured Qalman Bahadur, who was famous in the army of Qongrat, and brought him to the late khan; by royal order, he was decapitated.[c] And Shaykh Bahadur wounded Ata Niyaz Bek son of Bek Pulad Atalïq, who had brought reinforcements to Töre Sufi from Bukhara. So it was that the brave warriors exerted themselves greatly in battle, and killed and captured many enemies of the state.

The next (446) day, on Monday, the 27th of the month,[d] another fierce fight took place again. *The rebels fled from his majesty the khaqan, and the Khivan army was victorious.* God willing, I will include this event and describe it in detail in [my] biography of his majesty.[e] On Tuesday, the late khan set out again and destroyed and devastated any crops around the town still left after the [devastation by] locusts. By a lucky coincidence, from the day when the late khan had set off for this campaign, the whole land (*mamālik*) of Aral in general and the region of Qongrat in particular had been repeat-

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[a] 19 June.
[b] 22 June.
[c] The same episode (except for the decapitation) is ascribed to an earlier date above, p. 209.
[d] 24 June.
[e] See below, pp. 232–233.

edly crossed, on the ground and in the air, by armies of locusts, as [the Qur'ān] puts it "*And I will send down legions*,"[a] so that not a trace of the reeds and crops remained; the locusts had settled on, and consumed even trees, tents and animals. [*Naẓm.*]

Anxious and worried, Töre Murad Sufi had, (447) upon an advice of some Qongrat nobles (*akābir*), on that very same day given his own post to his elder brother Khoja Murad Biy, whom he had ousted from governing a long time previously, while he himself resigned, in fear of his life. *After sunrise, on Wednesday, the late khan surrounded the town and, after the battle array was drawn up, his majesty the khaqan took position at one side of the battlefield, with a number of brave soldiers under royal command, prepared for battle and eager to fight. When the inhabitants of the city, who had often experienced the terrifying attacks of his majesty and had been overcome and subdued, saw this, they rushed upon Khoja Murad Biy and Töre Murad Sufi and demanded that, willing or not, they sue for peace and submit [to the khan].* In fear of their lives, the Sufis calmed down the disturbance of the city's inhabitants by conciliating, and Töre Murad Sufi, upon the instructions of his elder brother, went out of the town accompanied by a group of Qongrat notables (*ṣanādīd*). He pleaded with Iskandar Khoja Bekabadi, who was prancing on the battlefield: "May his majesty the khaqan deign to come first, so that our hands may seize the hem of his majesty's robe, seeking his protection and refuge. By so doing we will be safe and secure from royal anger!"[b] The aforementioned khoja accepted his supplication and reported his request to his majesty the khaqan. By august order,[c] his majesty (448) went with amir Vali Atalïq and amir Qïlïch Inaq and, when he shook Töre Murad Sufi's hand, the latter was so proud that his head rose to the height of the Pleiades. [*Qiṭʿa.*] Töre Murad Sufi humbly rubbed his face against his majesty's stirrup and respectfully requested: "Please ask your elder brother to pardon our crimes and remove failure to think clearly from the mirror of our mind so that my elder brother or myself may be sheltered by your protection and may be granted the privilege of paying our respect to the king." In these circumstances, his

[a] Cf. Qur'ān, IX,26.

[b] It means that Töre Sufi sought from Muhammad Rahim protection from the anger of Eltüzer Khan.

[c] I.e. by the order of Eltüzer Khan.

majesty the khaqan turned the reins of his horse, received from his elder brother pardon for their (Töre Murad and Khoja Murad's) previous and recent crimes, and sent a letter of favor (*ʿināyat-nāma*) with Nadir Muhammad Kutval [regarding this]. Because the hour was already advanced, the late khan returned to his camp. On Friday, the first day of Rabiʿ II,[a] his majesty the khaqan and amir Shah Niyaz Ataliq entered the town. The Sufis rendered them proper service and did everything possible to suitably greet the august arrival of his majesty. On Saturday, after a banquet, Khoja Murad Biy left the town accompanying his majesty and, having come to the royal court, had the honor of the kissing of [the khan's] carpet. His majesty, the late khan, with his innate generosity, showed him full favor (449) and kindness and bestowed on him a gilded belt and precious robes of honor, and the next day, which was Sunday, entrusted him with the governorship (*ḥukūmat*) of Aral and sent him to his town. On Monday amir Shah Niyaz Ataliq designated the noble warriors (*yakhshi yigitlär*) of Qongrat as *nöker*s, under Jan Murad Bek, the elder son of Khoja Murad Biy, and Dost Muhammad Bek, the elder son of Töre Murad Sufi, and brought them to the royal court.

Having completed the restoration of order in that country (*diyār*), the late khan turned back victoriously and triumphantly on Thursday, the 7th of the month [of Rabiʿ II],[b] and, rapidly advancing from station to station like the sun revolving around the world, he arrived in the region of Gurlen on Wednesday, the 13th of the month,[c] and stopped on the banks of the [Amu] river, near the tomb, blessed with divine grace, of his holiness, shaykh of shaykhs Ghayib Ata[691] (the mercy of God be upon him!). The same night he crossed the river and lodged in his own *ḥawlī*. In the morning he went down the river by boat, together with the closest nobles and the pillars of the state. On that day the late khan gave a big feast and granted all the amirs royal outfits (*sarūpā*)[692] and innumerable gifts. Having travelled by river, he landed late on Saturday, and on Sunday, the 17th of the month,[d] *arrived at the royal capital Khiva*.

On that day this humble [author], who was an old servant of his majesty the khaqan, was granted an audience with his majesty the

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[a] 28 June 1805.
[b] 4 July.
[c] 10 July.
[d] 14 July.

khaqan. The sight of his august face illumined my eyes and brought joy to my heart.[a] I compiled this improvised *rubāʿī* and presented it:

Rubāʿī
(450) Oh, adorn and decorate the front of the *ḥaram* of the soul!
Gather all your wealth to scatter upon [the khan as he arrives],
Because today he will come to those afflicted by separation,
That royal horseman, auspicious, from the campaign.[693]

The coming of the Yomuts.

After the Yomuts had gone to the banks of the Gürgen and the Atrek, frightened and fearing blows of punishment from the late khan, they were subjected to extreme oppression and endless violence by the Qara-Choqa and the Qïzïlbashes and suffered from a shortage of provisions and pastures. Because of the fetid air, their health deteriorated, and many of them became sick and died. Most of all, they longed intensely for the comforts of Khorezm and craved for the mild climate of that pleasant country. Therefore they had no recourse but to leave, and in the middle of [the month of] ʿAqrab[b] they reached Khorezm.

Through the mediation of some of the closest nobles, the Yomut chiefs, under Muhammad Niyaz Ataliq, Quvanch Sufi Vekil, ʿAvaz Bek and Berdi Bek, were granted the honor of the kissing his majesty's threshold. Thanks to the intercession of great amirs, the late khan drew the curtain of forgiveness over their crimes and granted them the region (*nāḥiyat*) of Muz-Kumgan, after it was vacated by the Yemreli. And the Yemreli were granted dwelling places and habitations in the region of Yangi-Arïq.

How a dispute began between the late khaqan and the ruler (*vālī*) of Bukhara Mir Haydar Padishah; how the good relations between them changed to venom; (451) and how the late khan sent troops on forays against Bukhara and how they raided that country.

*** When by divine will his majesty, *the late king* Eltüzer Muhammad Bahadur Khan, had ascended the summit of royal power and, like

[a] Cf. Introduction, p. XXVI.
[b] October 1805.

the world-illuminating sun, brightened and illuminated both desolate and populated areas and both the low and the high with the rays of [his] magnanimity and the light of [his] good administration, some people [of darkness], like bats, having grown unhappy and resentful due to extreme hatred and envy, began to fan the air of hostility, flapping their wings [as it were] in the darkness of enmity. One among them was the ruler (*vālī*) of Bukhara, Mir Haydar Padishah, son of Amir-i Maʿsum Shah Murad Ataliq, who had persisted in his traditional enmity towards this dynasty but, in consideration of the circumstances [at the time], had made a show of being peaceful and conciliatory. Now, at the prompting of his wicked nature, the flames of envy blazed up in his chest like a furnace, and he resolved to humiliate and even to destroy his majesty. Therefore causes for grudge and dispute occured repeatedly. Some of these must be mentioned, so that impartial people may know who is right.

The first cause is the following. After the Yemreli had plundered the Bukharan caravan, as was mentioned above, the late khan had thoroughly punished the Yemreli as amir Haydar had requested, taken away the goods captured by them and sent them back to him. Instead of being grateful and appreciative, the latter, being ungrateful, accused his majesty of complicity with the robbers and sent Mirza ʿAbd al-Khaliq Tubbat as an envoy with an unpleasant letter, (452) again demanding the property. Although it was very annoying and disagreable for the late khan, he restrained himself entirely, and put up with [amir Haydar's] shortcomings. [*Fard.*]

The second cause is the following. After the incident with the Yemreli, in 1219[a] two hundred Khorezmian merchants formed a big caravan carrying numerous goods and merchandise beyond numbering and went to Mashhad via Merv. When they reached the vicinity of Sarakhs, the Turkmen tribe of Salor, who were subjects of Bukhara and lived in Sarakhs, plundered the caravan as is customarily done by the villains and scoundrels of that desert, and killed many innocent people. Instead of punishing the robbers, Mir Haydar Padishah treated them kindly and encouraged them to attack Khorezmian caravans again.

The third cause is the following. When the sons of Bek Pulad Ataliq became hostile and went to Bukhara, Mir Haydar Padishah, scorning the late khan, brought them close to himself with numer-

[a] 11 April 1804–30 March 1805.

ous promises and marks of favor. When the late khan went to Aral with the intention of conquering Qongrat, he (Haydar) had Ata Niyaz Bek, son of Bek Pulad Atalïq, form a numerous army of the enemies of the late khan who lived in the kingdom (*mamālik*) of Mavarannahr and sent them to Qongrat to help Töre Murad Sufi, as has been briefly mentioned above.

The fourth cause is the following. His (Haydar's) younger brother, amir Din Nasir Töre, laid the foundation of friendship and concord with the late khan and, in their amity, they exchanged envoys and letters. (453) [Amir Haydar] was worried about this and, as a result of intrigues and machinations of some of his minions, he dismissed Din Nasir Töre from the governorship of Merv and sent two commanders (*sarkarda*) to seize him and to take possession of Merv. Din Nasir Töre learned about their secret design, forestalled them with the help of Ish Toqsaba and put them to death. He read the *khuṭba* in the name of the late khan and sent a letter of loyalty (*ikhlāṣ-nāma*) to the royal court expressing allegiance and submission, as mentioned above. Consequently Mir Haydar Padishah became even more hostile. Time after time he would send troops to subdue and destroy Din Nasir Töre, and he seized and killed Mir Hashim Khoja, who was a confidant of the aforementioned *töre*. And then he began to dispatch raiding parties against Merv every day. Din Nasir Töre sent the late khan a report about the situation (*ʿarīża-i aḥvāl*) and asked for help.

At that time the late khan was hunting on the other side of the Amu. The conjunction of those above-mentioned events fanned the flames of his anger, and on Saturday, the 19th of the holy month of Ramazan [of 1219][a] in the aforementioned year, he sent amir Vali Atalïq with 2,000 soldiers lusting for revenge to raid the country of Bukhara. They fell upon the *tümens*[694] of Qara-Köl and Vardanzi,[695] plundered along a Bukharan caravan on the way, and returned with plenty of booty. After [the raid of] amir Vali Atalïq, [the khan] sent the ever-victorious army raiding in several detachments. Those so assigned carried out successive raids until the spring time and wreaked havoc in the kingdom (*mamālik*) of Bukhara.[696]

(454) THE STORY OF THE FIRST DETACHMENT. Four days after amir Vali Atalïq went on his raid, Orus-Qoshchi Bahadur, from a Qïyat clan, who was outstanding among his peers on the battlefield, was

[a] 21 December 1805 (Friday).

sent on the Irdar road with the troops of Chowdors and Arabachi. Within two weeks he returned, having plundered a Bukharan caravan.

THE STORY OF THE SECOND DETACHMENT. The same Ramazan, sons of a Qongrat noble Mulla Esen-Keldi, the ruler of the Qanjighalï [clan] in the region of Aq-Yaqïsh, set out with Qaraqalpaq troops. They fell upon the Qaraqalpaqs who lived in the region of the village (*qarya*) Mikh, in the *tümens* of Bukhara, and returned with plentiful booty and innumerable prisoners. This expedition lasted twenty days.

THE STORY OF THE THIRD DETACHMENT. A noble of Shahabad, Niyaz Inaq, known under the nickname Avush, was assigned to the Irdar road with twenty-five men from the Yomuts and the Shahabad Uzbeks. When they reached the Irdar mountain, they met Bukharan troops which were protecting a caravan coming from the Europeans (*Fereng*). With their valiant sabers, they killed many people, but were [themselves] taken prisoner, and they were executed in Bukhara by the order of Mir Haydar Padishah.

THE STORY OF THE FOURTH DETACHMENT. One hundred men went from Hazarasp on boats, captured many sheep in the Eljik region, and came back.

THE STORY OF THE FIFTH DETACHMENT. On the day of the Festival of Breaking the Fast (*ʿĪd-i Fiṭr*),[a] Nadir Sardar, one of the Yemreli braves, along with 120 Uzbek and Yemreli troops, fell upon a Bukharan caravan in the region of Nur-Ata,[697] plundered it and returned with plentiful booty.

THE STORY OF THE SIXTH DETACHMENT. In the middle of Shavval,[b] Qaqa Sardar, a Yomut noble, was appointed commander of a detachment of Yomut and Yemreli troops. (455) In [the locality] Ming-Bulaq[698] he killed merchants who were going from Bukhara to Russia and captured their goods.

THE STORY OF THE SEVENTH DETACHMENT. On Thursday, the 4th of Zu'l-Qaʿda,[c] Musa Naib, a Qanglï noble, and Qawshut Sardar, a Yomut chief, set out and fell upon Qaqïshtuvan,[699] in the *tümen* of Khayrabad, with 110 Uzbeks and Turkmens. They killed two of the sentries (*qaravul*) of that locality,[700] captured sixty people and twelve slaves, and returned with incalculable booty; and he (Musa Naib) had the honor to appear before the late khan at the time of a feast.

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[a] 23 December 1805.
[b] The first half of January 1806.
[c] 23 January 1806.

This service pleased his majesty, and he granted him the post (*manṣab*) of *parvānachī*.

THE STORY OF THE EIGHTH DETACHMENT. On Monday, the 15th of the aforementioned month,[a] 110 Uzbek, Yemreli and *altun-jilaw* men set off from Khiva, plundered Qazaq merchants who were going to Bukhara by the northern Irdar road, killed Bukharan merchants and several Qazaqs, and went back.

How Ata Niyaz Bek made a raid from Bukhara; how ʿAbdallah Sardar went to Bukhara and raided the inhabitants of Tarab; how the late khan set out and returned; and how the Bukharan army came to Bazergan, and the late khan again set out and defeated the enemies of the state.

*** At the end of Zu'l-Hijja,[b] Mir Haydar Padishah assembled a big army and sent it against Khorezm under seven commanders, led by Rajab Biy Inaq and Kiyaw Khoja. Ahead of them he sent Ata Niyaz Bek and Yakhshi Murad Bek with 300 men. (456) They went by the steppe (*qïr*) road, fell upon the Qaraqalpaqs living near Khanqah on Friday 9 Muharram 1221,[c] and returned. The same day ʿAbdallah Sardar, with sixty men, each of whom had been selected from a thousand, crossed the river near Hazarasp not knowing about Ata Niyaz Bek, and went for a raid on Bukhara along the bank of the river. On Saturday, Allah Nazar Bay Khanqahi and Muhammad Karim Bek the Qïpchaq, with the troops of Khanqah and Hazarasp, crossed the river, each from his own side, in pursuit of Ata Niyaz Bek. But Ata Niyaz Bek travelled by the same road as he had come, through the steppe, and, because of the lack of water, they could not overtake him and turned back. As to ʿAbdallah Sardar, he reached the region of Tarab[701] in five days and stopped [for the night]. *After sunrise*, the sardar and his soldiers set out, entered Tarab and, having given water and fodder to their horses, began plundering. They captured the *ribāṭ*s and laid them waste, seized plentiful booty and innumerable prisoners, and turned back to Khorezm. When they came to Qïzïl-ribat,[702] ʿAbdallah Sardar died of a stroke. "*But [now] let us return to our subject.*"[d]

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[a] 3 February 1806.
[b] By March 19, 1806.
[c] 28 March 1806.
[d] Arabic expression.

Before the raid of Ata Niyaz Bek, spies and informers had brought the news that Rajab Biy was setting out. Therefore, after the incident with Ata Niyaz Bek, on Sunday, the 11th of the aforementioned month [of Muharram 1221],[a] the late khan set out from Khiva, crossed the river and, after the army had assembled, went on to Tive-Boyun (457) and stayed there for four or five days, dispatching scouts (*qaravul*) to Üch-Uchaq[703] and Tek-Savat. The scouts went down to Qïzïl-ribat, but were quite unaware of the army of Bukhara. They met the coffin and the detachment of ʿAbdallah Sardar, and returned with them. The late khan, reassured [that there was no danger from] the enemies of the state, crossed to Pitnak. He spent several days hunting in that region and on Tuesday 4 Safar[b] returned to the royal capital Khiva.

Rajab Biy Inaq, who came with 20,000 strong troops[704] in direct pursuit of ʿAbdallah Sardar, having heard in Kökerdeli[705] that the late khan had set out against him, was unable to continue his march because of fear, and halted. When he had ascertained that the late khan had turned back, he went to Bazergan on Thursday, the 6th of the month.[c] On Friday the news [about it] came, and after the prayer the late khan moved a numerous army and troops lusting for revenge from Khiva and camped on the bank of the Amu, in the region of Qara-Mazï. An order from the royal court was issued to the boatsmen (*kimä darughalar*): "Do not leave the boats in their mooring places tomorrow morning, but gather them to the bank where the august camp is located, so that the ever-victorious army can easily cross [the river] as early as possible."

As ordered, on that day Allah Nazar Bay took the troops of Khanqah and crossed the river from the mooring places of Khanqah. In the afternoon the Bukharan army caught him unawares at the tomb, blessed with divine grace, of the most perfect among those who attain mystical perfection, the most excellent of those who achieve union with the divine, Sayyid Muhammad Mahruy, the elder son of Sayyid Ata (may the graves of both of them be hallowed!);[706] they took a few of the [Khivan] troops prisoner, and Allah Nazar Bay fled and escaped.

EPIGRAM (*nukta*): "Carelessness is blameworthy, (458) and its result

[a] 30 March 1806.
[b] 22 April 1806.
[c] 24 April.

is misfortune. Those who are captive in the bonds of carelessness vanish in the gulf of perdition, and those who avoid its bonds attain a praiseworthy reward in the afterlife." [*Bayt.*]

In the evening the enemies of the state lodged at the *ribāṭ* of the late Hasan Murad Bek, and, when they heard that the late khan had halted at Qara-Mazï, their hearts were seized with fear and terror, and they could not stand firm. At dawn they left the *ribāṭ* and fled. Because of their great fear, they were unable to pause anywhere. After the sunrise, some soldiers of the ever-victorious army crossed the river, pursued them and took many prisoners. I heard that between the tomb of Miskin Sayyid and Bazergan[707] more than two hundred good horses were abandoned [by the fugitives]; the following verse clearly indicates that a very large number fled. [*Qiṭʿa.*] On Wednesday, the 12th of the month,[a] the late khan returned in victory and triumph to the royal capital.

How the late khan banished Töre Murad Sufi from the country because of his hostility, and how the latter went to Bukhara after wandering in the ruins of exile.

(459) *** After the late khan took Qongrat and granted the governorship (*ḥukūmat*) of Aral to Khoja Murad Biy, the position of Khoja Murad Biy improved from day to day due to the support and protection of the late khan, and all the nobles of Aral chose to serve him. As to Töre Murad Sufi, his first drunkenness made him wish for more, and, due to his excessive hatred and envy, he became disobedient to his elder brother and planned to kill and destroy him. Therefore at the end of [the month of] Safar [1221][b] Khoja Murad Biy sent a letter of petition (*ʿarża-dāsht*) to the late khan in which he complained about his younger brother. His majesty sent the wise amir Shah Niyaz Atalïq to Qongrat, with one thousand men of the ever-victorious army, in order to seize him (Töre Murad). The atalïq entered Qongrat on Monday, 9 Rabiʿ I.[c] Töre Murad Sufi, who saw that he had brought all this upon himself by his disgraceful disobedience, decided on caution and chose to flee, together with his sons and servants. He promptly travelled along the western shore of the

[a] 30 April 1806.
[b] By 18 May 1806.
[c] 27 May 1806 (Tuesday).

Sea of Khorezm[a] and made his way to the Qazaqs in the Dasht-i Qïpchaq. The Qazaqs seized him, along with his sons and servants, and made them shepherds and herdsmen, robbing them of their horses and property. Some time later, through the mediation of some Qazaq chiefs, they were released from captivity and, after a thousand hardships, they arrived, hungry and on foot, at the tribe (*qabīla*) of Orun Bay, the chief (*ulughï*) of the Manghït Qaraqalpaq, on the bank of the Yangi-Darya. Orun Bay treated him with honor and respect, gave him transport animals and food and sent him to Bukhara. Mir Haydar Padishah demonstrated his sympathy for him and invested him with precious robe of honor in order to spite the late khan. He assigned him a house in a pleasant place and gave him allowance as he wished.

(460) Several days later the matchless amir Shah Niyaz Atalïq deported Töre Murad Sufi's remaining well-wishers and came back. He was honored with an audience with the late khan and brought him gifts and presents from Khoja Murad Biy. At that time Khuday-Berdi the Keneges and ʿAbdu Karim Bek went, with a detachment of brave soldiers, to the borders of Bukhara, captured plentiful booty and prisoners in the regions of Eljik and Yayji, and came back.

How the army of Bukhara moved to Khorezm for the second time; how Qabil Biy Toqsaba was taken prisoner by amir Vali Atalïq and Qïlïch Inaq, and how his troops were defeated; how the Khorezmian and Bukharan armies drew up in battle array; how the warriors of both sides shed blood; how the Khorezmians were defeated, because of the perfidy—like that of fortune—of the Uyghur troops, and how the late khan entered, like Alexander, the sea of nonexistence and shut out the world from his sight.

*** At the beginning of Rabiʿ II [1221],[b] Mir Haydar Padishah gathered an innumerable army, appointed Niyaz Bek Dadkhah Khuzari, Töre Khoja, Niyaz Bek Jilva, (461) Mahmud Khoja ibn ʿAbd al-Hayy Khoja, Qabil Toqsaba b. Bukhari Dadkhah and others as its commanders, including the following chiefs of the Khorezmian rebels: ʿAbd ar-Rahman Bek Toqsaba ibn Niyaz Parvanachi, Shir Ghazi

[a] The Aral Sea.
[b] From 17 June 1806.

Bek ibn Ahmad Bek—a grandson of Shirdalï Biy, Muhammad Panah Bek—the younger brother of Jan Murad Inaq, and Oraz ʿAli Bashmaq Vaziri, Muhammad Niyaz Bek and Ata Niyaz Bek—all sons of Bek Pulad Atalïq, as well as others, and sent them against Khorezm.[708] On Saturday, the 12th of the month,[a] they came to Tive-Boyun and stopped there. On Monday, the 14th of the month,[b] the late khan set out with great pomp and splendor from the royal capital Khiva to repulse them and set up the august camp in the vicinity of Khanqah.[709] The same day, the army of Bukhara stopped on the northern bank of the river opposite [the army of] the late khan and the next day set out to lay siege to the *ribāṭ* of the khan. The late khan for his part advanced along the southern bank of the river and came to Yaman-Uyghur.[710] On Thursday,[c] he assigned his excellency the vizier Nizam ad-Dawla va'd-Din Muhammad Yusuf Mehter to prepare boats to carry the army across [the river], while he himself, together with the pillars of the state and the closest nobles, crossed the river and set up his camp between Kesik-arna and the river. Be it known that the Kesik is one of the branches of the Amu which passes to the south of Old Kat and then flows into the Amu again.[711]

On that day news came that Qabil Toqsaba, son of Bukhari Dadkhah, with 1,000 Ersarï troops from Lebab[712] and Narazïm,[713] was coming behind [the main army of Bukhara]. Amir Vali Atalïq and amir Qïlïch Inaq, with 400 men, were sent to counter the toqsaba. Those so assigned met the toqsaba at Qalʿa-i Sim, which is (462) one of the districts (*aʿmāl*) of Old Kat, and as soon as they attacked the enemies of the state like roaring lions and fierce tigers, the solid foundation of the pillars of [the enemy's] state was shaken and they dispersed like the constellation of the Bear. The brave warriors pursued them, killed half of them and took the other half prisoner; among them, Qabil Toqsaba and the governor (*ḥākim*) of Lebab were captured. [*Shiʿr.*]

The two aforementioned amirs brought the prisoners and the [severed] heads of the enemies as a gift to the royal court. The late khan sent the prisoners and the heads to the royal capital Khiva, and in his august mercy, showing kindness and goodwill, sent Qabil Toqsaba, who was severely wounded, to Sayyid-Quli Bay in Urgench,

[a] 28 June 1806.
[b] 30 June.
[c] 3 July.

ordering [the latter] to take care of him. As to the amirs of Bukhara, on that day they sent raiders to the vicinity of the khan's *ribāṭ* and camped to the east of the *ribāṭ* of Kuchuk Inaq. Bek Arslan, who was the *mushrif* of those lands,[714] fortified the *ribāṭ*, came out to repulse the raiders and killed many of them. The next day, on Friday morning, the 18th of the month,[a] the army of Bukhara surrounded the *ribāṭ* and a fierce battle began. At that moment the horrible news about Qabil Toqsaba reached the Bukharans. They were afflicted and shaken by great fear and terror (463) and decided to abandon the fight. They stopped near the *ribāṭ* and, in fear of their lives, returned by the road by which they had come.

His majesty, the late sultan and khaqan, Abu'l-Fath Eltüzer Muhammad Bahadur Khan (may God rest him in peace!), had less than 3,000 troops with him. He placed sentinels around and ordered: "Let the [Bukharan] army pass by today, until tomorrow; we have postponed the battle until tomorrow, because the trenches have not yet been dug." Late in the morning the Bukharan army began to pass near Old Kat to return to Bukhara. Amir Vali Atalïq was the commander of the forward guard (*qaravul-bashi*) on that day. He behaved like a madman. His madness overwhelmed him, he forgot the khan's order, attacked the enemy's army with his men, and started fighting.[715] This news was brought to Niyaz Bek Dadkhah, who had gone forward with the amirs of Bukhara, and out of necessity he turned back. [The Bukharans] countered the [Khivan] forward guard, and heavy fighting followed. This news reached the ears of the late khan, and he ordered [*Mathnavī*] *his majesty Muhammad Rahim Bahadur Khan*: (464) "Go and help the forward guard, but, if possible, call them back without entering the battle!" His majesty went and saw that the battle was already underway. Not being able to bring the forward guard back, his majesty informed his elder brother about it and he himself, together with his servants and *nökers*, drew the sabers of valor from the sheaths of vengeance, raced their horses onto the battlefield, and in an attack as swift as a gale dispersed the gathering of the state's enemies like the harvest in the air. The subsequent exploits of his majesty will be described in their proper place, if God Most High wills.[b]

At this moment the Bukharan amirs gathered their men again and

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[a] 4 July (Saturday).
[b] See below, pp. 235–237.

fearlessly charged in full strength. The Khorezmian troops hastily retreated and crossed back over the Kesik. Niyaz Bek Dadkhah and Töre Khoja planted their *tugh*s in the ground on the bank of the Kesik,[716] the Bukharan army crossed the Kesik, and the battle raged. At that time the late khan divided the exalted amirs and the ever-victorious army into four groups, under the command of the great prince Qutluq Murad Inaq, Hasan Murad Bek, Muhammad Nazar Bek and ʿAbdu Karim Bek, [respectively], and sent them [to assist in the] defense. The princes and the great amirs drew up their troops in battle array and raced their horses onto the battlefield, and heavy fighting began. In this battle the amirs Jaʿfar Khoja Naqib, amir Vali Atalïq, amir Qïlïch Inaq, Qara Bahadur Mirab, and others, displayed great bravery and killed numerous enemies, as also did Muhammad Niyaz Bek, Allash Bek ibn Sayyid (465) ʿAli Bek, ʿAbdallah Bek ibn Qara Bahadur Mirab, Tanak Bahadur, Shaykh Bahadur, and Orus-Qoshchi Bahadur from among the warriors. [*Nazm.*] With the powerful help of his majesty the khaqan,[a] the illustrious amirs and warriors lusting for revenge were winning, and the wind of victory began to blow in the direction of the Khorezmians. The Bukharans could not withstand [them] and, defeated, fled in the direction of the Kesik. ʿAbd ar-Rahman Bek, son of Niyaz Parvanachi, an enemy of Khorezm who faithfully served in the army of Bukhara, was killed by Muhammad Karim Qoychi, when he reached the fork of the Chalïsh river (*nahr*).[717] And the Bukharans, in fear of their lives, threw themselves into the Chalïsh en masse, and many drowned and perished. At that moment the Bukharan amirs crossed the Kesik, and by great efforts regrouped the dispersed troops, (466) and launched an attack all together. They advanced time after time and, having hoisted their banners of ill-omen on the bank of the Chalïsh, they encouraged and persuaded their army to cross the Chalïsh, one detachment after another. On this bank, Qutluq Murad Inaq also drew up the troops in battle array and stood firm under the ever-victorious banner, while the amirs and the princes were rushing their warriors to the battlefield and repulsing the enemy. Until noon they were engaged in slaughter and displayed examplary bravery in hand-to-hand combat. By noon it seemed that the enemies of the state would abandon the hand-to-hand combat with the [Khivan] warriors and flee. But at

[a] I.e. Muhammad Rahim Khan.

that moment the Uyghur troops committed perfidy and caused a shameful defeat for the ever-victorious army.

The explanation of this affair is as follows. Rahmat-Quli Bek, son of Taji Atalïq, the younger brother of Bek Pulad Atalïq, separated from the sons of Bek Pulad Atalïq at the end of 1219,[a] received the honor of kissing the threshold of the late khan and was granted royal favor. In the midst of this event (i.e. the battle with the Bukharans), some scoundrels and ruffians of the Uyghur tribe who had retained their affection for the sons of Bek Pulad Atalïq and attachment to them, seduced this wretch (Rahmat-Quli Bek) from the straight path of concord to the wilderness of discord with devilish temptation. Having conspired together, they sent a messenger to Muhammad Niyaz Bek and Ata Niyaz Bek, the sons of Bek Pulad Atalïq, who were in the Bukharan army, made their plot known to them, and pledged to bring defeat to the army of Khorezm. Incidentally, in this battle the Uyghur troops were assigned to the left wing, and the fighting also took place on the left wing. (467) At that moment the Uyghur people, as they had pledged, broke ranks without any visible reason, took to flight in disarray, and, having reached the river, began to cross it. But Rahmat-Quli Bek later regretted [what he had done], came back, re-entered the fighting and was killed. Alas, it was already too late to bring the tribe back.

When cowards and cravens among the ever-victorious army saw all this happen, they deserted the ranks everywhere and abandoned the battlefield. Then the enemy's army saw this, and, having gained strength, attacked in superior force and in great number and set about killing and plundering. At that moment the late Hasan Murad Bek, together with the great amirs and the eminent warriors, charged valiantly and tried to repulse the enemy. The Bukharans attacked and killed the aforementioned prince; and I heard that the man who killed him was a certain Mulla Burhan. [As the Qur'ān says,] "*Indeed, we belong to God and to Him we return.*"[b] [*Naẓm.*]

(468) After this terrible event the army of Khorezm was completely defeated and turned to the river. So the amirs and the [eminent] warriors acted in accordance with the saying "*Flight from what is unbearable is the practice of the prophets,*" and chose to flee. At that moment the late khan mounted his horse and wanted to gather the

[a] March 1805.
[b] Qur'ān, II,156.

dispersed troops and to set them in order, but, because their number was small and they lacked trenches, he did not succeed. Since this had been predetermined by the will of eternal God, it came to pass. "*What God wills happens, and what He wills not happens not.*"[a] Otherwise, the army of Khorezm, despite its small numbers, would have defeated such a numerous army and would not have been hampered in any way by its small size. Ultimately such a thing happened [only] because of the perfidy of the Uyghurs.

I heard the following story from a servant of my elder brother Muhammad Niyaz Mirab: "When we were defeated, we left the battlefield with your elder brother and came to the royal camp (*ordu*), and we saw that the late khan was sitting pensive on his horse, leaning upon his lance, and most of his retainers and *maḥram*s were present. At this moment the enemies of the state entered the camp. The late khan dismounted the horse and boarded a boat, together with your elder brother and the *maḥram*s. I also got into the boat. Some soldiers who were at that place asked to be let onto the boat [of the khan]. The *maḥram*s did not let them board, so that the boat would not overturn. Because of the great kindness and compassion for his subjects that was in his noble nature, the khan forbade the *maḥram*s to prevent [the soldiers boarding] and permitted [them] to enter. Consequently the boat became overloaded. By coincidence, at that moment a contrary wind blew, and the river began raising and heaving waves. [*Mathnavī.*] (469) After the boat sailed out into the river, it had not gone a distance of twenty *gaz*[718] before it went into the whirlpool of death. I abandoned the boat and with enormous difficulty reached the shore. However much my eyes scanned the river, I could not see a single of the boat's passengers except for two or three *maḥram*s, who saved themselves. At that moment I was captured and joined the ranks of captives." [*Mathnavī.*][719]

(470) The duration of the late khan's rule and reign (*imārat u salṭanat*) was two years, three months and 23 days. His age was 37. Two sons and one daughter remained as a memory of his majesty. The noble names of the sons are the following: prince Allah-Berdi Töre and prince Rahman-Berdi Töre (may they both have long life and felicity!). In this defeat the following great amirs perished in the water: the honorable Ja'far Khoja Naqib, the noblest of the sayyids

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[a] *Ḥadīth*; cf. Wensinck, III, 221.

(*sādāt-i nabavī*) and the most eminent of the descendants of ʿAli (*ashrāf-i Murtazavī*); amir Vali Ataliq, the Qïpchaq chief; Baba Ataliq, the Manghït leader; my elder brother Muhammad Niyaz Mirab, the cream of the house of Khoja-eli and the leader of the dynasty of Yüz; Baba Kutval, a noble of the Qongrats; Hasan Shighavul[720] the Uyghur; and one of the chiefs of the *altun-jilaw*, Narbuta Dasturkhanchi. The following princes and beks fell: the late Hasan Murad Bek and the late ʿAbdu Karim Bek, sons of the great amir ʿAvaz Biy Inaq; Khuday-Bergen Bek ibn Fazil Bek; Khuday-Bergen Bek ibn Qalandar Inaq; Muhammad Niyaz Bek ibn Muhammad Riza Bek Mahram. And the following [eminent] warriors were killed: Baba Darugha the Qïpchaq, Jiyen Mirab the Qongrat, Orus-Qoshchi Bahadur, Shaykh Bahadur, and others. And the great prince (*amīrzāda-i aʿẓam*) Jalal ad-Dawla va'd-Din Qutluq Murad Inaq, Pahlavan-Quli Qoshbegi ibn Khassa Qoshbegi, (471) Yaʿqub Khoja Ra'is, Allah Nazar Bay Khanqahi, ʿAvaz Muhammad Bay Urgenchi, and others were taken prisoner. And of the [common] soldiers 300 men perished in battle and in the river and more than 350 were taken prisoner. But of the Bukharans, five amirs, beginning with ʿAbd ar-Rahman Bek, were killed, while of the [common] soldiers 1,500 men perished in battle and in the water; I have heard from some trustworthy people that 3,000 men of the enemy's army were listed as killed. [*Nazm* (471–481).]

(481) Section 2
In which are recorded all events and victories that, due to the signs of royal felicity, have happened and will yet happen, from the august birth of his royal majesty till the end of this blessed work

This section consists of three parts

Part 1
An account of remarkable events from the birth of his royal majesty till the time that he became amir

(482) [*Mathnavī.*] (488) The august and auspicious birth of his majesty took place in the reign of Abu'l-Fayz Khan ibn Ghayib Khan, in the year 1190,[a] corresponding to the Year of the Monkey, at the happiest of hours and the best of times. *He became as the sun which adorns the world shining from the constellation of nobility, and as a priceless gem displayed in the jewel-chest of felicity.* [*Mathnavī.*] (489) It is related that, due to the glory of the birth of his majesty and the sign of his felicity, in those happy days the habits of sedition and rebellion and the ways of dissension and disobedience were completely eliminated in the land of Khorezm, so that such peace and prosperity set in that the like of it had never existed before, *and the amirs and the subjects (*fuqarā'*), the eminent and the mean, all celebrated and rejoiced*. [*Bayt.*]

When he reached the age of understanding, he advanced through the various levels of young manhood (*yigitlik*). He strove for religious and secular knowledge, and in science and learning he was a wonder of his time and a rarity of his age. Thanks to the subtlety of his mind and his knowledge of poetry in particular, he made illustrious poets and eloquent scholars [seem] like boys learning the alphabet in the school of inaptitude and amazement. [*Nazm.*] (490) Most of the time, during feasts and festive gatherings, he was in the company of religious and pious men, poets and scholars; solving the intricacies of knowledge and unfolding obscure points in tradition, he would become intoxicated with the wine of allegorical meanings. Sometimes, as befits the time of youth (*yigitlik avāni*), he would go

[a] 1776 A.D.

on an outing to the steppe and cheer his heart with a hunt, in order to remove life's frustrations. [*Ghazal.*] (491) But, because he held high aspirations and his mind was elevated, he always paid attention to the affairs of military profession and became expert in administrative and financial matters; moved by extraordinary compassion and great kindness, which were the very essense of his noble nature, he always took the oppressed under his protection and cut off the oppressors' hand when it went beyond its due limits. In the reign of his elder brother, the late sultan and deceased khaqan Eltüzer Muhammad Bahadur Khan, his majesty accomplished exploits of valor and feats of prowess which surpassed those of Rustam and Isfandiyar—[feats] like those which have been repeatedly mentioned above in the stories of the victory over the Yemreli and the war with the Yomuts,[a] (492) as well as accomplishments which have been constantly cited, which adorn the history of the late khan in the events of the first and the second Qongrat campaigns and the war with Bukhara. Two of these events, which were mentioned before [only] briefly, will now be described in detail, God Most High willing.

First event: How, at Qongrat, his majesty the khaqan raced his brave steed onto the battlefield and how, fighting fiercely with his courageous sword and valiant lance, he defeated the rebels.

** When in 1220 A.H. the late khan Eltüzer Muhammad Bahadur Padishah (may God illuminate his grave!) moved his banner, splendorous as the sun, for the second time, and set out to conquer Aral and Adaq[721] and besieged the town of Qongrat, in the second battle which took place on Monday 27 Rabi' I,[b] *his majesty* Muhammad Rahim Bahadur Khan (may God perpetuate his kingdom!), together with some of the illustrious amirs and enemy-hunting warriors, was assigned to the right wing, so the men of the right wing were honored and exalted to have his noble presence amongst them. Similarly, amir Vali Atalïq was appointed commander of the left wing, with the Yemreli, Chowdur and some Uzbek warriors, and he strengthened and encouraged the men of the left wing by the power of his valor. And the late khan, standing firm in the ever-victorious cen-

[a] See above, pp. 196, 198.
[b] 24 June 1805.

ter of the army (493) with the pillars of the state and the closest nobles, raised the ever-victorious standard to equal the sun. The chief of the rebels, the false "Sufi without a guide (*Sūfī-i bī-pīr*)", Töre Murad Sufi, came out of the town with the enemies of the state and drew up the army in battle array with some of the greatest and bravest rebels on the right and left wings. He entrusted his ill-omened banner to the nobles of Qongrat in the center of the army, while he himself, with a great number of ignorant heroes and impudent ignoramuses, drew up the battle lines on one side of the battlefield, intending to come to the aid of the rebels on whichever flank that the fighting would occur. [*Nazm.*]

(494) At that moment amir Vali Ataliq with the men under his command charged the Qongrat right wing and began fighting. Seeing this, Töre Murad Sufi attacked the troops of Vali Ataliq in full strength and, after he charged repeatedly, it seemed that he was on the verge of defeating them. His majesty the khaqan, seeing this horrible thing, hastily rushed to the site of the fighting with those brave warriors who were at his august stirrup. Having pulled his brave saber from the avenging sheath, like a roaring lion, or rather, like Rustam-i Dastan, he personally led the attack on the Sufi's men. With the drops of blood trickling from his deadly sword, he turned the face of the steppe into a rose-garden, and with the bodies of the people killed one after another by his lethal lance he converted the battlefield into a cemetery. [*Mathnavī.*]

(495) Due to the display of such valor and prowess by his majesty, the warriors under amir Vali Ataliq became a hundred times stronger and bolder than before and attacked the rebels furiously, brandishing their lethal lances. *At that time charges by his majesty the khaqan, which were comparable to those of lions and tigers, brought disaster to the enemy.* [*Bayt.*] By chance, Töre Murad Sufi came upon his majesty, but could not withstand him, and so he fled and escaped with great difficulty. When the army of Qongrat saw this, *they fled to the town*, as [the Qur'ān] expresses it: "*The host shall be routed, and they shall turn their backs.*"[a] The brave soldiers, encouraged by his majesty, pursued the fleeing rebels and made clear to them the meaning [of the Qur'ān's words] "*The day when a man shall flee from his brother.*"[b] Before they entered the town, many of them

[a] Qur'ān, LIV,45.
[b] Qur'ān, LXXX,34.

(496) were taken prisoner or killed. After this Töre Murad Sufi could not endure the war and decided to resign from the governorship (*ḥukūmat*), and Khoja Murad Biy pledged allegiance to his majesty and handed over the key of the fortress (*qalʿa*) to the late khan's servants, as mentioned above. The proclamation of victory (*fatḥ-nāma*) was adorned with the illustrious name and the noble titles (*alqāb*) of his majesty the khaqan.

EPIGRAM (*nukta*): Valor is a state of equilibrium, devoid of both cowardice and recklessness, and it has the strength of being midway between paucity and excess.—And God loves the brave, "*As God Most High said: Verily, God loves the valiant*," and the following *ḥadīth* refers to them: "*My daily bread is under the shade of my lance.*"[a] [*Qiṭʿa.*]

(497) PARABLE: In the year 627, Sayin Khan son of Jochi Khan, who, by the order of Ögetey Qa'an, had set off for the conquest of the countries (*vilāyāt*) of Rus, met near Moscow with an innumerable army of the kings of those countries. After three months of fighting, neither side was victorious or defeated. Finally, Shïban Khan son of Jochi Khan, who was unanimously considered outstanding in his valor and prowess, took five or six thousand men during the battle on the order of his elder brother Sayin Khan, passed behind the rear of the enemy, dismounted the horses and, like enraged elephants on the chessboard, turned against the rook; and, after killing and slaughtering the enemy, who were moving proudly like the queen, he inflicted the check of the defeat upon them, and checkmated the kings in the corner. Due to Shïban's auspicious valor, Sayin Khan was victorious (498) and had the good fortune to conquer the aforementioned kingdoms.[722] [*Qiṭʿa.*]

Second event: How his majesty the khaqan accomplished miraculous feats of prowess in battle with the army of Turan;[723] how he cut the thread of life of his adversaries with his sharp sword and deadly lance; how, because of a trick of fleeting fortune, [his majesty,] this lion of the thicket of battle was captured by the swinish enemy and how, thanks to the power of his courage and the strength of his valor and, furthermore, to God's favor and divine assistance, he cut off the foe's hostile hand and escaped from destruction.

[a] See Wensinck, II, 254.

*** When the encounter took place between the army of Mavarannahr and the army of Khorezm in the region of Old Kat, on the banks of the river (*nahr*) Kesik, as the tumult of battle raged and the illustrious warriors were engaged in fighting and killing, [*Nazm*], (499) *his majesty the khaqan, [*Mathnavī*] (500) [*Nazm*] Muhammad Rahim Bahadur Khan* (may God strengthen his dominion with felicity and protect his reign from disorder!), was engaged in fighting, on the order of his elder brother, the late khan, as indicated above. When the enemy's army, thronging together and attacking them, (501) surrounded the amirs of Khorezm like a circle of a whirlpool with the intention of sinking the boat of their lives, his majesty the khaqan, on one side [of the battlefield], was firing the flame of battle with the flashes of his deadly sword and the glitter of his lethal lance, and was burning down the harvest of existence of his enemies bent on revenge. Having seen the horrible event from far, he and the warriors who were at his august stirrup spurred their horses, fleet as the wind, assaulted the enemies of the state, like lions which drink blood, cut off the empty heads of many soldiers of Turan and mixed their execrable bodies with the contemptible dust. [*Mathnavī.*]

(502) Thus it was that, wherever his imperial majesty, the sultan, turned, as if he were a fierce lion, detachment upon detachment of [enemy] warriors would fall back from the vehement attack and dreadful blows of his majesty and would direct their fleeing horses to the road of escape, "*as if they were startled asses fleeing before a lion.*"[a] At that time Muhammad Karim Qoychi, encouraged by the support of his majesty, had pursued those who fled and killed ʿAbd ar-Rahman Bek at the fork of the Chalïsh canal and was on his way back; it happened that his horse fell, and the Bukharan soldiers rushed upon him in great numbers. His majesty became worried by this and, although his fleet horse began to limp because it had run and gallopped too much and was about to stop moving, [his majesty] with extraordinary prowess and impetuous courage came to his (Muhammad Karim Qoychi's) rescue, and, like Jesus, breathed new life into his dead body and greatly cheered his desperate soul. [*Shiʿr.*] (503) With a violent assault, the khan dispersed the enemy troops aiming at Muhammad Karim Qoychi, and saved him from danger.

At that moment Mahmud Khoja, one of the amirs of Mavarannahr,

[a] Qur'ān, LXXIV,50–51.

who in his great courage and extreme boldness surpassed Rustam-i Dastan and Sam-i Nariman,[724] led the soldiers under his command and attacked his majesty. While his majesty the khaqan was defending himself against Mahmud Khoja using his lethal lance, his horse, which had already tired, fell because the ground was rough. His majesty fell from the saddle to the ground and, before he could rise, Mahmud Khoja came close, and being an extremely base man, struck this gallant warrior with his sword and inflicted a wound on the right shoulder-blade and on the right side of his blessed head. But, thank God, it was not serious. [*Miṣraʿ*.] [I pray that] God, the Lord Protector and Helper, may always guard and keep this blessed person under the wing of His protection from earthly misfortunes and heavenly calamities! Amen, for the sake of the Lord of the worlds! [*Bayt*.]

Assisted by his servants, Mahmud Khoja, in his base impudence, stretched out his hand (504) and, having seized his majesty by the collar, passed him to his servants. They sought to keep hold of this formidable hero[725] by the collar and to pull him up, from atop their horses, in utter disgrace. But they were ignorant of the fact that

Qiṭʿa:
A person whom God Most High holds dear
Cannot be humiliated:
The candle of the sun cannot be blown out by a strong wind,
The heavenly castle cannot be destroyed by water.

Thanks to signs from God and indications of undoubted heavenly origin, in accordance with [the saying] "*The fortunate are inspired [by God]*," his majesty drew from the sheath the sharp sword which was under his coat of mail[726] before the enemies could become aware of it, cut in two those two who were holding his majesty by collar and threw them from their horses headlong to the ground, where they perished. In the same way he killed seven or eight more men. Mahmud Khoja saw this and, being extremely uncouth and utterly impudent, moved his horse forward and struck [at his majesty] with his sword, trying to hit the royal person of this hero who was as Bahram. But, with his sharp sword, his majesty dexterously cut off his vile fingers, {nose, one ear, one side of his mouth,} as well as his hand {at the wrist} holding the hilt of his saber,[a] and threw him

[a] In the autograph of Munis, the words "nose, one ear, one side of his mouth" and "at the wrist" are added in the margin.

to the ground.[727] [*Rubāʿī*; (505) *bayt.*] At that point Muhammad Riza Bek, to whom is now entrusted the post of *qoshbegi*, Khojash Mahram,[728] and Qutlugh Muhammad Bek the Qïpchaq, who were [all] present there, drove their horses ahead, mounted his majesty on Qutlugh Muhammad Bek's horse and, in a single assault like a storm dispersed and scattered the enemies of the state like straw, and in this battle, with the blows of their swords, sent many of them to the valley of perdition.

In the meantime, because of the perfidy of the Uyghur troops, the ever-victorious army fled and the Bukharan army carried the day, as mentioned above. His majesty, with the assistance of some of his servants, left the battlefield without hurry and, killing the enemies whom they encountered, reached the bank of the river. Incidentally, there was a boat loaded with lead moored at that place. Guided by [the words] "*In the laden ship*,"[a] they boarded it and sailed off. When they reached the middle of the river, the boat was on the point of sinking because of the billowing waves and heavy cargo. His majesty threw his arms and clothes into the water and, despite his wound, fearlessly swam ahead like a crocodile. While swimming, he came close to a gray horse and, swimming at its side, could pause for breath. (506) At that moment he saw a man drowning, and, due to his great compassion, munificently gave the horse to that man and himself continued swimming. Finally, protected by God, he crossed the river and came out safely on the [opposite] bank. [*Mathnavī.*] (507) On the bank, his majesty received confirmation of the news that his elder brother, the late khan, had gone to the gulf of non-existence, set out and *reached the royal capital Khiva*. With his arrival which could not but bring joy he cheered the hearts of the mourners and made them happy. [*Ghazal.*]

(508) STORY: It is related that Sultan Jalal ad-Din Mengburnï, who was the elder son of Sultan Qutb ad-Din Muhammad Khorezmshah, went after his father's burial to the province of Ghaznin, which had been his own capital when his father had been alive. On the way he defeated the Mongol troops many times, [then] abandoned Ghaznin because of the hostility of Malik Sayf ad-Din and went to India. When he arrived at the bank of the Indus (Sind), which occured in the month of Rajab 618,[b] Chingiz Khan advanced and surrounded

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[a] Qurʾān, XXVI,119, XXXVI,41.
[b] August–September 1221.

the sultan with an army as numerous as the stars around the Pleiades. [*Bayt.*] Next morning, by the order of Chingiz Khan, the Mongol army was set in motion like the waves of calamity, and the battle began. The sultan, with the men who accompanied him, also drew up the army in battle array and *fought valiantly*. (509) But the Mongols were stronger and pressed in from all sides. In the army of the sultan not more than 700 soldiers remained, and he wanted once more to attack this ring of demons. Achash Malik, who belonged to the sultan's clan, seized the bridle of sultan's horse and sang the following *bayt* from Sa'di's *Būstān*:

> *Bayt*:
> Do not fight an army which is more numerous than yours,
> Since you cannot hit a lancet with your fist.[729]

Willy-nilly, he turned back to his troops, mounted a different horse and, having taken final leave of his sons grieving and sorrowing greatly, he went to the bank of the river. Although the bank was ten *gaz* above the water, he lashed his horse and jumped into the river, and his servants jumped after him. The Mongols showered arrows and javelins upon them and made the surface of the river red with the blood of the Muslims. But the sultan swam like a crocodile and came out safe from this whirlpool of calamity, not having suffered any injury.[730] [*Nazm.*]

Part 2
Describing the eventful victories of his majesty the king, the lord of the fortunate conjunction of planets, from the time when he became amir till the time when he attained to caliphal power

(510) [*Qiṭ'a.*]

How his majesty the khaqan's lineage brought him promotion from the rank of amir to the office of sultan, and how his auspicious name and titles brought fame to the office of sovereign, and how the pomp of the drumbeats of his high estate reached the very heavens.

** *When the mourning for the late khaqan Eltüzer Muhammad Bahadur Khan ended*, all the notables (*jamāhīr u mashāhīr*), in gen-

eral, of the divinely protected city of Khiva (may God adorn her with good order and administration!), and in particular the great amir, the perspicacious and wise Fazil Biy, the amir Shah Niyaz Atalïq, and Niyaz Muhammad Bek, in accordance with the import of [the words] "*And take counsel with them in the affair*,"[a] deliberated in the torch-lit council chamber on the affairs of state and governance, to which are tied and bound the proper regulation of religious and state affairs and the administration of kingdom and religious community. They unanimously decided that the robe of governance and of the dignity of *inaq* was suitable and fitting for the high stature of his majesty, (511) the auspicious sovereign, monarch mighty as heaven, sun in the zenith of rulership, heaven of the sun of nobility, quintessence of the sultans of the world, the best of the great khaqans, [*Mathnavī*], (512) the exemplar of prowess on the arena of valor, the armor of majesty in the realm of monarchy, the cream of the greatest among the Persians (*ʿAjam*), the leader of the noblest among the Uzbeks, who imposes security and tranquility upon the heads of the believers, who conquers the enemies of God—the benign Lord, victorious and triumphant, the glory of the state and the faith, Muhammad Rahim Bahadur Khan (may his reign last forever and may his domination be eternal!). His majesty, who was not very keen or eager for the royal crown, repeatedly refused and rejected to accept this post (*manṣab*), but finally, due to the insistence and entreaties of the aforementioned nobles (*akābir*) and because of the exigencies of time, he accepted it, and two days after the disaster of the late khan['s death], on the afternoon of Sunday 20 Rabiʿ II 1221 A.H.,[b] corresponding to the Year of the Leopard, when the sun wich illuminates the world was in the sign of Cancer,[c] [his majesty] ascended like the sun from the rank of bek (*beklik rutbesi*)[731] to the summit of the seat of amir (*masnad-i imārat*) in Khiva, the seat of governance, in the chancery (*dīvān-khāna*) of his father, which was appropriated for his majesty from his own inheritance. He took in his able hands the reins of government (513) and put in his competent palm the seal of rulership. Having set about the affairs of the kingdom (*mamlakat*), he brightened and illuminated, with the light of his favor, the eyes of hope and the troubled minds of the mourners in the capital of

[a] Qur'ān, III,159.
[b] 6 July 1806.
[c] So according to common Iranian zodiacal calendar.

the amirate, and, with the poultice of bounties, he applied a remedy to the scar of affliction and the wounded breast of the suffering in [Khiva], the abode of the caliphate. And the stately drummer began beating the kettle-drum of authority[a] at the court—the place where the whole empire seeks refuge, and with resounding echo he announced the happy news: "*This is a sign of his mighty empire*!" to those walking in heaven's court and those dwelling on the earth's globe. [*Qiṭʿa.*] (514) At that blessed time this humble [author] compiled chronogram appropriate for the occasion. [*Tārīkh.*]

His majesty found one of his paternal uncles (*abagha*), Muhammad Murad Bek, worthy of favor and promotion, and entrusted his wise mind with the income and expenditure (*dakhl u kharj*) of the supreme chancery (*dīvān-i aʿlā*), and he appointed the great counselor (*dastūr-i aʿẓam*) and vizier of high qualities, Nizam al-Mulk va'l-Milla Muhammad Yusuf Mehter, his partner and associate (*sahīm u sharīk*).[732] (515) Due to this felicitous omen, their dignity and rank ascended with every day to the highest level, and, together, they strove and exerted themselves with diligence to maintain order and good administration in the affairs of the state and of the subjects (*fuqarāʾ va raʿiyat*), and engaged in establishing good practices (*rasm*) and praiseworthy regulations (*qāʿida*).

How the Uzbeks of Besh-Qalʿa became hostile and raided the environs of Khiva, but, unable to withstand the [khan's] brave soldiers, were routed.

***** After *the tragedy of the death of* the late khan Eltüzer Muhammad Bahadur Khan (may God grant him forgiveness!), all the Uzbeks of Besh-Qalʿa showed perfidy and displayed alienation, submitted to the Tajik army[733] and made great efforts to break up and humiliate this august state.[734] The same year, on the first day of the month of Jumadi I [1221 A.H.], which was a Wednesday,[b] they set out, in full strength in an indescribable assault, against the city (*balada*) of Khiva (may God Most High protect her from flood and fire!). They stopped in the village (*qarya*) of Hadra,[735] left their supplies and baggage there and raided the environs of Khiva from all sides. From this side, *the illustrious warriors and fighters bent on revenge set out fearlessly,

[a] Cf. p. 543, note 4 on the role of the kettle-drums.
[b] 16 July 1806.

(516) with the blows of their swords and lances piled up as hills the bodies of the enemies, and took many of them prisoner*. [*Mathnavī.*] *When the enemies who inevitably flee saw the onslaught of the brave soldiers, they were seized with fear and terror* (517) and saw themselves like a swarm of flies before a blowing gale or a pack of foxes before an awful lion. Finally, they concluded that the way of flight was better than all the spoils, and the next morning, which was Thursday, *they turned away and drove their horses at speed to the desert of flight*. [*Qiṭʿa.*]

On Sunday, the 12th of the aforementioned month,[a] the sultan, the lord of the fortunate conjunction of planets, the khaqan mighty as heaven, Abu'l-Ghazi Muhammad Rahim Bahadur Khan (may God extend the days of his reign and raise the banners of his justice!), decided that Abu'l-Ghazi Khan, the Chingizid, whom the late khan Eltüzer Muhammad Bahadur Khan had deposed from rulership (*salṭanat manṣabi*), deserved august kindness and royal favor, brought him to the royal capital Khiva, and raised as khan.

On Wednesday, the 16th of the aforementioned Jumadi,[b] [the khan] appointed Sayyid Yusuf Khoja as *naqīb*, Taghay Bek as *atalïq* and this humble [author] as *mīrāb*.

How the great amir Qutlugh Murad Inaq (may God extend the shadow of his benevolence upon the countries (518) and the quarters of the world!) came from Bukhara, and how his imperial majesty, Abu'l-Ghazi Muhammad Rahim Bahadur Khan appointed his elder brother to the rank of *inaq* (*inaqiyat manṣabi*) and, to entertain himself, went hunting.

** Since, at the terrible event with [the tragic death of] the late king Eltüzer Muhammad Bahadur Khan, Qutlugh Murad Inaq and some other people fell into the hands of the Tajiks and were kept as prisoners in the city of Bukhara, *his majesty the khaqan* resolved to liberate them from captivity and bring them to their homeland (*yurt*). He invited to his sublime audience (*körünüsh-i ʿālī*) the great amirs and honorable nobles, each of whom was peerless in his time and unique in his age for sagacity and ingenuity, under the perspicacious amir Shah Niyaz Atalïq, and, in conformity with [the words]

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[a] 27 July.
[b] 31 July (Thursday).

"*And take counsel with them in the affair*,"[a] consulted with them about reconciliation with the amir Haydar, king of Bukhara, and the release of all prisoners under Qutlugh Murad Inaq. The amirs approved this idea, and, by common consent, they appointed as ambassadors to Bukhara the most learned of the *'ulamā'* and the most eminent of the learned men, Qazi Isma'il Ishan and Qazi Ish Vays Ishan, and dispatched them to Bukhara. After travelling at great speed and with great haste, the ambassadors arrived in the city of Bukhara. (519) As soon as they submitted the august message of his royal majesty to amir Haydar, the amir, being extremely far-sighted and prudent, accepted his majesty's request and sent all prisoners, with the inaq at their head, to Khorezm, with great honor and indescribable respect, having treated them kindly and granted royal outfits (*sarūpā*), and attached to them two of his trustworthy men, named Umra [?] and Yusuf Mirshab.[736] They promptly set off, and at the beginning of Sha'ban,[b] at the most propitious time and the most happy hour, entered Khiva, the seat of governance, and from the beaming face of his majesty the khaqan their distressed eyes brightened, and from his glance, which was like spring, their hearts, which had been afflicted by separation, [bloomed] like rose-gardens. [*Qit'a.*] From utmost joy and extreme gladness, the whole population, nay, all sorts of people, in the city quarters and streets and in the steppes and deserts, raised the sounds of congratulation and the uproar of benediction, which reached the ears of the inhabitants of the summit of the seventh heaven, and engaged in boundless rejoicing and endless feasts.[737]

On Friday, the 19th of the aforementioned month,[c] his exalted majesty, out of utmost magnanimity and extreme (520) nobility, entrusted his own post (*manṣab*) to his revered brother, the great amir Qutlugh Murad Inaq, and withdrew from the important affairs of government (*imārat*). And at the end of the aforementioned month, he set out hunting and, prancing and galloping, went to the steppe and desert. For some time he occupied himself with falconry and hunting and every day took pleasure in some amusement and entertainment and, having returned in renewed joy and boundless cheer-

[a] Qur'ān, III,159.
[b] Mid-October 1806.
[c] 31 October 1806.

fulness, on the last day of Ramazan[a] came to his blessed residence (*dawlat-khāna*).[738] [*Naẓm.*]

Part 3, in which will be recorded all the remarkable events that have happened from the beginning of the reign of his majesty the sultan, equal to Solomon, until the completion of this auspicious book

[*Qiṭ'a.*]

(521) How his majesty the khaqan by his auspicious accession made the abode of the monarchy (*salṭanat*) equal to the satin of heaven, and how by taking on his blessed head the crown of governance (*ḥukūmat*) he made it equal to the diadem of the sun.

*** His imperial majesty, motivated by the lofty designs, high ardor, extreme nobility and utmost kindness which are inherent in his blessed person and cherished in his auspicious character, wished to take the signet ring of sovereignty in his mighty grasp and to extend the shadow of justice over the heads of the subjects (*fuqarā'*), because in every country, where a king of a high estate does not take care of good administration, the structure of sovereignty is destroyed, and where he does not preserve justice, the affairs of the subjects are affected by trouble and damage. On this matter he consulted all amirs and grandees, the closest nobles and the pillars of the state, and, by common consent, at noon, on Thursday 7 Shavval 1221 A.H.,[b] corresponding to the Year of the Leopard, when the world-illuminating sun was in the sign of Sagittarius,[c] (522) *Muhammad Rahim Bahadur Khan* (may God perpetuate his life and his dominion!), having stripped Abu'l-Ghazi Khan's able person of the robe of sovereignty and deprived his head of the crown of governance, brought distinction to the throne of sovereignty with his auspicious ascension

[a] 10 December 1806.
[d] 17 December 1806 (Wednesday).
[c] This date corresponds to common Iranian zodiacal month of Sagittarius (Qaws), from 23 November to 21 December; Khorezmian zodiacal month should have ended 22 days earlier (see Introduction, pp. XLIII–XLV).

and brought high honor to the crown of governance[739] by placing it on his own august head. [*Mathnavī.*]

(523) The first event, which happened after his imperial majesty ascended the royal throne: how Muhammad Riza Bek set his rebellious feet on the path of hostility and went to the Yomuts, and, thanks to the efforts of the faithful amir Sultan Mirab and upon his advice, came back.

When, by divine favor and generosity, *his majesty* ascended to the summit of reign and the rays of his justice spread to all corners of the world, the signs of his strength increased from day to day, and the degree of his power rose with every moment. (524) The flame of hatred and envy blazed up in the vicious mind of Muhammad Riza Bek, one of his majesty's paternal uncles,[740] and he thought that his majesty's perfect felicity would cause his (Muhammad Riza Bek's) misfortune and ruin. Due to his utter ignorance and imprudence, and seduced by the ill-omened frauds of some hypocrites of devilish nature but human appearance, who gave their friendship the form of temptation, he lent his ear to their evil speeches and malignant words and, having pulled the neck of obedience out of the collar of submission to his majesty the khaqan, made great efforts to claim that he should participate in the affairs of reign and the matters of government (*ḥukūmat*).[741] Since these attempts did not bear fruit, he finally turned away his selfish eyes from respecting beneficence and honoring kinship and, in utter arrogance and unspeakable factionalism, belligerently left the country (*yurt*) and went to the Yomuts, who were promoters of the chain of sedition and wanderers in the desert of rebellion, in order to find an opportunity, with the help and assistance of that evil community, to humiliate and even to ruin this God-granted dominion. [*Qiṭʿa.*]

(525) *His royal majesty*, due to the noble virtues and extreme generosity, which were inherent in his royal person, drew the curtain of indulgence and the veil of forgiveness upon the mischievous and rebellious face of this vagabond in the valley of wickedness and this wanderer in the desert of impudence, and sent *amir Sultan Mirab*, who was distinguished and notable among the great amirs for his sagacity and ingenuity, after the aforementioned bek, with kind words and merciful advice, to show him the right way and the straight road and to bring him [back] to the country (*yurt*). This

wise amir, according to the [royal] command, set to work, came to Muhammad Riza Bek promptly and brought him the auspicious message of his royal majesty, the shadow of God, the contents of which were solicitude for the terms of friendship, and also filled to the brim the goblet of his ears with the wine of friendly admonitions such as would have brought [even] mad people to their senses. When the breezes of this message and the perfumes of these admonitions reached his mind to a certain extent, he set out for the capital, but, because of his utter hatred and extreme arrogance, he turned away from the obedience to the sublime court and lodged in his own *ribāṭ* called Baghcha Hawli, situated close to the city (*balada*) of Khiva, on its eastern side. When this delay and arrogance were reported to the [khan] whose perspicacity illuminates the world, his majesty, with extreme forbearance and boundless equanimity and composure, struck [his name] out of the register of those disobedient to him with the pen of forgiveness and bore him no ill will, (526) but even showed kindness towards him.

How Muhammad Riza Bek rode the horse of disobedience on the road of rebellion and entered the town of Qïpchaq, and how the perspicacious amir Qutlugh Murad Inaq set out after him and besieged that town.

*** After Muhammad Riza Bek came from the Yomuts and entered his *ḥawlī*, his excessive haughtiness and his vicious nature did not allow him to bow down to the threshold of the sublime court, which is the source of glory and dignity, nor to stretch out his hand in service to the skirt of [his majesty's] eternal state, which is the source of safety and happiness. Moreover, the desire for the throne and lust for the crown so agitated his head, which was filled with arrogance, that with every day he grew more and more persistent in disobedience and insubordination. These futile efforts brought no result, and finally, on Friday night, 1 Zu'l-Qa'da,[a] he set out in the middle of the night with some scoundrels and ruffians who had gathered around him and went to his *ḥawlī* in Qïyat-Qongrat.[742] On Saturday night his majesty the khaqan had Muhammad Murad Bek, the elder brother of the aforementioned bek, arrested, along with his maternal uncle,

[a] 9 January 1807.

Musa Parvanachi, and sent *the great amir* (527) Qutlugh Murad Inaq after him with his (inaq's) own troops. On Sunday night, Muhammad Riza Bek entered the town of Qïpchaq[743] and killed Allah-Berdi Biy, who was a faithful servant of the sublime court and whom his majesty had distinguished and exalted among his contemporaries by entrusting to him the governorship (*ayālat*) of that city, together with his younger brother Khuday-Berdi Bek; and he sent Ish Muhammad Bek, his own younger brother, with the head of the biy, to the ruler (*ḥākim*) of Aral, Töre Murad, the "Sufi without a guide (*Ṣūfī-i bī-pīr*)," who was constantly engaged in acts of hostility and was waiting and watching for the news of such a rebellion, with a request to send troops for aid and reinforcement. And the head of the younger brother of the murdered biy he sent to the governor (*ḥākim*) of the town of Uyghur, Muhammad Niyaz Atalïq ibn Bek Pulad Atalïq, to inform him of the situation.

The explanation of this is as follows. At the time of the tragic death of the late king Eltüzer Muhammad Bahadur Khan, Muhammad Niyaz Atalïq separated from the Bukharan army, crossed the Amu river, entered the town of Uyghur and raised the banner of rebellion. After the accession of his majesty the khaqan, he could not withstand the ever-victorious army and prostrated, like dust, before the threshold of the sublime court in total submission and humility. Through the intercession of certain amirs, his majesty pardoned his crimes, selected him to receive royal mercy, conferred on him the rank (*manṣab*) of *atalïq* and entrusted him with the governorship (*ayālat*) of the town of Uyghur. (528) The aforementioned atalïq, despite the fact that he had been promoted to the highest degrees (*marātib*) and ranks (*manāṣib*) thanks to the royal favor and august largesses of his majesty, turned away the eyes of foresight from respect for such beneficence and favor, secretly made an alliance in hostility with that ingrate, Muhammad Riza Bek, and was initiated into the secrets of disobedience and sedition and solidary in mutiny and rebellion. This is why the aforementioned bek sent a messenger to him to inform him about the situation.

By a happy coincidence, that same day one of the servants of the royal court came across this messenger, seized him and brought him to the sublime court (*matars-i muʿallā*). By royal order, he was put to death at the place of execution. After this his majesty, out of his great kindness and mild character, invited Muhammad Niyaz Atalïq to the court, although he knew for certain about his double-dealing,

[*Bayt*], honored him with royal favors, treated him kindly, granting him a robe of honor of brocaded silk and a swift horse, and sent him to his town with numberless promises and friendly admonitions, to have him gather troops and go to succour Qutlugh Murad Inaq. When, according to the order of his majesty the khaqan, the perspicacious amir Qutlugh Murad Inaq promptly marched (529) and set up his camp in the vicinity of the town of Qïpchaq, Muhammad Niyaz Atalïq also came with his own troops and joined the exalted camp (*ordu*). Every day the ever-victorious army besieged this town, and from the dust raised by the horses of the brave warriors the earth of humiliation fell upon the heads of the inhabitants of the town. From the glitter of their swords, the lightning of calamity struck the harvest of this community; the musket-balls and the swift arrows struck their vengeful breasts, and the town looked like a rose-garden from the blood of the rebels. [*Mathnavī.*]

(530) How his imperial majesty moved his banners, splendid like sun, to the town of Qïpchaq and laid siege with great effort and in great anger; how Muhammad Niyaz Atalïq and Muhammad Niyaz Bek, because of their concord with Muhammad Riza Bek, entered the town and opened the gates of sedition and rebellion; and how his majesty returned to the royal capital, because the inconstant heavens were inauspicious and the times were unfortunate.

*** Since Muhammad Riza Bek persisted in his disobedience and was firm in his hostility, his majesty's anger surged like the sea and his wrath blazed up like a flame, and he decided to punish the ill-omened bek; (531) and, to gather the army, he sent *tovachi*s grave like Mars in all directions, and the court ordered the intendants (*sarkār*) to prepare everything necessary for the campaign. In a short time a great army gathered and the supplies for the campaign were prepared. With a sharp sword, his majesty sent Musa Parvanachi, who was the source of sedition, to the next world, and on Wednesday, the 19th of the aforementioned Zu'l-Qa'da,[a] mounted his fleet horse with the golden bridle and moved the ever-victorious banners. He left the royal capital Khiva with great splendor and victorious pomp, together with great amirs (*umarā-yi ʿiẓām*) and magnificent nobles

[a] 27 January 1807 (Tuesday).

(*umanā'*), including *Sayyid Yusuf Khoja Naqib, Sultan Mirab and Qara Bahadur Mirab, Muhammad Riza Qoshbegi, Khojash Mahram and others*, each of whom was a great pillar of the portico of the realm and was a confidant with access (*ichki maḥram*) to the private chambers of the state. [*Mathnavī.*] (532) *They advanced at great speed and with all haste, and raised the banners, splendid as the sun, near the town of Qïpchaq.*

[The khan] granted the troops their desires, with royal favors and innumerable presents, ordered *sarkūb*s built around the walls (*qal'a*) of Qïpchaq, and laid such a tight siege to the town that if an ant had run inside that town, (533) the dexterous archers would have hit its eyes with the points of their deadly arrows, and if a fly had flit inside that fortress (*ḥiṣār*), the skillful musketeers (*tufangbāz*) would have burned its wings in the fire of annihilation with the salvos of their bullets.[744] With their arrows and bullets, every day they rained down upon the ill-omened heads of those unfortunate demonic creatures the lightnings of calamity and misfortune, in accordance with [the words] "*And We made them things to stone Satans.*"[a] [*Mathnavī.*]

At that time, by royal order, some of the *'ulamā'* and shaykhs went from [his majesty's] august camp (*ordu*) as envoys to the ill-omened Muhammad Riza Bek and, with conciliatory and friendly words, tried to persuade him to benevolence and reconciliation. But he did not accept these words, and they returned without achieving their goal. After this they besieged the town for a long time with great intensity and unspeakable fierceness.

Some events that happened during the siege. (534) The younger brother of Muhammad Riza Bek, Ish Muhammad Bek, who had gone to the ruler (*ḥākim*) of Aral, Töre Murad Sufi, to ask for succour, as was mentioned above, came back with 400 horsemen from the army of Aral under Soyun Biy and Oraz 'Ali Biy, and on Wednesday night, 4 Zu'l-Hijja,[b] late in the evening, entered the town of Qïpchaq.[745] Another one: On the 6th of the same month, a Friday,[c] by the order of his royal majesty, *Shah Niyaz Atalïq, Khoja Murad Biy and Muhammad Niyaz Atalïq* set out, with a thousand men, for a raid on Qongrat; they plundered that region like a divine retribution, captured forty prisoners, and returned with plentiful booty.

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[a] Qur'ān, LXVII,5.
[b] 11 February 1807.
[c] 13 February.

On Wednesday, which was the Festival of the Sacrifice (*ʿĪd-i Qurbān*), they entered the imperial camp and had the honor of receiving a royal audience. Another one: At the time when the ataliqs went raiding, Adina-Berdi and Oraz Muhammad, the sons of Dönmes Sardar, who were faithful servants [of the khan],[746] received permission and went with thirty men for a sudden raid against the Chowdur rebels who lived in the vicinity of the *qïr* of Aybugur.[747] On their way they captured a scout (*qaravul*) of Esen Bay the Qaraqalpaq and made him their guide. They captured a hundred camels belonging to the rebels and turned back. The Chowdur troops learned about this, pursued them and, having overtaken them, started to fight. In a bold attack, the Yomut warriors (535) killed five men and felled sixteen horses, after which the Chowdurs took to flight. In safety, and enriched with booty, the [Yomut] warriors obtained an audience with his majesty. Another one: his majesty the khaqan observed the rules of prudence and caution and every night appointed the commander of one of the Uzbek tribes as commander of the night guard and of the outposts of the ever-victorious army. Thus, on Wednesday night, 25 Zu'l-Hijja,[a] it was Muhammad Niyaz Ataliq's turn. This ill-omened man, ungrateful and thankless, forgot the laws of gratitude and in the middle of the night set his own *sarkūb* on fire, entered the town of Qïpchaq with his own troops, and joined Muhammad Riza Bek, thus earning eternal damnation. And Muhammad Niyaz Bek, known by the nickname Qalmaq, who was the eldest brother of Muhammad Riza Bek and who had, until that time, shown his faithfulness and rendered praiseworthy service among the servants of the royal court, also showed disobedience under some pretext and joined the enemy's army. The ever-victorious troops, which, numerous as the Pleiades, had been gathered from everywhere, saw this great misfortune and terrible calamity, were overwhelmed with anxiety and confusion, and were on the point of dispersing and scattering like the constellation of the Bear. After his royal majesty extinguished the fire of their anxiety with the water of his efforts, he appointed Qutlugh Murad Inaq, (536) with some illustrious and faithful warriors, to [continue] the siege of the town, and on Wednesday, the 26th of the aforementioned month,[b] went

[a] 4 March 1807.

[b] 5 March 1807 (Thursday; the day of the week is given by Munis erroneously, cf. the previous date).

back. Having rapidly passed numerous stations, he came to the city (*shahr*) [of Khiva] and found rest on his royal throne. That same day the inaq, also unable to stay [there], came following his majesty and appeared before him. [*Qiṭʿa.*]

How Muhammad Riza Bek went out of Qïpchaq and made his camp in Gurlen, and how Qutlugh Murad Inaq set out from Khiva to repulse him; and an account of some of the battles and events which occured at that time.

When Muhammad Riza Bek, who had been besieged for a long time, saw that the ever-victorious army had withdrawn from the surrounding area and gone back, he expressed his joy and, with utter haughtiness and unspeakable arrogance, on Thursday, the 27th of the aforementioned month [of Zu'l-Hijja],[a] left the fortress (*ḥiṣār*) of Qïpchaq and set up his camp in Gurlen. He sent Muhammad Niyaz Bek and Muhammad Niyaz Atalïq to defend the town of Uyghur. (537) Within one week, the Uzbeks living as far up [the Amu-Darya] as Akhund Baba[748] and down to Yumri rose in rebellion and submitted to Muhammad Riza Bek. And everywhere seditious and rebellious bands had the upper hand, and personal safety and tranquility disappeared among the subjects (*fuqarāʾ va raʿāyā*). [*Mathnavī.*]

His majesty the khaqan, having learned about these events, sent Qutlugh Murad Inaq with some illustrious warriors to counter and repulse the rebels. As ordered, the inaq set out with a numerous army at the end of Zu'l-Hijja.[b] *Having left the royal capital Khiva, he set up the camp of the ever-victorious army in the town of Kat. Every day (538) he would set out with the ever-victorious army either against Gurlen or against Uyghur, to fight the rebels.* And every day the soldiers from both sides would fan the flame of hostility and heat up the oven of battle with fierce attacks. From the blood of the warriors of both sides, the battlefield constantly took on the appearance of a tulip-bed, and the jaws of death laughed in great expectation, while the eyes of the world were weeping for those who had been killed. [*Mathnavī.*]

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[a] 6 March 1807 (Friday; cf. two previous dates).
[b] Before March 10.

THE REMARKABLE AND EXTRAORDINARY EVENTS OF THE SECOND YEAR AFTER THE AUSPICIOUS ACCESSION OF HIS MAJESTY THE KHAQAN.

(539) On Thursday 10 Muharram 1222 A.H.,[a] Töre Khoja and Niyaz Bek Dadkhah came from Bukhara with a big army to help the enemies of the state and crossed the river. After this the people of Besh-Arïq also began a rebellion and committed improper deeds. Muhammad Riza Bek was also encouraged and emboldened by this and, having moved in full strength from Gurlen, made his fortified camp (*senger*) in Qïyat-Qongrat. Ish Muhammad Bek and Shir Naib, with a hundred horsemen, entered Besh-Arïq Nayman, and all the Uzbeks of Besh-Arïq submitted to him. On Wednesday, the 16th of the aforementioned month,[b] Muhammad Niyaz Bek, who was the eldest brother of Muhammad Riza Bek, raided the environs of Khiva and lodged at a *ribāṭ* in Gulbanbagh. On Friday, all amirs of Khiva under Zahir ad-Dawla Muhammad Nazar Bek set out with an army against him. On Saturday night Muhammad Niyaz Bek, unable to hold out, fled. The same day Muhammad Riza Bek also set out against Khiva, but, when he came to Varaghzan,[749] he heard that his elder brother had fled, and so he returned. On Sunday, the Bukharan troops went back and stopped in Hazarasp; on Monday night they left and went to their country (*yurt*) by way of Pitnak.[750] After this, (540) on Monday, the 21st of the aforementioned month,[c] the people of Besh-Arïq repented of what they had done, were compelled to come in great humiliation to kiss the dust of [his majesty's] sublime threshold, and, having expressed their fidelity and loyalty (*ellik*), avoided the royal wrath.

At the end of the aforementioned month, Töre Murad Sufi also came with the whole Qongrat army along the northern side of the Amu river, but, having heard about the departure of the Bukharan army, became apprehensive, felt unable to stay, and went back. After this the ever-victorious army gained strength; Muhammad Riza Bek could not stay in Qïyat-Qongrat and, having abandoned it, went to Gurlen. Thereafter men from the communities (*jamāʿa*) of Vaghlan

[a] 19 March 1807.
[b] 25 March.
[c] 30 March.

and Tash-qal'a and from the people (*ulus*) of Akhund-Baba and Qara-Mazï came to express their submission. The perspicacious amir Qutlugh Murad Inaq sent Muhammad Riza Bek ibn Muhammad Nazar Bek with his *nökers* to protect Tash-qal'a, and sent 'Abdallah Bek ibn Qara Bahadur Mirab to defend Vaghlan. After they had departed, he sent Oraz 'Ali Inaq to Tash-qal'a and Qïlïch Inaq to Vaghlan. At that time Oraz 'Ali Inaq sent Mir Tuman Bahadur and Muhammad Riza Bek ibn Muhammad Nazar Bek to move the people (*ulus*) of Chat-qal'a.[751] When they removed that people (*el*) and set off, the troops of Gurlen came to Tash-qal'a and a big battle followed. In this battle a warrior from Gurlen named 'Avaz Kel was killed. Consequently, (541) the people (*khalq*) of Chat-qal'a turned back and came to their fortress (*qal'a*), while the troops which had been sent to move them also went against the troops of Gurlen and, after severe fighting, defeated and crushed the enemies of the state.

At the beginning of Safar[a] a part of the people (*khalq*) of Vazir seized several men of Muhammad Riza Bek, as well as Hasan Bay Qalmaq, and thus showed that they were loyal (*el*) [to his majesty]. And the people (*khalq*) of Yumri seized three or four men of Töre Murad Sufi, under Jan Muhammad Sufi, and so showed obedience [to his majesty]. After this the troops of Gurlen went three times against Vazir and fought there. When they went the last time, they suffered a shameful defeat at the hands of the ever-victorious army and fled. On Tuesday, in the middle of Safar, the great amir Qutlugh Murad Inaq set out with the ever-victorious army against Uyghur, and near the *ḥawlī* of 'Abd al-Latif Dargha a fierce fight took place with the people of Uyghur. In this battle Taghay Murad Atalïq from the ever-victorious army, who attacked the rebels like a roaring lion, was suddenly struck by an arrow and killed, while on the rebel side five or six men headed by Yakhshi Murad Bek were killed and many people were wounded. After seeing this, the rebels (542) fell back before the ever-victorious army, entered the town and ensconced themselves there. The inaq also came, victorious and felicitous, to the august camp (*senger*).

[a] From 9 April 1807.

How Muhammad Riza Bek, with deceit and guile, feigned reconciliation and came to attach himself to the sublime court; and how, because the danger of his treacherous dreams was perceived, he was put to death together with his followers and set out to conquer the Nether World.

Since Muhammad Riza Bek had fought for a long time but could not achieve his goal, he secretly gathered his helpers and assistants and told them: "We took such pains in fighting and battle, but we were not successful. Now we should make it appear that we have reconciled ourselves, abandoned hostility, and come before the throne in the royal capital for friendship and concord; and then, drawing our zealous swords from our valiant sheaths with the strong arms of ardor, we will quench our thirst with the enemy's blood and thereby succeed in conquering the kingdom and achieving our goal." Because of their utter ignorance, they all agreed with these words and sent the following message to the servants of the sublime court: "If his majesty, the king who is like Jamshid and whose crown is like the sun, abode of generosity, implement of benevolence (may his fortune continue!), in accordance with the nobility of his person and his innate benevolence, would draw the curtain of forgiveness and indulgence upon innumerable transgressions and endless sins which [we], wanderers in the valley of deviation and vagabonds in the desert of disobedience, have committed and (543) would release Muhammad Murad Bek from the prison of misfortune, send him to [us], the stray ones, accompanied by Fazil Bek and Niyaz Muhammad Bek, whose relation to both sides is known,[752]—then we also will, by all means, abandon [our] hostile and disobedient ways, will put our belt of submission around the waist of service [to his majesty] and, being honored with kissing the threshold of the sublime court, will join the devoted servants [of the khan]. [*Mathnavī.*]"

When the deceitful and mendacious message of the enemies reached the noble ears of his majesty the khaqan by way of the servants of the sublime court, he immediately accepted their request, released Muhammad Murad Bek from prison, honored him with august favors and royal largesses and, having healed the unhappy memories with the gift of a precious robe of honor and a fleet horse, sent him in the company of Fazil Bek and Niyaz Muhammad Bek. These two beks rode hastily alongside Muhammad Murad Bek and arrived at the assembly (*majlis*) of Muhammad Riza Bek. After the exchange

of the usual greetings, (544) they agreed to put the swords of hatred and the daggers of offense into the sheaths of rancor and went to the royal capital. Advancing rapidly, on Wednesday, the last day of Safar [1222 A.H.],[a] they arrived, ready and armed, at the threshold of the sublime court. [*Bayt.*]

When his royal majesty, whose enlightened mind emitted rays of divine brightness and generated flashes of manifest light, learned from divine signs and the Lord's inspiration about the vicious design of the enemies, he forestalled it before they could carry out their abominable revolt and vile treachery. He invited Muhammad Riza Bek to the sublime audience (*körünüsh-i ʿālī*) where, at a sign from the khan, devoted servants seized him, dragged him away helpless to the dungeon and imprisoned him; and they also put Muhammad Murad Bek and Muhammad Niyaz Bek together with him. After this Muhammad Niyaz Ataliq, Khuday-Berdi Dargha, Ish Muhammad Dargha, Nar Katavul, Khuday Nazar Bek, and Rahman-Berdi Kostangir, who were the source of sedition and the instigators of the chain of rebellion, were put to death at the place of execution. And Karim-Berdi Ataliq was arrested. Most of the beks' men, who were inside and outside the citadel (*ärk*), (545) were seized, put into the dungeon of torture and fettered with heavy chains. [But] thirty men ensconced themselves in the *ḥawlī* of the ill-omened bek, which was within the city walls (*qalʿa*), and began defending themselves with muskets. *By his majesty's order*, prince Muhammad Nazar Bek, amir Qïlïch Inaq, Oraz ʿAli Inaq, Qara Bahadur Mirab and Muhammad Yusuf Mehter, the implement of vizierate, with a great number of people, went there and ordered the assailants (*alaman*) to destroy the wall of the *ḥawlī*, which by its height and strength claimed to be equal to Alexander's rampart.[753] They destroyed it with great difficulty, and by the time of the evening prayer had stormed and captured [the place]; all the rebels who had ensconced themselves in the *ḥawlī* were slaughtered, and besides them another 37 men were put to the sword. [*Mathnavī.*]

(546) On the last day of this affair, which was Thursday, fifteen rebels were executed, and on Friday, eleven more under Yollï Bay Chowdur, and on Sunday, nine more. On Monday, ʿAshur Muhammad Khalifa, Allah Nazar and Budagh Qul, confidants of the ill-omened bek, were hanged on the gallows of wrath. On Tuesday,

[a] 7 May 1807 (Thursday).

Muhammad Riza Bek, Muhammad Murad Bek, Muhammad Niyaz Bek, Muhammad Niyaz Bek ibn Muhammad Riza Bek were taken from prison and made hermits in the grave of non-existence and dwellers in the prison of the tomb. [*Nazm.*][754]

(547) The same year, on Wednesday 28 Rabiʿ I,[a] Töre Murad Bek, the younger brother of Taghay Murad Ataliïq, was, at the age of twelve, appointed to his elder brother's post (*manṣab*).

How the great amir Qutlugh Murad Inaq raided the Qaraqalpaqs on the Yangi-Darya.[755]

The Qaraqalpaq tribe of Khitay, which lived on the banks of the Yangi-Darya, had pledged allegiance to amir Haydar, the ruler (*vālī*) of Bukhara, had pulled their neck out of the collar of submission to his majesty the khaqan, and had displayed disobedience and obstinacy. Therefore, his majesty appointed Qutlugh Murad Inaq with his own troops in order to teach them a lesson and chastise them, and also put some of his (khan's) own servants, including this humble [author], under his command. Obeying the royal order, those so assigned set out from the royal capital Khiva on 18 Rajab[b] and, advancing with numerous troops at great speed and with great haste, arrived at the town of Khoja-eli. There they spent seven days enjoying themselves, and on Sunday 1 Shaʿban[c] set out from Khoja-eli and stopped on the bank of the Amu river, (548) at the Aq-Yar[756] crossing. In this place they spent five or six days hunting, and on Thursday crossed the river and stopped in a place called Yartï. This humble [author] and several [other] commanders, with 500 men, were left in that place, and from there the ever-victorious army set out and came to the head of the Ishim [canal].[757] Men were sent to collect *zakāt* from the Qaraqalpaqs living in the vicinity, and they stayed there for a long time, until *zakāt* was collected. On Sunday 2 Ramazan[d] they moved from there and came to Aq-Yaqïsh. From there they set out and, moving rapidly, march by march, came to Börichi-senger.[758] From there they set out with good horsemen for a foray by the way of Chertekli.[759] They fell upon a Qaraqalpaq *aul* on the bank of the Yangi-Darya like divine punishment, killed many

[a] 4 June 1807 (Thursday).
[b] 20 September 1807.
[c] 3 October (Saturday).
[d] 2 November (Monday).

people, captured plenty of property as booty, and went back. Going rapidly through numerous stations, they arrived at the royal court on Saturday, at the end of the aforementioned month, and were honored and exalted with royal favors and august largesses.

How his imperial majesty let his heart soar like a falcon in his desire to hunt; how he swiftly rode, as he wished, to the site of the hunt; how, flying the hunting birds, (549) he destroyed the game, and how, by showing kindness, he captured the hearts of the mutinous people of Aral like prey. [Naẓm.]

*The same year, the mirror of mind of his royal majesty, [*Mathnavī*], Muhammad Rahim (550) Bahadur Khan* (may God Most High perpetuate his kingdom and reign and may he shower his charity and benevolence upon all creatures!), became clouded, weary of the duties of royal pomp and affairs of state, and, to clear up this cloudiness, he decided to undertake a hunting expedition. [*Naẓm.*] Therefore, to prepare the necessities of travel, he appointed Muhammad Riza Qoshbegi, a favorite at the royal court, who was privy to his majesty's secrets and who was a patron of learned men,[760] together with Yar Muhammad Divanbegi and Qosh Nazar Divanbegi. Then, with copious gifts and lavish presents, he exalted the powerful amirs, the dignified beks, the skillful huntsmen (*mīr-shikār*), the daring servants (*chākir*) and all those who go with the august retinue. He left *the great amir Qutlugh Murad Inaq* in the city (*shahr*) as his deputy (*nā'ib*), and attached to him Muhammad Yusuf Mehter, the grand vizier and the honored counselor, administrator of the kingdom and of the Islamic community, together with Muhammad Amin Aqa, Muhammad Arbab, Iskandar Arbab and Yaʿqub Aqa.[761] To protect the roads to Khorasan, he also appointed Sayyid Yaʿqub Khoja, the younger brother of *Sayyid Yusuf Khoja Naqib*, and Muhammad Jan Bek, the son of Qutluq Muhammad Inaq, both of whom were *panjāh-bashi*,[762] along with their own *nökers*.

(551) On Friday 25 Shavval,[a] when the sun was in the sign of Capricorn, [*Naẓm*], after the Friday prayer, the khan put his blessed foot into the auspicious stirrup and mounted the horse for departure to go hunting.

[a] 25 December 1807.

Shiʿr:
He sat on the horse like the celestial dome,
And appeared himself like the sun which illumines the world.
He was arrayed in gold from head to foot
And plunged into a sea of jewels.
Above his head was an auspicious parasol
Which cast a shadow as [auspicious as that cast by] a wing of Humay.[763]
At his bridle ran on each side
Two grooms (*jilawdār*), like fortune and felicity.
Before him strode couriers with elegant gait,
Skilful in the art of swift walking.
(552) Each of them had a bell like the very sun at his waist.
From [the sound of] the bell the [cry] "Behold!" rang out.
Several masters of the horse (*mīr-ākhūr*) drew up at the front,
Every one on a sturdy mount.
Each pranced about like an unbroken steed,
Jumping swiftly, like a wild horse.
Saddles studded [with gems] were laid upon them,
Upon them saddle-covers all of gold.
And crescent-shaped stirrups also were set,
And trappings adorned with jewels.
Countless huntsmen came riding,
As skilful in hawking as Abu ʿAli.[764]
All of them quick like the wings of a saker falcon (*chargh*),
Or even like a northern wind (?).
Some held on their hands a swift-winged goshawk (*shahbāz*),
The demon of the thicket and the king of winged creation.
Others bore on their hands a silver-colored white goshawk (*tuyghun*),
Which, while hunting game, flies like lightning.
Some had on their hands a gyrfalcon (*shunqar*), which snatches game,
For whom even Altair is a humble prey.[a]
(553) Some had in their hands, daring and swift,
A peregrine falcon (*baḥrī*), the perdition of birds.

[a] Play on words: *nasr-i ṭā'ir* (lit. "flying eagle") is also the name of the constellation of Eagle.

Some had in their hands a saker falcon (*itälgü*),
Prey and game can expect no mercy from it.
Some had a desert peregrine falcon (*lāchīn*) with strong claws,
Which with its claw would strike an ʿAnqa[765] as if it were a sparrow.
There was no end of such birds,[766]
And the dogs were also countless.
The swift thoroughbred dogs
Would surpass the wind in speed.
Like lions, they would all capture gazelles
But they would also capture lions as prey.
All of them had gilded collars on their necks,
The covers on their backs bore countless ornaments.
Close behind them, eager to set forth on the road, came
The exalted great amirs,
All closest nobles of his royal majesty,
All pillars of the royal power.
The numerous troops also began to move,
Just like waves in the middle of the swelling sea.
(554) Countless swordsmen were there,
To cut off the enemy's heads on the battlefield.
A hundred *tümen*s of courageous and valiant [soldiers],
Surpassing Rustam, and just like Isfandiyar.

*Thus it was that they set out with great pomp and splendor. After a short journey, they arrived at the time of the evening prayer at the town (*balada*) of Urgench,* which had become well populated and prosperous due to the renewed cultivation, wherein his majesty's own decree served as an architect, and it had been enclosed within newly constructed walls, wherein the order [of the khan] served as a builder. *Having halted* at the house of one of his old servants, Sayyid-Quli Bay, the khan distinguished him from among his peers and exalted him from among his contemporaries. The aforementioned bay, together with ʿAvaz Muhammad Bay, both of whom were entrusted with the governorship (*ḥukūmat*) of the said town (*balada*),[767] *showed utmost care in the preparation of a feast*.

Mathnavī:
The town (*qalʿa*) assumed so festive an appearance
That the streets were decorated like paradise.
Candles burnt up the night that very evening

Blazing as on the night of Nawruz.
Those hosts made so royal a feast
That the whole world applauded.
(555) They spread the table before the king of all creatures,
All brought all sorts of various food;
Fruits and sweets were set out, as well as delicacies.
Through a night such as that, until the morning,
There was not one moment when plates were not being brought in or taken away.
When the eating and drinking was finished,
And the feast completely ended,
They attired the monarch in a robe of honor (*sarūpā*),
Which seemed woven of gold.
They also brought a fleet horse,
Whose gallop seemed to sound: "Bravo! bravo!"
It would rise in a moment from earth to heaven
And come down [again] from heaven to this realm.
There was an agile groom at its bridle,
Each of his ear-rings was like a new moon.[768]
When the king mounted the horse, upon those two precious heads[a]
They scattered jewels of all sorts.
The peerless king showed them his favor
And set out for his journey.

(556) On the way, he had the honor to visit the sayyid of the holy lineage [of the Prophet Muhammad], a star in the constellation of the Mystical Path (*tarīqat*), a gem in the jewel-box of the Divine Reality (*ḥaqīqat*), the shaykh of the shaykhs of the world, the guide of the gnostics of the mankind, his holiness *ishan* Pirim Khoja (may God extend the shadow of his guidance over the heads of the mystics!), who was the guardian of the holy tomb of his own shaykh, his holiness, the sultan of the pious, the pivot of the saints, the learned in divine matters and skilled in eternal verities, Mawlana Niyaz Akhund Baba (the mercy of God be upon him!). The khan filled his ears with the jewels of their exhortations and the flowers of their counsels and, having made his vows with supplications, was contented in return with listening to the prayers for his well-being. [*Qiṭʿa.*]

[a] I.e. of the khan and his horse.

From there he set off and stopped on the bank of the Amu river. At this place he granted *the perspicacious amir* Shah Niyaz Atalïq a purse full of gold, as well as the horse and the robe presented by the *bay*s, and decided to cross the river. [*Shi'r.*] (557) That evening the following royal order was issued: "Until my return, let the members of the retinue (*mawkab ahli*) be supplied from the beneficent table of our kitchen, and let no one cook for himself." (558) The same evening *Sayyid Yusuf Khoja Naqib* was given a gift of a handful of gold. In the morning, [the khan] visited [the tomb of] his holiness, the model of perfect mystics, the cream of spiritual helpers, the shaykh of the shaykhs of the world, Shaykh 'Abbas Vali (may God hallow his precious grave!), who rests in Old Kat,[769] and, with numerous vows and copious gifts, made the tomb guardians intoxicated with the wine of joy. Then he mounted his fleet horse, set out for the hunt and enjoyed himself with flying birds and hunting in the vicinity and environs of the aforementioned town, which is a very vast region. [*Mathnavī.*] (560) *After three days of hunt, the khan left that region (*yurt*).* [*Mathnavī.*]

Having flown falcons in the lower reaches of the Qongrat canal, he passed to the north of Lake Uyghur and *set up his camp* near Yaman-Uyghur, on the bank of the river,[770] close to the *ribāṭ* of Muhammad-Quli Bek, son of Bek Pulad Atalïq. [*Qiṭ'a.*] (561) At this station they also had a rather good hunt, and Khoja Murad Biy and Karim-Berdi Atalïq were granted two good birds. On Saturday 4 Zu'l-Qa'da[a] they left, passed to the north of the exalted *ribāṭ* of the late Eltüzer Muhammad Bahadur Khan and hunted in the environs of the canal which had been dug by the aforementioned late khan for his own private land (*milk-i khāliṣa*); the eastern border of this *milk* is adjacent to the land (*yer*) of the Nayman, the northern and western borders are contiguous with the mountain, and the southern border runs along the river. [*Shi'r.*]

(562) The inhabitants of Kat, Qurban-Quli Naib, Mahmud Niyaz Bek, and Muhammad 'Ali Biy the Qïpchaq came to welcome him to this hunting place and were honored to kiss the [royal] stirrup, and they acted as guides. In the afternoon [the khan] arrived, with pomp and grandeur, at the royal camp, which was set up, with all sorts of tents, near Aq-qum and Vazir, on the southern side of Lake

[a] 2 January 1808.

Baday, on the bank of the river.[771] At this station he stayed four days. On the first day, Muhammad Riza Atalïq ibn Muhammad Nazar Bek, who is the grandson of Kuchuk Inaq, from the Nayman ruling family (*dūdmān*), and is a nephew of this humble [author] and one of the governors (*ḥākim*) of Gurlen, came to kiss his majesty's threshold, together with the nobles and dignitaries of Gurlen and Vazir, and they were granted innumerable favors and exalted with royal largesses. On this day also many birds were flown and plenty of game was taken.

Also the same day the Qaraqalpaq warriors brought the heads of two rebels and were encouraged with abundant gifts. The details of this story are as follows. When *the great amir Qutluq Murad Inaq*, by the order of his majesty, went with an army to destroy the Qaraqalpaq rebels who lived on the banks of the Yangi-Darya, Töre Murad Sufi became alarmed by the onslaught of this army and brought eighty men from the Khorasan Yomuts to help. They and thirty or forty rebels from the Chowdurs (563) set out together stealthily, without the Sufi's permission, to raid the Qaraqalpaqs living in the environs of the Quba-tagh.[772] Incidentally, Chon-Qara Biy of the Keneges Qaraqalpaqs went with the good (*yakhshi*) warriors of his tribe (*urugh*) to the environs of the Sharqirawq and At-kechu[773] to look for a place (*yurt*) suitable for encampments (*qonush*) and pastures (*otlaq*). They came across the rebels and, despite being unprepared, joined battle. [*Nazm.*] As in the expression "*God will surpass, and He cannot be surpassed,*"[a] the wind of the [divine] assistance blew, and the Keneges warriors captured one Yomut and one Chowdur, cut the execrable heads from their foul bodies with unpitying swords, and wounded many men. At this, the rebels fled, abandoning their horses and arms, and [only] escaped with great difficulty. [*Shiʿr.*] The warriors, loaded with booty, came to the royal court victoriously.

On the second day, which was Monday [6 Zu'l-Qaʿda],[b] his majesty the khaqan again set out for the entertainment of the hunt and (564) returned after a rather good hunt with birds. On that day one white goshawk (*tuyghun*) and one hawk (*qarchighay*)[774] were brought as presents from Saʿid Khoja, the biy of Khoja-eli. On the third day, which was Tuesday, [the khan] sat on the seat of leisure *and held a banquet which continued through the night*. [*Mathnavī.*]

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[a] On the source of this expression see p. 605, note 562.
[b] 4 January.

(565) *When the sun rose, the khan left the throne of the feast and set out to visit the halting-place (*qadamgāh*) of the sultan of gnostics Uvays al-Qarani.* He soon reached the mountain in the vicinity of the halting-place, which is called by the blessed name of his holiness the shaykh.[775] [*Mathnavī.*] (566) After having had the privilege of circumambulating this holy halting-place and performing the pilgrimage with great submissiveness and humility, he received assistance from his (saint's) holy spirit (*arvāḥ-i muqaddaslaridin*), and he made the sweepers at the holy site (*āstāna*) totally happy by his numerous vows and copious gifts, and returned to the august camp filled with the graces of revelation and unspeakable spiritual bounties.

On Thursday, the 9th of the month,[a] [the khan] left this place and stopped close to the Qïsnaq pass, opposite Yumri. In the eastern end of this Qïsnaq pass there is a notch through which one can pass [only] with difficulty. Qïsnaq is a road whose northern side goes along the Biyik-tagh, and whose southern side goes along the Amu river, and in some places should be travelled with caution; its length is one *yigach.* It is probably because of this that it is called Qïsnaq.[776] At this station Niyaz Bek Atalïq, the governor (*ḥākim*) of Qosh-Küprük, who before the [khan's] departure for the hunt had gone to Qongrat as an emissary, together with Jan Muhammad Sufi, Töre Murad Sufi's [returning] envoy, came back with six men from the people of Qongrat, under the aforementioned Jan Muhammad Sufi. (567) They brought to the servants of his majesty a petition of submission, with supplication and penitence, from Töre Murad Sufi, who for many years had remained rebellious, and were favored with a kind reception. In the same place also came Yakhshïlïq Biy, the governor (*ḥākim*) of Qïpchaq, who was a very handsome and beautiful young man, [*Nazm*], together with his brothers (*aqaini*), and they were admitted to kiss the dust [before the khan]. On Saturday they passed Qïsnaq, and [then], while engaged in falconry, passed Khojaköl, a very vast place with dense thickets and rich meadows, and hunted on the northern side of the Qapqaqlï forest. A gazelle (*keyik*), which was as quick as the eyes of a flirtatious beauty, jumped up in front of his majesty and ran away. As soon as the royal order was given, the people rushed and caught [the gazelle] alive. From the aforementioned forest his majesty the khan went to the bank of

[a] 7 January.

the river opposite Qïpchaq, where the royal tent-enclosure (*sarāparda*) had been pitched. At this station *Sultan Mirab* was presented with two birds.

On Monday, in accordance with [the saying] "*Forgiveness out of strength comes from the greatness of rank*," [the khan] pardoned the old crimes of Töre Murad Sufi (568) and exalted his envoys with the honor of his favors. Having entrusted the governorship of Aral to him (Töre Murad), he wrote a diploma bearing his seal (*muhrlik nishān*), and through Niyaz Bek Atalïq passed to Dawlat Qara-Köz a fine horse with gilded saddle-cover and a royal outfit (*sarūpā*) [for Töre Murad Sufi], and dismissed the envoys. And Khoja Murad Biy was granted a robe of honor made of silk (*kimkhā*). [*Shiʿr.*]

[The khan] assigned *Muhammad Riza Qoshbegi* to the boats in order to take the royal court, tents (*khayma*), yurts (*khargāh*), camel fodder and camp equipment to the other side of the river, and to set up [a camp] between Qïpchaq and Qanglï,[777] on the bank of the river opposite Chilpuq, while he himself put his blessed foot into the august stirrup and went to circumambulate the holy tomb of his holiness, the model of saints and the *qibla* of the pious, Shaykh Jalil Ata (may God illuminate his grave!), located at the foot of the mountain, near the western notch of Qïsnaq.[778] After performing the pilgrimage he set out to hunt partridges (*keklik*) at the edge of the steppe to the north of the Khoja-köl and the foothills. [Then,] having hunted in the Qapqaqlï forest, he crossed the river *and arrived at the royal camp*. For three days he toured the environs of Qïpchaq and Qanglï and did much hunting. [*Mathnavī.*] (569) In this place the Qaraqalpaq biys came with gifts and presents and enjoyed his majesty's favor. On Friday, the 17th of the month [of Zu'l-Qaʿda],[a] after a hunt, [the khan] stopped on the bank of the river, at the western edge of Yïlan-qïr.[779] The next day he set out, hunted at the Sevgenli, which is the head of the Khoja-eli canal, and stopped [there]. On the evening of the same day the atalïqs of Khoja-eli, under Saʿid Biy, came to welcome his majesty, were admitted to kiss the [royal] stirrup, and were exalted with robes of honor. In this place (570) [the khan] spent one week and made the region of Khoja-eli the hunting ground of the falcon of felicity.

[a] 15 January 1808.

Mathnavi:
This is a wonderful region, very vast,
Like the magnanimity of generous people.
Its surface is quite equal
To the territory of the land of Hindustan.
Even if one were to decide to spend a life-time running to and fro through it,
It is certain that one would not be able to traverse it.
Sown fields stretch far over the plain,
All worth walking through.
There are forests everywhere,
Which would scoff at the [great] forest of Mazanderan.
Every tree that grows in the forests
Casts a shade that covers the terrestrial globe.
Their branches touch the lotus-tree of heaven,
Their roots are tied to the hair of the bull [that supports the earth].[780]
It is so overgrown with thickets
That even a strong wind can not penetrate it.
Each thorn there is a deadly dagger
Which would stab people who come close.
(571) There are countless and endless lakes,
Which look like a green sea.
Waves appear on them whenever the northwind furrows them,
Like frowns on the forehead of angry people.
The reeds show their green there like spears,
Just like a huge army bearing spears.
The people of Aral, like demons of the desert (*ghūl-i biyābān*),—
But say not "like demons of the desert", but, rather, "like beasts",—
Dwell in the midst of such a desert
And walk amidst the Egyptian thorns (*khār-i mughaylān*).
They neither share the company of human beings,
Nor are they aware of civilized behavior (*adab u rasm*).
In the forests and the reeds
There are plenty of harmful creatures,
But it is evident that there is an endless quantity
Of prey and game of all sorts and colors.
When the pheasants fly in all directions,
They fill the sky like the army of locusts.

On the ground they are also innumerable,
[So that] they remain helpless under the hoofs of horses.
(572) The king moved his horse into this valley,
Was flying birds and killing game.
They fell crashing down among the hunters,
[So that] they had no need to fly the birds [to capture them].
The huntsmen rushed in all directions,
Pursuing and capturing countless game.
Within the battue (*jurga*)[a] there was no one left
Who did not chase and capture game on that plain.
Every day the king would go hunting,
And so the hunt lasted for seven days.

Meanwhile, *amir Qara Bahadur Mirab*, who, with a detachment of brave troops, had been with the advance post (*ilghār yatïp*) in Khoja-eli for two months, was honored on Monday, during the hunt, with the kissing of the stirrup of his majesty; and in his place were appointed Allash Bek and the servant of the bedchamber (? *töshekchi*),[781] accompanied by five detachments (*dasta*) of troops. On Friday, [the khan] visited the tomb of the prophet Sham'un, whom some historians mention as Shamsun the Recluse (*'ābid*) and who is buried in Manzilkhan.[782] He brought as an offering a precious robe of honor and a handful of gold to his holiness, *the sayyid*, the pivot of saints, Tursun Khoja, and brought offerings also to his holiness, the guide of mystics, Keday Khoja Ishan, [as well as to] 'Abdi Khoja, 'Isam ad-Din Khoja and others, and was delighted that they prayed for him. On Sunday, the 26th of the month, [the khan] left Sevgenli and stopped near Qanglï, on its eastern side. The next day he hunted at Qarïq-köl,[783] (573) and in the evening, as he sat exercising his generosity, his beneficent hand scattered gold upon the amirs and beks, to each according to his rank, in such abundance that it would be beyond the mind's capacity to count it. Also the following day he favored and delighted the retainers, servants, and troops with copious gifts and innumerable presents. [*Mathnavī.*]

(574) On Wednesday [the khan] exalted the governor (*ḥākim*) of Qïpchaq, Yakhshïlïq Biy, and the governor (*vālī*) of Qanglï, Orazaq Biy, along with their relatives, with the honor of his favor, *and left

[a] The usual pronunciation is *jarga*, but the word is vocalized so in the autograph of Munis.

for Gurlen*. *Oraz ʿAli Inaq* and the governors (*ḥukkām*) of Gurlen were given the honor of kissing the [royal] stirrup in Khïzïr-eli. *His majesty honored Oraz ʿAli Inaq by visiting his home, where they held a banquet. [*Mathnavī*]*. (576) They spent a pleasant time in enjoying the abundance [of food] till the next morning, and after the end of the banquet his majesty was arrayed [by his host] in a gilded outfit (*sarūpāy*), and a noble fleet horse was brought for him. [*Shiʿr.*] (577) He mounted this horse and on Thursday, the last day of the month [of Zu'l-Qaʿda 1222 A.H.],[a] entered the royal capital Khiva with full splendor and indescribable might, sat on his auspicious throne, and his presence, like a very sun, cast a joyous light upon the hearts of the subjects (*fuqarāʾ*).

THE EVENTS OF THE THIRD YEAR OF THE AUGUST REIGN OF HIS MAJESTY THE KHAQAN.

How his majesty set out against the Chowdur rebels and how he returned after defeating that tribe (*el*) and putting it to flight.

The Chowdur tribe (*khalq*), one of the Turkmen tribes, whose essential trait is impudence and whose nature is to rob, had been allied with Töre Murad Sufi, the governor (*ḥākim*) of Qongrat, for a long time, and, with his help, was disobedient and rebellious and committed improper acts and offensive deeds. *To punish them, Muhammad Rahim Bahadur Khan* sent *tovachi*s, severe as Mars, to all provinces of his well-protected kingdom (*mamālik-i maḥrūsa*); (578) he filled the army's shirts of hope with many dirhams of favors, and he made their ever-greedy pockets replete with uncounted dinars as gifts, *and rewarded the devoted servants of the royal court with special generosity*. In a short time, the equipment for the campaign and the supplies for the war were prepared and, with divine assistance and grace, on Sunday 11 Rabiʿ II 1223,[b] at the most propitious time and the most happy hour, *[the khan] mounted his horse* and, together with the illustrious amirs and valiant warriors, unfolded the ever-victorious banners, left the royal capital Khiva and set out

[a] 28 January 1808.
[b] 5 June 1808.

towards their destination. [*Mathnavī*: *(579) on Monday the khan stopped in the locality called Aq-qum*.]

His majesty the khaqan *stayed at this place* for three days until the troops gathered. In three days such a numerous army assembled to the victorious banner, group by group and party by party, that they shook the pillars of the earth and rocked the dome of heaven. (580) [*Mathnavī*.] With this awe-inspiring army, his majesty left Aq-qum and on Friday, in full strength and victorious splendor, *set up his camp in Qïpchaq*. The next day he left Qïpchaq and stopped at Khan-kechu.[784] On Sunday *he set out from there and pitched his camp at the head of the Sallï canal*, <in the vicinity of Khoja-eli>. He remained at that place for three days and engaged in hunting. On Thursday he set out and *lodged in Khoja-eli*. Having gladdened the subjects (*fuqarā' va raʿāyā*) of Khoja-eli with royal favors, he moved from there on Friday and stopped at Qara-köl.[785] On Saturday he set out from there, (581) had breakfast in a place called Turanguli-Bash and <in the evening> arrived at Qum-chungul. He stayed there for one day, and on Monday set up his camp at a lake in the lower reaches of the Mayli-Üzäk <canal (*nahr*)>.[786] The same day his imperial majesty set out with the ever-victorious army against the Chowdurs, designated commanders (*yasaqchi*)[787] to keep order in the ever-victorious ranks, assigned warriors thirsting for revenge and valiant heroes to the right and the left wings, appointed expert archers (*oqchi*) to the center and to the rear, and, having come close to the fortress (*qalʿa*) of the rebels, drew up the troops in battle array. [*Mathnavī*.]

(582) Because of their total ignorance, the base enemies also all came out of the fortress together, lined up their ranks facing the ever-victorious army, and joined battle. On our side, *the brave warriors drew their swords, rushed like lions onto the battlefield and, with successive attacks, put the swinish enemies to flight; pursuing them till they entered the fortress, they killed many of them and [then] laid siege to the fortress.* His majesty gladdened the brave warriors with royal favors and copious gifts and for four days let them destroy the crops of that region. The troops seized a large amount of grain <and threshed it>, while the rest they destroyed, feeding it to the animals.

On the fifth day, which was Saturday, the first day of Jumadi I,[a]

[a] 24 June 1808 (Friday); Saturday corresponds to 2 Jumadi I/25 June.

the rebels saw that all their crops had been destroyed by the animals or seized by the troops, and the harvest of their hopes was burned by the lightning of deprivation. Therefore they came out of the fortress in great number and rushed in a fearless assault upon the ever-victorious army. The ever-victorious army also faced the enemy valiantly, and the fighting was so fierce that the battlefield became softened by the blood of the rebels. The brave warriors struck down the rebels with their sabers, so that their moans and groans reached the celestial heights. [*Mathnavī.*] (583) *In a short time, the victorious army crushed the ranks of the enemy and put them to flight, killing them until they escaped to the fortress*. In this battle, on the side of the ever-victorious army, one of the *nökers* of Yaʿqub Khoja, one man from the detachment (*dasta*) of Shaghal Mahram, and two Yomuts were killed with musket balls (*multuq oqi*); one Durmen warrior, Khuday Nazar Qaq, and two Yomuts were wounded. <But the number of rebels killed, taken prisoner, or fatally wounded is *impossible to comprehend*.>

Upon the petition and supplication of the pillars of the state and the closest nobles, his majesty turned back from this place and on Monday camped on the shore of a lake to the east of the fortress (*qalʿa*) Kuh-i Ten.[788] (584) They stayed at this place for two days and destroyed the crops of the rebels at the edge of the plateau (*qïr*). On Thursday they moved and stopped in Turanguli-Bash. On Friday they set out from there and *set up their camp in Khoja-eli. On Sunday they left Khoja-eli and, proceeding rapidly, arrived auspiciously in the royal capital Khiva on Tuesday evening at dusk.*

How his imperial majesty went for the second time to punish the Chowdur rebels, and how that rebellious community, like a swarm of flies hiding in the corner from the gust of a gale, received news of this, and fled to the town of Qongrat and entered it; how his majesty set out to conquer the Qaraqalpaqs and brought them to submission; and how the Qongrat rebels were thoroughly punished.

In the same year *his majesty, the auspicious sultan and the mighty khaqan, [*Nazm*], (585) Muhammad Rahim Bahadur Khan*, set off personally for a campaign against Aral. The first reason for this campaign was the following: Some of the Aral Qaraqalpaqs, being sincere and loyal, sent a petition: "If the ever-victorious army should

come promptly to take care of [us], his desert-dwelling subjects (*fuqarā-yi ṣaḥrā-nishīn*), and if it should cover the distance to show kindness to [us], his grief-stricken fugitives, we would leave without fear [thereby escaping] the oppression of Töre Murad Sufi (may God withhold his assistance from him, as well as from the rebels!), we would set up our tents in the desert, under the [khan's] protection, and devote ourselves to prayers for his felicity. [*Shi'r.*]" The second reason was the following: At the end of Shavval,[a] a Russian caravan from Yangi-qal'a, a part of which was a Khorezmian caravan, [*Mathnavī*], left that town (*qal'a*) and came together with Qazaq merchants from the tribe Tabïn. This town is a trading place (*sawdākhāna*) built by the Russians on the bank of the Atil,[789] after they had banished the Qazaqs from there by force. (586) When the caravan was nearing Old Vazir, the Chowdur tribe (*khalq*), for whom robbery is [in] their nature, learned about it and attacked the caravan. The people of the caravan surrounded themselves with a wall (*qurghan*) made up of their loads, and for eight days they fought and exchanged fire. It is related that when they ran short of lead, for two days they shot bullets made out of copper and silver. [*Mathnavī.*]

On the ninth day Ish Muhammad Bek came from Qongrat with numerous men to help the Chowdurs. They built a *sarkūb* and fired [from it] upon the people of the caravan, but did not achieve anything. Finally, they came up with a ruse and proposed peace, demanding tolls (*bāj*). The people of the caravan were on the brink of death for lack of water, and agreed to peace. So it was that the villains entered the caravan and plundered it.

When this horrible news reached the ears of his majesty, a royal order was issued to prepare the provisions for a campaign. After *Karim-Berdi Atalïq and Muhammad Riza Qoshbegi* (587) returned from a raid against the rebellious Teke and Sarïqs in the region of Merv, [the khan] sent *tovachi*s, stern and ferocious like Mars, to all provinces (*mamālik*) to gather the brave army, and he honored the high-ranking amirs, the prominent commanders and the mighty warriors with numerous gifts and largesses. He entrusted the preparation of everything needed for the campaign to the great amir and the honored counselor, Nizam al-Mulk va'd-Din Yusuf Mehter and Yar Muhammad Divanbegi. He placed *Qutlugh Murad Inaq* as

[a] Mid-September 1808.

his deputy (*nā'ib*) in the city (*shahr*) [of Khiva] and appointed Khoja Murad Biy, Muhammad Amin Aqa and Muhammad Arbab to his service. To protect the roads to Khorasan, he assigned the *nöker*s of the aforementioned amir under the command of Iskandar Khoja Bekabadi. On Monday 23 Zu'l-Qa'da [1223],[a] when the sun that lights the world was in the sign of Aquarius, [*Nazm*], (588) *the khan mounted his horse* and, with great pomp and splendor, set out in the morning from the royal capital Khiva. [*Shi'r.*]

By the time of the night prayer *the khan arrived* at Ambar-qal'a, which is his royal domain (*khāṣṣa-i sharīfa*) and for which his favor had been the architect that had made it prosperous and populous. Qutluq Muhammad Bek ibn Hasan Murad Atalïq and Qïlïch Niyaz, son of Mir 'Ali Divanbegi, who were the overseers (*mushrif*) of the royal domain (*khāṣṣa-i sharīfa*), rendered praiseworthy service and were selected to receive royal favors. After sunrise, his imperial majesty left the aforementioned town and stopped at *the royal camp*, which had been brought and set up earlier,[790] to the west of the town of Qïpchaq. The governor (*vālī*) of Qïpchaq, Yakhshïlïq Biy, son of Allah-Berdi Biy, [*Mathnavī*: describing the extraordinary beauty of Yakhshïlïq Biy], (589) together with his brothers, as well as Orazaq Biy with the people of Qanglï, duly showed their loyalty and were exalted with august favors. On Thursday *the khan set out and made his camp at the western skirt of Yïlan-qïr*. In this place the victorious army gathered from all provinces, group by group and party by party, and it became such a multitude that if one would have left his detachment it would have been impossible to find it again. [*Nazm.*] (590) In this place, on Saturday, the 28th of the said month,[b] this humble [author] became ill and was confined to his sick-bed. [*Shi'r.*]

(591) The same day news reached his majesty's servants that the Chowdur rebels, having heard that his royal majesty had set out against them with a large army, had abandoned their fortress (*qurghan*), and, with the help of Töre Murad Sufi, had fled, in despair and by necessity, finding shelter in the town of Qongrat, and that the caravan which had remained in Yangi-qal'a was travelling safely. As an escort to the caravan [the khan] sent Oraz 'Ali Inaq, Allash Bek

[a] 9 January 1809.
[b] 14 January.

and Muhammad Jan Bek, with the troops and *nökers* under their command, having attached to them the Yomut troops as well. They escorted the caravan through the dangerous stations, and in Qara-Shafaq-qayir[791] were honored to kiss the [royal] threshold. Also that same day Oraz Bahadur and Adam Bahadur, sons of ʿAbdallah Sardar, and Allah Nazar Bajaqi, who is from the same tribe (*el*) as this humble [author],[792] came back. Having obtained his majesty's permission in the city (*shahr*) [of Khiva], they had gone on a raid against Qongrat. After plundering the house of the younger brother of Oraz ʿAli Kiyat and killing his son and his men, they brought back their heads and plentiful booty and were chosen from among their peers to receive endless favors [from the khan], thus learning the true meaning of the *ḥadīth* "*The key to my daily bread is under my lance.*"[a] [*Shiʿr.*] (592) *His majesty was very glad about these joyous events and uttered prayers of thanksgiving and praise to the Lord Almighty.* [*Qiṭʿa.*]

And also the same day, the nobles and the people of Khoja-eli, under Saʿid Khoja Biy, as well as the nobles and chiefs of the Qaraqalpaqs living in the region of Khoja-eli, came to welcome [the khan] with gifts and presents and were admitted to kissing the royal threshold. On Monday [the khan] set out, flew birds on the bank of the river and went to the sublime court at the head of the Sevgenli [canal]. This humble [author], who had become quite weak with the increasing pains of travel, obtained the permission [of the khan] and left (593) for the town of Khoja-eli, whose people (*khalq*) are a group (*el*) bound (?) to me since the start of his royal majesty's reign; and, having arrived there, I collapsed upon my sick-bed. For twenty days I lay seriously ill, and those who came to visit me would leave with wails, having lost all hope. [*Mathnavī.*] On the twenty-first day, with God's kindness, thanks to the supplication of the dervishes, my illness was somewhat alleviated and I came to my senses. On the twenty-third day, my younger brother Er Niyaz put me on a wagon and went back. Within twelve days after I came home I recovered and stood on my feet. Praise be to God, who revives the dead! [Verses without heading.]

On Thursday 3 Zu'l-Hijja [1223],[b] his majesty left Sevgenli *and stopped at Qara-Shafaq-qayir*. In this place (*yurt*) there arrived,

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[a] See Wensinck, II, 254.
[b] 19 January 1809.

from among the Qaraqalpaqs, Maqat Biy ibn Esen-Keldi Mahram, who came because of his loyalty, and Hasan Bay's envoy accompanying [the returning] Sayyid Bek Qosh-Küprüki, who had been sent at Yïlan-qïr as an envoy to the Qaraqalpaqs. (594) They brought appropriate gifts, prostrated themselves in servitude before the sublime court and were honored with gifts from his majesty. [*Rubāʿī.*]

Having sent ʿAvaz Inaq, the cream of the Manghïts, with the troops from the region of Khiva to protect Khoja-eli, [the khan] had a bridge built over the Amu, [crossed the river] and set up his camp in Keng-qayir.[793] The rest of the army gathered in this place, and on Tuesday they came to the bank of the Qul-Yarghan canal. In this place (*yurt*) the tribe (*el*) of Maqat Biy, which numbered a thousand families of Qaraqalpaqs, came and pledged their allegiance. His majesty showed his kindness to them and granted them [winter] pastures and summer pastures (*otlaq va yaylaq*) in the region of Khoja-eli. [*Qiṭʿa.*] And the tribe (*el*) of Hasan Bay, whose people had for many years, under the protection of Töre Murad Sufi, taken pride in their great number, and among whom the malice of sedition and rebellion had taken a firm place in their villainous minds or was even inherent in their ill-starred nature, regretted that they had pledged allegiance and fled to Qongrat, by way of rebellion. [*Mathnavī.*] On their way their filthy minds were seized with fear and, having abandoned their property and animals, they hastily ran away. Therefore most of their property and animals were lost.

At the same station one of the warriors caught a fierce tiger (*shīr-i ghurranda*),[794] [*Nazm*], (596) in the vicinity of Qïran-qïr[795] and brought it to the sublime court.

The victorious army left the Qul-Yarghan canal (*nahr*) and set up the court of felicity and the magnificent royal tent-enclosure (*sarāparda*) in the land (*yurt*) of the Manghïts. Karim-Berdi Atalïq, ʿAbdallah Inaq and Khojash Mahram, with their troops and *nökers*, who preferred the field of battle to the cushions of the feast, were sent in pursuit of the Qaraqalpaq train (*köch*). But they could not overtake them and came back with the news that *the enemies* had reached the fortress (*qalʿa*) of Samiʿ-Bar near the town of Qongrat, and made a *küren*. In this place the ever-victorious army raided the environs and captured plenty of property and animals, as well as crops.

How his majesty, on the night of the Festival of the Sacrifice, sat on the throne of pleasure, made a festive banquet, and showed an inclination for drink, as red as the blood of the sacrifice, which, [in the Qur'ānic phrase] "To drink a pure draught,"[a] makes one intoxicated; details of this joyous feast and a description of this exhilarating pleasure.

*When the night came and the moon and the stars appeared in the sky, (597) an assembly (*majlis*) was arranged as ordered by his majesty,* which was

Mathnavī:
Refined, as the mind of the pure,
Charming, as the beauty of people like peris.
With its pure perfume it was as a hyacinth-garden,
With delicate rose scent it was as a flower-garden.
From the air in that place the mind and soul became scented,
From the breeze there hearts became perfumed.
It was lit by the torches of good omen,
Illuminated by magnificent light;
Fragrant like Khotan from the smoke of its incense,
Pleasing like Iram with its adornments and decorations.
Its purity made the bridal chambers of paradise seem inadequate,
It was so pleasant that even the houris of paradise would have been amazed.
Its carpets were all thick and multi-colored,
Its cushions were studded with all kinds of gems.
A throne of emerald (sic!) was erected there,
And the victorious king sat upon it.
(598) He wore festive royal garments,
On his head was a royal aigrette (*otagha*).
Sunlike from head to foot he was,
Immersed in gold with his ornaments.
Those who were distinguished had their place in front of him,
The delight of the conversation intoxicated them.
Now the king took the festive cup in his hand
And drank juice (*sharbat*) and date wine (*khurmā nabīdi*).

[a] Qur'ān, LXXVI,21.

[Then] he offered the cup of his kindness to the favorites,
Intoxicating them with his generosity.
Now the numerous servants, their faces [fair] as roses,
Brought hundreds of trays (*kh*^{w}*ān*) at every moment.
On each of them was arranged food of a hundred colors
Which the sophisticated guests would taste.
At times they would bring many golden juices
Of various fruits, full to the brim.
At other times they would bring golden plates,
Full of honey and sugar, and sweet halva.
Having sated their appetites with food and drink,
They took a break from feasting.
(599) They opened the [Holy] Book and revealed
Subtle points in the understanding.
They found the meaning of every expression—
Discerning people, whose nature perceives subtleties.
At time they discussed questions of Qur'ān interpretation (*tafsīr*),
At others, some matters of the science of Tradition (*ḥadīth*).
At times they mentioned problems of jurisprudence (*fiqh*),
Adding, now and then, to their virtues.
At other, they solved the difficulties in the [Science of the] Creed (*ʿaqā'id*),
Finding all kinds of implicit meanings in the articles of faith.
At times they discussed wisdom (*ḥikmat*),
And its rules (*aḥkām*) became clear to them.
At others they endeavored to probe theology (*ʿilm-i kalām*)
And to set its canons finally (*ḥāṣil-i kalām*).
At times they touched upon the grace of mysticism,
Mastering the science of the Sufism.
At other they became immersed in exploring ethics (*akhlāq*),
Implanting better ethics in the heart.
At times they showed an inclination towards history,
And made known the circumstances of every tribe.
(600) At others poets, in [their] eloquence,
Scattered treasures from their poems.
Some investigated figures of rhetoric,
Some defined the forms of poetry.
At times they solved the secrets of a poetic riddle (*muʿammā*),
Explained how to extract a name [from it].
At other they deliberated upon an improvisation,
Plucked a rose from the rose-garden of elegant [speech].

But all this time the [khan,] king of the world,
Outdid them all in eloquence.
Thus did the favorites enjoy themselves, until dawn,
Together with the exalted king.[796]
Alas! malevolent cruel fate
Made me forgotten at this entertainment.[a]
The soldiers also made an illumination,
Making the army camp like heavenly bedchamber.
The royal camp site (*orda-bazar*)[797] so bedecked with decorations,
That it was like a rose-garden in spring—
Both the lofty tents and pavilions (*khayma u khargāh*)
And the humble camps and dwellings (*qoshlar u bungāhlar*).[798]
(601) The people in charge of the entertainment
Prepared all necessary supplies for the celebration.
[Everybody] wore festive garb,
Nay, not festive, but kingly garb.
In cheerfulness they achieved their desires
And constantly prayed for the king's welfare.

***** Although the sacred *sharī'a* does not permit people who are on a journey to perform the sacrifice, *after the sunrise* his royal majesty, in conformity with [the *ḥadīth*] "*Almsgiving drives away misfortune and prolongs one's life*," very magnanimously and piously sacrificed innumerable camels, bulls, and sheep and donated them to the subjects (*fuqarā'*) and the poor (*masākīn*). Most of the closest nobles and pillars of the state also did the same, and filled the army camp with sacrifices.

On Saturday, the 12th of the month [of Zu'l-Hijja 1223],[b] they set up their camp on the bank of Kirkirawk, a canal which is called also Öküz-Ketken.[799] The same day *some warriors*, by the august order of his majesty, made a raid on the environs of the town of Qongrat and the vicinities of the Qaraqalpaq *küren*. They captured many prisoners, returned with plentiful booty and were honored with august favors and royal largesses. After a royal order was issued, the grand vizier and honored counselor, Nizam al-Mulk va'd-Din <Muhammad> Yusuf Mehter and the noble, dignified and wise amir Muhammad Riza Qoshbegi, (602) made great efforts and built a bridge during the night.

[a] I.e., Munis was not present.
[b] 28 January 1809.

How *his majesty* besieged the *küren* of the tribe of Hasan Bay and drew up his army in battle array, and how this tribe abandoned the *küren* and collapsed to the ground in submission.

On Sunday, the 13th of the month,[a] [the khan], having assigned amir ʿAbdallah Inaq, with the troops of On-Tört-Urugh, to the advance-guard (*harāvul*)[800] and sent it forward, sent the army across the bridge and moved in such a great strength and superior numbers that the terrestrial globe trembled and the mirror of the sun became dim from the galloping of horses fleet as the wind. [*Mathnavī.*] (603) *Proceeding in this way*, they surrounded the Qaraqalpaq *küren* and drew up the troops in battle array between it and the town of Qongrat. Having prepared the implements of war, they beat the drum of battle. [*Mathnavī.*] (604) *When the rebels saw this awesome army ready for battle, (605) they were seized with fear,* [*Qiṭʿa*], repented of their disobedience and rebellion and, guided by reason, hung their swords and shrouds around their necks, went out, kissed the hooves of the horse of his imperial majesty and put their humiliated faces to the ground in token of defeat. [*Bayt.*] Due to his extreme clemency and exceptional kindness, and in conformity with [the saying] "*Forgiveness out of strength comes from the greatness of rank*," his majesty *pardoned their crimes, and pardoned also Hasan Bay*, who before all this had gone to Qongrat to ask Töre Murad Sufi for help and then, having learned about the predicament of his tribe, had fled and prostrated himself in utter shame on the lowly ground. His majesty gave them the order (*yarlïq*): "Move off!" This numerous tribe, with Hasan Bay at the head, willingly carried out the order, abandoned the *küren* and began to move off. Despite the great number of women, children, animals and property, they set out by the evening, leaving nothing behind, not even a whip. His majesty the khaqan sent (606) convoys (*sürdavul*), severe like Mars, to follow them, returned to his camp, and decided the next day, on Monday, to set out against the town of Qongrat. That night, therefore, the soldiers and commanders did not sleep, but were busy with preparing their arms [for battle]. [*Naẓm.*] (607) The wretched minds of the enemies of the state, that is the Aral rebels under Töre Murad Sufi,

[a] 29 January.

were seized with fear and terror; they sent guards of trusted men to patrol the town and prepared for defense. [*Naẓm.*]

(608) How his imperial majesty, mighty as heaven, moved the army against Qongrat, and how the brave warriors wreaked havoc on the battlefield; and how the rebels suffered crushing blows from the warriors and fled and escaped behind the city wall (*qurghan*).

After sunrise, the closest nobles and the pillars of the state, the great amirs and the eminent viziers, the honorable beks and the warriors (*bahādur*) ferocious like Mars, with the troops and *nökers* under their command, [drew up and] faced the royal tent ready for action. [*Shiʿr.*]

His royal majesty, having finished his prayers and abstinence, donned the coat of mail of trust in God on his august body, tied the armor (*chārqab*) of [God's] protection on all four sides, girded his blessed waist with the belt of zeal, attached the dagger of courage to it, hung the sword of bravery at his valiant side, fastened the vambraces of [divine] support to the forearm of confidence [in God], put the gilded helmet of felicity on his fortunate head, and strode resolutely from the sublime tent; he quenched the thirst of those who eagerly expected him with drops from the cloud of his presence and gladdened the eyes of those who awaited him with the radiant sun of his appearance.[801]

Mathnavī:
The prosperous king went out of his tent (*khargāh*),
Like the sun from the constellation of glory.
He wore a white *kirawka* upon (?) his armor,[802]
Upon the garb of God's deliverance on the day of battle,
[As well as] a golden robe and priceless silk (*aṭlas*)—
He was immersed in gold from head to foot.
On his head was seen an aigrette (*jīgha*),
Which added beauty and lustre to the golden crown (*afsar*).[803]
[. . . . . .]
It was set with rubies,
And Jaʿfar's gold was mingled with it;[804]
Adorned in this manner, like the sun,
He mounted a heavenly steed.
[. . . . . .]

(610) Many footmen (*farrāsh*) cleared his way,
Removing from it the traces of sticks and thorns.
Seeking to settle the dust,
Many water-carriers sprinkled the road with water.
Ahead [of him] moved many thousands of men,
All of them bearing *zanbūrak*s and *shamkhāl*s.
[. . . . . .]
Many guards (*dūrbāsh*) drove the people from the road,
Their hands bearing lances that could tear heart out.
After them came several criers (*jabbārgūy*),
Each of them raising shouts to the heavens.
Next [came] a group of nine runners (*shāṭir*), of fortunate footsteps,
All of them able to cross the world in a single moment.
Yet they were like shining moon, the adornment of beauty;
I said it wrong: more like a radiant sun.
(611) The bells attached [to them] were forms of the sun,
A hundred tunes came from each of them.[805]
They played a hundred thousand melodies (*uṣūl*) as they walked,
Angels came down [from heaven] to watch this spectacle.
The king of the world rode his steed after them,
And made the honored road exalted by his resolute gait.
He was distinguished upon the heavenly steed,
Exalted like the sun above the people (*ulus*).
Over his head was a great parasol
Adorned with a mixture of gold and silver.
The banner of victory cast its shade upon him,
Its mooncrest (*mahja*) glittered like the sun.
Behind him came kings (?) and princes,
Commanders and nobles (*āzādalar*),
With banners ever ready for victory
And the troops under their command.
Such a crowd was displayed [there]
That one could say it was like the Day of Ressurrection, but one hundredfold [more].

After they came close to the city wall (*qurghan*) of Qongrat, his majesty stopped on the way and, having examined the condition of the ever-victorious army, formed it into detachments which he sent against the enemy, (612) in the following way. Against the enemies of the

state, he first of all despatched *ʿAbdallah Inaq* son of Muhammad Niyaz Inaq and Töre Murad Atalïq son of Vali Atalïq, from among the Qïpchaq chiefs (*dūdmān*), and Yakhshïlïq Parvanachi and Muhammad Biy, nobles of the Qanglï, along with the troops of the On-Tört-Urugh. After them he sent Qïlïch Inaq and Qara Bahadur Mirab, leading men[a] of the Qïyat, and *Muhammad Riza Qoshbegi*, a leading noble[b] of the Qongrats, along with the troops of the Qïyat-Qongrat. After them he sent, in succession, and accompanied by their detachments (*dasta*): Sayyid Yaʿqub Khoja, Yusuf Niyaz Bek, Khojam-Berdi Bek, Qalandar Bek, Muhammad Jan Bek, Allash Bek, Qadïr-Berdi Bek, and Niyaz Muhammad Bay, all of them commanders (*sipahdār*); ʿAvaz-Berdi Yüzbashi, Qosh Nazar Yüzbashi, Ish Muhammad Yüzbashi, and Khoja Murad Yüzbashi, all of them *shamkhālchī*; Shir Muhammad Shaghal, Ishaq Shaykh, and ʿAbd ar-Rahman Yüzbashi, all of them musketeers (*tufangchi*). After these he sent the innumerable Turkmen troops, under Quvanch Sufi, Ata Muhammad Onbegi, Berdi Bek, Muhammad Niyaz Körche Sardar, Qaqa Sardar, and Muhammadcha Sardar, all Yomuts, and under Geldi Khan and Nadir Sardar, all Yemrelis, as well as the Qaraqalpaq tribes, under the Qaraqalpaq chiefs Aydost Biy, Qadïr-Bergen Biy, Qosh-Bergen Biy, and Shaghal Biy. All these aforementioned amirs and commanders (*sarkarda*) crossed the Tallïq and drew up the troops in battle array opposite Qongrat.[806] Having organized the center and the right and left wings, all the amirs and commanders stood firm, with dignity and steadfastness, under their standards and banners (*ʿalam u baydaq*). In conformity with [the saying] "*Fighting a rebel is like fighting an apostate*," the brave warriors stood ready for battle.

The chieftain of the rebels, (613) Töre Murad Sufi, because of his utter ignorance, brought the troops of the Qongrats, Manghïts, Chowdurs and others, mounted and unmounted, together with [other] ill-omened enemies of the state, outside the town; they crossed [the Amu-Darya] upon the ice and he drew up the troops in battle array with his back to the river and the town. He assigned his commanders to the right and left wings, while he himself, together with Ish Muhammad Bek and Soyun Biy Qïyat, set up their banner, bound

[a] Lit. "pillars."
[b] Lit. "cream."

for defeat, and stood, utterly base, in the ignominious center. [*Nazm*, (613–617) describing the battle.]

(617) *At this time, the brave warriors attacked the enemies and piled up their bodies in heaps*. In one incident, Qadïr-Berdi Bek, who was an extremely daring warrior, set up his banner in the middle of the battlefield and, with his detachment (*dasta*), *boldly attacked the enemy*. Suddenly an arrow struck him and he fell from his horse. As soon as his father Qara Bahadur Mirab, as well as Allash Bek, Ruz Muhammad Khan and Adina Bay Bahadur, *saw this horrible thing, they fearlessly rushed upon the soldiers of Aral, dispersed them with their swords and lances and took Qadïr-Berdi Bek from the battlefield. After they came to the camp, he died. [*Rubāʿī.*]* (618) Adina Bay Bahadur was wounded and returned [from the battlefield], and two men from the detachment of Shaghal Mahram were killed. Many of the rebels also were killed and wounded.

At that time the steppe was shrouded in dust, and amidst the dust *the royal army* was seen, while the roll of the kettle-drums and the roar of the trumpets (*karranāy*s) deafened the ears of the firmament with their sound, and the mooncrest of the ever-victorious standard flashed like lightning and the splendor of its glitter outshone the sun which lights the world. [*Bayt.*] His majesty came with such awe-inspiring magnificence and, following the formation of the above-mentioned amirs, lined up the ever-victorious ranks. To the right wing he appointed Khuday Nazar Atalïq, one of the Manghït dignitaries, and Allah Nazar Biy and Bek Balta Mirab from among the Nokuz chiefs, with the troops of the Nokuz-Manghït. And to the left wing he assigned Karim-Berdi Atalïq, an Uyghur noble, and Oraz ʿAli Inaq, a Nayman notable, with the troops of the Uyghur-Nayman. In the center (*qalbgāh*) he set up the ever-victorious banner and stayed there in full majesty. *Sayyid Yusuf Khoja Naqib*, (619) the perspicacious amir Shah Niyaz Atalïq, and the grand vizier Yusuf Mehter were busy lining up the ranks in the right and left wings of the center (*ong va sol qolda*). Before that, Töre Murad Sufi and the vile enemies, unable to withstand the great amirs in [a regular] battle, had continued fighting in the "attack and retreat" manner. But when they saw this awe-inspiring magnificence, their vicious minds were seized with terror, and they had no choice but to disperse, flee to the town and fortify themselves there. [*Nazm.*] The ever-victorious troops chased them and were about to run into the town, but his majesty sent Qïlïch Inaq, Muhammad Riza Qoshbegi

and Muhammad Niyaz Bek and brought them back, and returned, victorious, to the royal camp.

The next day he rested on the seat of repose and gladdened the warriors who had distinguished themselves in the battle with infinite favors and royal largesses. On Wednesday, the 17th of the month [of Zu'l-Hijja 1223],[a] they again set out to Qongrat and besieged the town, but however much they urged at it with their horses and shot at it, the vile enemies would not venture to go out of the city wall (*qal'a*). The illustrious amirs headed by Shah Niyaz Atalïq considered it appropriate to return, and his majesty did not reject their opinion, and so they went back to the royal camp.

(620) Numerous people (*el*) from the Qaraqalpaq tribes had lived in the locality Mahipaz, between the Qazaq-Darya[807] and the [Aral] Sea. They had two rulers (*ḥākim*) named Aymirza and Manatay. The late monarch Eltüzer Muhammad Bahadur Khan had raided this tribe (*jamā'a*), conquered them and resettled them at Aq-Yaqïsh. After the death of the late khan, they had again returned, settled in their previous locality and submitted to Qongrat. At the time of the campaign, Manatay had gone to Töre Murad Sufi. Aymirza, having heard that his majesty had moved the army against the rebels and resettled the tribe of Hasan Bay, had secretly pledged allegiance [to Khiva] and sent an envoy to his majesty's servants. This envoy arrived on Thursday, bringing presents and declaring allegiance. His majesty appointed Muhammad Niyaz Gerchek with a part of the army to resettle the tribe of Aymirza, and the next day, the 19th of the month,[b] *went back* [to Khiva]. Since the tribe of Aymirza did not come soon enough and the khan feared that something might have happened, he left the banks of the Qarabayli in the direction of Qushkhana[808] and set up his camp at Qosh-köl.[809] Aymirza left with his own tribe (*el*) and with the tribe (*ulus*) of Manatay and came to that place, where he and Muhammad Niyaz Gerchek had the honor to kiss the ground [before the khan]. His majesty granted Aymirza and the elders of his tribe royal robes of honor and dispatched Shah Niyaz Atalïq and Muhammad Riza Qoshbegi, with four thousand select troops, to bring in the crops of that people. Having taken the crops, the qoshbegi, according to an august order,

[a] 2 February 1809 (Thursday); Wednesday corresponds to 16 Zu'l-Hijja/1 February.
[b] 5 February.

remained to collect *zakāt* from the Qaraqalpaqs living on the banks of the Kök-Üzäk and the Ishim and at Aq-Yaqïsh, (621) while Shah Niyaz Atalïq joined the august camp in Khoja-eli. His imperial majesty left Qosh-köl and after three days arrived in Khoja-eli, where he dismissed the *qara cherik*. He appointed men to collect *zakāt* from the Qaraqalpaqs inhabiting this region, while he himself cheered his heart with the entertainment of the hunt for several days. After the arrival of Shah Niyaz Atalïq, the khan went to the Old Urgench and had the honor of visiting the tombs of saints (may their spirits be blessed!), the chief of whom was the sultan of martyrs, the proof of the blessed, the shaykh of shaykhs, Najm ad-Din Abu'l-Jannab al-Kubra (may his grave be hallowed!). Having obtained [spiritual] help and support from [his] holy spirit (*arvāḥ-i ṭayyiba*) and gladdened the guardians [of the tombs] with copious offerings, he returned.

On Tuesday, the last day of the month,[a] he left Khoja-eli, and on Thursday 2 Muharram[b] stopped in the vicinity of the town of Manghït, on the bank of the Atalïq-arna. In this place (*yurt*), a growth developed on his majesty's chin. [*Shi'r.*] After two days he felt somewhat better and was on the way to recovery. Having left this place, he came to Ambar, and on Monday, the 6th of the month,[c] he sat on his generous throne *and liberally rewarded* the amirs and the favorites (*nudamā'*), (622) the great and the small. [*Nazm.*] When the sun reached its zenith, he left and at the time of the night prayer arrived in the royal capital Khiva, and his felicity brought peace of mind and tranquility to the city's (*shahr*) populace under the shadow of his auspicious fortune. [*Mathnavī.*]

(623) THE REMARKABLE EVENTS OF THE FOURTH YEAR AFTER THE AUSPICIOUS ACCESSION OF HIS MAJESTY THE KHAQAN.

How Khoja Murad Biy raised one rebellion after another, as the saying goes "Horror upon horror," and how he was put to death together with his sons because of his accursed ingratitude.

[a] 14 February 1809.
[b] 16 February.
[c] 20 February.

*** (624) For an evil man, who deviates from the path of sincerity and turns his steps to misguided wandering towards the perilous wilderness of hypocrisy, no drink except the poison of punishment can quench the consuming thirst of his overwhelming passion. And for an unreliable man, who leaves the land of concord and runs to and fro exciting sedition in the country of disobedience, no sword except the saber of wrath can cut the chain of his rebellious actions. If you give him the drink of kindness, he starts a drunken brawl; and if you extend the favor of good fortune to him, he raises the banner of ingratitude. In accordance with [the saying] "*Ultimately each deed finds its recompense*," he loses his head and destroys his family because of his accursed wickedness.

So it happened that in 1224 A.H., which was the Year of the Snake, in the middle of Muharram,[a] Khoja Murad Biy was put to death with his five sons as a result of evil acts and criminal deeds of this kind. The details of this event are briefly as follows. In the happy days of the late amir ʿAvaz Biy Inaq, Khoja Murad Biy, together with his younger brother Töre Murad Sufi, raised the banner of disobedience and for eleven years firmly and resolutely followed the path of hostility and enmity. Having been forced to submit to *the late* Eltüzer Muhammad Bahadur Khan and wear the collar of obedience, he banished Töre Murad Sufi from the country (*yurt*) because of a lack of mutual sympathy. After the tragic death of the late khan, Töre Murad Sufi, with the assistance and aid of Mir Haydar Khan, the ruler (*vālī*) of Bukhara, came, entered Qongrat and ousted Khoja Murad Biy[810] and his dependents from the country (*mamlakat*). The latter, helpless and despondent, turned to the sublime court *of his majesty (625) Muhammad Rahim Bahadur Khan*, before [the khan's] accession to the throne of the kingdom, while he was still *inaq*, and attained the honor of kissing the [royal] threshold. With every passing day his majesty lavished royal largesses and infinite favors upon him, granted him the rank of *ṣadr* (*ṣadārat manṣabi*)[811] and made a point of increasing his salary (*vazā'if*) and elevating his rank (*marātib*). Despite such great kindness, he set in motion the chain of discord, impelled by his rare baseness and innate wickedness, and by seduction and devilry, led Muhammad Riza Bek astray from the straight road and [ultimately] brought about the rebellion and execution of that prince (*amīrzāda*). [*Qiṭʿa.*]

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[a] End of February 1809.

(626) When the Khoja-eli were sent to their *yurt*, he and *Qïlïch Inaq*, with numerous troops, were appointed to protect this people (*el*). He coveted possession of the fortress (*ḥiṣār*) of Khoja-eli and invited his younger brother Töre Murad Sufi from Qongrat for help. Qïlïch Inaq became aware of this perfidy and *took great care in preparing the defense*. Therefore Töre Murad Sufi turned back without achieving his goal. When *Qutlugh Murad Inaq* (may the Most High God protect him from misfortune!) was returning from his campaign against the Chowdurs, Khoja Murad Biy became frightened about the perfidy committed by him, in accordance with [the saying] "*The traitor is fearful*,"[a] separated from the royal army (*mawkab-i ʿālī*) and went to his younger brother. There he was also in a frenzy, but could not achieve anything and, being rejected and cast off, again turned to the sublime court of his majesty. Out of his great clemency, his majesty deleted the records of his misdeeds with his merciful pen, granted him his previous post (*manṣab*) and salary (*vazīfa*), and demonstrated his august kindness. [*Bayt.*]

After some time, his old wickedness, together with his new desire for evil-doing, (627) again threw his soul into turmoil, and he began to correspond with Töre Murad Sufi. When his majesty went against Qongrat, he left Khoja Murad Biy in the royal capital Khiva in the service of <Qutlugh Murad> Inaq. An absurd idea and vain delusion came to his head, and he set up a strong covenant and made a firm pledge to make common cause in disobedience and hostility with some ruffians and scoundrels of Urgench and Gurlen, with whom he had friendly relations. He decided to enter the protected city (*balada-i maḥfūẓa*) of Urgench and waited for a good opportunity to do so. He committed this criminal and unlawful scheme to writing and sent it with a scout to Töre Murad Sufi. The scout was captured near Qongrat and brought to the khan. After he made sure that this story was true, his majesty the khaqan took great care to conceal it so that this accursed man, when he learned of [the discovery of his plan], would not flee himself, nor would his accomplices, in fear of their own lives. In the city (*shahr*) [of Khiva], the great amir Qutluq Murad Inaq was informed about the villainous intentions of Khoja Murad Biy. The inaq, after verifying this news, sent a message, through a trustworthy man, to the threshold of the

[a] Arabic proverb.

caliphate. This news reached the noble ears of his majesty when he was on the banks of the Arna.[a] He promptly dispatched Yar Muhammad Divanbegi to the inaq, saying: "His sinful ideas and vicious intentions were also clearly revealed to us by a spy. [*Bayt.*] (628) You should not let the reins of prudence and caution slip out of the hand of authority, but on Monday 6 Muharram[b] you should seize this old enemy together with the people close to him and imprison them in the dungeon of ignominy. God willing, we will arrest his son and his paternal uncle Sayyid Nazar Biy, who are here." After this ineluctable order reached the inaq, he sent a man to Khoja Murad Biy at dawn on the set day, which was Monday, saying: "His majesty the khan has today left Ambar and is coming; your excellency should come here and go together [with us] to welcome him." When Khoja Murad Biy heard this news, according to [the proverb] "*When fate comes, sight goes blind*," he forgot about prudence and caution despite his seditious intentions, and came to the citadel (*ärk*) together with Allah Qut Nayman, and went to the inaq. Incidentally, at that time several *'ulamā'*, headed by Qazi Muhammad Vafa Ishan, had a conversation with the inaq. When the biy came, the inaq went out and ordered Yar Muhammad Divanbegi and his own servant (*mulāzim*) Murad Jan Hazaraspi to seize this ringleader of the sedition. Yar Muhammad Divanbegi came in and stepped forward, as if intending to shake hands; and, as he stretched out his hand to greet the biy, he seized the biy's hand and pulled him. At this moment Murad Jan came and seized the biy by the collar, and they brought him to the dungeon and imprisoned him. They made Allah Qut Nayman share his company also [in prison] and sent men to his sons and home. Of his sons, they seized Qutluq Murad Bek, Bek Murad Bek and 'Avaz Niyaz Bek, who were still lying sound asleep, and brought them to the prison. But Qutluq Murad Bek learned of it, (629) put on womens' clothing and fled. They caught him in this state and brought him to prison also. Most of their property was plundered.

On that day *his majesty* gave orders for the arrest of Sayyid Nazar Biy and the elder son of Khoja Murad Biy, namely Jan Murad Bek, who had served at the [khan's] august stirrup during this campaign, and to put them in the fetters of misfortune. Having set out,

[a] I.e. Atalïq-arna (Manghït-arna).
[b] 20 February 1809.

he arrived in the royal capital Khiva at the time of the night prayer, as mentioned above. Khoja Murad Biy was tortured for four or five days and the next Monday, the 13th of the month,[a] he was executed in the *ḥawlī* of Töre Murad Atalïq. After him they sent his four sons and Allah Qut Nayman on the journey to the Next World. "*Whatever God wills, happens.*"[b]

A HAPPY COINCIDENCE: A son of Khoja Murad Biy named Er Niyaz Bek had quarrelled with his father for some reason and had gone to Manghïshlaq. To bring him back, his father has sent Berdi Bahadur after him, and the latter went to Manghïshlaq, reconciled him with his father, and brought him back. When he entered the country (*vilāyat*), he came across a group of Turkmens, heard [from them] about the tragic end of his father, and, mounting a draught horse (*yabu*), fled. Some Turkmens, fearing the wrath of his majesty, seized him, together with Berdi Bahadur, and brought [them to Khiva]. His majesty's favor was extended to Berdi Bahadur, while the said Er Niyaz Bek was sent after his father and elder brothers. This happend five days after [the execution of] his father. As to Sayyid Nazar Biy, he remained in prison for one year. His circumstances will be described in their proper place, God willing.[c]

(630) How his majesty the khaqan moved the ever-victorious banners towards Aral for the second time and, having dammed up the Chumanay and the Changlï-Basu, came back.

***** When the news about the execution of Khoja Murad Biy reached Töre Murad Sufi, he asked the king (*pādishāh*) of Bukhara for succour, allegedly seeking vengeance, and began to stir up sedition more than ever before. Therefore *his majesty Muhammad Rahim Bahadur Khan* made an august decision regarding a campaign against Aral to punish him, opened the doors of the treasuries to prepare everything needed for it, and

Bayt:
In order to have the supplies for the campaign prepared for the army,
Scattered gold with a liberal hand;

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[a] 27 February 1809.
[b] *Ḥadīth*, see Wensinck, III, 221.
[c] See below, pp. 299–300.

and he especially filled the expectant pockets of the closest nobles and the pillars of the state with the cash they desired. He exalted his elder brother *Qutlugh Murad Inaq* by appointing him to be his deputy (*niyābat manṣabi*) in the royal capital Khiva and in the same year, that is 1224 A.H., on Thursday 18 Rabiʿ II,[a] on the 1st of [the month of] Saraṭān of Urgench, at the most auspicious hour, *mounted his horse and set out from the city (*shahr*)*. (631) *He arrived* in the region (*diyār*) of Ambar, which had been rebuilt and repopulated (*ābād*) by the care lavished on it by his royal majesty as if by an architect. Qutlugh Muhammad Bek, son of Hasan Murad Atalïq, and ʿAvaz-Berdi Yüzbashi, who were the supervisors of the royal domain (*mushrif-i khāṣṣa-i sharīfa*) in this region, prepared a banquet and rendered appropriate service. The next day, Friday, he left Ambar and stopped on the bank of the Amu, to the east of the Atalïq-arna and Yumri. In this place he remained four days to allow the ever-victorious army to gather under the shadow of his banner. Earlier he had sent the *tovachi*s, severe as Mars, to bring the boats which were on the Amu river, and they had been prepared in this place. The khan distributed these boats among the great amirs and the honorable notables, the pillars of the state and the closest nobles, so that each would load these boats with the baggage, provisions, fodder for horses, tents and pavilions (*khayma u kharghāh*), and [the men of] their detachments (*qosh*). On Tuesday, the 23rd of the month,[b] he set out from there, stopped at the eastern limit of Qïpchaq and for three days rested on the bank of the river to allow the remaining soldiers to join the ever-victorious army. On Saturday, the 27th of the month,[c] he left this place, took one or two hours' rest at noon at the skirt of Yïlan-qïr, and *set up his camp* in the evening on the bank of the river at the head of the Sevgenli. At this station he remained for one day, and on Monday, the last day of the month, he passed before the town of Khoja-eli and *arrived at* the place between Jabat-köl[812] and the river, above the Kök. (632) On Tuesday, which was 1 Jumadi I,[d] he set out from there and stopped at noon on the bank of the Changlï-Basu, where a royal order was issued that the ever-victorious army should cross. First his

[a] 1 June 1809.
[b] 6 June.
[c] 10 June.
[d] 13 June.

majesty himself, with the *maḥrams* and servants, boarded a boat and sailed on the river. In the late afternoon he *set up his camp* on a small islet, surrounded by the [Amu-Darya] river, with the river (*nahr*) Chumanay to the south. On this day the ever-victorious army was busy crossing the Changlï-Basu and the Chumanay,[813] and by midnight the crossing was completed.

Be it revealed and evident to the shrewd minds of the nobles who are the readers of this compendium (*mukhtaṣar*) that in former times the Chumanay and the Changlï-Basu were two small branches among the [many] branches of the river which passed to the north of the Ereng plateau (*qïr*)[814] and formed a lake. Since most of the time there was not enough water, and it did not flow, [the lake] dried up. And at the At-Yolï crossing[815] the water did not even reach a horse's belly. After the happy days of the great amir, the late Muhammad Amin Inaq, the water forced its way into these two branches, which grew broader and deeper with every passing day, and at present each of them has become a large river. Somewhat above the Say-kechu crossing[816] they both join together and form a great sea (*tengiz*), which continues flowing and finally falls into the Lake of Khorezm (*Buḥayra-i Khorezm*), known as the Bitter Sea (*Achigh Tengiz*).[a] And at the At-Yolï crossing it is impossible to cross it without a boat.

The people of Aral have everywhere dug major and minor canals (*nahr u arïgh*) from this river (*su*), and engage in agriculture. Its benefits are great. Therefore his majesty (633) became resolute in his intention to have these rivers dammed, to punish the seditious. The next day, which was Wednesday, [the khan] appointed the great amirs and divided the men of the auxiliary troops (*qara cherik*) into three groups, to accomplish this work. One group was to fell trees; the second was to cut reeds and junipers; the third was to gather turf and earth and to arrange it on the two sides of the place where the dam was to be erected. On Friday, the 4th of the month,[b] he divided the great amirs and the honorable nobles into two groups and assigned each of them to one side of the Chumanay, in the following way: *the perspicacious* amir Shah Niyaz Atalïq, Qïlïch Inaq, ʿAvaz Inaq, ʿAbdallah Inaq, Yakhshïlïq Parvanachi, this humble [author], Bek Baltu Mirab, Allah Nazar Biy, Muhammad Nazar Biy and others,

[a] I.e. the Aral Sea.
[b] 16 June.

with the wise counselor and the prudent vizier, Nizam al-Mulk va'l-Millat Muhammad Yusuf Mehter, were assigned to the northern side of the Chumanay, while Karim-Berdi Atalïq Uyghur, Khuday Nazar Atalïq Manghït, Töre Murad Atalïq Qïpchaq, Oraz ʿAli Inaq, Qara Bahadur Mirab, Qurban-Quli Naib and others, together with the noble amir Muhammad Riza Qoshbegi, were assigned to the southern side, so that each one entrusted with a particular job should do it diligently. And his majesty himself deigned to come to the place where the dam was to be constructed and stopped in the tent which he had pitched on the eastern bank of the head of the branch (*shuʿba saqāsi*), which forks out from the Chumanay to the [Amu] river.

In accordance with his majesty's order, the aforementioned amirs made laudable efforts and began to hurl fascine rolls (*navard*) down into the Chumanay. (634) From each side five rolls were hurled. The length of each roll was sixty *gaz* and its thickness (*yughunliq*) was about twenty or thirty *gaz*.[817] So it was that every day his majesty would deign to come, and ten to fifteen rolls would be hurled down from each side.[818]

Meanwhile, on Saturday, the 5th of the month,[a] the khan sent an envoy named Panah Sufi to Töre Murad Sufi in Qongrat with a warning. Töre Sufi, in accordance with his wicked nature and rude character, kept him for fifteen days and [then] sent him back. On that day Adina Niyaz Atalïq Burunjiq, a Chowdur, with eight Burunjiq families from his own clan (*urugh*), as well as one Qaraqalpaq, came in flight from Qongrat; they had also captured a spy of Töre Murad Sufi named Niʿmat Kereng, of the Nokuz tribe, and brought him with them. His royal majesty gladdened Adina Niyaz Atalïq and the people with him with august favors and gifts, and Niʿmat Kereng was hanged on the gallows, as a warning to the rebels. The next Monday one of the Qongrat nobles from the clan (*ṭabaqa*) Kök-Üzäkli fled from the tyranny of Töre Sufi and came, with his wife and children, [to khan's camp]. On Wednesday, the 9th of the month,[b] 37 men of the Ala-Buluk and the Chowdurs, led by Salaq Bahadur son of ʿAbdallah Sardar, took the At-Yolï road, killed eight Qongrats in the environs of the Yengichke,[819] and on Friday had the honor of kissing the ground before the sublime court and were favored with royal presents.

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[a] 17 June.
[a] 21 June.

On that day the Chumanay river was dammed. Its width in the place where it was dammed was about 200 *qarï*,[820] and its depth was 50 *gaz*.[821] They dammed a river this very large in only eight days.

On Saturday[a] *amir Qïlïch Inaq* and 500 (635) warriors were sent to escort a caravan from Yangi-qalʿa. His excellency escorted this caravan through dangerous stations and after five days came back, reaching the sublime court on Thursday. On the same Saturday, Muhammad Riza Qoshbegi was ordered to survey his troops (*ʿarż-i lashkar*). He counted them for seven days, entered [the figures] into a register, and submitted it for his majesty to examine.[822]

On Monday, the 14th of the month,[b] they hurled the rolls (*navard*) into the Changlï-Basu. Taghan Niyaz Bahadur, who was one of the chiefs of the Abdal tribe (*ṭabaqa*) of the Manghïshlaq Turkmens,[823] led a caravan of the city of Hajji-Tarkhan[c] from Manghïshlaq, and brought it, via Old Urgench, to the royal capital Khiva and Urgench; together with several men under him, on Wednesday[d] he was himself given the honor of kissing the royal threshold and received presents. On Thursday[e] at noon, [the khan] sent the Manghït Dosïm Bahadur with his troops, as well as Muhammad Niyaz Gerchek and Berdi Bahadur with the men under their command, to raid the border regions of Qongrat. Obeying the royal order, they crossed the river in boats that afternoon and during the night, and [the following] day, they made a swift raid, but did not find anyone on the eastern confines of Qongrat and turned to the region of Mahipaz. In this locality they found a group (*el*) of three or four families of the people of Aral, captured them and went back. On the fourth day [of the raid], on Monday, the 21st of the month,[f] they came to the khan and were gladdened with appropriate favors.

On the day when Dosïm Bahadur was sent for a raid, (636) *[*Mathnavī*], the great amir Qutlugh Murad Biy Inaq*, according to the command, left Zahir ad-Dawla Muhammad Nazar Bek in the royal capital Khiva and set out to join the khan. After the mid-day prayer he arrived at the sublime court; and the brothers *were hon-

[a] 24 June.
[b] 26 June.
[c] Astrakhan.
[d] 28 June.
[e] 29 June.
[f] 3 July.

ored with seeing each other* and embraced each other extremely happily. The next day, which was Friday, Aydost Biy, the governor (*vālī*) of Aq-Yaqïsh, and Aymirza Biy, came with the Qaraqalpaq people and their animals and with the troops of the [Qaraqalpaq] *ulus* inhabiting the banks of the Kök-Üzäk. Having left them on the other side of the Amu, they themselves crossed the river by boat, arrived to kiss the ground before the royal threshold and presented [the khan] nine horses and two hawks (*qarchighay*), of which one was a goshawk (*tuyghun*). His royal majesty showed them appropriate kindness and ordered the Qaraqalpaq troops also to cross to this side.

The departure of Qandïm Sardar on a raid.

The same night, which was Saturday evening, Qandïm Sardar, with the Yomut troops, was sent off to raid Qongrat on this side of the river. They rode in the night and on Sunday, the 20th of the month,[a] came across the advance guard of the enemy's army, whom they overcame; they killed three or four people and went back.

On Monday the Changlï-Basu was dammed. The width of this river, at the place where the dam was built, was more than 180 *qarï* and its depth was 60 *gaz*.[b] And they dammed a river this large in eight (637) days as well. There was also one other smaller river (*nahrcha*) named Ters-Aqar, whose width was 30 *gaz* and whose depth was six *qari*;[824] it was also dammed in the same eight days.

Qïlïch Inaq's raid on [the region of] Aybugur.

This happened as follows. Informers brought the khan news that certain enemies of the state from among the Qongrats and the Chowdurs had gone to the region on this side of the At-Yolï crossing and the environs of Chowdur-qal'a[825] and Kuh-i-Ten-qal'a, as far as the mausoleum (*gunbadh*) of Yusuf Bek, to gather wheat and other crops and, having reaped the wheat, were bringing it to Qongrat. His royal majesty, therefore, appointed amir Qïlïch Inaq, with four thousand brave horsemen, to go there and to kill *every enemy* that he could find, or if none [were found], to feed the crops of

[a] 2 July.

[b] According to the metric values of *qarï* and *gaz* (see p. 631, note 821), the width was 268 m, and the depth about 64 m(!).

these people to the horses, to destroy their fields and to come back. On Wednesday, the 23rd of the month,[a] Qïlïch Inaq set out in that direction, but he did not find any rebels. He fed the horses part of the barley and wheat and set fire to part of it, remaining there for three days. On Sunday he headed back and came [to the khan].

The return of his majesty the khaqan to the royal capital Khiva.

When the three rivers were dammed up, his majesty the khaqan resolved upon a campaign against Aral (638) and ordered the troops prepared. But, at the request and upon the advice of the great amir *Qutlugh Murad Inaq*, amir Shah Niyaz Ataliq, and all the eminent amirs, he cancelled the campaign. He appointed the great amir Qutlugh Murad Inaq to protect the dams on the three rivers and ordered a fortress (*qalʿa*) built on the southern bank of the Chumanay, near the dam. Thereupon the powerful amirs measured the circumference of the fortress with a rope (*jarīb*) and divided it between the men of the auxiliary troops (*qara cherik*), and in two days it was finished. After the return of Qïlïch Inaq, his royal majesty left the great amir Jalal ad-Dawla Qutlugh Murad Inaq in this fortress with 5,000 illustrious warriors and on Tuesday, the 29th of the month,[b] *went back to the capital. Marching rapidly day and night, he returned to the royal capital Khiva on Monday 5 Jumadi II.[c]* [*Qiṭʿa.*]

(639) How, by divine predestination, the dams on the Chumanay and the Changlï-Basu collapsed, and Qutluq Murad Inaq returned.

Since it was divine design and God's will that the peak of Töre Murad Sufi's ill-fortune and the extinction of his power should be delayed for two or three years, although eventually the cultivated lands of the Qongrat region, and in particular the fields irrigated by those three rivers, were destined to be joined to the royal domain (*khāṣṣa-i sharīfa*) and included into the sphere [of authority] of the *dīvān*, the waters of the Amu became so untameable and overflowed

[a] 5 July.
[b] 11 July.
[c] 17 July.

so high that, twenty days after the departure of the ever-victorious army, by the decree of almighty God, and despite the fact that those dams boasted of being equal in strength to the wall of Gog and Magog[826] and, further, despite the fact that the great amir *Qutlugh Murad Inaq* had every day placed one or two thousand cartloads [of additional material] there, one night the water broke through those dams and the river began to flow as it had done previously. The inaq made many laudable attempts, but to no avail, and he finally left and reported this to his majesty the khaqan.

Although this misfortune seemed unpleasant to superficial people, in reality it was a pure blessing and advantage to this mighty empire, as is evident from the following. By the time Aral was conquered and the cultivated lands (*mazāriʿ*) of this region were included into the sphere [of authority] of the *dīvān-i sharīf*,[827] many dead lands had been reclaimed. Furthermore, the day when this conquest of Aral took place, many of *the rebels* fled, but, being unable to cross those rivers, wandered and strayed until they were captured by the [Khivan] soldiers and received their punishment, as will be shown in its proper place,[a] God willing. This was also a source of blessing, (640) of the kind indicated by the expression: "*It may happen that you will hate [what] is good for you.*"[b]

How Ish Muhammad Bek and Soyun Biy raided the tribe (*aḥshām*) of Qurban Bek Biy and Soyrï Biy, killed these biys and usurped their property and children.

This misfortune happened the following way. After the great amir Qutlugh Murad Inaq returned to the capital from the Chumanay, Töre Murad Sufi was relieved from the privations of the siege and saw that the field was vacant; his seditious nature led him to prepare a big army, which, at the beginning of Rajab, he sent, under the command of Ish Muhammad Bek and Soyun Biy, to raid the Qaraqalpaqs living at Aq-Yaqïsh and on the banks of the canal (*nahr*) Ishim. By day they rested and at night they rode, and at dawn, on Saturday, the 9th of the aforementioned month [Jumadi II],[c] they found the *aul* of Qurban Bek Biy and Soyrï Biy between the

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[a] See below, pp. 375–377.
[b] Cf. Qurʾān, II,216.
[c] 21 July 1809 (Friday); Saturday corresponds to 10 Jumadi II/22 July.

Kök-Üzäk and the Ishim and fell upon it. They killed these biys and many of their tribe (*el va aḥshām*), plundered their property, took away their families and people (*öy va el*) and went back. Of the enemies of the state, Soyun Biy was wounded, and Yusuf Bek, the younger son of Khuday-Berdi Darugha Nayman, as well as forty or fifty of their men were killed.

Makhdum-Quli Sardar's raid on Qongrat.

On Monday 2 Shaʿban,[a] Makhdum-Quli Yomut took fifty illustrious warriors of his own tribesmen (641) and, by royal command, set out to raid Qongrat. In six days, he raided the eastern limits of Qongrat and inflicted severe blows upon the rebellious tribes (*aḥshām*). His band killed seven people and went back with plentiful booty.

On Saturday, the 14th of the month,[b] before noon, which was the 3rd of the Bukharan [month of] Mīzān and the 25th of the Khorezmian [month of] Mīzān, the great amir Qutlugh Murad Inaq and the great counselor Nizam al-Mulk va'l-Millat Yusuf Mehter were sitting in the audience hall (*körünüsh-khāna*), and this humble [author] was also in attendance. Then voices came near, and it was as if the words of the [arriving] raiders mixed with ours. At that moment Makhdum-Quli came with the warriors who had distinguished themselves in the raid, but before they finished [telling] their story, two men from Khitay came with the news that Ish Muhammad Bek had raided the Khitays of Yangi-qalʿa. Before these stopped [after having entered the audience hall], Badal Yüzbashi came from Muhammad-Quli Bek bringing the news that Muhammad-Quli Bek had defeated Ish Muhammad Bek.

How Ish Muhammad Bek raided the Khitays of Yangi-qalʿa and was defeated by Muhammad-Quli Bek's attack.

The details of this incident are as follows. At the beginning of Shaʿban,[c] Töre Murad Sufi ordered Ish Muhammad Bek and Nazar Biy, the governor (*ḥākim*) of the Nokuz of Aral, with a hundred men of the Uzbeks and Chowdurs, [to go and] foment disorder in some part of the kingdom. They took the At-Yolï road, rapidly passed

[a] 11 September.
[b] 23 September.
[c] Mid-September 1809.

Old Urgench and on Thursday night, the 12th of the month,[a] fell upon the Khitays of Yangi-qalʿa. They killed two men from the Qulan tribe (*khalq*) and one Qaraqalpaq woman, captured (642) twenty-seven women and children, and withdrew shamefully, by the same road.

At that time, Niyaz Muhammad Bay and Muhammad-Quli Bek ibn Murad Bek were stationed as an advance post in Khoja-eli. Riza Atalïq, the governor (*ḥākim*) of Khitay and Qulan,[828] sent two men to report [about the raid] to the royal threshold and came himself as a messenger to Khoja-eli, bringing the news to Niyaz Muhammad Bay and Muhammad-Quli Bek. Niyaz Muhammad Bay remained to defend the town, while Muhammad-Quli, with his *nökers* and with some *nökers* of Niyaz Muhammad Bay, promptly set out; and upon finding in Old Urgench the traces of the enemies that had passed through, he started in pursuit. He overtook them at a thicket (*tughay*) to the east of Aybugur and joined battle. Among the rebels, the Chowdur warriors stood firmly and resisted two or three attacks, but after *repeated assaults by Muhammad-Quli Bek and Badal Yüzbashi[829] with a number of warriors, the rebels were defeated and fled. The Khivans killed many enemies and freed the Khitay prisoners*. Ish Muhammad Bek and Nazar Biy, fearful and lost, suffered a hundred hardships and a thousand difficulties. They escaped with their lives from the gulf of perdition and fled to Qongrat. From that place Muhammad-Quli Bek sent Badal Yüzbashi, together with one of his own *nökers*, to the sublime court, to bring the good news. His majesty the khaqan *presented them with copious gifts* and sent (643) a fine horse with gilded trappings and a precious robe of honor to Muhammad-Quli Bek. Since Badal Yüzbashi showed great valor in this battle, [the khan] promoted him to the rank (*manṣab*) of *yüzbashi* and assigned him a hundred *nökers*.

How *his royal majesty*, desiring to fly birds, set out for a hunt, and how, during this blessed journey, he dispatched raiding parties against Qongrat and kept Töre Murad Sufi prisoner in [his] fortress.

[*Bayt.*] Since it was the habit of *his majesty Muhammad Rahim Bahadur Khan* to insist upon going hunting two or three times a

[a] 21 September.

year,[830] he decided to go hunting this year also, as was his custom. He appointed *the great amir Qutlugh Murad Inaq* to the post of his deputy (*niyābat*) in the capital, and at the end of [the month of] Qaws, on Tuesday 14 Shavval,[a] left the royal capital Khiva; he *lodged* in the district (*khiṭṭa*) of Khanqah, at the house of Allah Nazar Bay son of Ish Niyaz Bay, the governor (*vālī*) of that province (*mamlakat*). The said *bay* *put great effort into preparing a banquet*, (644) rendering appropriate service from evening till dawn, and presented to [the khan] a precious robe worth more than the *kharāj* of one whole clime and a steed *swift as the wind*. [*Naẓm.*] In the morning his royal majesty left Khanqah and made a stop after crossing the Amu. *Engaging every day in hunting and other amusements, he passed from station to station, until he set up his camp in the region of Khoja-eli. There, for several days, he enjoyed himself flying birds and hunting.* Then he turned back auspiciously and on Monday 26 Zu'l-Qa'da[b] arrived in the royal capital. This expedition lasted forty-two days. During this august expedition many events happened, but a detailed account of them would unduly lengthen [this book]. Therefore I will record [only] some of them, in concise form.

Among them was the following. Informants brought news to the khan that many merchants from Qongrat had gone with plenty of goods to Bukhara, via the Irdar road, (645) and also that the sons of Bek Pulad Atalïq had allegedly come by the same road, along with several rebels, from Bukhara to Qongrat. Therefore his royal majesty sent Muhammad Niyaz Bek Mahram ibn Khuday-Berdi Inaq to Irdar with 200 men. Having arrived at Irdar, they saw the indications that a caravan had passed on to Bukhara but, not finding anyone, turned back and had the honor of kissing the royal threshold in Khoja-eli.

Another event was the following. From Khoja-eli [the khan] sent the sons of 'Abdallah Sardar, Salaq Yüzbashi and Adam Sardar, with 300 men, to raid Qongrat. They fell upon the outskirts of the town of Qongrat, killed and captured many rebels and returned to the royal court victoriously, laden with booty. And after them [the khan] sent seven commanders, one after another, to raid Aral. Each

[a] 21 November 1809.
[b] 1 January 1810.

of these detachments raided and plundered a part of the region of Qongrat and made Töre Murad Sufi a prisoner in the fortress of adversity. They killed many enemies of the state, captured copious booty and innumerable prisoners, came back and were honored with infinite favors. There were also many other events, but I have limited myself to these, to avoid prolixity.

The same year in the said month, that is 10 Zu'l-Qa'da, a Saturday,[a] the Lord, Bestower of Gifts, granted to Er Niyaz Bek, the younger brother of this humble [author], a beloved and auspicious son. And this [child], the [very] light of the pupil of the eye of glory and the blossom of the garden of perfection, was named Muhammad Riza Bek, (646) "*And by God's goodness he grew up comely.*"[b]

How Muhammad Jan Bek caused an earthquake in the land of Qongrat by shaking it up with a raid.

After Qurban Bek Biy and Soyrï Biy were killed, his majesty the khaqan observed the rules of prudence and caution and, returning from the hunt, assigned Karim-Berdi Atalïq, 'Adil Bek—elder brother of Allash Bek, Muhammad Jan Bek—the son of Qutluq Muhammad Inaq, and Bek 'Ali Bek ibn 'Abdallah Bek ibn Qara Bahadur Mirab, with the troops under their command, to protect Aq-Yaqïsh as an advance party. *They carried out the order*, and Muhammad Jan Bek left Bek 'Ali Bek in [charge of] the fortress (*qal'a*) of Aq-Yaqïsh while he himself, with his own *nökers* and 200 illustrious warriors from the Qaraqalpaqs, set out from Aq-Yaqïsh on Friday 20 Zu'l-Hijja[c] in order to punish the enemies of the state. They passed the fortress (*qal'a*) of Aymirza, rapidly crossed the sea upon the ice and in two days came to the locality named Tallïq.[831] In this region they raided the Qoshtamghalï Nurtay clan (*el*) of the Qaraqalpaqs and some clans (*ulus*) of the Qongrats, and killed seventeen men with the avenging swords; they took ten men prisoner, captured many horses and cows (*qara mal*) and went back. When they returned to Aq-Yaqïsh, [Muhammad Jan Bek] sent one-fifth (*ghān*) of these cattle, as well as the prisoners, to the royal court accompanied by a soldier named Yaw Basar. On Friday, the 28th of the month,[d] after

[a] 16 December 1809.
[b] Cf. Qur'ān, III,37.
[c] 25 January 1810 (Thursday); Friday corresponds to 21 Zu'l-Hijja/26 January.
[d] 2 February 1810.

the Friday prayer, (647) when all amirs and nobles were sitting in the audience hall (*körünüsh-khāna*), he arrived and brought the news [about the raid]. His royal majesty distinguished him among his peers [by presenting him] with a precious robe of honor and innumerable favors, and sent to Muhammad Jan Bek a fine Arab horse with gilded trappings and an embroidered robe of honor.

DESCRIPTION OF THE GLORIOUS EVENTS OF THE FIFTH YEAR SINCE THE AUSPICIOUS ACCESSION OF HIS MAJESTY THE KHAQAN.

This year, which was the Year of the Horse,[a] the Khorezmian Nawruz was on Thursday 23 Muharram,[b] 22 days before the sultan's Nawruz. In order to punish the Qaraqalpaq rebels on the Yangi-Darya, on the eighth day after the Nawruz, on Friday, the first day of Safar 1225 A.H.,[c] his majesty the khan sent two commanders from among the Yomut *sardār*s, each with 200 men of Turkmens and Uzbeks, one via the Qubash road and another one via the Kökche road.[832] Those so assigned *moved rapidly* and in one week each of them entered the confines of the Yangi-Darya from a different side and plundered, killed and captured many Qaraqalpaqs living in that region. They went back with plentiful booty and on the 20th of that month[d] arrived in the royal capital and were honored by the khan with favors.

The dispatch of raiders against Qongrat.

In the middle of the same month, (648) his royal majesty sent two Yomut *sardār*s against Qongrat, in succession, to teach Töre Murad Sufi a lesson, putting two detachments of the Yomut troops under their command. Those so assigned, having passed Aq-Yaqïsh, went rapidly along the Qazaq-Darya, plundered some localities and tribes in the region of Qongrat, and returned.

And on Saturday, the 18th of the same month,[e] Qara Bahadur Mirab ibn Khuday-Quli Atalïq, who had been a devoted servant of

[a] 1225 A.H./1810.
[b] 27 February 1810 (Tuesday).
[c] 7 March (Wednesday).
[d] 26 March.
[e] 24 March.

this sublime dynasty since the beginning of the rule of the late Muhammad Amin Inaq and had been promoted to the highest posts, passed away from the transient to the eternal world as a result of a natural illness. He was more than seventy-six years old.

How his royal majesty set out for Hazarasp to restore the flow of water into the canal of Khivanik.

On Thursday, the 23rd of the same Safar,[a] his royal majesty set out to have the head of the Khivanik canal reopened. He lodged in his *ḥawlī* in Khitay and from there went on to Hazarasp. At that time he prohibited the [use of musical] instruments for forbidden pleasures and equipment for entertainment, such as the tambour (*daf*), cymbal (*chang*), *tanbur*, fiddle (*ghijaq*) and others and appointed inspectors (*muḥtasib*s) to ensure that none of the forbidden things were used.[833] He went back from the head of the canal and on Sunday 4 Rabiʿ I[b] returned to the royal capital. Five days later he appointed Allash Bek ibn Sayyid ʿAli Bek Qïyat to the post [previously held] by his grandfather, (649) Taji Biy, and he appointed Bek ʿAli Bek ibn ʿAbdallah Bek in the place of his grandfather Qara Bahadur Mirab, and exalted him by granting him the robe of appointment as a *mīrāb*. The next day, on Saturday, he dismissed Yakhshïlïq Parvanachi and appointed Qalandar Bek ibn Khuday-Berdi Bek ibn Qutluq Murad Hajji to be *parvānachī*.

An account of the execution of Sayyid Nazar Biy.

This happened as follows. After the execution of Khoja Murad Biy, Er Niyaz Bek, the younger brother of Bay Nazar Biy, relying upon the support and assistance of the people of his clan Ish-Quli and some of his relatives, went to Qongrat in order to urge them to accept the authority of his royal majesty; and he came secretly to the Ish-Quli. Töre Sufi learned about this, seized him from that clan by force, and imprisoned him, and the poor wretch died in prison. His nephew Baltash Bek ibn Bay Nazar Biy [came to his majesty, and] submitted a humble petition (*ʿarż*), requesting [the khan to deliver into his hands] Sayyid Nazar Biy, who had been arrested

[a] 29 March.
[b] 8 April.

together with Khoja Murad Biy and had been imprisoned for a year in the dungeon of the citadel (*ärk*), so that he (Baltash Bek) might avenge his elder brother. His petition was granted, and he took Sayyid Nazar Biy out of the dungeon and killed him with the avenging sword in front of the gates of the citadel.[834] This happened after prayers, on Friday the 16th of the aforementioned Rabiʿ I.[a]

Aymirza Biy's raid on the Qaraqalpaqs in the Qongrat region (*diyār*).

At that time Aymirza Biy lived in the region of Aq-Yaqïsh, and since the month of Safar Muhammad Niyaz Gerchek and Berdi (650) Yüzbashi, with 200 men, had been appointed to defend the fortress of Aq-Yaqïsh, having replaced Karim-Berdi Atalïq, ʿAdil Bek, Muhammad Jan Bek and Bek ʿAli Bek. At the end of Rabiʿ II,[b] due to the efforts of Aydost Biy, Aymirza Biy and Berdi Qashqa Yüzbashi, with 400 brave warriors from among the [Khivan] *nökers* and the Qaraqalpaqs, crossed the Qazaq-Darya and arrived at the borders of the Tallïq. They fell upon the Qaraqalpaqs inhabiting the environs of Qongrat and *killed many of that group*. They returned after taking many rebels prisoner, among them Bekesh, a relative of Aydost Biy, who had quarreled with Aydost Biy a long time previously and, displaying ingratitude to the [khan's] eternal kingdom, had gone to Qongrat and joined the rebels in the service of the Sufi.

How Töre Murad Sufi came to attack Aq-Yaqïsh and turned back without achieving anything.

Töre Murad Sufi had gathered 1,700 rebels full of vengeance and villainy for an expedition against Aq-Yaqïsh, and was busy preparing everything needed for the campaign. At that time he received the news that Aymirza Biy had made a raid and returned, capturing Bekesh. He became upset and set out in a hurry. One day after Aymirza Biy had left, [Töre Murad] arrived at Aq-Yaqïsh, built a *senger* at a distance of one half-station (651) and laid heavy siege to the fortress of Aq-Yaqïsh for three days. Two or three times every day the [Khivan] warriors made sorties, killing and capturing many enemies. On the third day, when Töre Murad Sufi set out from the

[a] 20 April.
[b] Early June 1810.

senger for the siege, Aydost Biy dispatched 300 men, under a trustworthy person, from the fortress before their arrival, to the rebel fortress to plunder their *senger*. They went to the *senger* for this purpose, plundered all their possessions and captured and killed all the men—about a hundred—who had been left [by Töre Murad] to defend the *senger*. They ripped up their bellies open, cut out the meat at their navels and hung it on their necks, and left them there. They left with plentiful booty, returned by the same road they had come, and entered the fortress from the east. When Töre Murad Sufi heard about this misfortune, he left and went back to his country, disgraced and humiliated.

And Aydost Biy also killed Bekesh and set out for the royal threshold, together with the warriors who had distinguished themselves. On Saturday 8 Jumadi I[a] they arrived at the royal court and were honored with august largesses and infinite favors, befitting the service rendered.

How his royal majesty moved the ever-victorious banners for the third time against the land (*kishvar*) of Aral; how he taught an eloquent lesson to Töre Murad Sufi, and how that rebel's chain of power snapped.

(652) Since "the Sufi without a guide (*Sūfī-i bī-pīr*)," *the wicked Töre Murad Biy, [*Bayt*], prompted by his malicious nature*, repeatedly encroached upon the provinces of the [khan's] well-protected kingdom (*mamālik-i maḥrūsa*) and caused trouble, as was mentioned and described above, *his majesty Muhammad Rahim Bahadur Khan* finally decided upon a campaign against Aral to punish him and to teach him a lesson, and he sent *tovachi*s ferocious like Mars to the provinces (*mamālik*), to assemble the ever-victorious army. (653) To enable the illustrious amirs and warriors prepare whatever was needed for the campaign, he scattered upon them the gold of royal gifts and fulfilled their hopes, giving them what they desired. [*Bayt.*] He *appointed Qutlugh Murad Biy Inaq as his deputy in the capital Khiva*, and on the 14th of [the month of] Saraṭān of Urgench, Thursday, which was the 12th of the aforementioned month, that is Jumadi I,[b] at the most auspicious hour and the most propitious time,

[a] 10 June (Sunday).
[b] 14 June 1810.

set out from the royal capital, as indicated by royal fortune and an auspicious horoscope. He arrived at Mayli-chungul, and on Saturday set out from there, came to the head of the Atalïq-arna [canal] and set up the royal camp on the bank of the river. He remained in this place four days, to allow the ever-victorious army to arrive from all provinces (*aṭrāf-i mamālik*), group after group and party after party, and to gather under the shadow of the ever-victorious banners. At the same station he ordered the transport and baggage loaded on the boats and on Wednesday, the 19th of the month,[a] went on and stopped on the bank of the river near Qïpchaq. Here Salaq Sardar and Adam Yüzbashi, the sons of ʿAbdallah Sardar, who was the governor (*ḥākim*) of Ala-Buluk, were sent forward, with the troops under their command as well as a number of other fierce warriors, (654) to protect the road from Aral. On Thursday [the khan] stopped opposite Besh-tüpe[835] and sent Muhammad-Quli Bek ibn Murad Bek Qongrat, the younger brother of *Muhammad Riza Qoshbegi*, as well as Tanak Bahadur Qongrat, Dosïm Bahadur Manghït, and Badal Yüzbashi, along with their *nökers*, totalling 700 select mounted warriors, [*Mathnavī*] to protect the tribes of Hasan Bay Biy, Qul Yumri Biy and Qosh-Bergen Biy. The reason for this was that news had reached the khan's ears from Qongrat to the effect that the Qongrat rebels were planning a raid upon these tribes. Those so assigned found the aforementioned tribes in the region of Qum-chungul and began to protect them. And Salaq Sardar and Adam Sardar who had earlier been sent to protect the road, were [now], by the royal order, sent to protect the road at the Chumanay crossing named Taypaq-kechu. Opposite Besh-tüpe [the khan] also sent *Muhammad Riza Qoshbegi* ahead with the duplicate tents (*pīsh-khāna*)[836] and the tent-enclosure (*sarāparda*), in order to set up the royal camp and tent-enclosure in Qïrq-qayir.

On Friday [the khan] set out from that place and, having passed before the town of Khoja-eli, arrived at the royal camp in Qïrq-qayir. (655) Be it known that this place is the land of the Qïrq people (*khalq*), one of the tribes (*qabāʾil*) of Khoja-eli;[837] it is for this reason that it is called Qïrq-qayir. [When the khan was] at this place, Tashim Nayman, who was a confidant of Töre Sufi, together with his elder brother Muhammad Nazar Atalïq and the latter's son

[a] 21 June (Thursday); the day of the week given by Munis contradicts the previous date.

Khoja Murad, growing distressed with the misdeeds of the Sufi, fled from Qongrat and came to this place; they had the honor of kissing [the threshold] of the royal court, and [thus] confirmed the news which had come earlier. The man who had brought the news earlier was assumed to be a spy of Töre Murad Sufi, pretending to be a fugitive. On the basis of the evidence of Tashim Nayman, it was firmly established that he was a spy, and he was executed. On Saturday, the 22nd of the month,[a] [the khan] set out and came to the head of the Changlï-Basu canal. On that day, at that station, Muhammad-Quli Bek, Tanak Bahadur, and Dosïm Bahadur came from Qum-chungul, as the khan had ordered, and joined the ever-victorious army. Badal Yüzbashi was assigned to protect that tribe, and Adam Sardar [was assigned] to guard Taypaq-kechu.

Ish Muhammad Bek's raid on the tribe of Hasan Bay Biy.

This incident happened the following way. Töre Murad Sufi, not yet having heard that the ever-victorious army was moving against him, dispatched Ish Muhammad Bek with 250 men via the At-Yolï road to raid the tribe of Hasan Bay Biy. At dawn the next day, a Sunday, Ish Muhammad Bek came to Qum-chungul and fell upon the tribe of Hasan Bay Biy. At that moment Badal Yüzbashi was performing his ablutions. (656) Having learned [about the attack], he and his soldiers mounted their horses and assaulted the enemy troops like roaring lions. They killed or wounded seven or eight men with lethal lances and deadly swords. At that moment Qosh-Bergen Biy and Qadïr-Bergen, the son of Hasan Bay Biy, arrived, along with the Qaraqalpaq warriors. They fought hand to hand against the enemy and began killing them with deadly swords; and Badal Yüzbashi, although wounded in the head, did not turn back but fought even more fiercely. Finally, thanks to such ardor and valor, in accord with the meaning of [the Qur'ān's words] "*That God may help thee with mighty help*,"[b] the wind of [divine] aid blew into the banner of Badal Yüzbashi's *tugh*, and Ish Muhammad Bek and the enemies of the state suffered a shameful defeat and took to disgraceful flight. Badal Yüzbashi, Qosh-Bergen Biy, and Qadïr-Bergen, together with the warriors, followed on their heels and captured or killed many of the rebels.

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[a] 24 June (Sunday).
[b] Qur'ān, XLVIII,3.

This news reached the servants of the royal court before the sun rose to the height of a lance, and *amir Qïlïch Inaq*, Khoja Jan Khoja, Muhammad Jan Bek, Khuday Nazar Bek ibn Kuchuk Inaq, Muhammad-Quli Bek, Dosïm Bahadur, Salaq Sardar, and others, along with a number of warriors each worth an army, were sent [to join the battle]. They confronted the rebels, as they fled, before the Taypaq-kechu crossing, and began to kill or capture them. The rebels, seeing this awful thing, dispersed and scattered in all directions. Ish Muhammad Bek, together with several soldiers, waded into a lake and hid in the thick reeds. Three days later they arrived in Qongrat, on foot and completely naked. Some Chowdurs (657) and Aralians who fled towards Ereng were pursued as far as Ereng; forty or fifty of them were captured, while seventeen were killed and their heads brought [to the khan].

The same day[a] and on Monday, Nizam al-Mulk Yusuf Mehter, the great counselor, the lord of sword and pen (*dastūr-i aʿzam ṣāḥib as-sayf va'l-qalam*), built bridges on the Changlï-Basu and the Chumanay made of boats [linked] with chains, as ordered by the khan. On Tuesday [the khan] crossed these rivers and camped on the northern side of the Chumanay. On Wednesday he granted money and robes of honor to the warriors who distinguished themselves or lost their horses in the battle with Ish Muhammad Bek and honored Badal Yüzbashi with special favors. The same night he dispatched Muhammad Niyaz Gerchek and Khuday-Berdi Bek with the troops under their command on a foray in the direction of Qongrat. On Thursday, the 27th of the month [of Jumadi I],[b] he left the Chumanay and set up his camp in the place between the head of the Ikhlas canal and Büten-Qamïsh, which was one *farsakh* from the town of Qongrat. On that day Muhammad Niyaz Gerchek and Khuday-Berdi Bek raided the tribes (*el*) living in the vicinity of Qongrat and returned with several prisoners.

The story of the first battle.

On Friday,[c] his royal majesty drew up the ever-victorious army and deigned to divide it into five parts, in the following way. Amir Qïlïch

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[a] I.e. on Sunday 22 Jumadi I/24 June.
[b] 29 June (Friday).
[c] 29 June; cf. the previous note.

Inaq, together with several amirs under Oraz ʿAli Inaq, were appointed to the right wing (*barānghār*), while Khuday Nazar Atalïq Manghït, together with several amirs under Töre Atalïq and ʿAvaz Inaq, were appointed to the right wing of the center (*ong qol*). (658) Amir Karim-Berdi Atalïq Uyghur, together with Bek Balta Mirab Nokuz, this humble [author], and Allah Nazar Biy, were appointed to the left wing (*juvānghār*), while ʿAbdallah Inaq, together with several amirs under Qalandar Parvanachi, were made the commanders of the left wing of the center (*sol qol*). The khan himself raised the ever-victorious banner in the center (*qalbgāh*) and kept with himself *Sayyid Yusuf Khoja Naqib*, the great amir Shah Niyaz Atalïq and the great counselor <Muhammad> Yusuf Mehter. And Muhammad Riza Qoshbegi was appointed to the advance-guard (*muqaddima-i sipāh*). It was in this order that they set out against the town of Qongrat.[838]

In accordance with the royal command, a number of warriors went in advance of the ever-victorious army, raided the enemy and brought numerous prisoners and innumerable booty. His majesty the khaqan came with great pomp and undescribable splendor and drew up the troops in battle array to the south of the town, in the aforementioned order. Töre <Murad> Sufi also went with the rebels from the town, drew up his troops in battle array between the city wall (*qalʿa*) and the moat (*khandaq*) and unfolded his shameful perfidious banner. And he himself crossed the moat with a large contingent [of his troops] *and showed off his bravery*. His majesty the khaqan sent *the amirs and the valiant warriors*, detachment after detachment, with their *nökers*, to the battlefield, and they raised the sound of cymbals and kettle-drums as high as the upper heavens. Warriors from both sides rushed to the battlefield, *and fierce fighting began*. Swivel guns (*zanbūrak*) and *shamkhāls*, with their thundering sounds and lethal balls, *deafened the warriors and inflicted deadly wounds upon them*. (659) [*Mathnavī*.]

During the battle, Hasan Qazi, the governor (*ḥākim*) of the Naymans of Aral, abandoned Töre Sufi and deserted to his majesty. Also, Oraz ʿAli Kiyat, who had been one of the pillars of the structure of rule of the Sufi, came from his steppe, saw what was happening and, entering the battlefield, embarked upon courageous fighting. At that moment one of the bold [Khivan] warriors drove his horse against him, and, with a musket-ball (*gulūla-i tufang*), knocked him down to the ground to his death, seized his horse and, without being recognized, left the battlefield. Qurban Niyaz Pirnawkhasti, known

under the nickname "Little Eye" (*Közü Kichik*), saw Oraz ʿAli Kiyat lying dead on the battlefield, cut off his head and brought it. Some brave warriors who had been sent [for forays] in the vicinity, also killed many enemies of the state and brought their heads. The warriors (660) gained strength from his royal majesty's divinely ordained good fortune and made an assault, and the winds of calamity blew into the banner of the accursed Sufi; he was defeated, fled, entered the town and prepared for the defense of the walls. In this battle, among the troops of the ever-victorious army, Adina-Berdi Sardar, the son of Dönmes Yomut, Quvanduq Qongrat and Ismaʿil Bahadur were killed; and two men from among the Jalayirs were taken prisoner and were killed in the town by the Sufi's order.

The ever-victorious troops plundered and destroyed the wheat crops in the fields around the town and returned to the august camp. And the head of Oraz ʿAli Kiyat was hung on the gates of the camp (*senger*) as a warning for the onlookers. The next day [the Khivans] laid siege, but the rebels did not come out of the town. On Sunday [the khan] sent the amirs and the ever-victorious army against the town, but that day too no battle ensued.

The event of the second battle.

On Monday, the last day of the aforementioned month [of Jumadi I 1225],[a] his royal majesty set out with great pomp and splendor and marched against the town. He again arranged the great army from the south of the town in the same order and manner as before, and drew up the ever-victorious troops in battle array as he did first time. Töre <Murad> Sufi also came out of the town, busied himself with lining up the ranks, and raised his shameful banner. [*Naẓm.*] (661) According to royal command, certain warriors were assigned to raid the regions and dependencies of that country (*diyār*), while certain commanders embarked upon fighting on the battlefield. Although the rebels lacked the strength to endure, they came out on the battlefield, encouraged by the city walls [behind them] and prompted by their innate wickedness. The [Khivan] warriors attacked them unceasingly from all sides, and fierce fighting took place. [*Bayt.*]

At that time Khoja Jan Khoja *spurred his horse onto the battlefield, shattered the enemy ranks with repeated assaults and set about

[a] 2 July 1810.

killing with lance and sword*. By chance, Sayyid-Quli Bek Uyghur confronted him with a large band of enemy troops and raced his horse at him. The khoja, without hesitating (662) or stopping, attacked them and killed or wounded two or three people. The rebels, seeing this, surrounded the khoja all together and struck him with ten or fifteen lances. His coat of mail protected him from all of them except one, which penetrated his abdomen, so that he was seriously wounded; but, thanks to the strength of his horse, he escaped from this gulf of perdition. Kömek Pahlavan Yomut was also wounded in the leg during this fight, but escaped.

At that time the warriors who had gone raiding in the outskirts of town began to arrive with plentiful booty and innumerable prisoners. Most of the prisoners were Chowdurs. Töre Murad Sufi learned about this and went from the western side of the town, with a big group of rebels, intending to make a surprise attack on the troops returning from the raid. From the left wing of the ever-victorious army, Karim-Berdi Atalïq, with a number of warriors, countered him and joined battle. The warriors who had been fighting before, having seen this, also came, group after group, and attacked and began fighting fiercely. His majesty also moved the ever-victorious banner in that direction. The enemies of the state, seeing this, showed desperate ardor and attacked all at once. At this moment the Qalmaq Burkut Bahadur, who was a slave (*mamlūk*) of Kuchuk Arbab, rushed upon the enemies' ranks and faced Töre Sufi, and they struck each other with their lances. Finally Burkut Bahadur made an adroit move, grabbed Töre Sufi tightly in his arms and was about to throw him down from the horse; but at that moment the rebels accompanying the Sufi came in great number, (663) killed Burkut Bahadur and saved the Sufi. At that instant, Ish Murad Bek ibn Sultan Mirab moved the *shamkhālchī*s and the musketeers (*multuqchi mergenler*) forward, by royal command, and they shot so vigorously that the sounds of *shamkhāl*s and muskets and the shouting of the warriors made clear the [meaning of the Qur'ānic] expression "*Surely the earthquake of the [Final] Hour is a mighty thing.*"[a] A ball from the *shamkhāl* of Ish Muhammad Yüzbashi struck Nazar Biy, the governor (*ḥākim*) of the Nokuz of Aral, who rivalled Töre Sufi in bravery and toughness, knocked him down to the ground humbled and killed him. Ish Niyaz Yüzbashi

[a] Qur'ān, XXII,1.

also killed two rebels. Tölegen Bahadur also *inflicted fatal wounds on many people with his lance*. This Tölegen Bahadur had for many years travelled about, and distinguished himself with great exploits in many battles in Bukhara and Turkestan, and he had become a most famous warrior, but finally he had decided to come to serve the sublime court. And most warriors gave their all to kill or capture the enemy troops. Finally, the enemies of the state could not withstand them, but were defeated and took to flight; and before they entered the town, many of them fell before the saber-strokes of the brave warriors and perished under the hooves of their horses. As to the victorious army, four *nökers* of Dosïm Bahadur were killed in this battle, as well as one man of Allash Biy, and two men from among the Yomuts and the Chowdurs.

On Tuesday, the first day of Jumadi II,[a] they took repose. (664) On that day the qazi of the Nokuz with two families of his relatives and six families from the tribe of Qanglï came, having fled from the tyranny and oppression of the Sufi. His royal majesty granted the aforementioned qazi a robe of honor and sent them by boat towards Khoja-eli.

An account of the third battle.

On Wednesday, the 2nd of the month,[b] *his majesty mounted his horse and, under the protection of almighty God, moved against the town.* As before, he arranged the center (*qalbgāh*), the right and left wings (*barānghār va juvānghār*) and the right and left wings of the center (*ong qol va sol qol*), and drew them up between the southern and the western sides of the town. Töre Murad Sufi also brought all the rebels out of the town, under the command of Ish Muhammad Bek, Soyun Biy, Muhammad Murad Bek, and Keday Bahadur, "*together with the subjects* (*maʿ ar-raʿāyā va'l-fuqarā'*), *willingly or unwillingly*," mounted and unmounted, and drew up the troops in battle array. He placed his left wing at the southern side of the town, and his right wing at the western side, before the gates. The right wing of the ever-victorious army joined battle with the left wing of the army of Aral, and the left wing with its right wing. On the southern side Shir ʿAli Bek, one of the *nökers* of the great amir Qutlugh Murad Inaq, was killed.

[a] 3 July.
[b] 4 July.

The brave warriors made an onslaught, defeated the army of Aral, and took the body of the aforenamed bek from the battlefield. (665) After this, heavy fighting began on the western side of the town. [*Mathnavī.*] The warriors repeatedly attacked the enemy like roaring lions and fierce tigers and dispersed the earthly dust of many rebels in the whirlwind of death, with the blows of sharp swords and muskets (*tufang*) raining fire. Among those of them who were killed was Jum'a Niyaz Qongrat, who had brightened the light of Töre Sufi's fortune with the flame of his assistance. But on our side, the son of Qochqar Naib, Dawlat Murad Bek, known under the nickname Umbay, was wounded. At that moment we, together with Karim-Berdi Atalïq and 'Abdallah Inaq, moved the great standards (*ulugh tughlar*) forward. Karim-Berdi Atalïq entrusted his standard (*tugh*) to us and himself *went into battle with a number of warriors; and fighting with his saber, he accomplished feats of valor*. 'Abdallah Inaq gave his full support to the aforementioned atalïq and also went into battle, showing his bravery. After this we again moved the standard somewhat forward, so that we reached the place between Töre Sufi's *ḥawlī* and Sayyid Nazar Biy's *ribāṭ* (666) and stayed there. Be it known that Töre Sufi's *ḥawlī* is within the town (?), and Sayyid Nazar Biy's *ribāṭ* was an arrow shot away. As they fought, the brave warriors gained strength due to our advance, fought with greater zeal, and made an assault. The rebels could not withstand them, fled the battlefield, and escaped to the town.

His royal majesty, with full pomp and victory, bypassed the town heading in the direction of the lower reaches of the Yengichke. He ordered the crops of that region destroyed "*as punishment for the evil-doers*," and he arrived back at the august camp. On Thursday he rested and honored the warriors who had distinguished themselves in battle with infinite favors. He showed special compassion for the wounded, giving them many *dinar*s and countless *dirham*s for medical expenses. On Friday he set out and had most of the fields laid waste. On Sunday the 6th of the month [of Jumadi II][a] he crossed the river, had crops on that side destroyed and, after shooting at the enemies of the state from the riverbank opposite to the town, went back. Some soldiers brought plentiful booty and countless prisoners from that region.

[a] 8 July.

On Monday he rested. On that day many people from the tribes (*ulus*) which lived between the lakes moved off and came [to the khan's camp]. His majesty treated them kindly and sent them by boats (*kimä*) to [his] well-protected kingdom.

How his majesty, auspicious king, set out for Shor-köl, and, having conquered the people of that region, had them move off.

This event happened as follows. Mulla Khuraz, one of the cousins (*banī aʿmāmī*) of Hasan Bay Biy, was in the Shor-köl region with a great number of Qongrat Qaraqalpaqs. (667) Ekilik Biy, with four or five hundred Qïyat Qaraqalpaqs, came close to that community and set up their encampments there. Two hundred families of Qongrats and Manghïts also lived in that area to ensure the safety of their animals and crops. When they heard about [the arrival of] the ever-victorious army, they built a fortress in Shor-köl and fortified themselves there. Spies brought this news to the caliphal court. On Tuesday, the 8th of the month [of Jumadi II],[a] after sunrise, his majesty the khaqan appointed the perspicacious amir Shah Niyaz Atalïq to defend the august camp, and [he himself], with 8,000 elect troops, set out towards Shor-köl to conquer that people (*el*). The same day Qalandar Bek, Muhammad Niyaz Bek, and Khal Niyaz Bek, the sons of Yakhshïlïq Biy, with their families, fled from Qongrat and, travelling along the other side of the Amu, came to the august camp. But his majesty the khaqan, having marched at a great speed, [already] reached Shor-köl in the evening of the same day and besieged the fortress. That day, the fortress was captured after some fighting. Mulla Khuraz and Ekilik Biy hung their sabers around their necks,[839] went out [of the fortress], and prostrated themselves humbly on the ground before his majesty begging for his clemency and protection. In accordance with the words "*Forgiveness out of strength comes from the greatness of rank*," his majesty pardoned their crimes, appointed supervising convoys (*żābiṭ sürdavullar*), and had these people move off at night. The next day, which was Wednesday, [the khan] was rewarded with the honor of making the pilgrimage to [the tombs of] the holy saints, the shaykh of shaykhs Hakim Ata Sulayman,[840] and the lord of mystics Sayyid Ata Sayyid Ahmad (may their graves

[a] 10 July.

be hallowed!),[841] and contented the servants and guardians of the holy tombs by giving abundant offerings. (668) Having [then] passed Khavand-qalʿa, known as Boghra Khan,[842] he halted. On Thursday, his majesty reached the bank of the Yengichke, and, observing due prudence and caution against Qongrat, he assigned soldiers (*yïghïn*)[843] to reconnoiter until the [whole] detachment (*köch*) crossed [the river]. Amir Shah Niyaz Atalïq went out to welcome him and stood in attendance on the bank of the Yengichke. After the troops crossed [the river], [the khan], auspicious and ever-victorious, went to the august camp and arrived at the sublime court. He assigned summer pastures (*yaylaq*) in the region of Khoja-eli to the Qaraqalpaqs and exalted Mulla Khuraz and Ekilik Biy with royal honors. As to those who were brought together with that people (i.e. the Qaraqalpaqs), the khan appointed Bay Mirza son of Bekim Atalïq [as atalïq] to the Qongrats and Dosïm Muhammad son of Bek Mirza Atalïq as atalïq to the Manghïts, assigned places and habitations for them east of Manghït-qalʿa, in the environs of the Atalïq-arna, and transfered them there.

An account of the fourth battle.

On Sunday, the 13th of the month [of Jumadi II],[a] his majesty the khaqan set out again against the town of Qongrat and drew up his troops in battle array to the south of the town. The Sufi also came out of the town with the rebels, and a heavy fighting began. The two armies mingled [in hand to hand fighting]. The [Khivan] warriors slew [their enemies] with deadly lances, (669) and group after group and detachment after detachment of the mighty army attacked the rebels and defeated the Sufi. The enemies of the state fled, reentered the town and concentrated on defending the wall. In this battle Khuday-Berdi Bek fell as a martyr. He was one of the cousins (*banī aʿmāmī*) of the Sufi, and, having become disgusted with the oppression and self-conceit of the Sufi, had entered the service of *the late* Eltüzer Muhammad Bahadur Khan and [later] had become one of the retainers and servants of his majesty, the auspicious king. His majesty was very saddened by this misfortune and sent Khuday-Berdi Bek's body to the camp (*qosh*). Having ordered the crops [of the area] to be destroyed, [the khan] went to Boghra Khan. At that

[a] 15 July.

time amir Muhammad Riza Qoshbegi, Allash Biy, Muhammad Jan Bek, and Dosïm Bahadur, with the troops under their command, were at the head (*saqā*) of the Yengichke [canal] where they had come earlier. Töre Murad Sufi saw that their number was small, and so he went out of the town in full strength and attacked them. In this battle Mulla Muhammad Rahim, one of the *nökers* of Qïlïch Inaq, as well as two other men, fell at the sword of the rebels. His majesty heard of what had happened and returned. In accordance with the words "*When the truth has come, falsehood vanishes away*,"[a] Töre Murad Sufi could not withstand them, and so, like a swarm of flies fleeing the blast of a gale, he went back into the town and fortified himself there. The ever-victorious army besieged the town till the evening, and then returned to the august camp. On Monday, the funeral prayer was read for Khuday-Berdi Bek, and his body was sent to Khoja-eli, to be buried in Mizdahqan.

On that day,[b] (670) the great amirs (*umarā-yi ʿizām*) headed by Shah Niyaz Atalïq addressed the khan in the following way: "It would be best for the state to return at this time, to provide rest for the horses and pack animals (*ulagh*) of the troops, and then to come back [to Qongrat], because it is no longer worth while to continue the siege so far [from the town]." [The khan] did not reject their advice, and therefore turned back from Aral on Wednesday, the 16th of the month,[c] and stopped on the bank of the Chumanay. On Thursday, in accordance with the royal order, the great counselor Muhammad Yusuf Mehter built bridges on the Chumanay and the Changlï-Basu, and most of the troops crossed [the rivers]. On Friday his majesty crossed [the rivers himself] and set up the royal camp on the bank of the river [Amu], in the vicinity of Muʿin-Ata. On that day he dispatched the qoshbegi to receive *zakāt* from the Qaraqalpaqs. On Friday he moved ọff from there, and, having travelled as fast as the sun which lights the world, he reached Khiva, the royal capital, on the evening of Monday, the 21st of the month,[d] gladdening his friends and saddening his enemies.

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[a] Cf. Qurʾān, XVII,81.
[b] 14 Jumadi II/16 July (Monday).
[c] 18 July.
[d] 23 July.

How Töre Murad Sufi, the ringleader of the rebels and the guide of the insurgents, as a result of his complete ignorance and total aberration, and guided by ill-fortune and inspired by sedition, sent troops to three regions of the [khan's] well-protected kingdom, aiming to break his imperial majesty's everlasting power and humiliate his eternal authority; and how Ish Muhammad Bek of [Töre Murad Sufi's] group entered Gurlen with the troops of Aral, and was defeated by the great amir Qutlugh Murad Inaq, while the people of a caravan were routed by the Chowdur troops.

*An auspicious person (671) who is marked by divine favor cannot be affected by the infamy of sedition caused by people of ill-omen; such an attempt would rather harm the latter themselves. [*Qiṭʿa.*] The never-ending auspiciousness of his majesty the khan, and the ultimate defeat and destruction of Töre Murad Sufi, and the final fate of Ish Muhammad Bek serve a good proof of this. [*Qiṭʿa.*]* The explanation of this is as follows. *Töre Murad Sufi—the malignant "Sufi without a guide", who was always (672) humiliated by the greatness of Muhammad Rahim Khan and distressed and heart-broken by the rise of his felicity, thought that the town of Qongrat would be his refuge—like the unbelief which resides in the heart of the infidels, and was devising sedition that would cause the fall of the khan's God-given empire.* But this was just the same as if this ignoramus were trying to destroy the grandeur of the sublime heaven by raising dust or, by spreading darkness, to conceal the radiance of the sun which lights the world. In Shaʿban of the aforementioned year, that is in 1225 A.H.,[a] amir Karim-Berdi Ataliq and *Muhammad Riza Qoshbegi, on his majesty's order, escorted a Khorezmian caravan which was going to Yangi-qalʿa in Russia*, and when they let it pass the Ereng-qïr, they returned. The aforementioned Sufi, instigated by vicious people and prompted by his ignorance, conceived a vain desire in his mind and sent 300 of the Chowdur troops after the caravan to commit highway robbery, and he also sent 200 Qaraqalpaq and Aral troops to Aq-Yaqïsh to raid the people under Aydost Biy.

As to Ish Muhammad Bek, he had been running like shadow from the sunrise of his majesty the khaqan's felicity and, having long since

[a] September 1810.

come from Bukhara to Qongrat, had been allied with [Töre Murad Sufi] and had all the time been making vain efforts, with his assistance, to raise the dust of sedition in some part of the country, (673) and had been trying to distinguish himself in the attempts to penetrate one of the [towns] of Besh-Qalʿa and, by stirring up rebellion, to throw his majesty's kingdom into disorder. Therefore [Töre Murad Sufi] gave him Keday Bahadur Manghït, Muhammad Murad Bek son of Bek Pulad Atalïq, Söyündük Bek ibn Vays-Quli Inaq, Elchi Jalayir, Sayyid-Quli Bek son of Sayyid Panah Bek Uyghur, and the Qaraqalpaq El Aman Khitay under his command with 250 warriors *from among the Aral and Chowdur troops*, and on Monday, the 19th of the aforementioned month,[a] sent them over the At-Yolï crossing to conquer Gurlen. *This vicious band* advanced rapidly for three days, and at midnight on Friday,[b] when the sun was passing from the sign of Virgo to the sign of Libra, arrived at Gurlen. [*Qiṭʿa.*] They sent a man to the nobles (*akābir*) of Gurlen and Vazir[c] and themselves, all together, laid siege to the *ribāṭ* of amir Oraz ʿAli Inaq at Qatïgh-köl. Incidentally, on that night the inaq had only five or six slaves with him, and they did not have enough arms and war supplies. When Muhammad Riza Atalïq, son of Muhammad Nazar Bek ibn Kuchuk Inaq, (674) heard the tumult, he set out from his own *ribāṭ*, charged through the attacking impudent enemies towards the gates of the inaq's *ribāṭ*, entered it and joined the inaq. His relatives and servants headed by Khuday Nazar Bek were unable to enter [the *ribāṭ*] and came to Kat, [from which they all], except Khuday Nazar Bek and Chut Qara Yüzbashi, came to Khiva, the royal capital. The same way, all the nobles (*akābir*) of Gurlen with their relatives, headed by the Jalayirs Muhammad Riza Qazi son of Allah-Quli Qazi and Qaraghay Atalïq ibn Berdish Atalïq, the Nokuz Muhammad Niyaz Naib, and the Manghïts Jiyen Atalïq and Sakhtïyan-Berdi Atalïq, woke up from the shouting of this band [of men] with voices like jackals and teeth like wolves, and, not knowing in the night whether the enemies were numerous or few, fled to Khiva to his majesty the caliph. [*Naẓm.*]

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[a] 18 September (Tuesday).

[b] 21 September.

[c] The text is not clear; probably, "they sent men *against* (i.e. to seize?) the nobles of Gurlen and Vazir."

(675) By the order of Ish Muhammad Bek and directed by Keday Bahadur and Muhammad Murad Bek, the rebels set fire to the *ribāṭ*s of Khuday Nazar Bek and Oraz ʿAli Inaq and kept the inaq and the atalïq under a tight siege. The inaq and the atalïq, with the slaves who were in the *ribāṭ*, defended themselves and made tremendous efforts to repulse the enemies *with arrows and bullets*. [*Shiʿr.*] But the rebels, having breached the wall of the garden in front of the *ribāṭ*, began to enter [the *ribāṭ*]. Therefore the people of the *ribāṭ* *became helpless*, and after sunrise began negotiations [with the rebels]. Ish Muhammad Bek, Keday Bahadur, Muhammad Murad Bek, Söyündük, and others made truce, swearing by the Faith and the Qurʾān. The inaq, by necessity, was sincerely and open-heartedly deceived by the empty undertaking and the useless oath of these liars, and, as the proverb puts it, "*When the fate comes, the eyes do not see*," they did not see their ruse (676) and went out. [The rebels] brought this mistreated amir to the town. Be it known that the town (*qalʿa*) is the place where the people of Gurlen had erected a wall (*qurghan*) during the time of disturbances. When the time of tranquility came, [the wall] was razed to the ground, but the neighborhoods (*maḥallāt*) and their market continue to flourish, and there is a wooden (*chūbīn*) madrasa. Although the city wall (*ḥiṣār*) is destroyed, it is [still] called "town" (*qalʿa*). When they came to the town, they stopped at the madrasa and put the mistreated amir Oraz ʿAli Inaq to death. "*Surely we belong to God, and to Him we return.*"[a] This humble [author], who had some kinship ties with him, was deeply affected by this misfortune, and *somewhat relieved his grief by compiling these two chronograms. [*Tārīkh.*] (677) [*Tārīkh.*]*

Muhammad Riza Atalïq was put in fetters in the madrasa to be handed over the next day to the rabble of Gurlen so that they might kill him. Incidentally, at that time his majesty the khaqan, who two days before had gone for a hunt in the region of Astana and Yangiarïq, was busy hunting. When this horrible news reached *the great amir Qutlugh Murad Inaq* in the city [of Khiva], he sent Khuday-Quli Karnaychi, who was one of the servants of this exalted dynasty, to tell the news to his majesty, and also sent Tanak Bahadur Yüzbashi, (678) a newly promoted young warrior (*yigit*) from among the Qongrat population of Qosh-Küprük, against Gurlen with the troops

[a] Qurʾān, II,156.

of Qosh-Küprük. And [Qutlugh Murad Inaq] himself, together with several pillars of the state, reposed on a *ṣufa*[844] at the gate of the citadel (*ärk*) waiting for the auspicious arrival and the august order of his majesty the khaqan. *The khan* heard this news during the hunt, and *arrived in the citadel* at the time of the Friday prayer. After reading the prayer, he put most of the amirs and military commanders (*sipahdār*) under the command of his elder brother, the great amir Qutlugh Murad Inaq, and sent them, with the available *nökers* and troops, to Gurlen to rout the rebels. He also sent amir Karim-Berdi Atalïq Uyghur to Uyghur to join the inaq with the troops of that region, and, as a measure of prudence and caution, stern *tovachis* were sent to all towns and cities with the royal orders to gather the army. [*Mathnavī.*]

In the meantime Tanak Bahadur, who had set out on the orders of the inaq, took the troops of Qosh-Küprük and its region and, advancing at speed, arrived in Kat, (679) where ʿAshur Bek Yüzbashi son of Tengri-Berdi Bek joined him with his own *nökers* and the troops of Kat. Khuday Nazar Bek ibn Kuchuk Inaq and Chut Qara Yüzbashi Nayman, who had fled from Gurlen and were in Kat, also went with them against Gurlen. Between the mid-day and evening prayers they encountered the rebels and had a skirmish with them. Since it was late at night, they abandoned fighting and turned back. Tanak Bahadur, ʿAshur Bek, and Khuday Nazar Bek, with the ever-victorious troops, went in the direction of Vaghlan and spent the night in Cheyjuvit-qalʿa,[845] in the home of Adina Bay Atalïq. Meanwhile *Qutlugh Murad Inaq*, together with the great amirs, arrived with undescribable pomp in Kat, and Mahmud Niyaz Bek, who was the governor (*vālī*) of that town, did everything to provide hospitality and entertainment. *At sunrise, at a propitious hour, the inaq set out and moved towards Gurlen.* [*Nazm.*] (680) On his way, the inaq was joined by the relatives of Khojash Naib headed by Karim-Berdi Atalïq Qongrat, with the troops of the region of Qïyat-Qongrat, and by the above-mentioned Karim-Berdi Atalïq Uyghur, with the troops of Uyghur and Bashqard. Before noon they set out to the region of Gurlen like an irresistible punishment, and travelled in easterly direction. Ish Muhammad Bek also set out for defence with a large band, and the encounter of the two armies took place on the eastern side of a wooden bridge called Ish-Bolay Küprüki, in the village (*qarya*) Sakhtiyan.[846] At that time amir Töre Murad Atalïq son of Vali Atalïq, with the troops of Shahabad and Chaghatay, as well as Tanak Baha-

dur, ʿAshur Bek, Khuday Nazar Bek, and Adina Bay Atalïq, with the troops of Vaghlan, Tash-qalʿa, Qïyat, Cheyjuvit, and Ming, came and joined the inaq. The inaq assigned several amirs and commanders (*sipahdār*) to the right and the left wings (*barānghār va juwānghār*) and drew them up in battle array. Ish Muhammad Bek, assisted in lining up the ranks by Keday Bahadur, Muhammad Murad Bek, Söyündük Bek, and El Aman Bahadur, out of his extreme ignorance, also stood prepared for battle. [*Mathnavī.*] (681) Sayyid Khoja Jan Khoja son of ʿUmar Khoja Naqib, Allash Bek ibn Sayyid ʿAli Bek, and Muhammad Jan Bek son of Qutlugh Muhammad Inaq (682) were ordered to move forward for battle with their *nökers*, detachment after detachment and group after group, and they started fighting the enemies of the state. *With divine help and assistance, several warriors raced their horses onto the battlefield*, knocked Yaʿqub Bek son of Musa Parvanachi and three or four other rebels off the horse of life to the ground of death with valiant lances, and cut off their empty heads from their bodies which were full of malice. Having seen this, Ish Muhammad Bek and [all] the rebels were broken in spirit, *abandoned the battlefield* and went to the town. The inaq pursued them with the ever-victorious army, and the brave warriors smashed the rebels, sending many of them to the valley of perdition. [*Nazm.*]

When the rebels reached the town, they split into two groups. Ish Muhammad Bek and Keday Bahadur, with one group, did not enter the town, but bypassed it from the east and stopped. Söyündük Bek and Muhammad Murad Bek went through the town and joined them. ʿAvaz Yüzbashi, who had been one of his majesty the khaqan's personal slaves (*mamālīk-i khāṣṣa*) and, because of his laudable and worthy service, had risen to the highest ranks (683) and had been entrusted with the command of the slaves (*qullar*), rushed forward with the detachment of these slaves (*qullar dastasi*),[847] engaged the fleeing enemy at close quarters, entered the town, and, having seized the bridle [of the horse] of Muhammad Murad Bek and wielding his sharp sword, intended to send him to the next world. But the scoundrels and rabble of Gurlen rushed up and rescued that man of ill fortune from the claws of vengeance. In short, the commanders (*sipahdār*) Khoja Jan Khoja, Allash Bek, Muhammad Jan Bek, Niyaz Muhammad Bay, Muhammad-Quli Bek, Muhammad Niyaz Gerchek, Berdi Bahadur, Tanak Bahadur, and ʿAshur Bek; and the commanders of the *nökers* of the inaq: Iskandar Khoja Bekabadi,

ʿAshur Atalïq, Dawlat Murad Bek Umbay, Adina Murad Bek, El Aman Qongrat, and others; and the [distinguished] warriors (*mubāriẓlar*): Muhammad Karim Qoychi Atalïq Khoja-eli, Ruz Muhammad Khan, and others,—*detachment after detachment of them pursued and attacked the fleeing rebels*. [*Naẓm.*]

(684) At that time one warrior of the group came face to face with Keday Bahadur, famous for his bravery, without recognizing him, and, having split his execrable head with his valiant sword, sent him head-first to the earth of perdition. Although at that moment it remained unknown who he (this enemy) was, [later] when Ish Muhammad Bek and Söyündük Bek were captured, this fact was established from their evidence. After [Keday Bahadur] fell, another [soldier] speared and killed El Aman Qaraqalpaq. When the rebels witnessed this horrible event, the chain of their covenant snapped and the structure which held their group together collapsed in ruins, and they all dispersed in different directions. Thus, Ish Muhammad Bek, Muhammad Murad Bek, Söyündük Bek, Sayyid-Quli Bek, the son of Keday Bahadur and Qalandar, the younger brother [of Keday], and the son of Berdi Bek Uyshun fled with one group eastwards along the bank of the river [Amu], while ʿAbdu Karim Bek, who was Söyündük Bek's brother, fled with a small group in the direction of Qongrat. Apart from these, they all dispersed, everyone overtaken by his own misfortune and trying to hide himself in the fields and pits. Although [the rebels] watched him constantly, Muhammad Riza Atalïq, who was imprisoned in the madrasa, broke his fetters, killed the guards, and had the honor of appearing before the inaq. The inaq stopped in the town in the madrasa yard and sent Dosïm Bahadur with the troops under his command in pursuit of Ish Muhammad Bek. The ever-victorious troops and the people of Gurlen pursued the rebels everywhere. They showed such great zeal in killing and slaying them, that by night-time nobody had escaped, and they brought the [severed] heads and prisoners. By the inaq's order, most of the prisoners were slaughtered. According to the saying "*Surely the deeds [the wicked suffer] are in accordance with the intentions [they had to inflict them on others]*,[a] (685) they (the rebels) had been intent upon killing and robbing Muslims, and this intention turned against themselves and they received their due punishment. [*Qiṭʿa.*]

[a] I.e., those who intend to do evil deeds to others have these intentions (that is, evil deeds) come upon themselves.

Dosïm Bahadur pursued Ish Muhammad Bek till the head of the canal Bashqard, which is situated within the confines of Yaman-Uyghur, and killed and captured many [of his] men. At that crossing Ish Muhammad Bek with eleven men, among whom there were Muhammad Murad Bek, Söyündük Bek, Sayyid-Quli Bek, and Qalandar, threw themselves into the river [Amu] and crossed it. Two of them perished [in the water], while Söyündük Bek lost his horse and it was only with great difficulty that he got out of the river. From that place Dosïm Bahadur returned and came to the inaq.

ONE HAPPY COINCIDENCE: Shah Pulad Mergen Nayman lived with his family and servants (*el va aḥshāmi*) on the other side of the Amu, in the locality Qosh-tüpe, because it was safe to farm there. When he heard that the great amir Qutlugh Murad Inaq has come to Gurlen, he wanted to come to serve [under the inaq] with five or ten men, and he boarded a boat (*kimä*) and set out by river. When they reached the middle of the river they saw that Ish Muhammad Bek with [the other] rebels were fleeing towards the bank of the river, while Dosïm Bahadur, with a large band, was pursuing them. Therefore they returned, got out of the river, and promptly went along the other bank (686) towards the place were the rebels were heading, so that when the latter would cross the river they would meet their punishment on the bank. After the rebels had crossed [the river] as described above, they pursued them, overtook them after having crossed the head of the Kesik canal, and started fighting. The son of Keday Bahadur aimed at Shah Pulad Mergen, but was killed by the ball from his (Mergen's) musket. Muhammad Murad Bek and Qalandar turned back, made an assault, wounded the above-mentioned Mergen and his son Muhammad Niyaz, and continued their flight. Shah Pulad Mergen, wounded and suffering, his horse also unfit, went to the Abdal community[848] in the region of Old Kat and brought them the news. After the tragic death of the late khan, these Abdals had moved off to Bukhara, but, having returned recently, had lived in that place. In the same region a community of the Uyshuns[849] lived by farming. Muhammad Qïlïch Bahadur, one of the Abdals, along with his relatives, together with Khuraz Qïshïq and his sons, from among the Uyshuns, rushed [after the rebels]. In the evening Khuraz Qïshïq and his sons fell upon those doomed people like divine punishment, captured Söyündük and killed the son of Berdi Bek Uyshun and cut off his head, while Muhammad Qïlïch Abdal and his relatives captured Ish Muhammad Bek and killed

three men and cut off their heads. Muhammad Murad Bek, Sayyid-Quli Bek, and Qalandar, the three of them together, fled and escaped under the cover of night, as in the [Qur'ānic] words "*And We have made the night as a garment.*"[a] At night Khuraz Qïshïq brought Söyündük Bek across the river, and before noon handed him over as a gift to the servants of his majesty the caliph and was rewarded with royal favors. When this chief (687) of the rebels was brought to his majesty the khaqan, his majesty, after berating and chiding him, asked: "What have you come for?" He answered fearlessly: "We have come to die." At that moment royal order of doom was issued: "Fulfil his wish!" He was immediately dragged to the place of execution, where he was handed over to Qïlïch, son of Ishim Bahadur, and the latter killed him. [*Bayt.*]

Be it known that the aforementioned Söyündük Bek was the younger son of Vays-Quli Inaq, one of the Nayman nobles of Gurlen. Vays-Quli Inaq had twice risen in Gurlen against Muhammad Amin Inaq, had instigated many rebellions and caused a lot of bloodshed, as was mentioned above in its proper place.[b] As the saying goes, "*The son is the essence of his father*"; this man (i.e. Söyündük Bek) also had stepped firmly on the path of perverseness and had resolutely propagated malevolence, and had been constantly causing sedition. Through instigation and devilry, he repeatedly lead his elder brother Khuday-Berdi Darugha astray from the path of concord and made him his companion on the road of discord; due to the villainy of his ill-omened younger brother, that unlucky fellow was ultimately killed, together with his son named Khuday Nazar, during the affair of Muhammad Riza Bek. At that time Söyündük Bek fled, came to the Sufi and settled in Qongrat, as already mentioned above. In the end, he instigated and urged Ish Muhammad Bek to capture Gurlen, and himself and a number of other malevolent men paid for this with their lives. [*Shi'r.*]

(688) His majesty the khaqan sent Yar Muhammad Divanbegi, a courtier at the royal court, to meet Ish Muhammad Bek, and sent Muhammad Niyaz Bek Mahram-bashi, with thirty swift horsemen, to pursue Muhammad Murad Bek. As to *the great amir Qutlugh Murad Inaq*, he stayed till the evening in the yard of the madrasa,

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[a] Qur'ān, LXXVIII,10.
[b] See above, pp. 125–126, 129–132.

and when the ever-victorious troops finished the search and pursuit, he had them load the [severed] heads of the enemies of the state onto carts and *put heavy chains and fetters on the prisoners' necks*, and, having handed over [the heads and prisoners] to Dawlat Murad Bek, sent them to his majesty the caliph. He left the town and graced the *ribāṭ* of Muhammad Riza Atalïq with his presence. Muhammad Riza Atalïq made a banquet which continued until dawn and expressed gratitude for his rescue. At breakfast time the inaq set off from there, and, having recited the Qur'ān and the *Fātiḥa*[850] for the repose of Oraz ʿAli Inaq, departed in triumph for Khiva, the royal capital, and arrived at the sublime court before noon. His majesty the khaqan honored and distinguished him with royal favors and infinite largesses, and granted the amirs and commanders under him the golden robes of honor.

(689) At that time Yar Muhammad Divanbegi brought Ish Muhammad Bek and, according to the [khan's] order, put him in prison. At the time of evening prayer the prisoners were slaughtered, but nine men of the Qongrats were released upon the intercession of Muhammad Niyaz Gerchek and Berdi Bahadur. And of the Qaraqalpaqs Nuray Bahadur was set free. The reason of his release was the following: he was the younger brother of Soyrï Biy, a relative of Aydost Biy, the governor of the Qaraqalpaqs living at Aq-Yaqïsh. When, on Friday 8 Rajab 1224 A.H.,[a] as mentioned above,[b] Ish Muhammad Bek and Husayn Biy Qïyat raided Aq-Yaqïsh and killed Qurban Bek Biy and Soyrï Biy, they took him (Nuray), together with his domestics (*aḥshām*), and brought him to Qongrat. He had no option but to submit to Töre Murad Sufi and Ish Muhammad Bek and served with them. During this campaign he was forced to serve under Ish Muhammad Bek. When they were defeated, he was taken prisoner by Sayyid Bek, son of Hasan Murad Atalïq from Qosh-Küprük. [His captor] brought this [matter] to the attention of the servants of his majesty the caliph, who thereupon ordered that he be released. Elchi Jalayir and his son were hiding for several days, and then pleaded with Shah Niyaz Atalïq and Qïlïch Inaq, and obtained pardon and favor. As to the aforementioned ʿAbdu Karim Bek, with seven men, some mounted and some not, each of them

[a] 18 August 1809.
[b] See p. 293.

escaped from the gulf of perdition with a hundred difficulties and a thousand hardships, and came to Qongrat. An Uyghur named Dost Niyaz changed his clothes and disguised himself, and reached Bukhara. With the gale of grief caused by the good news [of the rebels' defeat] he extinguished the candle of hope of the state's enemies who were in that country.[a] Except for those mentioned above, (690) none of the rebels who had come [to Gurlen] escaped death, with the exception of Mulla Ilyas Uyghur, who, together with his younger brother, decided to separate from the rebels at the time when Ish Muhammad Bek came to Gurlen, and had the good fortune to have the honor of kissing the royal threshold. Consequently, he was singled out to be granted royal bounty and appointed to the post of *yüzbashi*. [*Qiṭʿa.*]

The morning of Monday, the 26th of the month [of Shaʿban],[b] *his majesty the khaqan* sat on the throne of generosity and beneficence, and to those soldiers (*yigit*) who had distinguished themselves in battle, cut off [the enemies'] heads and captured prisoners, he presented precious robes of honor and gold-embroidered garments of honor, and scattered bounties from the treasury of munificence in quantities *surpassing the legendary generosity of Hatim-i Ta'i (691) and Maʿn-i Za'ida*. [*Mathnavī.*] (692) *Till the sunset, the peerless monarch was granting bountiful rewards to the troops and the people of Gurlen. In particular, he lavished gold-embroidered robes of honor on Sayyid Khoja Jan Khoja, Allash Biy, Muhammad Jan Bek, Niyaz Muhammad Bay, and Muhammad-Quli Bek, whose valor contributed to the defeat of the rebels, and raised their salaries (*vazā'if*) and ranks (*marātib*) exceedingly.* [*Bayt.*] He showed special favor and kindness to Muhammad Qïlïch Abdal who had captured Ish Muhammad Bek and granted him a gem-studded belt, a dagger of tempered steel, a gold-embroidered robe, and a fleet horse; and he also gladdened his companions and helpers with royal gifts, befitting their circumstances. On Tuesday, *the khan, having finished punishing foes and rewarding friends*, set out again for a hunt in the region of Astana and Aq-Masjid. [(692–693) *Mathnavī.*]

(694) At that auspicious time his majesty, the shadow of God, went to the confines of Aq-Masjid for recreation, and his far-seeing eye and wise mind noticed a region appropriate for construction and an area suitable for agriculture which, however, for lack of water,

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[a] I.e. of various rebels who had fled from Khorezm to Bukhara before.
[b] 25 September.

remained frightful steppe and perilous desert. Be it known to the [reader's] noble mind that in olden times this area had been a flourishing and prosperous city of Khorezm.[851] After Chingiz Khan's conquest, it had become ruined and desolate and, because of the *vicissitudes of time*, and in the [Qur'ān's] words "*We turned it uppermost nethermost,*"[a] the walls of its elegant buildings became leveled to the ground, and no signs of the ruins of houses [even] remained, except for an abandoned lofty building of a *khānqāh* which had been a place of prayer of Qazi ʿUmar, the father of his holiness, the pivot of the pious, Shaykh Mukhtar (may his grave be hallowed!); it is apparently for this reason that people call this region Aq-Masjid.[852] His majesty the khaqan became resolute and eager to reclaim these waste lands, and he set his lofty mind to having them rebuilt and re-populated. Finally, *having toured* all corners of this region, he appointed ʿAvaz Muhammad Karki, one of his old servants, to dig a big canal from the end of the Yangi-Arïgh towards this region. Having received this assignment, [ʿAvaz Muhammad] made great efforts and built this canal as his majesty wished. [*Nazm.*] (695) It is sincerely and ardently hoped that, thanks to the attention and favor of his majesty the caliph, this place may soon flourish and prosper as the rosegarden of paradise, and, as a result of his care and benevolence, it may become fresh and bloom like the Garden [of Eden].

An account of the killing of Muhammad Murad Bek, and the end of Ish Muhammad Bek.

When Muhammad Murad Bek, Sayyid-Quli Bek, and Qalandar Atalïq escaped from the clutches of vengeance under the cover of night, they felt anxious and went into the desert to keep away from the road. They were wandering about until sunrise, and in the morning they turned back and came out [of the desert] to the blessed tomb of his holiness, the sultan of gnostics and the proof of mystics, Sayyid Muhammad Mahruy, son of Sayyid Ata (may God Most High hallow the graves of them both!). [*Qiṭʿa.*] (696) *When they saw that the morning sun made them visible, they hid themselves in great fear in the ruins of the mausoleum.* In the evening they stole a sheep from a herd which was on the pasture in the vicinity, and skinned it for provisions for the journey. After sunset they

[a] Qur'ān, XI,82.

promptly set out on the road to go to Bukhara. Muhammad Niyaz Bek Mahram-bashi, who had been assigned to pursue them with thirty brave warriors, crossed the Jayhun on evening of that day at the crossing of Khanqah, and, having reached the Darvaza sands, learned that they were close. [The soldiers] went faster, and at dawn they saw that [the fugitives] had dismounted their horses in the locality of Bazergan and were sitting in a pit, eating kabab. Muhammad Niyaz Bek and his soldiers spurred their horses and assaulted them like sudden misfortune. Two of them, Muhammad Murad Bek and Sayyid-Quli Bek, swiftly mounted their horses and fled, but Qalandar was unable to mount the horse and was captured by Nurallah Pahlavan and several other soldiers. Muhammad Niyaz Bek rushed in pursuit [of Muhammad Murad Bek] with several soldiers, and one of them, Muhammad Yaʿqub As, went ahead and overtook Muhammad Murad Bek. The latter turned round and attacked, and each fought the other with lances and sabers. At that moment Muhammad Niyaz Bek attacked Muhammad Murad Bek as fiercely as a roaring lion, and the latter took to flight. [*Nazm.*] (697) Muhammad Niyaz Bek overtook him like a flash of lightning and struck him with his lance between two shoulder-blades with such a force that the head of the lance came out through his chest, and he fell from his horse head-first to the ground of abasement in his death throes. Sayyid Niyaz Ala-Buluk, who was one of the servants of the royal court, cut off his wild head from his body with a sharp dagger, and tied it to his saddle. [*Mathnavī.*] They took also Sayyid-Quli Bek prisoner, and returned. This event happened on Monday, the 25th of the month [of Shaʿban].[a]

Muhammad Niyaz Bek crossed the river [Amu] near Hazarasp victoriously and triumphantly; he arrived at the sublime court in the region of Astana on Tuesday evening, at the time of hunt, and was singled out to receive gifts from the king. (698) His majesty, ever-prosperous king, had Qalandar Atalïq executed after torture and interrogation, and had his head sent to the city [of Khiva], together with the head of Muhammad Murad Bek, and hanged on the gallows of wrath as a warning for the beholders. [*Qiṭʿa.*] Sayyid-Quli Bek was put in prison together with Ish Muhammad Bek, and on Saturday night, the first day of Ramazan,[b] in accordance with his

[a] 24 September.
[b] 29 September.

majesty's order, he and Ish Muhammad Bek were killed in revenge for the martyred Oraz ʿAli Inaq. [*Nazm.*] [The khan] showed compassion and kindness towards the son and the younger brothers of Oraz ʿAli Inaq, and exalted them with the presents of gem-studded belts and royal robes of honor. [The khan] bestowed the post (*manṣab*) of *inaq* upon Muhammad Riza Atalïq, and he appointed Muhammad Riza Bek, son of Oraz ʿAli Inaq, to be *atalïq* in the province (*mamālik*) of Gurlen, despite his youth—he was eleven years old.

The story of the Chowdur troops.

When the Chowdur troops, [under] Yarlïqab Bek, (699) Aman Qïlïch Chowdur, Niyaz Kurt Burunjiq, [and] Muhammad Niyaz Bahadur Abdal Manghïshlaqi, set out against the caravan at the order of Töre Murad Sufi, *they moved swiftly across the steppe*, reached the caravan at the skirt of Besh Tüshük Kutli, and wanted to overcome the caravan by force and to plunder their goods (*māl u jihāt*). *Thanks to the felicity of his majesty the khaqan, the people of the caravan remained resolute*, built a wall (*ḥiṣār*) out of earth and bales around themselves, and prepared to fight. The Chowdurs, having besieged them closely, also made great efforts in battle for three days, but could not achieve anything. During these days four or five of the bandits were killed, while the people of the caravan not only did not suffer any damage, but even captured water from the Chowdurs. [*Mathnavī.*] On the fourth day, the rebels, prompted by their ignorance, dismounted, drew their sabers from the sheaths (700) of vengeance, and attacked the people of the caravan on [all] four sides. The caravan people were not perturbed and frightened, but, trusting with true faith, defended themselves and fought back. And several men among the people of the caravan who were too weak to fight *prayed to God for help*. Suddenly, in accordance with the words "*He who answers one who is suffering, when he prays to Him*,"[a] *the prayer reached its destination, the wind of [divine] assistance blew*, so that many of the rebels were wounded by musket-balls, and thirty men were sent to hell. Due to their disgraceful banditry and wickedness, and still more, thanks to the felicity of the ever-prosperous monarch, the Chowdurs, despite their boldness and audacity, were defeated by a handful of the people of the caravan, of whom a

[a] Qurʾān, XXVII,16.

thousand should have been too weak and feeble to stand up to a single warrior, and so they were defeated, wounded and smashed. [*Rubāʿī.*] The rebels again braced themselves, and on the fifth day, having discussed the matter and looked for a good augury, accepted the advice of Muhammad Bahadur Abdal and requested a truce to buy cloth for shrouds for those of their men who had been killed. At that moment they learned the news that Ish Muhammad Bek had been defeated and the Aral troops had been slaughtered in Gurlen. (701) *The Chowdurs became panic-stricken and fled*, while the people of the caravan, *relieved of the sufferings of the siege*, set out for their destination in safety and peace of mind.

An account of the third troop.

The majority of this troop were the Qaraqalpaqs, and their commanders were Sarïmsaq Biy Qoldawlï, Islemes Biy Balghalï, and Nurtay Biy Qoshtamghalï. After they left Qongrat, they could not find the road for two or three days. On the fifth day they came to the region of Aq-Yaqïsh, captured a herd of oxen and cows, which the Uzbeks term *qara mal*, from the cattle which was grazing on the summer pastures (*otlaq va yaylaq*) in the environs of the canal Ishim, and withdrew. Khojam-Berdi Bek, Qalandar Kör ibn Niyaz Bek Yïlïm, and Ish Muhammad Yüzbashi, who had been assigned with 300 warriors to protect that region, were busy with defence. On that day they heard the news that Ish Muhammad Bek had entered Gurlen, *and were seized with fear, especially Qalandar Kör. [*Naẓm.*] (702) Being overcome with panic, he added his own anxiety to the fear of Khojam-Berdi Bek*, and they both became so agitated that they did not heed to the advice of Aydost Biy to wait until the news could be confirmed; they compelled Ish Muhammad Yüzbashi to leave together with them, and fled. [*Bayt.*] Therefore there was nobody to pursue the rebels, and they escaped safely. As a result, his majesty the khaqan denied Khojam-Berdi Bek and Qalandar Kör his favor, removed them from command and conferred their posts on *Muhammad Niyaz Bek Mahram son of Khuday-Berdi Inaq, and Qutlugh Muhammad Bek son of Hasan Murad Atalïq Qïpchaq*.

How the Chowdurs left Aral and their assemblage was thrown into confusion.

When the Chowdurs were defeated by the people of the caravan, they came to their families and homes in total ignominy and unspeak-

able humiliation. Already earlier they had desired to escape the pangs of famine and scarcity, and this horrible event strengthened this [desire]. They saw also that the moon of Töre Murad Sufi's good fortune was on the wane, and the star of his grandeur reached the point of eclipse. [*Mathnavī*.]

(703) COMMENT (*nukta*): It is good to avoid an ill-omened man, and it is best to shun one who is unlucky, because [even] seeing him causes harm, and speaking with him is dangerous. [*Rubāʿī*.]

In short, they resolved to abandon their subservience to the Sufi and to leave Aral. Having prepared pack animals and provisions, in the middle of Ramazan[a] they crossed the At-Yolï by boats (*kimä*) and rafts (*sal*) and reached Aybugur. In this place a disagreement arose between them: Baltu Niyaz Qazi, who was the head of the traitors, together with several [other] Chowdur rebels who, having had committed many serious crimes, (704) *feared the khan's anger*, went to Manghïshlaq, which was their original home (*vaṭan-i aṣlī*), while all the people of Hasan-eli, under Yarlïqab Bek, sent a messenger to the [khan's] sublime court, with the expression of their allegiance and servitude, and stayed there awaiting his return. At that time Muhammad Jan Bek ibn Qutlugh Muhammad Inaq was charged with the defence of Khoja-eli fortress (*ḥiṣār*). Having heard that the Chowdurs had gone to Aybugur, he, prudently and cautiously, went towards Aybugur with his own *nökers* and the Khoja-eli troops. On their way, several soldiers encountered the envoy of Yarlïqab Bek and killed him, being unaware [of who he was]. Muhammad Jan came to Aybugur, had that tribe move off to the [khan's well]-protected kingdom, and himself returned to Khoja-eli. Yarlïqab Bek, together with the [other] nobles (*akābir*) of the Hasan-eli, came to kiss the khan's threshold, asking for pardon. In the end, they were granted the khaqan's favor, and all of them received places for habitation (*manāzil*) and arable land (*muzāriʿ*) in accordance with their circumstances.

How the Teke rebels raided the environs of Hazarasp, and how Qalandar Parvanachi pursued and slew them.

This event was as follows. After the prince Vali, son of the king of Iran Fath ʿAli Shah nicknamed Baba Khan,[853] had deported Din Nasir Töre with the inhabitants of Merv to Mashhad in 1222 A.H.,[854]

[a] Mid-October 1810.

Muhammad Niyaz Tarkhan, who was the chieftain of the Teke rebels living in Merv, made Merv his refuge, pulled his neck out of the collar of submission to his royal majesty, (705) and gathered the bandits of the clan of Bakhshi and other clans around himself. In the aforementioned month he sent a group *of vicious men* from the clan of Qara Ahmad to Khorezm, the dome of Islam, to conduct a raid. This vicious party moved quickly, and on Monday evening, the 17th of Ramazan,[a] they came out of the desert and arrived at the lower reaches (*ayaq*) of Kuruk,[855] one of the villages (*qaryalar*) of Hazarasp. They attacked the *ribāṭ* of one family of the khojas of Kuruk, captured their property, women, and children, and withdrew. For a long time they were unable to find their way and wandered amongst the lakes,[856] and it was only at dawn that they entered the desert. Incidentally, a farmer from the Lower Kuruk noticed them at the place where they went out into the sands, and brought this news to the town, to ʿAbdallah Inaq. The inaq set out with the troops he had at hand, numbering more than 150 horsemen, and went to Kuruk. He ordered that sheep, rice, and kitchen utensils be taken from the people (*fuqarāʾ*) and the khojas living in that village to prepare breakfast, went to the edge of the desert, and, having seen the traces of the Teke who had recently passed there, he stopped, intending to set out after breakfast. While they cooked the meal and ate their breakfast, the sun rose. [*Fard.*] After they had performed the statutory prayer, they sat there engaged in long discussions and extended deliberations, (706) [*Bayt*] and remained idle and waiting until the sun was in the zenith. In the end they went home under the pretext that the weather had become hot and the horses restive. [*Shiʿr.*]

*At that auspicious time [*Mathnavī*] (707) the great amir* Qutlugh Murad Inaq was hunting in the environs of Aq-ribat, in the region of Darghan. *When he heard the news about the incident, he dispatched [*Nazm*] the amir Qalandar Parvanachi, together with Iskandar Khoja Bekabadi and El Aman Bahadur Qongrat*, having given them 70 of his own *nökers*, to pursue the rebels. In accordance with the order, they promptly set out into the desert. [*Nazm.*] (708) They went at a great speed for three days, until they reached a well named Shor-quyï.[857] In the environs of this well they found the traces of

[a] 15 October 1810.

the rebels who had passed there. The parvanachi, Iskandar Khoja, and El Aman Bahadur selected thirty warriors from the troops, left the rest at the well, and went after the Teke. They overtook the Teke at the Ojarlï well (*quduq*) located at the distance of two days' journey (*manzil*) from the region of Merv,[858] and with a single sudden attack sent them to the valley of extinction. Then they went after the property and prisoners who, as it appeared, had gone ahead with several [other] rebels. They killed the Teke, recaptured the property and the prisoners, cut off the heads of the rebels, and withdrew. They took the troops which they had left at Shor-quyï, and after nine days came to the inaq in the vicinity of Pitnak, and were favored with his kindness. From there they went to the [khan's] sublime court, and on the day of ʿArafa, at the end of the aforementioned month,[a] *they appeared before the khan* and were selected to receive august favors and infinite largesses. "*All success comes from God!*"

(709) How his majesty the khaqan set out to conquer the Yangi-Darya [region]; how the structure of the assemblage of that country's people was shaken by the awful earthquake of this news; how Orun Bay and Ish Jan stepped onto the path of submission by seeking pardon and how from the river of resistance they came to the sea of obedience [to the khan], while other biys, persisting in rebellion, prepared for hostility, rode the horses of mutiny and went towards the sea [of Aral] (*tengiz*).

*** It was mentioned earlier that the leaders of the Qaraqalpaqs of the Yangi-Darya,—such as Orun Bay Biy—the chief of the Manghïts, Ish Jan Biy—the head of the Tanga-Khitay, Hasan Biy and Esen-Keldi Biy, the younger brothers of Baraq Bahadur,—the elders of the Besh-Sarïgh Khitay, Toqta Pulad Biy—the ruler of the Qïpchaq clan, and Maman Biy—the chieftain of the Oymavut clan, from the tribe of Keneges,—since the murder of Jan Murad Inaq raised the banner of rebellion in the region of the Yangi-Darya, and did not show allegiance to any king or amir. To punish them, *Qutlugh Murad Inaq, (710) in accordance with the binding order of his majesty Muhammad Rahim Bahadur Khan*, led an army to that

[a] The end of Ramazan was 28 October 1810; but the day of ʿArafa is 9 Zu'l-Hijja, which was 4 January 1811.

region and extinguished the candle of their safety with the hurricane of a raid. After he returned, several biys headed by Ish Jan Biy were given the honor of kissing [the threshold of] the royal court. At times they would send envoys and messages expressing their allegiance, but at other times would show obstinacy and initiate rebellion. In particular, the majority of the rebels under Orun Bay, frightened by the raid of the ever-victorious army, offered their submission to the ruler (*vālī*) of Bukhara Mir Haydar, brought with them one of his lieutenants named Khudayar, and would pay him *zakāt* and *kharāj*, and would plunder Khorezmian and Qazaq caravans. Therefore, in the month of Safar 1224 A.H.,[a] as mentioned above,[b] his majesty, the ever-successful monarch, sent two detachments of troops on raids to punish them. Orun Bay went to Bukhara to ask for help. He spent much time at the court of Mir Haydar Padishah, *but could not obtain any assistance*, and, having returned exceedingly indignant and annoyed beyond words without achieving his goal, sent Khudayar to Bukhara.

On the 3rd of Ramazan,[c] after the affair of the ill-omened prince Ish Muhammad Bek, *Sayyid* Khoja Jan Khoja, the cream of the family of Murtaza and the model among the house of Sayyid Ata, was appointed, together with Muhammad Qïlïch Nayman and Baltash Yüzbashi Durmen, to defend Aq-Yaqïsh in place of Khojam-Berdi Bek and Qalandar Kör, (711) and on Saturday, the 8th of the aforementioned month,[d] he arrived at the place called Tash-kechu, on the bank of the river Kök-Üzäk.[859] By a happy coincidence, Oraz ʿAli Yarma, one of the Uyghur rebels, and Töre Bek Qïyat Qaraqalpaq, one of the confidants of Töre Murad Sufi, were [at that time] coming from Bukhara where they had gone from Qongrat with an embassy, together with the ambassadors of amir Haydar and sixteen merchants of Qongrat. Oraz ʿAli Yarma went ahead cautiously, and, having encountered the troops, took to flight in confusion. Khoja Jan Khoja knocked him off his horse with a single blow and took him prisoner. Having interrogated him, he sent him to his majesty the caliph with several trustworthy men. Since this ill-starred man was one of the rebel leaders, a sublime order was issued that he be

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[a] March–April 1809.
[b] Read: Safar 1225 A.H. (March 1810); see above, p. 298.
[c] 1 October 1810.
[d] 6 October.

executed, and he received this punishment. When Töre Bek, who came, with his companions, [to the river] after him, learned about this misfortune, that is, about the capture of Oraz ʿAli Yarma, they left their heavy load and goods, turned back and fled toward the Yangi-Darya. Khoja Jan Khoja captured their property and assigned fifteen men under Muhammad Nazar Shaykh, a descendant of the pivot of saints Chopan Ata (the mercy of God be upon him!), as well as Adina Murad Bahadur and Tilew Mergen, to pursue them, with an order to chase them wherever they might go and not to return until these rebels were captured. Therefore those so assigned pursued [them] till the Yangi-Darya. Töre Bek and his companions came to the Qïpchaqs and dashed to the cousins of Toqta Pulad Biy, while Muhammad Nazar Shaykh lodged in the home of Orun Bay. Orun (712) Bay Biy was extremely happy that he came, and realized that to seize Töre Bek and his companions and to send them to the ever-successful monarch would be the best way and an excellent opportunity to lay the foundation of loyalty to his majesty's servants and to remove the shame of his own numerous crimes. With the consent of Ish Jan Biy, he sent a man to the Qïpchaqs demanding that they give them up. But the tribe of Qïpchaq, without the knowledge of Toqta Pulad Biy, had already earlier sent them to Qongrat. At that time Sultan Timur Khan ibn Er ʿAli Khan, the ruler of the Chomekey tribe,[860] one of the Qazaq tribes,[a] came with 1,500 men, raided the Tanga-Khitay—the people (*el*) of Ish Jan Biy, as well as the Qïpchaqs, killed many people, and went back with plentiful booty and numerous prisoners. The biys of the Yangi-Darya [region] took the Qaraqalpaq troops and pursued the Qazaqs. Having gone for three stations, they overtook them, and a fierce battle took place. In this battle most of the Qazaqs were killed or taken prisoner, and Sultan Timur Khan escaped by flight. Muhammad Nazar Shaykh, who was present there with his companions, showed great valor, and it was they who brought about the defeat of the Qazaqs. [*Bayt.*]

After this event, thanks to the efforts of Orun Bay and Ish Jan Biy, the Qaraqalpaq amirs sent envoys to the sublime court of his majesty the khaqan offering their submission, some sincerely and others out of politeness. Among others, they assigned Mulla Dawlat Nazar son of Orun Bay Biy, who was quite a studious scholar,

[a] Qazaq pronunciation: Shomekey.

(713) as well as Bal Muhammad son of Ish Jan Biy, Mulla Sarï son of Esen-Keldi Biy's elder brother Hasan Biy, and Dorost-Bergen son of Toqta Pulad Biy; the Qaraqalpaqs made them accompany Muhammad Nazar Shaykh and sent them as an embassy. The envoys went to the [khan's] sublime court by the Aq-Yaqïsh [road], and at an auspicious time were given the honor of kissing [the royal] carpet, and submitted the petition of the amirs of the Yangi-Darya [region]. His majesty, the ever-successful monarch, received them kindly and granted them royal favors. [*Bayt.*]

However, after the biys of the Yangi-Darya [region] had sent their sons to the sublime court, all of them, with the exception of Orun Bay and Ish Jan, impelled by their old hostility and innate wickedness, regretted having set foot on the road of obedience, and sent an envoy to ʿAbd al-ʿAziz Khan ibn Ghayib Khan, the ruler of the tribe Chekli,[a861] one of the Qazaq tribes. The latter had some time previously plundered the merchants of the Besh-Sarïgh Khitay and captured many animals and people; now they sent the envoy offering submission under the pretext of claiming back these animals and people. This news was brought to the servants of the royal court by several travelers in succession. But even before that, *his majesty [*Naẓm*] (714) Muhammad Rahim Bahadur Khan himself, thanks to his ability to see what was hidden*, had been expecting this news. When the news was confirmed, the khan resolved upon an expedition to the Yangi-Darya to punish the rebels. Therefore, on Monday before noon of 21 Shavval[b] of the aforementioned year corresponding to the 17th of the Khorezmian [month of] Qaws, he left Khiva, the royal capital, going hunting and intending to conquer the Yangi-Darya [region]. In the evening he *lodged at the *ribāṭ* of his own son, (715) [*Bayt*] prince Allah-Quli Töre, in Mayli-chungul. [*Shiʿr.*] ʿAbdi Bay and Keday Niyaz, who were the *mushrifs* of that place, being grateful for the arrival of his majesty, took care of his reception and entertainment till dawn, and received royal kindness and infinite favors. After sunrise, his majesty went* to the region of Tash-qalʿa, crossed the Amu by boat (*kimä*) at that region's crossing, (716) and, having set up a camp on an island near the *ribāṭ* of *the late khan Eltüzer Muhammad Bahadur Khan*, lodged in the royal tent which had been pitched there on the bank of the river. That evening,

[a] Qazaq pronunciation: Shektï.
[b] 18 November 1810 (Sunday).

at the time of the night prayer, the pillars of the earth trembled a little. The khan stayed two days at this noble station. On the first day he went to the halting-place of his holiness, the Yemenite mystic saint ("Sultan of Yemen"), Uvays ibn ʿAmir al-Qarani (may God hallow his grave!), which is located on the Kuh-i Chaghra, now called Shaykh-Jalil Mountain.[862] He was privileged to do the pilgrimage [to the holy place], and, having asked the holy spirit of his holiness for help and assistance, gladdened the guardians of that holy site (*āstāna*) with numerous offerings and plentiful gifts. The next day he added Mulla Ishim Bay, a servant of the court, together with Muhammad Nazar Shaykh, to the envoys from the Yangi-Darya, and sent the following decree (*yarlïq*) to the biys: "As soon as this sublime order reaches [you], move off in this direction and go to [my] well-protected kingdom. Otherwise prepare the provisions for war, since the ever-victorious army will march [against you] shortly." [A *bayt* from Firdawsi.]

At this station Mirza Masiha, who was a member of [khan's] august retinue during this campaign, was granted a swift horse with golden bridle, [*Nazm*] (717) precious ornaments, and gold-adorned stirrups.[863] [*Rubāʿī.*]

On Thursday *the khan left this station and moved promptly, hunting as he went, and on Friday, the 26th of the month,[a] he set up his camp on the bank of the river [Amu], opposite the town of Qïpchaq, in the thicket of Qapqaqlï, and devoted himself to hunting on both sides of the river. [*Mathnavī.*] (718) While he was hunting, the ever-victorious troops (719) gathered to the august [khan's] camp from everywhere.* [*Nazm.*] The humble compiler of these words and the writer of these lines, who had stayed behind the sublime retinue in Gurlen to attend to an urgent business, returned to the royal court at this place.

At the end of the month, on Monday,[b] *the khan moved from Qapqaqlï and set up his camp on the bank of the river, to the south of Lake Sïrchalï*. On that day, at the time of sunset, when the new moon of [the month of] Zu'l-Qaʿda appeared anew on the western horizon from the ruddy veil of twilight and bent its slender body in salutation at the sublime court's arrival, a powerful earthquake occured,

[a] 23 November.
[b] 26 November.

of which the truthful words [of the Qur'ān] "*And shaken most mightily*"[a] are a true report, and the meaning of the words "*Surely the earthquake of the hour is a mighty thing*"[b] is a firm proof [of what occured]. [*Bayt.*] It was rumored that in the cities of Mavarannahr, and especially in the city of Samarqand, most of the tall buildings were destroyed by the strength of this earthquake.

On Wednesday, 2 Zu'l-Qa'da,[c] (720) [the khan] moved from there and hunted extensively in the regions of Arïq-Balïq[864] and Besh-tüpe, and in the afternoon he set up his camp on the shore of the river, on the northern border of Qushkhana. At this station he remained four days, occupying himself with hunt. At that time *Muhammad Riza Qoshbegi*, who had been busy taking a census of the population of the [khan's] well-protected kingdom and finished this work diligently,[865] attained the honor of kissing the [khan's] hand. His majesty the khaqan sent *Muhammad Niyaz Bek Mahram Qongrat, son of Khuday-Berdi Inaq*, to Khoja-eli, with numerous presents and innumerable gifts, to ask the prominent sayyids of Khoja-eli for their benediction. In accordance with the [khan's] order, the aforementioned bek went to Khoja-eli together with Mirza Masiha, and had the honor to *appear before his holiness Sayyid 'Alim Makhzum-i A'zam, Sayyid Pirim Khoja Ishan, Sayyid Tursun Khoja Ishan, and Sayyid Keday Khoja Ishan*. He handed presents and gifts sent by his majesty to each of them separately, together with his supplication, asking that they pray to the Lord [for his majesty's welfare]. The holy men complied with this request, and, after presenting his majesty with the jewels of useful counsels and the pearls of helpful admonitions, (721) *said sincere prayers for his felicity and victory, and gladdened Muhammad Niyaz Bek and Mirza Masiha also with their benedictions. [*Ghazal.*] (722) After visiting the holy men, Muhammad Niyaz Bek and Mirza Masiha went back to the august camp. There Muhammad Niyaz Bek appeared before the khan at the most propitious time, when the latter was enjoying the pleasure of an assembly, and conveyed to him the holy men's jewels of counsels and advice and the pearls of [their] greetings and prayers.* His majesty became extremely delighted and exultant, and expressed his gratitude to the Most High God.

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[a] Qur'ān, XXXIII,11.
[b] Qur'ān, XXII,1.
[c] 28 November.

In this place some soldiers took some grass and hay which had been mowed down by the people of Khoja-eli and the Qaraqalpaqs without the owners' permission, and fed it to their horses. When this abuse was reported to his majesty, in accordance with the words "*Surely God bids to justice and good-doing*",[a] he reconciled the owners with royal gifts, and, having decided that the perpetrators had to be punished to prevent such base deeds, ordered their noses and ears cut off. And to publicize this, (723) he ordered criers to go around the royal camp [and to proclaim] that anyone stretching out the hand of greed towards the property of the subjects without permission, would be punished. [*Qiṭʿa.*]

COMMENT (*nukta*): Wise men have said: Kingdom is like a young plant, and the punishment is like water; it is surely necessary and essential to keep the roots of this plant fresh and irrigated with this water so that the flowers of safety and the fruits of security come forth. [*Qiṭʿa.*]

STORY (*ḥikāyat*): Tamghach Khan was a magnanimous king and a just monarch. His just administration made the country prosperous, and his valiant sword crushed and subdued oppression. [*Qiṭʿa.*] (724) Once a certain ruffian brought him a bouquet of roses, *hoping for a reward*. The king took them and asked: "Where did you get these roses?" He said: "I picked them in a rosegarden."—"Is this rosegarden your property?" [asked the king].—"No."—"Did you buy them from the owner?"—"In this country nobody buys and sells roses, they are very cheap." The king thought for a moment and said: "If a person enters someone's rosegarden without permission and picks a rose, then he may dare to enter an orchard without the gardener's permission and plunder the fruits, and one can imagine that from one such a deed other [similar] things could also follow." So he ordered his hand cut off with the sword of punishment.[866] [*Qiṭʿa.*]

On Saturday, the 5th of the month,[b] the sun passed from the sign of Sagittarius to the sign of Capricorn, according to the calculation (*ḥisāb*) of the people of Khorezm, *and the weather (725) became cold*. On Sunday, [the khan] left that place *and set up his camp on the bank of the Kök-Üzäk, one of the branches of the Amu, from the eastern side of the Tash-kechu crossing*. [*Naẓm.*] On that

[a] Qurʾān, XVI,90.
[b] Zu'l-Qaʿda; 1 December.

day it became so cold that, despite its strong and violent current, the water of the Jayhun became ice-bound, or indeed steel-bound, as a mirror, like the eyes of people struck with amazement. Most of the boats remained [trapped] in the ice in the middle of the river, and their cargos were transferred to the shore. [*Mathnavī* describing the severe cold.] (727) At this station [the khan] remained for four days hunting antelopes (*jayran*), and he presented most of the amirs and beks with [hunting] birds except for this humble [author], who was unable [to participate in the hunt]. [*Nazm.*] At that time most of the troops who had not been able to cross the river until then because it [was filled] with many stones and the current was too rapid, crossed it over the ice and joined the ever-victorious army.

(728) On Thursday, the 10th of the month,[a] Mulla Ishim Bay came from the Yangi-Darya together with Mulla Dawlat Nazar son of Orun Bay and Bal Muhammad son of Ish Jan Biy, and they had the honor of kissing the [royal] carpet. They reported to the servants of the sublime court that Orun Bay and Ish Jan Biy had set the foot of fidelity upon the path of obedience and submission and, in accordance with the royal order, were driving their livestock in the direction of the Kök-Üzäk, while other biys [rebelled], stretched their necks out of the collar of obedience and were going to the coast of the Sea [of Aral]. This happened in the following way. After the envoys sent by the amirs of the Yangi-Darya [region] to the Qazaqs came to ʿAbd al-ʿAziz Khan and handed the biys' letter of submission, ʿAbd al-ʿAziz Khan, to strengthen the agreement, sent one of his trustworthy men named Saʿadat Keray, who had been in the service of that dynasty since Ghayib Khan's youth, with the envoys to the Yangi-Darya. At that time Mulla Ishim Bay and Muhammad Nazar Shaykh came to the Yangi-Darya, together with the sons of the biys, and brought the sublime order of his majesty the khaqan to the Qaraqalpaq amirs and nobles. Orun Bay Biy and Ish Jan Biy accepted it most willingly, moved off with 5,000 families of tribesmen (*īlāt*) who were their subjects, and travelled towards the [khan's] well-protected kingdom. Kök Köz Biy with 2,000 families of the Qaraqalpaqs of Bukhara who had come [earlier] to that region also moved off with them. They took the Qubash road, passed the halting-place of Sultan Uvays, and stopped on the bank of the Amu in the

[a] 6 December 1810.

region of Baday. [*Bayt.*] (729) As to Esen-Keldi Biy, Toqta Pulad Biy, and Maman Biy, who persisted in their hostility and disobedience to the royal order, they joined another envoy to Saʿadat Keray and sent him to ʿAbd al-ʿAziz Khan [asking him] to send them help and one of his relatives as khan. And, out of extreme ignorance and insolence, they themselves, together with elders and subjects who numbered about 5,000 families, moved off to the coast of the sea, which was an inaccessible place, taking with them Muhammad Nazar Shaykh as a hostage and intending to stay there safe from attack of the ever-victorious army until the arrival of a khan and troops from the Qazaqs. [*Mathnavī.*] Orun Bay Biy and Ish Jan Biy joined their sons Mulla Dawlat Nazar and Bal Muhammad to Mulla Ishim Bay and sent them to the sublime court to report on these events.

When his majesty, the ever-successful monarch, heard this news, the flame of his wrath blazed up, and he decided that it was necessary and urgent to punish those rebels, namely, Esen-Keldi Biy, Toqta Pulad Biy, Maman Biy, and others, and on Friday set out from Tash-kechu to conquer the coastal region (*savāḥil*). (730) *On Saturday he arrived at the holy tomb of Qochqar Ata (may the mercy of God be upon him!)[867] on the bank of the river (*nahr*) Hasan-Quli Yarghan. [*Bayt.*] In accordance with the august order, the vizier Muhammad Yusuf Mehter and the amir Muhammad Riza Qoshbegi* built a solid bridge across this river where thick ice could not form because the current was so swift, and the ever-victorious troops and carts safely crossed it. At this station Köchenek Biy, one of the Khitay nobles who was a relative of the Khitays who had moved off to the sea coast, made the following request of the servants of the court: "Permit [me], your faithful slave, to go, and if, by admonitions and threats, I guide those travellers in the desert of deviation to the straight path of submission, perhaps they will leave the desert of deviation." His majesty accepted his request and sent him, together with Mulla Ishim Bay and Mulla Dawlat Nazar.

In the same locality, Berdi Bahadur and Ilyas Yüzbashi, who had been appointed to the advance post at Aq-Yaqïsh in place of Khoja Jan Khoja, brought heads and prisoners from a raid against Qongrat and presented them to the [khan's] sublime court. The explanation of this event is as follows. The two aforementioned commanders (731) left the fortress (*ḥisār*) of Aq-Yaqïsh with two hundred warriors eager for revenge on Monday, the 7th of the aforementioned [month

of] Zu'l-Qa'da,[a] and went to raid Qongrat. Having advanced rapidly, they reached the environs of Qongrat on Wednesday, crossed the river on the ice, and raided the region of Tallik.[b] They killed or captured many rebels and, when they were withdrawing, Töre Murad Sufi and the rebels did not come out of the town and confront them, despite the fact that they were passing near the city wall (*qurghan*) of Qongrat. The commanders travelled rapidly, and on Saturday night they arrived victoriously at Aq-Yaqïsh and sent the prisoners and heads which they had brought to the sublime court. [*Bayt.*]

The next day, a Sunday,[c] *the khan left the place in full pomp and splendor*, and set up his camp at a distance of one *farsakh* from Aq-Yaqïsh, on the bank of the Kök-Üzäk, near the dwelling of Mulla Imam Muhammad Ishan (may God extend the shadow of his guidance upon the heads of mystics!), who had chosen to live in seclusion in this place, near the tomb of his holiness Murad Shaykh (may the mercy of God be upon him!),[868] and who spent his time teaching his Qaraqalpaq disciples. On that day Aydost Biy, Aymirza Biy, Berdi Bahadur, Ilyas Yüzbashi, and all classes of Aq-Yaqïsh's population came to kiss the sublime threshold bringing numerous gifts and copious presents. (732) His majesty bestowed their gifts on the pillars of the state and the closest nobles, to each according to his merit and rank. In that locality the ever-victorious army stayed for one week, and *his majesty and the amirs amused themselves with hunting*. On Sunday, the 20th of the month,[d] [the khan] left this region, passed near the fortress of Aq-Yaqïsh, and *stopped* in the locality of Aq. Be it clear and evident to *the readers of this compendium* that the aforementioned place belongs to the Sea of Tawqara. Tawqara was a large sea (*tengiz*) from the time of Hajim Khan till the time of the late Muhammad Amin Inaq. It was probably approximately 30 *farsang* in circumference, and most of the water of the Kök-Üzäk used to flow into it. By the order of Muhammad Amin Inaq, the tribes of that region, in particular the people (*ulus*) of Qanglï and Qïpchaq, dammed the rivers which used to flow into it. In the happy days of the late great amir 'Avaz Inaq, the water of this sea dried up, and it became suitable for irrigation. At pre-

[a] 3 December 1810.
[b] So in the text; elsewhere in the text Tallïq.
[c] 13 Zu'l-Qa'da/9 December.
[d] 16 December.

sent most of the crops produced by the inhabitants of Aq-Yaqïsh come from there.[869] [*Nazm.*]

(733) The next day *the khan* left this place, and when he came close to Yalangach-qum, Orun Bay and Ish Jan Biy, who earlier had come and stopped at Teng-Yar-bashi[870] and Qazalï,[a] went out to welcome the ever-prosperous monarch, and had the good fortune to be honored by kissing his stirrup; the [khan] accepted the innumerable animals which they had brought as gifts, and [these men] were exalted with royal favor. His imperial majesty advanced as he hunted, and in the evening stopped at Teng-Yar-bashi, which is also part of the [area of] Tawqara, and *set up the royal camp*. The next day, on Tuesday, he bestowed upon the people (*ulus*) of Orun Bay Biy and Ish Jan Biy the shores of the Kök-Üzäk and the river [Amu], from Keng-Yantaq[871] to Chilpuq, as winter and summer pastures.

How his majesty the khaqan, majestic as the ocean, rushed forward like Alexander to conquer the sea; how the onslaught of the royal retinue's crossing acted like an earthquake on the ice upon the sea; how this swelling sea was, as it were, chopped to pieces by the attack of that multitude thirsting for blood, that is, how the Qaraqalpaq troops were in terror and confusion, like the water of that sea, by the terrifying waves of the ever-victorious army; how the sea of pardon was agitated, and those rebels were separated from the filth of their crimes; and how his majesty, the ever-successful monarch, thanks to his good fortune, emerged from the sea and returned to the royal capital.

When the rebellious amirs, that is, Esen-Keldi Biy, (734) Toqta Pulad Biy, and Maman Biy, together with their allies in opposition [to the khan], of whom the majority belonged to the clan (*urugh*) Besh-Sarïgh of the Khitay tribe, abandoned the places where they had lived and came to inaccessible places on the seashore, the water of the sea became covered with ice as a result of the severe cold mentioned above. The area around the places that they thought to be secure, which had been all water, turned into open plain of ice, and they lost the confidence in its impregnability. [*Bayt.*] Therefore

[a] Elsewhere in the text Qazïlï.

they were afraid that the ever-victorious army would probably cross [the sea and come] to those places, and they went into the middle of the sea and pitched their tents on the islands (*aral va atawlar*) thinking that in the midst of this swelling sea they would be secure from the arrival of the ever-victorious army, and then they would safely go to the Qazaq side upon the ice.

The envoys found this group in the middle of the sea, and Köchenek Biy, after delivering the message, tried, with all kinds of threats and admonitions, to keep them from the impudence of mutiny and rebellion and urged them to step upon the straight road of obedience and submission. As expressed [in the Qur'ān] "*How will my sincere counsel profit you,*"[a] they did not pay attention to the sincere kind advice of Köchenek Biy which was [inspired] by his friendship and kinship ties, and, out of pure indolence, imagined that the Qazaq side was a secure fortress and safe refuge, and set off through the sea to the Qazaqs with the intention to go to Dasht-i Qïpchaq. [However], from among them, Manglay and Buran, who were sons of the nobles of the Besh-Sarïgh clan, guided by perfect wisdom and good fortune, (735) turned away from the road of deviation and rebellion and went the path of obedience and submission, together with the tribes and clans under them. Therefore the majority of the people (*ulus*), clan after clan, separated from the biys and accompanied Manglay and Buran on the road of submission, so that it was more than 2,500 families who moved off with Manglay to this side.

To report on this event, Köchenek Biy and Mulla Ishim Bay sent Mulla Dawlat Nazar to the sublime court, having attached their sons to him. Mulla Dawlat Nazar went rapidly, and at the time of sunset, on Wednesday evening, the 23rd of the month,[b] had the honor of kissing the [royal] carpet in Teng-Yar-bashi, and, with due respect, reported on these events. Therefore *his majesty* became resolute in his intention to conquer the sea in order to destroy the rebels, and a binding order was issued by the sublime court to all amirs and commanders: "Prepare provisions and fodder for ten days' travel!" After sunrise, [the khan] selected 3,000 *brave warriors* [*Mathnavī*]. (736) He left the train and luggage in the aforementioned place, and appointed the amir Sultan Mirab, Bek Baltu Mirab, Qalandar Parvanachi, Muhammad Biy, and Ish Murad Bek son of Sultan Mirab to

[a] Cf. Qur'ān, XI,34.
[b] 19 December.

protect them. In the morning he set out with the select troops and moved towards the sea. In the afternoon (*ulugh chāshtgāh*) they went out onto the height (*qïr*) at the western limit of Börichi-senger and went towards the sands.

Be it known that the upper side (*üsti*) and the northern rim of this height goes along the sands, and its width in most places is three and more days' [travel], and in some places it is perhaps two *farsakh*s. And it stretches lengthwise from west to east, and its western edge is contiguous with the lower course of the Kök-Üzäk; some people think that the Ereng-qïr is also a part of it. Its eastern edge reaches Ming-Bulaq and Irdar and probably goes near the region of Turkestan. Most of it consists of mountains big and small, and each of these places has its own name. And its sands are very rough and form innumerable hills. [*Mathnavī.*] (737) By a happy coincidence, at the time when the frost struck there was rain, and the sand became hard. [*Rubāʿī.*] Therefore the army easily crossed it, and in the evening *set up its camp* on the seashore. At that (738) place, Köchenek Biy and Mulla Ishim Bay, together with Manglay and Buran, who had returned from the sea, had the privilege of kissing the [royal] threshold and enjoyed the royal favors.

Be it known that this sea is as murderous as an ocean which, when stormy, would make the pearl-diver of reason disappear in the gulf of amazement, and when it swells like a flood, the dashing of its waves would send the boat of imagination whirling in the vortex of terror. [At such times] no shore is visible delimiting its extent, nor anything which would show the extent of its shoreline, *and during storms it raises its waves right up to the blue heavens*. [*Mathnavī.*] (739) It is called the Lake of Khorezm (*Buḥayra-i Khwārizm*). It is written in the *khātima* of the *Rawżat aṣ-ṣafāʾ* that it extends for 100 *farsang*s, and at present it is said to be more than 200 *farsang*s long.[872] Before Khorezm (may God protect it from calamities and want!) was destroyed, the Amuya, which also known as the River of Balkh and Khorezm and as Jayhun, used to flow by Old Urgench, then, in the vicinity of the eastern skirt of the Balkhan Mountains, it would turn from a southerly to a westerly direction, and would flow into the Sea of Mazanderan at Oghurja. Only the river (*nahr*) Khalij, known as Kök-Üzäk, used to flow into this (i.e. Aral) sea previously. (740) In 986 A.H.,[a] in the reign of Hajim Khan, the water

[a] 1578 A.D.

of the Amuya worked its way through the *tughay* Qara-Ayghïr,[873] above the minaret of Khwāst,[874] passed under the fortress (*qal'a*) of Tok and flowed into this sea. [Consequently], its previous bed was entirely closed.[875] [*Fard.*] The river of Khojand, which is also called Sayhun and Sïr, discharges into it (i.e. the Aral Sea). The Yangi-Darya and the Quvang-su,[876] which are the branches of the Sayhun, also flow there. And besides the aforementioned great rivers, many big rivers flow from Dasht-i Qipchaq and fall into this sea. But its water is very salty, and, although so many rivers with sweet water flow into it, they cannot change its taste at all, and even in the place where a river falls into it, one cannot drink the water farther than one step [into the sea]. Apparently because of this it is called "the Bitter Sea" (*Achïgh Tengiz*). In most places its depth is not known. It has numerous big and small islands, which the Uzbeks call *tübek* (?), *aral*, and *ataw*. Few wild animals (? *'ajāyibāt*) are found there, and in summer all water-fowl set up their nests on those islands. Adaq and Yangi-Shahr, which were among the chief cities of Khorezm, are under this sea.[877] Now it is said that the boatsmen see the stone buildings of those cities under the water.

*When the sun rose, despite the fact that the ice on the sea was not thicker than four *barmaq*s and half a *qarïsh*,[878] (741) his majesty, putting his trust in God, set out with his army into the sea upon the ice*. [*Nazm.*] (742) Before noon they encountered the first of the tribes, which had migrated to this side in agreement with Manglay. When the sun was in the zenith, they passed the place where the Yangi-Darya discharged into the sea, which is also called Qarabayli.[879] To this place came the remainder of the tribes that had separated from their biys and moved off three days previously. At this time cold weather began to turn warmer, and the heat of the sun, having melted the snow which covered the ice, began to penetrate into the ice. [*Fard.*] (743) At mid-day prayer [the army] passed the island where Manglay separated from the biys. A group of three or four families of the rebels lived there. The royal troops plundered them and advanced. In the late afternoon the weather changed, and *the sun* hid behind the clouds. A drizzling rain (*shudrun*) was falling, and the ice became weak and shaky, so that we saw in many places how, under the hooves of horses, the ice would bend, give in, and tremble. *His majesty remained firm in his determination and trust in God, and advanced quickly towards the rebels*.

Having thus covered the distance of six stations (*manzil*) in a sin-

gle day, at sunset they overtook the rebels at an island in the environs of Shaykh-Ata, close to the mouth of the river Quvang. Some soldiers who were in the advance guard plundered their cattle and captured plentiful booty. His majesty, out of compassion and kindness which were innate in his pure nature, and in accordance with [the words] "*And compassion for God's creatures*," took away the plundered property from the troops and prohibited spoiling and plundering. *He stopped on an island that was close to one where the rebels were staying*, and sent Aydost Biy and Orun Bay Biy to the rebels with a promise of conciliation (744) and a threat of punishment. Upon their arrival, the rebel amirs, namely Esen-Keldi Biy, Toqta Pulad Biy, and Maman Biy, went to the royal court expressing their shame and utmost humiliation and prostrated themselves upon the ground in abasement. His majesty, the king of sea and land, drew the curtain of indulgence over the old crimes and the new sins of those sinners. *[*Rubāʿī*, followed by a parable (*tamthīl*)—a story of Iskandar; *Bayt*.]*

(745) The humble author compiled two chronograms on this event. [Two *tārīkh*s giving the date 1225.] His royal majesty appointed Aman Bay Yüzbashi to have these people prepared to move off the next morning. This event took place on the 25th of the month [of Zu'l-Qaʿda], (746) Friday evening.[a] *At sunrise the khan* appointed Allash Bek, Aman Bay Yüzbashi, and Qutlï Bay Qalmaq, with their *nökers*, to have the Qaraqalpaqs move off. In accordance with the order, they were dealing with the moving of those people until noon. *At this time it began snowing, and the ice was covered with snow*. After the party (*köch*) [of the Qaraqalpaqs] had left, his majesty *set out on the return journey*. Having travelled quickly upon the sea, at the time of afternoon prayer (*ʿaṣr*) he stopped near the mouth of the Yangi-Darya. At this place he sent Mulla Ishim Bay as an envoy to ʿAbd al-ʿAziz Khan, the king of the Qazaqs, with a letter announcing his victory (*fatḥ-nāma*), and with a demand that he return the Qaraqalpaq's property and prisoners. The next morning, after dawn broke, he set out and in the afternoon left the sea and set up his camp on the shore. Before the khan left the sea, *the brave Khoja Jan Khoja* had come to him. When the khan had been in the region of Baday, Khoja Jan Khoja had come to his majesty and,

[a] 21 December 1810.

according to the royal order, had gone to Khiva for five or six days to rest. After this rest, he had set out again, had come to Teng-Yar-bashi via the Qubash road, and, without stopping there, had come to the khan the same day and had been granted numerous gifts and presents.

Among the remarkable events of the sea campaign (747) the following occured. When, during the extreme cold, the ice covered the sea from shore to shore, from east to west, many cracks which had been splitting the ice were frozen over. On the way back, it was seen that, because of rain (*shudrun*), the cracks opened and the cleft was sometimes more than one or even two *qarïsh* wide.[a] When horses and pack animals (*ulagh*) would reach the edge of such cracks, the ice would go down into the water for half a *gaz*,[b] while the other edge would go up, and, when the horse would jump to the other side [of the crack], the ice there would plunge, while the side [on which it had stood before] would rise. And such dangerous places were passed without losses of men and horses, except for five horses and one camel which fell through the ice in [these] bad places and perished, because of the negligence of their riders. Another [remarkable event] was the following. On the day when [the army] came out from the sea, the amir Muhammad Riza Inaq, this humble [author], and several other military commanders were coming together. Suddenly we became aware that the ice under our horses' feet had become shaky and was breaking up and sinking at a distance of about one *tanab*.[880] In fear for our lives, all of us spurred our horses frantically and came out safely. Only the hind legs of the horses of the inaq and several more soldiers fell through the ice down to their knees, but, owing to the strength and swiftness of the horses and, moreover, thanks to the royal felicity and the divine help, they escaped from this gulf of perdition. [A moralizing passage (*nukta*) about good fortune which accompanies those who are zealous in pursuing the affairs of state and religion.] (748) [*Mathnavī*.]

(749) The next day, which was Sunday the 27th of the month,[c] *[the khan] appointed the amir Muhammad Riza Qoshbegi and Bek ʿAli Mirab, together with most of the commanders, to take care of moving the Qaraqalpaqs, and himself rode quickly and in the after-

[a] I.e. 20–40 cm (see note 878).
[b] More than 50 cm; cf. note 718.
[c] 23 December.

noon arrived at Teng-Yar-bashi, where the army train (*buna va aghruq*) had remained*. On Monday morning [the khan] sent Lachin Qalmaq, with a *fatḥ-nāma*, to *Khiva, to the great amir Qutlugh Murad Inaq, who had remained there as the khan's deputy. Having left this place, the khan set up his camp at the edge of Börichi-qïr*. He stayed there for three days, until the Qaraqalpaq party (*köch*) passed, and during this stay he occupied himself with hunting antelopes (*jayran*) in the environs of Börichi-qïr and the Turna-taqïr. (750) [*Naẓm.*] At that time seven men from the people of Aq-Yaqïsh and the subordinates of Aydost Biy were seized and brought in,—they were said to have stolen a calf from the [Qaraqalpaq] migrants on the sea and slaughtered it. After their guilt was established, his majesty had two of them hanged on the gallows of wrath, as a warning to those who saw them, and the rest were pardoned thanks to the intercession of amir Shah Niyaz Ataliq. At the same place, the qoshbegi, Bek ʿAli Mirab, and the military commanders, having escorted the [Qaraqalpaq] migrants, came to the khan. On Thursday, the first day of Zu'l-Hijja,[a] *the khan set out*. On Friday he crossed the Kök-Üzäk river upon the ice to the south of the fortress of Aq-Yaqïsh, and set up his camp on the western bank of that river. At this place the khan granted generous gifts to the elders of the people of Aq-Yaqïsh under Aydost Biy and Aymirza Biy; and Aydost Biy, who served as a guide (*ghacharchi*) at hunts and during the sea campaign, was especially distinguished by the grant of royal presents. On Saturday the khan moved on and camped to the north of the Qara-Buqa thicket[881] (*tughay*). At this place he entrusted Orun Bay Biy, Ish Jan Biy, Esen-Keldi Biy, Toqta Pulad Biy, and Manglay with the governorship (*ḥukūmat va ayālat*) of their own tribes and granted them royal patents (*nishān-i ʿālīshān*). (751) He appointed Mulla Dawlat Nazar, the son of Orun Bay Biy, and Taylaq Bahadur, a Khitay noble, to his retinue, granted them the title of *biy*, and gave each of them 100 *nökers* of the Qaraqalpaqs under their command. Maman Biy, who was the instigator of the rebellion, was removed from his post. [The khan] imposed a large sum of indemnity (*māl-i amān*) on the people of the Yangi-Darya, and appointed the qoshbegi, together with Niyaz Muhammad Bay, *the younger brother of <Muhammad> Yusuf Mehter*, and qoshbegi's own younger

[a] 27 December.

brother Muhammad-Quli Bek, to collect this money. He also assigned them to collect the arrears of *zakāt* from the Qaraqalpaq tribes. On Monday, the 5th of the month,[a] the khan set out from there and, having gone for several stations, on Tuesday crossed the Amuya near Shorcha-qalʿa, east of Khoja-eli, and set up his camp on the bank of the river. The next day, on Wednesday, he held a review of troops (*ʿarż-i sipāh*) and stopped at the Sevgenli. On Thursday he moved on and stopped on the bank of the Atalïq-arna. At this place he ordered the seizure of the Yomut villains led by Süyek Kem, who, because of their innate wickedness, had committed unseemly deeds at the time when Ish Muhammad Bek entered Gurlen and the ever-victorious army was [crossing] the sea. On Friday morning he set out and at the time of the night prayer (*khuftan*) arrived at Mayli-chungul. On Saturday, which was the Festival of the Sacrifice,[b] *he reached Khiva, the royal capital, victorious and triumphant*. (752) [*Rubāʿī*.]

Mulla Ishim Bay, who, as mentioned before, had been sent from the sea as an ambassador to ʿAbd al-ʿAziz Khan, the king of the Qazaqs, came out from the sea in five days and in the place named Chubar came to the encampment of Ghayib Khan's son Shir Ghazi Sultan, the younger brother of the aforementioned ʿAbd al-ʿAziz Khan.[882] From there he moved on and in another five days he reached the royal camp (*ordu*) of ʿAbd al-ʿAziz Khan on the bank of the river Aq-Öyräk. Be it known that this river is a branch of the Sayhun in its lower reaches. Janket-qalʿa is situated on its bank. Now this town is in ruins, *and only its wall and towers remain*.[883] A large group of the inhabitants of this town had come to Khorezm (753), and they have lived in [the region of] Hazarasp having formed one community (*kent*); that is why this *kent* was called Janketi. ʿAbd al-ʿAziz Khan treated Mulla Ishim Bay with great honor and respect and obediently received the khan's decree. *To show friendship and concord, he attached one of his own brothers, Tawke Sultan, who was renowned for his rectitude, together with some Qazaq nobles headed by Saʿadat Keray, to Mulla Ishim Bay and sent them to the royal court. In due course they were received by the khan and were distinguished by receiving royal favors.*

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[a] 31 December 1810.
[b] 10 Zu'l-Hijja 1225/5 January 1811.

THE ACCOUNT OF THE REMARKABLE EVENTS OF THE SIXTH YEAR OF REIGN OF HIS MAJESTY THE KHAQAN.

How, in accordance with the royal order, Salaq Sardar, Muhammad Niyaz Gerchek, Berdi Bahadur, Dosïm Bahadur, and Mulla Ilyas—each of whom was a lion in the thicket of battle and a Rustam on the arena of combat—made a raid against the environs of Qongrat.

*** *To punish Töre Murad Sufi, his majesty sent the above mentioned commanders, with 500 warriors, [*Nazm*] (754) to Aral on Monday, 25 Muharram 1226 A.H.[a] They travelled quickly,* crossed the river [Amu] below Yïlan-qïr upon the ice, and on Friday, the 29th of the month,[b] stopped on the bank of the Kök in the place called Keng-Yantaq. They left their luggage and train (*buna va aghruq*) at this station, took as their guide (*ghacharchi*) ʿUbaydallah Khoja, a Qaraqalpaq sayyid who had accompanied them from Yumri Hisar and knew the road very well, and set out towards Qongrat. When they reached Aq-qalʿa—a fortress which had been built by Shah Timur Khan and Shirdalï Biy at the time of Shir Ghazi Khan, ʿUbaydallah Khoja went in advance of the troops. He noticed thirteen men, equipped and armed, who had dismounted from their horses and dispersed, sitting and intoxicating themselves with hookah (*qalyān*) and *nās* thus scenting their dirty brains. Khoja ascertained that they were the rebels, and he went back to inform the troops. Be it known that these people were some Qaraqalpaqs, who were subject to Töre Murad Sufi and lived in Qongrat, and, on the order of the "misguided Sufi" (*Ṣūfī-i gumrāh*), they had come (755) to rob (*qaraqchilïq uchun*) the tribe of Ish Jan Biy which lived in the vicinity of Keng-Yantaq. They also saw the khoja and began to pursue him. [*Bayt.*] Suddenly they noticed the troops and, realizing what had happened to them, they fled in disarray. [*Bayt.*] The khoja also turned back in pursuit of them, and Berdi Bahadur, who was in front of the troops, rushed ahead, together with several soldiers, and joined the khoja in pursuit. The khoja was the first to overtake the rebels, and he speared one of them and knocked him down, [but] the rebel hid himself, with great difficulty, in a thicket and escaped. Berdi

[a] 18 February 1811.
[b] 22 February.

Bahadur valiantly knocked down three men and took them prisoner. Salaq Bahadur, with his *nökers*, took four prisoners, and Dosïm Bahadur, with his men, captured three people; and Allah Nazar Bajaqi, a companion of Muhammad Niyaz Gerchek, seized one man. They pursued [the rebels] from Aq-qal'a to the place called Chuchqa-Bash,[884] at a distance of about two *farsakhs*. They killed eight people, and they sent three prisoners, who were cousins of Qurban Bek Biy, to the royal court.

In the evening (756) they stopped on the bank of the Qarabayli, in the vicinity of Manghït-qal'a. At dawn they set out and, having reached the canal (*arïq*) Ayghïr, they dispatched patrols. The patrols captured four men on [the island] Sayyad Ataw; it appeared that they were servants at the tomb of his holiness Hakim Ata (may the mercy of God be upon him!), so they were released. In the vicinity of the Quba-tagh, on the bank of the river [Amu],[885] they captured and killed eight people. Then they went up to the Quba-tagh and [from there] sent a number of soldiers to raid the environs of the Tallïq. These soldiers subjected that region to plunder and pillage and returned with plentiful booty and innumerable prisoners. [Then], having left Berdi Bahadur with a number of soldiers on the top of the mountain as an outpost, they divided the troops into two parties, which went raiding along the both banks of the river [Amu] until noon and captured countless property and prisoners, who were all slaughtered. At that time the Qongrat troops came out [of the city], but they only watched from far, and did not engage the ever-victorious army in combat. The army returned victoriously, crossed the river [Amu] near the old city wall (*kuhna qal'a*) of Qongrat,[886] and stopped at the head (*saqā*) of the Qazaq-Darya. In the morning they promptly went back, and on Wednesday, 4 Safar,[a] arrived at Keng-Yantaq. From there they moved on, reached the royal capital on the 7th of the month[b] and were honored with the kissing of the sublime court's threshold. Each of them was granted royal favors according to his service. As to the three prisoners, who had been sent [to Khiva] earlier and who, as mentioned above, were the cousins of Qurban Bek Biy, his majesty released them upon the intercession of Aydost Biy.

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[a] 27 February.
[b] 2 March.

(757) How the Qongrat rebels raided the tribe of Maqat Biy and, being defeated by the Qaraqalpaq warriors, took to flight.

This event took place as follows. After Salaq Sardar and his people raided Qongrat and returned, the malignant "Sufi without a guide (*Ṣūfī-i bī-pīr*)" *gathered 200 men from the Qongrats and other tribes who participated in the rebellion, appointed Qurban Bek Qïyat, the elder brother of Soyun Biy, their commander* and sent them to raid the Qaraqalpaqs. At that time Maqat Biy, Hasan Bay Biy, and Chon Qara Biy, with the tribes (*ulus*) subordinate to them, lived on summer pastures (*otlaq*) in the vicinity of Qïran-qïr. *The rebels went quickly* and on Tuesday, the 10th of the aforementioned month [of Safar],[a] appeared from one side of Maqat Biy's tribe and attacked it. *They pillaged and plundered, but captured only insignificant spoils and went back fearfully the same road as they came. [*Fard.*] The aforementioned biys, with Qaraqalpaq warriors, pursued and overtook them, and started fighting.* At that time (758) the wind of victory began to blow towards the biys, and they defeated the enemies of the state. They killed Qush Yeter Qalmaq, who was a faithful follower of the Sufi and was the greatest pillar of the Aral army on the battlefield. When the rebels witnessed this frightful event, they fled and dispersed in a panic. The Qaraqalpaq warriors drew the sabers of valor and sent many rebels to the depth of hell. They captured plentiful booty, and they sent Qadïr-Bergen Biy to the royal court with nine horses constituting one fifth of the spoils (*khums-i ghanā'im*) and four [severed] heads of the enemies of the state. On Saturday, the 13th of the month,[b] Qadïr-Bergen Biy had the honor of kissing the royal threshold and was distinguished with the gift of royal favors.

How Qaqa Sardar made a raid against the region of Astarabad.

Since the text of the Qur'ān concerning the struggle of holy war (*jihād*) clearly mentions "*[Those who] struggle in God's way*",[c] it is binding upon the Muslims every year to draw the sword of struggle

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[a] 5 March.
[b] 8 March (Friday).
[c] Qur'ān, II,218.

against the infidels. Consequently, to fulfill this obligation in accordance with this command, his royal majesty, on Monday, 6 Safar of the same year [1226][a] corresponding to the Year of the Snake,[b] appointed the Yomut noble Qaqa Sardar Ushaq with a hundred warriors, who were the elite of the Yomut troops, to raid the Qïzïlbashes of Khorasan. On Thursday, the 12th of the aforementioned month,[c] he appointed [in addition] Khïzïr Sardar with 50 warriors for the same purpose. Those so assigned (759) joined their forces in the region of the Gürgen, raided some fortresses (*qalʿajāt*) in the environs of Astarabad, and returned with plentiful booty.

How his royal majesty went to Hazarasp to attend Sayyid ʿUbaydallah Khoja's feast, and how he made the aforementioned khoja extremely proud by honoring him with his presence.

*The cream of the dynasty of [the Prophet Muhammad] Mustafa and the exemplar of the house of [ʿAli] Murtaza, [namely] Sayyid ʿUbaydallah Khoja Ishan, son of Sayyid Baqir Khoja Ishan Sayyid Atayi, who is a father-in-law of his royal majesty,[887] made a feast (*toy*) on the occasion of the circumcision (*khutna sunnat*) of his sons, and he invited his royal majesty to this feast. On Wednesday, 18 Safar,[d] his majesty set out from Khiva, the royal capital, and lodged in his own house in the village (*qarya*) of Khitay. For two days he hunted geese, ducks, and sandpipers on the lakes in that region, and on Saturday he arrived at his estate (*ḥawlī*) in Hazarasp. Qïlïch Aq Qash, who was the supervisor (*mushrif*) of that estate, arranged a banquet, and from evening till dawn the ground of the *ḥawlī* was lit with lamps, and, by his majesty's command, the wrestlers (*pahlavān*) of Khiva and Hazarasp held their contests there. Near the wrestling ground his majesty had the royal tent pitched from which he observed the contest, and he distinguished the winning wrestlers with august favor and royal largesses.[888] (760) The next day, on Monday, which was the 22nd of the aforementioned month,[e] he reached the place

[a] 1 March 1811 (Friday).
[b] The Year of the Snake was from February 1809 to February 1810. 1811 corresponds to the Year of the Sheep.
[c] 7 March.
[d] 13 March.
[e] 17 March (Sunday).

of the feast (*toy-khāna*) and with his arrival he brought joy to all the people gathered to the feast and great pride to ʿUbaydallah Khoja Ishan. Sayyid Yusuf Khoja Naqib and amir Sultan Mirab, who had been appointed by the khan to supervise the feast, were organizing the entertainment. The aforementioned Sayyid presented gifts to the khan befitting his royal dignity and, in his turn, was distinguished with the grant of countless favors from the monarch. After the feast was over, his majesty mounted his horse and, after the entertainment (*tamāshā*) of the "golden gourd" (*altïn qabaq*),[889] caused a horse race and a wrestling contest (*kurash*) to be held. He brought joy to the victors in the race and the wrestling by giving generous awards. {And he charged most of the expenses and provisions (*kharājāt va ma'unnāt*) for this feast to [the account of] Qïlïch Aq Qash, who was the *mushrif* of Hazarasp.}[a] Then he dispatched amir Sultan Mirab, and this humble [author], and Bek ʿAli Mirab to Tünglükli to find out whether the *qazu* was going on at the head (*saqā*) of the Khivanik canal, while he himself went to Khitay.* On Monday we took measures [to dredge] the head of the canal up to Qulum-Hajji, which is [a connecting canal] cut from the Khivanik to the Ghaziabad canal,[890] and had the honor to kiss the ground [before the khan] in Khitay. On Wednesday, the 25th of the month,[b] the khan arrived at Khiva, the royal capital.

(761) How Salih Shaykh made a raid to the vicinity of Qongrat.

*On the same day, according to the royal order, Qutlugh Murad Inaq appointed his own *nökers* Salih Shaykh Chopani and ʿAbd ar-Rahman As, son of Panah Naib, with 100 select warriors, for a raid against Qongrat.* They went quickly, crossed the Changlï-Basu and, at Say-kechu crossing, the Chumanay, pitched their *tugh* on Top-Ayaq-tepe, and raided the environs of the Yengichke-su. They killed eighteen prominent men of Aral, captured one prisoner and went back with copious booty. *Having heard this news, Töre Murad Sufi went in pursuit with the army of Aral, but was unable to overtake the ever-victorious army and returned without crossing the Tumarlï.[891] Salih Shaykh and ʿAbd ar-Rahman As came to Khiva safe and laden

[a] This sentence is added in the margin in C and is missing in E.
[b] 20 March.

with booty on Sunday, 3 Rabiʿ I,[a] and were granted royal presents. The duration of this campaign was thirteen days.[b]*

An explanation of some sordid deeds and shameful crimes of Töre Murad Sufi and an account of the khan's intention (762) to go against him and how this campaign was called off because of a famine.

[A lengthy discourse about the general relationship between the character and behavior of a ruler and the state of his country and people.] (763) *The sordid deeds of Töre Murad Sufi, the governor (*vālī*) of Aral, finally kindled the khan's wrath and brought the country of Aral under the hooves of the [khan's] all-conquering army, and because of this even the fields of that region were destroyed, while the candle of good fortune and the light of life of that misfit were blown out by the gale of ruin and the wind of death.* A detailed account of it follows.

Töre Murad Sufi, the governor (*ḥākim*) of Aral, for eighteen years, in his extreme ignorance and viciousness, had been thinking that the path of sedition and rebellion—which brings good fortune to ruin and destruction to the state and community—would bring him felicity and glory, and he had been persisting in disobedience and rebellion. At the end of his rule, not satisfied merely with disobedience and rebellion, he engaged in unlawful affairs and illicit deeds, which were neither allowed by the laws of Islam nor were sanctioned by the customs of the infidels. [*Qiṭʿa.*] (764) Among them were the following. Esen Aman Ataliq Bögejeli and Ötep-Berdi Ataliq Kök-Üzäkli were prominent nobles of the Qongrats. They were disgusted by the ignoble actions of that misfit and tried to establish friendly relations with the servants of his majesty. After the royal army had resettled the tribe of Mulla Khuraz and returned from Aral, at the end of Jumadi II,[c] he (Töre Murad) had these two ataliqs seized and criminally put to death, without guilt, together with their younger brothers, sons, and eleven of their subordinates, and had their property

[a] 27 March (Wednesday!). Cf. the next footnote.

[b] The dates of the beginning (25 Safar) and the end (3 Rabiʿ I) of the campaign given by Munis make the duration of the campaign 8 days, not 13. But if the date of the end is corrected from 3 Rabiʿ I to 7 Rabiʿ I (which is, indeed, Sunday, 31 March), the duration of the campaign will be 12 days.

[c] Before 20 July 1811.

plundered. He orphaned their children and widowed their wives, and he married off to his servants of ignoble origin some of the women, contrary to the custom, and the girls, not letting them keep the mourning rites for their fathers. He sent his men to pursue every one who was fleeing from the country, trying to escape from the calamity of famine, and those [of the fugitives] who were doomed were caught, brought back and, regardless of whether they were men or women, they were subjected to cruel torture and hanged by their necks or their breasts. And the remaining family members of those unfortunates were tortured and some of them killed, some put in prison, some were married against their wills, and some sold to Turkmens as slaves. And to every one, whom he considered wealthy, he would send harsh collectors (*muḥaṣṣil*) and rude *yasavul*s, (765) who would torture these unfortunates and take away all their property by force. [*Qiṭʿa.*] And he also began to sell as slaves, to villains and ruffians, the children and wives of the Muslims whom the Aral rebels had captured from the [khan's] well-protected kingdom [of Khorezm] by theft and robbery. Among them, *the daughter of Qurban Bek Biy*, together with forty [other] girls, pretty as fairies, who had been captured from the Qaraqalpaqs of Aq-Yaqïsh, as described above,[a] were bartered in a single session for eleven horses to Turkmens from Khorasan, who, in their proclivity to sedition, prefer unbelief to Islam and hypocrisy to concord; these captives were sent to Khorasan described as Qalmaqs and turned over to Qïzïlbashes. Although this event occured somewhat later, it seemed proper to mention it here. [*Qiṭʿa.*]

(766) When the news about these abominable events reached the ears of his majesty, he could not allow this tyrant to continue to subject the people to such blatant oppression and sordid acts. *He decided to teach him a lesson and indeed to destroy him*, and, although the [khan's] ever-victorious army had not yet had time to rest after the sea campaign, and the pack animals and horses had not yet been tied to the tether of repose, he showed a great desire to campaign against Aral. And in the aforementioned year, that is at the beginning of Rabiʿ I 1226 A.H.[b] *he ordered the preparation of all the troops and the supplies for the campaign, awarded copious gifts to the amirs, the pillars of the state and the army commanders,

[a] See above, pp. 293–294.
[b] End of March 1811.

gave audience (*bāryāb-i dawlat*)[a] at his court to the brave warriors*, and granted them provision and salary (*ʿalūfa va marsūmāt*) surpassing the usual annual assignment. [*Mathnavī.*]

(767) When the preparation of the supplies for the campaign and the disbursement of salary was completed, on Sunday, the 10th of the aforementioned month,[b] he ordered that the imperial train (*aghruq-i humāyūn*) and the sublime court, together with the royal camp-equipage (*pīsh-khāna-i khāṣṣa*) and the royal armory (*qūr-khāna-i khulāṣa*), be sent to the locality of Aq-qum, *and had his camp set up on the bank of the river [Amu]*. At this time, by divine predetermination, the price of grain rose sharply, the calamity of famine and hunger spread in the whole kingdom of Khorezm and, moreover, throughout Mavarannahr, Khorasan, Kabul, and Qandahar, so that most of the subjects reached the extremity of want and wretchedness because of the severity of famine. [*Rubāʿī.*] *Since his majesty considered organizing his subjects' affairs and alleviating their difficult situation (768) more important and urgent than the new campaign, he delayed the departure and concentrated all his attention on the organizing the affairs of the people.* He granted all the grain and flour, which had been prepared as provisions for the campaign, together with a very large sum of money (*danānīr-i bisyār va darāhim-i bīshumār*), to the inhabitants of madrasas and mosques,[c] and pleased the students, the pious (*ʿubbād*), the *ʿulamāʾ*, and the ascetics (*zuhhād*) by increasing their allowances. [*Nazm.*] Showing his great compassion and care for the subjects, by a proclamation, he invited all the blind and the disabled, the weak and the infirm, the orphans and the widows, from all the provinces and regions, who were unable to get their daily bread, to come to the court, (769) and, until the famine was eliminated, he would give great quantities [of provisions] from the storehouses of the treasury (*khazīna-i iḥsān*) and the royal kitchen (*miṭbakh-khāna-i shīlān*) as daily allowances. Besides this, every day he assigned a large amount of provisions from the royal treasury (*khizāna-i ʿāmira*) and his own grain stores (*ghalla-khāna-i khāṣṣa*) to *Shaykh Muhammad Latif Ishan, a *murīd* of the martyred shaykh al-islam Islam Shaykh*. By the royal order, the latter every day prepared tasteful meals at a *qalandar-khāna*[892] near the Ata city gates and used

[a] In this case it must have rather been an inspection.
[b] 10 Jumadi II/1 July 1811 (Monday).
[c] Apparently, a mistake, instead of "madrasas and khanaqas".

to feed all the poor and hungry, who were unable to reach the sublime court to receive provision as stipulated in the general proclamation. [*Mathnavī* mentioning the end of the famine.]

(770) How the felicitous monarch moved the ever-victorious army against the country of Aral for the fourth time; how the vicious rebels, subjected to the hardships of siege, became exausted fighting with the brave warriors, and how fear grew in their hearts; how Töre Murad Sufi's sun of good fortune declined to the sunset of ruin and the cup of his life filled with the unpalatable poison of perdition; and how the town (*qurghan*) of Qongrat was conquered.

[*Mathnavī.*] When the wheat and some other crops were harvested, the prices fell, thanks to divine favor, and the calamity of famine was removed from the well-protected kingdom, *his majesty Muhammad Rahim Bahadur Khan* (771) renewed his intention of conquering Aral and destroying the Sufi, and he ordered the preparation of supplies for the campaign. By that time the clan of Ish-Quli, a respectable clan of the Qongrats, had gone to its summer pastures in the locality of Tumar-köl,[893] which is on the western side of the At-Yolï. The elders of this tribe—Khal Muhammad Khan, Khuday-Quli Atalïq, and Muhammad Rahim ibn Muhammad Murad Atalïq, came to an agreement with the servants of the royal court and decided to oppose the Sufi. It so happened that someone informed Töre Murad Sufi of this secret. Without warning, the Sufi sent his men to them, and they seized Khal Muhammad Khan and Khuday-Quli Atalïq and killed them together with their sons, and they brought Muhammad Rahim, with his clan, to the city. Younger brothers and four or five sons of the slain men, led by Allah Nazar Mergen, a younger brother of Khal Muhammad Khan, escaped, and, when they had the honor of kissing the sublime court's threshold, petitioned for justice against the opression of the tyrannical Sufi. This event hastened the campaign [against Qongrat], and, to gather the troops, his majesty sent *yasavuls*, ferocious as Bahram, and *sürdavuls*, fierce as Mars, to all regions of the well-protected kingdom. To guard the kingdom, he appointed *Qutlugh Murad Inaq* as his deputy in the city [of Khiva], and on Thursday, 3 Shaʿban,[a] when the sun

[a] 22 August.

was in the sign of Virgo, set out from the royal capital *Khiva*, and for six days hunted in the region of Ambar and Mayli-chungul. (772) [*Bayt.*] On Wednesday, the 10th of the month,[a] he set up his camp in Qïpchaq, on the bank of the river [Amu], and stayed there for two days. At that place the ever-victorious troops, having come from all regions to the august camp, gathered in the shade of the ever-conquering banner. On Sunday, the 13th of the month,[b] he rode from Qïpchaq and stopped at the Khan-kechu [crossing], opposite Besh-tüpe.

It was always his majesty's lofty habit and laudable custom that in every region [which he visited] he would, in true faith and sincere devotion, send alms to the holy people and darvishes [who lived there], and have them pray [for him], *and he would send large amounts of money, as vows, to each holy tomb of the great mystics and provide food for the servants (*khādim*), sweepers (*jārūb-kash*), and the travellers coming there, so that they might recite the entire Qurʾān for the souls of those holy men. In accordance with this custom, he sent Ruzim Pahlavan, a *nöker* of the prince Allah-Berdi Töre, son of the late Eltüzer Muhammad Khan, (773) to Khoja-eli, with large amount of alms, to the tomb of Sayyid Pir Muhammad Khoja known as Pirim Khoja Ishan, who had used to talk to his majesty in a fatherly way and who had died on Monday 20 Rabiʿ I,[c] five months before this campaign.[d] Ruzim Pahlavan had to provide food to those poor people who lived at this tomb and have them recite the entire Qurʾān for the holy spirit of the ishan. Likewise, the khan sent copious alms and numerous gifts to the great sayyids and Sufis headed by Sayyid Tursun Khoja Ishan and Keday Khoja Ishan.* When, in accordance with the order, Ruzim Pahlavan came to Khoja-eli, he presented to the aforementioned sayyids the money for the vows which he brought and received their prayers and benedictions for his majesty. *Then he came to the house (*ḥawlī*) of Pirim Khoja Ishan, and, with the friendly help of Sayyid Asghar Khoja, the ishan's son, took care of feeding the poor (774) who lived at the tomb of the aforementioned ishan, and they recited the entire Qurʾān for his holy spirit.[894]*

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[a] 29 August (Thursday).
[b] 1 September.
[c] 13 April (Saturday).
[d] It was four months before the campaign.

On Tuesday, at midnight,[a] the body of the moon was hidden behind the curtain of an eclipse, and the duration of the eclipse was one and a half hours and five minutes. Be it known to the discerning minds [of the readers] that, seven days before the beginning of this blessed campaign, a shining skirt-shaped planet rose from the horizon close to the North Pole; its skirt had the shape of an opened peacock's tail at the top, and it was expanding. Its rise would last for two hours and would occur twice every night, so that early at night it would rise, then set in two or three hours, and it would then rise again at dawn. After two months its elevation gradually increased, and in five months it was close to the equator. After this it did not rise again. Wise men and astronomers (*ahl-i nujūm*) disagreed on this subject and could not come to a conclusion.[895] [*Qiṭʿa.*]

(775) On Tuesday his royal majesty set out from Khan-kechu *and arrived at Qïrq-qayir*. [There] a royal order was issued to Qutlugh Muhammad Bek Hazaraspi, a son of a Qïpchaq noble (*akābirzāda*), commanding him to take 100 *shamkhālchī*s, to enter the Chumanay on boats, to go by boats till the At-Yolï crossing and to make sure that the waterway was secure, and [then] to come to the khan at the Chumanay. At that place (i.e. at Qïrq-qayir) his majesty *suddenly suffered from an indisposition and remained there for two days until his condition improved*. [*Qiṭʿa.*] In accordance with the royal order, Muhammad Niyaz Mahram, Muhammad Niyaz Gerchek, and Berdi Bahadur, who had stayed with 500 *nökers* in the fortress (*ḥiṣār*) of Khoja-eli as an advance guard, took 400 navvies (*bīldār*) from Khoja-eli, and (776) they opened the road through the places, where the road had been flooded with water and become muddy, levelling it with brushwood and soil, as well as putting that across the beds of the rivulets flowing from the Jabat-köl to the river [Amu], where the crossing of the ever-victorious army had been made difficult because of the abundance of silt. On Friday, the 18th of the month,[b] the royal army set out; his majesty, not being able to ride the horse until the 20th because of the burden and pain of the aforementioned illness, in the evening boarded a boat together with the chamberlains (*ichki maḥramlar*) and travelled by river. [*Bayt.*] At mid-day he stepped down from the boat at the head of the Chumanay *and set

[a] 15 Shaʿban 1226/3 September 1811.
[b] 6 September.

up his camp on the northern bank [of this canal]*. In two days the ever-victorious army crossed the Changlï-Basu and the Chumanay by boats, by rafts, and by swimming. [*Mathnavī.*] (777) Qutlugh Muhammad Bek, who had been sent to the At-Yolï to check the safety of the route for the boats, came and reported that the boats could move without difficulty down to the At-Yolï. On Sunday, at sunrise,[a] [the khan] sent the august train (*aghruq-i humāyūn*) down the Chumanay to the At-Yolï by boats, *while the royal retinue moved along the bank of the river and arrived at Tumarlï*.

At the time of the evening prayer [the khan] appointed the amir Karim-Berdi Atalïq to the advance guard (*muqaddima-i sipāh*), having given him a big detachment of Uzbek, Qaraqalpaq and Turkmen troops under the command of Muhammad Niyaz Bek Mahram, Muhammad Niyaz Gerchek, Berdi Bahadur, and Dosïm Bahadur, and ordered them to go by night and to raid the environs of the town (*qalʿa*) after sunrise. In accordance with the order, at dawn, the atalïq *raided* the people (*el*) in the vicinity of the town of Qongrat, [and then] he himself, with the Uzbek troops, drew up in battle array opposite the western gates of the town, and [at the same time] sent the Turkmen and Qaraqalpaq troops to Boghra-Khan and the Tallïq. They raided the tribes (*ulus*) that lived on this side of Boghra-Khan, or Shahr-i Khavand, captured plentiful booty, and returned to the atalïq safe and victorious. The same day, which was a Monday,[b] his majesty, having read the early morning prayer, *set out before the sunrise, marched quickly, and before noon appeared before the town of Qongrat. The illustrious amirs and the brave warriors drew up the troops in battle array on the hill named Top-Atghan*, with loud war-cries. Karim-Berdi Atalïq, who was opposite the western gates, left his troops, (778) came to kiss the [royal] stirrup, and presented the prisoners and booty. His majesty, having bestowed royal kindness on him, granted him the spoils which he had brought and let him go back to his assigned position (*murchal*); *and he released the prisoners. In accordance with the royal decree, some brave warriors went close to the edge of the moat southwest of the town and pranced there.[c] From the opposite side, the Aral warriors under the command of Soyun Biy came out of the town and joined battle.

[a] 20 Shaʿban/8 September.
[b] 21 Shaʿban/9 September.
[c] Lit. "busied themselves with the custom of prancing."

With God's assistance, the khan's army defeated the rebels in the first attack. [*Naẓm.*] The Aral troops took to flight and escaped behind the city wall*. At that time several relatives of Berdi Bahadur, having fled from Töre Sufi, had (779) the honor of kissing the ground [before the khan] and were distinguished by the grant of royal favors.

After this event his royal majesty went south of the town, to the bank of the river, and *came to the melon-ground of Töre Murad Sufi, which was very large and was located close to the city wall (*qalʿa*), so that arrows shot from the wall would reach it in most places and even fly over it. [The khan] saw that the melons were very ripe*.[a] [*Mathnavī.*] A royal order was given to the troops that, in order to hinder the rebels, the melons be plundered. Consequently, until the midday prayer the soldiers plundered the ripe melons and destroyed the unripe ones with horses' hooves. [Then] his majesty, with the royal army, turned back from the town and set up the royal camp at the mouth (*dahana*) of the At-Yolï. That area abounded in lakes and swamps, and it was also very far from the town. Therefore the next morning, which was Tuesday, the 22nd of the month, [the khan] ordered Khojash Mahram's father, Allah Nazar At-Chapar,[896] who was one of his closest nobles (*aʿyān-i ḥażrat*), together with several [other] trustworthy men, to move the royal camp (*ordu-yi kayhān-pūy*) to the bank of the Börili-köl, which (780) is the place where the water flows from the fork of the Kunjud-Yarma and which is located at a distance of two miles (*mīl*) from the town, and [himself] set out to the town with undescribable splendor. He drew up the troops in battle array opposite the western gates, and he assigned Dawlat Murad Bek Umbay, who is the son of Qochqar Naib son of Er Niyaz Khan, with all the *nökers* of *Qutlugh Murad Inaq*, to the southern side of the city wall (*qalʿa*), and Karim-Berdi Atalïq, Muhammad Niyaz Bek Mahram, Muhammad Jan Bek son of Qutlugh Muhammad Inaq, Tanak Bahadur, and others, with an innumerable army, to the northern side of the city wall. Those so assigned drew up the troops in battle array at their sections (*buljār*) and stood prepared for battle. To the north of the city wall there were fields of crops, which had already ripened, extending for about 200 *jarībs*.[897] Karim-Berdi Atalïq lined up his ranks in the middle of that area and had [the crops] destroyed. As to Töre Murad Sufi and his

[a] The original text is not quite clear.

followers, they were seized by fear and terror, and, like a pack of jackals and foxes which hide themselves at the bottom of a pit in fear of roaring lions and fierce panthers, they ensconced themselves in the town and were incapable of doing anything beyond exchanging musket fire with the ever-victorious army. [*Nazm.*]

His majesty went to the northern side of the town and [from there] surveyed the city environs, to make it easier to decide where a siege turret (*kungura-i taskhīr*) (781) should be erected. At that moment a number of soldiers from the ever-victorious army, *in a fit of ardour, rushed to the city wall (*ḥiṣār*) and, having come to the edge of the moat, fought the defenders of the town with arrows and spears. Several [of these] soldiers were wounded with arrows shot from the city wall. Among them, ʿAbd ar-Rahman Yüzbashi from Tash-Ayaq, one Qaraqalpaq *nöker*, and one *nöker* of the *amīrzāda* Muhammad Nazar Bek, and Mustaqim Divana Noghay, who was one of his majesty's jesters (*dīvāna*), were seriously wounded*. The *dīvāna* and the Qaraqalpaq died the next day, and, according to the royal order, the *dīvāna* was brought to Khoja-eli and buried in Mizdahqan, near [the mausoleum of] Shamʿun the Recluse (ʿĀbid). A *nöker* of Muhammad Niyaz Gerchek killed Jan Murad Bay, a Qongrat noble, and brought his head [to the khan's court].

On that day many people fled the town, among them Qurban Bahadur, son of Safar Bay, a noble (*akābirzāda*) of [the clan of] Sultan (?),[898] a son of Ötep-Berdi Atalïq from the clan of Kök-Üzäkli, and a son of the elder brother of the same atalïq. His majesty showed them his favor and sent them to [serve under] Muhammad Niyaz Gerchek and Berdi Bahadur. To harm [the rebels, the khan] had the sown fields just outside the city wall destroyed, and returned victoriously to the royal camp at Kunjudli-Yarma. On that day the army train (*buna va aghruq*) came down the Chumanay by boat and joined the royal army. The same evening [the khan] ordered Muhammad Niyaz Gerchek, Berdi Bahadur, Dosïm Bahadur, Ish Niyaz Atalïq and his younger brother, Mamïsh[a] Bek,—sons of Adina-Quli Atalïq Vaziri,—and Tanak[b] (782) Bahadur, with numerous troops, to guard the environs of the town, so that entrance and egress would be blocked for the town's people and that they could derive no

[a] Vocalized in C.
[b] Vocalized in E.

benefit from the sown fields in the vicinity under the cover of night. Those so assigned took great care to guard the town by setting up sentinels, and at sunrise they rushed up to the city wall from all sides, pounded (?) the gates with their axes, and returned. [*Shi'r.*]

In this manner his majesty would go to the town mostly in person and annoy [the defenders]; on the days when he would not go himself he would send Qïlïch Inaq, Bek ʿAli Mirab, Muhammad Jan Bek, ʿAdil Bek the son of Taji Biy who had come to replace his younger brother Allash Biy, Muhammad Niyaz Gerchek, and Berdi Bahadur, with numerous troops, and at night he would send several commanders with patrols, and so they laid heavy siege to the town for fifteen days. As a result, famine and hunger became severe in the town, sick and feeble people began to die in the streets from hunger and weakness, (783) and every day many people, weakened by extreme hunger and destitution, would jump from the city walls and towers and come to the royal camp. *They would receive gifts and food from the royal kitchen and would walk freely within the august camp*, and most of them were taken over the At-Yolï crossing by royal boats (*safā'in-i khāṣṣa*) and dispersed to [various regions of] the well-protected kingdom to regain their strength.

An account of the events which happened during the siege.

One of them was the following. When the royal army had been setting out for the conquest of Aral, the dikes on the Khivanik canal in Qulan-Qarabagh,[899] as far as the river [Amu] and to the [head of the] Ghaziabad canal, had been destroyed [by water], and *Muhammad Riza Qoshbegi* had been appointed to repair these dikes. Thanks to his majesty's fortunate star, he accomplished the repair within a short time, took the remaining troops (*cherik*), followed the royal army, and on Thursday, the 24th of the month,[a] crossed at the At-Yolï crossing by boat, and had the honor of kissing the royal carpet. *He presented the khan with appropriate gifts, as well as with greetings and good wishes from the khan's family headed by Qutlugh Murad Inaq.* On that day, Khuday-Berdi Atalïq, nicknamed "Calf" (*Gusāla*), from the Yaʿqubchi clan, who was one of the nobles of Gurlen and who had conspired with Muhammad Riza Bek and, when that bek had been seized, had fled from Gurlen with

[a] 12 September.

his two sons and had gone to Qongrat, (784) [now] fled from Qongrat, *resenting some improper deeds of Töre Murad Sufi and, probably, having noticed the signs of the misfit's reverse of fortune*. With the intercession of the amirs and *maḥrams*, he was given an audience with the khan, who pardoned his sins, granted him a robe of honor, and bestowed royal favors upon him and his sons. [*Nazm.*]

On Saturday, the 26th of the month,[a] *his majesty rode out to the fortress, as he usually did every day, to inflict damage on the rebels, and set out to Machan-köl—an area which provided most of the agricultural produce of the people of Aral.[900] He sent the conquering army, detachment after detachment, to all the fields, and after they carried away as much grain as they needed for themselves, they destroyed the remaining crops with the hooves of horses and returned to the royal camp*. (785) During the same time, Qïlïch Inaq, Bek ʿAli Mirab, Muhammad Jan Bek, and others, who were busy, as previously, with the siege, sent most of the *nökers* everywhere for foraging, to find fodder for animals, in the afternoon, and only a few men remained with them. The rebels being aware of the situation, *came out of the town in full strength and attacked Qïlïch Inaq*. The remaining *nökers* of Qïlïch Inaq, whose total number was less than a hundred, relying upon divine assistance and his majesty's fortunate star and trusting in God, joined battle and unfurled the banner of steadfastness on the arena of determination. Muhammad Jan Bek, ʿAdil Bek, Muhammad Niyaz Gerchek, and Berdi Bahadur, with a number of soldiers, *each of them a formidable warrior, spurred their horses on and, in a terrifying assault, killed many rebels with deadly lances and sharp swords. The *nökers* who remained in the royal camp and who dispersed in the vicinity in search for fodder, having heard the tumult of the battle*, gathered to the banner of Qïlïch Inaq. The warriors gained new strength, *and struck the rebels with their lances and swords in continuous attacks*. Although the ever-victorious army, together with those who joined later, comprised less than 300 men, it defeated the troops of Aral, which counted more than 6,000 men, mounted and unmounted,—in accordance with the true words [of the Qur'ān]: "*How often a little company has overcome a numerous company, by God's leave!*"[b] (786) The troops of Aral hastily went [back] across the moat, lined up their ranks under

[a] 14 September.
[b] Qur'ān, II,249.

the city wall (*ḥiṣār*) and prepared for defence. In this battle was killed a maternal cousin (*ʿamzāda*) of Töre Murad Biy named Muhammad Safa Bek, son of ʿAbdi Sufi, son of Qul Murad Inaq, who was the hope of the enemies of the state. Many [other] rebels were killed and wounded. [*Mathnavī.*] ʿUbaydallah Khoja Dahbidi, a sayyid who lived among the Qaraqalpaqs, *fought the rebels like a lion*; he was wounded in the leg by a rebels' arrow and left [the battle]. And one Yomut was killed. At that time the royal army returned from Machan-köl and reached the august camp. *The news of what was happening reached the servants of the khan, and the khan set out without delay towards the town. When (787) he appeared on the battlefield, the rebels became frightened and fortified themselves in the town.* His majesty turned back from the town and arrived at the august camp victorious and triumphant. The warriors, with Qïlïch Inaq at the head, who distinguished themselves in this battle, were rewarded with the khan's boundless favors. [*Rubāʿī.*]

The epic of the second battle which took place between the two sides.

Three days after the event previously mentioned, on Saturday, the last day of Shaʿban,[a] *his majesty decided to inflict a severe punishment on the rebels, so that this vicious group might appreciate their situation under siege and may not dare to come out*. To this end he sent the amir Muhammad Riza Qoshbegi with the royal army to harvest the crops in the environs of Qalʿa-i Khavand, otherwise known as Boghra-Khan, and after the midday prayer sent forty or fifty Qaraqalpaq warriors to raid the town, in order that the rebels should come out of the town when they saw that the [remaining] men were so few. By this ruse, they enticed the Aral troops (788) from the town and started fighting in front of the western gates. At that moment Qutlugh Muhammad Bek, who, with most of the commanders (*sipāhdār*) and *yüzbashi*s, had been sent after the Qaraqalpaqs, came out of the ambush *and attacked the Aral troops*. Although it was the middle of the month of Mīzān and the beginning of autumn, their flashing swords shed blood upon the battlefield like spring clouds[b] shedding rain and made a rosegarden of the

[a] 17 September (Tuesday).

[b] Play on words: *Mīzān* (which corresponds to September in Khorezm) and *abr-i Nīsān* ("vernal clouds").

rebels' blood, and they rolled the enemies' heads upon the battlefield as if they were balls in a polo game. *And the *jazāyirchī* and the *shamkhālchī* struck the rebels with the balls of their muskets.* [*Nazm.*] (789) In this battle, the commanders—Sayyid Khoja Jan Khoja, Muhammad Niyaz Gerchek, Berdi Bahadur, Dosïm Bahadur, and Beki Yüzbashi, together with a number of heroic soldiers, *defeated and routed the enemy's troops, striking them with their lances and swords, musket-balls and arrows*. The rebels fled and dispersed and, unable to enter the gates, turned to the southern side of the town. *Töre Murad Sufi made great efforts to regroup them, and, in his ignorance and viciousness, he lined up their ranks on the bank of the river. The ever-victorious army pursued them, and Qïlïch Inaq and Qutlugh Muhammad Bek also drew up their troops in battle array, with the illustrious amirs and brave warriors adorning the right and the left wings of the army. Then the warriors from both sides rushed against each other, and a fierce fight began.* [*Nazm.*]

(790) In this battle, the Qaraqalpaq warriors, Taylaq Bahadur and Ish Bol Bahadur, Köchenek Biy's son, drew their blood-shedding swords from the sheath of vengeance and struck the enemy. Taylaq Bahadur encountered Dosat Bek, the elder son of Töre Murad Sufi, who, when fighting, was rushing hither and thither, like a silly dog, and put him to flight with one swift thrust; in pursuit, he knocked him off his horse. Dosat Bek, in fear of death, threw himself into the river and escaped from the gulf of perdition by swimming. Taylaq Bahadur captured his horse. Ish Bol Bahadur was wounded in the fight and left [the battlefield]. Khoja Jan Khoja also fought very well. I myself heard from him that he had struck down one Aral fighter with a pistol bullet (*ṭabāncha uqi*).[901] His younger brother, Mansur Khoja ibn ʿUmar Khoja Naqib, *fought together with Muhammad Nazar Shaykh Chopani, a *nöker* of Khoja Jan Khoja, and they killed many rebels with their sharp swords. Muhammad Karim Qoychi Atalïq, a notable of Khoja-eli, who was a member of the royal retinue due to his valor, together with his younger son, Muhammad Nazar, and several other warriors, also fought bravely.* (791) Thanks to the power of the divine assistance and the manifest fortune, he defeated the Aral troops and put them to flight, and pursued them across the moat, and, together with his son, he blocked the crossing over the moat, so that he brought death by drowning to many men in the water of the moat. [*Shiʿr.*] Although the ever-victorious troops would have been able to conquer the town even in this tur-

moil, it was not permitted to them, and they were satisfied and content with the victory they had achieved and, by his majesty's order, they turned back to the royal camp (*ordu-yi vālā*). *Those commanders and the warriors of the royal army, who had shown exemplary valor, were distinguished with the gift of robes of honor and other presents.* [*Nazm.*]

SOME MIRACULOUS THINGS: The next day, which was Wednesday, the first day of Ramazan,[a] his majesty personally took part in the siege, but (792) although he very much wanted to fight, the rebels did not have the courage to come out of the fortress. His majesty turned to the bank of the river [Amu] and sent men to the eastern side of the Jayhun, in order to punish any enemies of the state whom they might find there. When the men sent across [the river] returned, Qaraqalpaq warriors under the command of Köchenek Biy came and petitioned [his majesty]: "If his majesty grants permission, we will, trusting firmly in divine assistance and the power of his majesty's auspicious star, rush to the city wall with the purpose of storming it. We sincerely hope that, thanks to the blessedness of this just purpose, victory will favor us, and we will conquer the town." When a city or province is conquered by force, it is evident that many people from both sides perish and bloodshed is unavoidable. By reason of his majesty's great kindness and perfect humanity, and probably being inspired by the angel of felicity and having a sign from the holy spirits [of his ancestors], he did not give his permission for this act, *and said the following*: "Although it is clear and evident to wise and discerning people that the star of achieving this purpose and the planet of attaining this target has risen from the east of pure intentions and from the horizon of propitious determination, yet there is no advantage in rushing this thing. So, in accordance with the saying '*Everything in its due time*',[b] [the assault] should be postponed until its time [comes]. God willing, the time will soon come when, thanks to the spring of divine favor and the breeze of boundless grace, the rosegarden of [your] desire and the meadow of [your] wish will find new fame and limitless beauty with the blossom of the flower of the town's conquest, without any trouble and worry." In accordance with [the proverb] "*People blessed by fortune are inspired*",

[a] 18 September.
[b] Arabic proverb, lit. "Affairs are connected with their time."

these inspired words of his majesty, which were truly *miraculous, (793) were indeed in accord with the divine decree, and the conquest took place, as will soon be recorded*. [*Mathnavī*.]

On the evening of the 3rd of the month, which was Friday evening,[a] an order was issued from the sublime court, by which Allah Nazar Mergen, a younger brother of Khal Muhammad Khan, was to go to the town *under cover of darkness* with a number of soldiers and attack the inhabitants of the town (*ḥiṣār ahli*) by night, so that the people of Aral might be awakened out of their unheeding sleep and remember the might of the royal army and the blows of the ever-victorious soldiers, and become aware that they are wandering on the road of stupid delusion. In accordance with the order, those so assigned rushed to the city wall, and one of that party, named Er Niyaz Kel, *who was a daring and intelligent soldier*, together with several more brave warriors, climbed the wall (*ḥiṣār*), *killed seven or eight men* who were guarding the towers and ramparts, took some of their clothes as booty, created panic among the rebels, shouting the *takbīr* from the ramparts, and then came down from the wall (*qalʿa*) and returned to the royal camp. (794) His royal majesty rewarded them with precious robes of honor and copious gifts. [*Qiṭʿa*.]

On that day news was received that the Yomuts of Gürgen had come to help the Sufi, and that they had heard about the siege when they reached the At-guzar[902] and had turned back, so Qandïm Sardar was sent to punish them. The details of this are as follows. As mentioned before,[b] the Yomut Turkmens, who belong to the Turkmens of Khorasan, are called Choni-Sheref and Qara-Choqa.[903] Several men from this tribe came to Aral to trade and earn money. Töre Sufi sold them the daughter of Qurban Bek Biy, together with forty [other] girls, in exchange for eleven horses, and, when he let them go back to Gürgen, he told them: "I will give two girls to everyone who comes here to help and to serve as a soldier (*nökerlik ṭarīqasï bile*)." When those impious and ill-omened people brought the girls to Khorasan, [the rumour about] the Sufi's request and promise spread among the Turkmens. More than two hundred scoundrels and ruffians from among the Gürgen Yomuts, relying upon this promise and hoping for good trading, loaded camels with

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[a] 20 September.
[b] See above, p. 140.

wheat and rice, and prepared to serve the Sufi, and set out for Aral. When they emerged from the desert, they stopped at the southern side of the At-Yolï crossing. Incidentally, before that (795) several falconers (*qushchi*) of the great prince (*amīrzāda-i aʿẓam*) Muhammad Nazar Bek (may his felicity be everlasting!), together with the falconers of the prince Muhammad Yusuf Bek, son of Fazil Biy, had come from the city [of Khiva] and stopped there, and the Yomuts came across them. Those abject vagrants heard from the falconers that the royal army was besieging the vicious enemy, *became frightened*, jettisoned their load, which consisted of wheat and rice, on the Ereng-qïr, *and fled*. [At that time] two Qaraqalpaq soldiers of the [Khivan] troops were going to their tribes on some urgent business and, while they were crossing the At-Yolï, they saw the Turkmens on the plateau (*qïr*). They turned back and brought this news to the servants of the sublime court. Qaraqalpaq warriors were sent by boat to the At-guzar, by the royal order, to investigate this news. On their way they heard that it was allegedly a Manghïshlaq caravan going to Khiva, and they returned without checking this information. The next day, which was Friday, the 3rd of the month [of Ramazan],[a] the news [about the Turkmens] was confirmed, and [the khan] sent Qandïm Sardar with a party [of soldiers], in which everyone was selected out of an [entire] detachment, to pursue the Yomuts. Those so assigned crossed the At-Yolï and set off in pursuit. After riding very fast, in four days they found the traces of the rebels at the Iltije well. After having lined up his ranks, Qandïm Sardar assigned *several experienced soldiers to guard the banner (*baydaq*) [*Bayt*], (796) and himself, with the rest of the warriors [*Mathnavī*], attacked the enemy. Fighting with their swords and muskets (*tufang*), they killed and wounded many Turkmens and captured all their camels and pack animals (*ulagh*). The rebels retreated to the well and built a fortification of brushwood and earth around it.* Since the well was in the hands of the Turkmens, and the ever-victorious troops had little water and no fodder for horses, while the desert was frightful, it was extremely difficult to remain there. Satisfied, therefore, with the victory they had already won, they turned back.

On Saturday night, the 4th of the month,[b] informers (*munhī*) (797) reported to the servants of the royal court that a number of scoundrels

[a] 20 September.
[b] 21 September.

and ruffians from among [the people of] Aral would go at night, by boat, to the river (*rūd*) of Tallïq and bring grain and fodder from the fields of that region. Therefore Muhammad Niyaz Gerchek, Berdi Bahadur, and ʿUbaydallah Khoja, with a number of warriors, were sent against the ruffians of Aral. Those so assigned set up an ambush at the Tallïq at night, killed or captured everybody who came to the fields, returned to the august camp, and were rewarded with robes of honor and copious favors.

How his royal majesty was honored with the pilgrimage to [the tombs of] the holy saints Hakim Ata and Sayyid Ata (may their graves be hallowed!).

His majesty had the noble custom and pleasing habit of *always making pilgrimages to the tombs and halting places (*qadamgāh*) of the holy men* in every country he would go to, whether for travel or conquest, in accordance with the saying: "*He who visits the tombs is indeed visiting the prophets.*" Following this established custom, on Sunday *he made a pilgrimage to the tombs of the holy saints Hakim Ata Sulayman and Sayyid Ahmad known as Sayyid Ata and set out to Baqïrghan. He arrived at the holy site at the most propitious time and the most happy hour. Achieving the happiness of having the honor to perform the pilgrimage to the two tombs, (798) he sought help from their holy spirits. Finally, the gates of acceptance were opened before his majesty, and he was exalted with the honor of submitting his request*. I, the humble author, Shir Muhammad with the pen-name of Munis, the writer of these lines, was present standing humbly at that holy place, and I observed (*mushāhada qïldïm*) that the nobles and the great, who were honored to be at that holy assembly and who rubbed their foreheads on the portals of prayer, were so immersed in ecstasy, that there was none among them who did not fill the treasury of his heart with the jewels of the holy presence [of the shaykhs] (*ḥuẓūr*).[a] *And this humble [author] wrote a poem on this occasion [*Qiṭʿa.*] (799) His royal majesty gave copious alms to the attendants and servants of the holy place, and also granted cultivated lands (*mazāriʿ*) to the *vaqf* of the saints. Then he set out and returned to the royal camp.*

[a] Possibly play on words with the Sufi terms *mushāhada* ("contemplation") and *ḥuẓūr* ("presence"); cf. Gramlich, II, 418–420.

On that day, while his majesty was on the pilgrimage, ʿUbaydallah Khoja, Tölegen Bahadur, Taylaq Bahadur, Jan Muhammad—Mulla Ishim Bay's son,—and Qarabash Bahadur, with the Qaraqalpaq troops, crossed the river [Amu], killed ten or fifteen people of Aral who were collecting fodder (*otchi*) and tilling the fields (*ekinchi*), and captured many prisoners. Having subjected that region to raid and plunder, they returned.

A description of the feast, which was so delicious that it would have made the ever-fasting angels wish to break their fast.

In accordance with established custom and ancient usage, on Wednesday, the 7th of the month, an order was issued from the sublime court to the grand vizier and the honored counselor, the administrator of the kingdom and [the Muslim] community, Muhammad Yusuf Mehter, to prepare [everything] by the evening prayer, which is the time of breaking the fast. Therefore the vizier very conscientiously carried out this order and, with the help of *Muhammad Riza (800) Qoshbegi* and Khojash Mahram, his majesty's confidant and retainer, arranged such a feast that [even] famous sultans and mighty khaqans would have become restless from hunger desiring to sweeten their palates with tasting [this meal], and so too the cherubs who endlessly fast in heaven would have wished to break the fast by trying this delightful drink. *The cooks prepared all sorts of delicious dishes and drinks, and the confectioners (*qannād*) made all kinds of sweets, and they piled up innumerable tasty fruits on silver trays and golden platters.* [*Rubāʿī.*] After the afternoon prayer, the dignified *ʿulamā'* and the mighty amirs, the pillars of the state and the closest nobles, the famous warriors and the most important people, all gathered at the royal enclosure (*sarāparda-i ʿizzat*) [*Nazm*], (801) and everyone sat down, each placed according to his dignity and rank. After the end of the evening prayer, to break the fast, adroit servants (*sharbatdār*) brought various drinks and served them to everyone, and gracious waiters (*khᵛānsālār*) spread gold-embroidered tablecloths for everybody, nobles and commoners alike, and they filled the square of the royal court (*ṣaḥn-i bārgāh*), like the space of paradise, with all kinds of delicate dishes, and all sorts of sweets and drinks, and all varieties of delicious fruits. [*Mathnavī.*]

(802) The same night, after the meal and the reception of the guests were finished, Yar Muhammad Bek Qosh-Küprüki came from

the royal capital, Khiva, and brought a letter from the Bukharan ambassadors. Be it known to the respected people who would read this history (*vaqāyiʿ*) that all exchanges of ambassadors and letters between Mir Haydar Padishah, the ruler of Bukhara, and the servants of the imperial court had long since been entirely discontinued. Since the sun of the khan's felicity *had been rising from day to day*, Mir Haydar Padishah had become ashamed and repented his hostility and enmity and wanted to use some pretext to remove the bad relationship between the two states. As a pretext he used an invitation to a great feast [which he intended to make] for his son[a] at that time, and he sent his amirs, Uraq Bay Chura-aqasï Manghït and ʿAvaz Muhammad Yasavulbashi, as ambassadors to Khorezm, bearing a message of friendship (*ikhlāṣ-nāma*). They arrived at Khiva, the royal capital, at the beginning of Ramazan.[b] (803) *The khan's deputy*, the great amir Qutlugh Murad Inaq, had them stay in the city and dispatched the above-mentioned Yar Muhammad Bek, one of his servants, to the sublime court with the letter sent by Mir Haydar. On the aforementioned night, the bek had the honor of kissing the royal threshold and submitted that letter through the *maḥram*s. The letter contained the expressions of friendship and amity. One young man named Haydar Sayyid, a great traveler, came with Yar Muhammad Bek. He brought the news that Muhammad Niyaz Mirab, the elder brother of this humble [author], as well as Adina-Quli Atalïq, Muhammad Niyaz Sardar, Shaykh Nazar Khalifa, and two more men, all of whom had been missing in the terrible disaster which befell the late khaqan Eltüzer Muhammad Khan, and of whom no signs had been found indicating whether they were alive or dead, were [in fact] in captivity among the tribes of Uyshun and Bahrin of the Middle Horde (*yüz*) of the Qazaqs, and he (Haydar Sayyid) submitted this information on them. Now we hope for the royal favor of his majesty, that he, in his kindness and mercy to his slaves and to the helpless, will have a search made for them, and perhaps, owing to the blessing of august felicity, the expectations of their kinsmen will be rewarded and the hearts of their children and brothers will be gladdened with their re-appearance which will bring joy [to their families].[c] [*Nazm.*]

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[a] I.e. the feast of circumcision.
[b] After 18 September.
[c] Neither Munis nor Agahi mention later whether this rumor was confirmed.

(804) The next day, which was Thursday, before noon, [the khan] left the fortification (*senger*) at Kunjud-Yarma *and set up his camp* and built a fortification (*senger*) on the bank of the river [Amu], at the head of the Yengichke [canal], which was at the distance of about one mile from the town, in order that the rebels come under greater pressure from siege. On that day the people of Aral were utterly seized by fear and terror, and several leaders of the Achamaylï and the Kök-Üzäkli, which are the major clans of the Qongrats, secretly sent a man to the royal court (805) with the following message: "Due to divine predestination and the vicissitudes of adverse fortune, some [of us, your] humble slaves and corrupt sinners that we are, have long had no option but to follow the vicious orders of those two wicked Sufis, that is Khoja Murad Biy and Töre Murad Sufi, and we have been walking on the path of rebellion and wandering in the desert of sedition. However, in these happy days, when (praise and thanks be to God!) the august army of his imperial majesty, guided by his ever increasing felicity, has filled the air of this country with the dust [thrown up by] its arrival, his ever-victorious banner casts its [protective] shadow over our heads. *Bayt*: 'This shadow is indeed the shadow of a phoenix, good fortune will be with those who find a place under it.' Having realized, with the guidance [granted to] the far-sighted mind, the intrinsic value of the mighty empire, we have left the path of wickedness and ignorance. Repenting the crimes perpetrated, we clutch at the skirt of [his majesty's] forgiveness with the hand of humility, and we rub our foreheads in self-abasement at the threshold of [his] favor. If the page of our rebellion and the record of our desertion are crossed out with the pen of forgiveness, and the sun of [his majesty's] favor brightens our dark existence with the rays of [his] clemency, we sincerely hope and firmly trust that we will expiate our sin, with the assistance of the ever-conquering dynasty and with manifest victory, by stripping the wicked Sufi—whose name[a] is a misnomer—of the clothes of life and send him to the way of the dead. Now, our petition and supplication for the imperial majesty's generosity is the following: *let our eyes be brightened and let our sad hearts be gladdened* by his sending us a letter of favor (*'ināyat-nāma*)."[b]

[a] I.e. "Sufi."

[b] The Qongrat leaders are requesting a letter granting them amnesty.

His royal majesty (806) was kind and munificent by his very nature, and therefore he, naturally, disregarded the new crimes and old sins of that community and, as requested, showed them his benevolence by granting a letter of favor (*ʿināyat-nāma*). The aforementioned group was very proud to have received this letter, and they trusted it; they girded themselves with the resolve to kill the Sufi, and they waited for an opportunity [to do so]. By a happy coincidence, during the time of siege Töre Murad Sufi, out of extreme malice and envy, could not see the khaqan's magnificence nor his majesty's grandeur; as [the saying has it] "*When the fate comes, sight is blinded*", and so the dust of vanity covered the eyes of that ingrate and ruined his power of vision.[904] Therefore, most of the time he would not go out *but would sit in seclusion*. On Saturday, the 10th of the month [of Ramazan],[a] which was the time when that wicked and blind man's sun of life set, *an order was issued by the khan* to Karim-Berdi Atalïq and ʿAbdallah Inaq to go to the town, to besiege it and to guard all entrances and exits. Those so designated went to the town, and Karim-Berdi Atalïq, with the Uyghur troops, were assigned the section (*buljār*) from the western and northern sides of the town and prevented passage in or out, while the amir ʿAbdallah Inaq and ʿAbd ar-Rahman Bek, with the troops of Hazarasp, were assigned the southern section of the town and lined up their ranks on the melon-ground, on the bank of the [Amu] river. Thereupon, in order to dig the moat in the places where it had fallen into ruin, that villainous rebel, out of fear and having no option despite his ruined vision, came out of the town with the people of Aral, and setting out, indeed, for his death, went to the battlefield and lined up his ranks opposite ʿAbdallah Inaq, along the edge of the moat, which was connected with the river. (807) He ordered the unmounted men who were with him to dig the moat at the same place where Muhammad Karim Qoychi had crossed it with his soldiers in the previous battle, as mentioned above. He ordered [his men] to bring there Subhan-Berdi Jarchi Ish-Quli—whose son Muhammad Niyaz had captured the horse and the arms of Dosat Bek and come to the sublime court and who had therefore been tortured and imprisoned—and had him put to sword in full view of ʿAbdallah Inaq, so that it would serve as an example and a lesson to the malcontents

[a] 27 September (Friday).

among the people of Aral and would show the khan's ever-victorious army his valor and toughness. He was unaware that, having shed the blood of that innocent man, he was bound to be punished for this villainous act in accordance with [the words]: "*He who kills will be killed*". At that moment the sound of muskets and war-drums came from the western gates, from the direction of Karim-Berdi Atalïq, and [Töre Murad] sent Tawqara Bek, his second son, and Soyun Biy, with trustworthy people under their command, to the western gates. Before they reached the gates, the leaders of the Achamaylï and the Kök-Üzäkli seized this opportunity, and Khuday-Berdi Bajban, who had been a trusted servant of Töre Sufi but joined the elders in this affair, showed his dexterity and was the first to strike the Sufi's side with a lance. And ʿAli Bek Atalïq Kök-Üzäkli, who was sitting next to him, shot him in the head with a musket that he was holding. Bekim Atalïq Kök-Üzäkli, together with Khuday-Berdi Bajban's son Taji Murad, cut off his head and went [with it] to the sublime court. [*Qiṭʿa.*]

(808) When ʿAbdallah Inaq came to the city wall, Qïlïch Inaq, who had set out on a hunt and stopped at the other side of the crossing,[a] became aware of what was happening and also joined ʿAbdallah Inaq. Together they set up the standard on the gates of the inner wall (*ichkari qalʿa*) as a sign that they had stopped, waiting his imperial majesty's order on the course of further action. Karim-Berdi Atalïq, however, being unaware of this happy event, was busy lining up his ranks. At that moment Jumʿa Niyaz Durmen, who, at the time of the Sufi's murder, had fled with Dosat Bek, the elder son of the Sufi, to the northern side of the town, killed one of Dosat Bek's servants, brought his head, and told Karim-Berdi Atalïq the news about the Sufi. The aforementioned atalïq entered the city with his troops through the western gates and ordered his troops and the Aral subjects (*raʿāyā*) to seize the malevolent rebels, the Sufi's assistants and the accomplices. Consequently a great tumult began, during which an ambassador from Bukhara named Zahir Khan, who had come to the town, together with Töre Bek Qïyat, on the previous night, was killed together with four or five rebels.

After the Sufi's head was presented to the servants of the sublime court, his royal majesty first of all dispatched his younger brother, the great prince Muhammad Nazar Bek, to guard the city, and set

[a] Not clear what crossing is meant here.

out himself with great pomp and splendor after him. (809) *He stopped* near the moat at the south side of the town, on the bank of the river [Amu]. The ever-victorious troops, detachment after detachment, entered the town by all the gates, and they plundered and destroyed the estate (*ribāṭ*) of the Sufi, together with the neighboring households of the subjects, whether good or bad. This incident was reported to his majesty, and he appointed *Muhammad Yusuf Mehter, Muhammad Riza Qoshbegi, Yar Muhammad Divanbegi*, and Khojash Mahram, with a group of trusted and upright people, to prevent the ever-victorious troops from looting, to protect the property and households of the subjects from pillage, and to seize Sufi's harem, property, and treasury; and a royal decree was issued to *the great prince Muhammad Nazar Bek* to cooperate with the aforementioned persons and to carry out his majesty's august order. Finally, the prince, together with all the others appointed for this task, halted the plunder and pillage by the ever-victorious troops, and calmed and comforted the people and subjects of Aral with the announcement of his majesty's pardon and favor. They confiscated the Sufi's property and treasury and brought them to the royal court. A number of the leaders and notables of Qongrat,[a] who had been devoted supporters of Töre Murad Sufi and inveterate enemies of the august dynasty, were brought for execution.[905] Among them was Ötep Bay, who was the second after the Sufi among the leaders of Qongrat. Some time earlier, his royal majesty, out of his benevolence and kindness, had sent a messenger to him with (810) a letter of conciliation (*istimālat-nāma*). That rebel of ill-omen, out of his extreme viciousness and ignorance, had rejected this written offer of conciliation (*vathīqa-i istimālat*),—which was, in fact, a diploma for good fortune and a decree for happiness,—had brought the messenger to the Sufi and made that unfortunate man suffer a martyr's death. [Now] his royal majesty, out of his innate generosity and kindness, acted in accordance with [the saying] "*The best forgiveness comes from those who are truly powerful, and forgiveness is alms given by the victory*", and, respecting the kinship ties [of Ötep Bay] with the amir Muhammad Riza Qoshbegi and accepting the intercession of Shah Niyaz Ataliq,[906] forgave his crimes and granted him a decree guaranteeing his safety (*amānlïgh yarlïghï*). The same way *he also pardoned the other culprits*. [*Qiṭʿa.*]

[a] Or "of the Qongrats."

The *yasaqchi*s opened the Sufi's dungeon, released the prisoners, who had spent years there in fetters, and brought them [to the khan]. His royal majesty, in his infinite kindness, exalted them with his favors and, in accordance with [the words] "*And he will return to his family joyfully*",[a] sent them promptly to their homes. Among them was Muhammad Panah Bay, a notable of Yumri-qalʿa; he had been captured by that vicious tyrant seven years previously and had been sitting in the dungeon [ever since]. The other ones were the two sons of Chong Qara Biy Keneges, who had been fettered and imprisoned for five years, (811) as well as two younger brothers and the wife of Hasan Bay Biy, who had been suffering this misfortune for three years. Similarly, [the Sufi] had imprisoned the respected wife of the martyred Khuday-Berdi Bek in the dungeon, despite the fact that she was his relative, as well as several other women, with their necks in chains and their legs in fetters; all of them were released and, after being granted royal favors, were handed over to their relatives. [*Nazm.*]

When the Sufi was killed, a number of the enemies of the state, whose crimes were very numerous, *fled in fear and terror, and dispersed in all directions*. Among them were: Dosat Bek, Töre Murad Sufi's son, with three men; Soyun Biy; Tawqara Bek, Töre Sufi's son, with four men; three Yomut rebels—Janek Kör, Khuday-Berdi, Aman, and Allah-Quli, headed by Sultan Murad Bek;[b] and four or five of the Sufi's servants. Having divided themselves into three groups, they fled. [The khan] dispatched a great number of ever-victorious troops in pursuit of them. [Then] he entrusted the protection of the city gates to Karim-Berdi Atalïq, Khuday Nazar Atalïq, Qïlïch Inaq, Muhammad Riza Inaq, and [other] great amirs (*umarā-yi ʿiẓām*), (812) and went to the august camp. He transmitted the Sufi's head, together with the victory proclamation (*fatḥ-nāma*), to Jahangir Bek ibn Hasan Murad Parvanachi Qanglï and the son of Khuday-Berdi Bajban and sent them to Khiva, the royal capital. ʿAbdu Karim Bek Nayman, who, during the affair of Ish Muhammad Bek, had escaped death by flight, was captured, together with his younger brother, and brought [to the khan]. [In revenge] for the

[a] Qurʾān, LXXXIV,9.

[b] In the autograph the name Aman was added in the margin, but the number of the Yomut rebels in the text (three) was not changed; it is not clear, whether Sultan Murad Bek was also a Yomut.

blood of Oraz ʿAli Inaq, they were handed over to Khuday Nazar Bek, son of Kuchuk Inaq, and this bek killed them both to avenge his elder brother, and thus he found a new life, in accordance with the [Qurʾān's] dictum "*In retaliation there is life for you, oh men possessed of minds*".[a]

On Sunday, sixty notables of Qongrat, who were the well-wishers of the Sufi, headed by Ötep Bay and Ish Muhammad Akhund, as well as Qurban Bek, the elder brother of Soyun Biy, together with the dependants and relatives of Soyun Biy, were deported to the protected city of Khiva. At that time several of the best warriors from the environs of Aral who had served the Sufi, such as Sultan Keneges, Töre Bek Qïyat, Khuday-Berdi Qïyïq Khoja-eli, Jumʿa Niyaz Durmen, and others, were taken into his majesty's service, while their dependants were resettled to the city [of Khiva]. On that day, Shah Niyaz Qaraqalpaq with seven men, of the troops sent to pursue the fugitives, overtook [the party of] Sultan Murad Bek, killed two Yomuts with their companions and brought their [severed] heads, but brought Sultan Murad Bek and Allah-Quli Yomut alive. Qalandar Bek, Yakhshïlïq Biy's son, together with several *nökers* of Berdi Bahadur, overtook Tawqara Bek and Soyun Biy, and these, in fear of their lives, went into a lake and hid themselves in the reeds. The warriors captured their abandoned horses and arms and returned. As to Dosat Bek, (813) he crossed the Tallïq and the river [Amu], went to the Qazaq-Darya; from there he turned to the Kök-Üzäk, crossed it at the Tash-guzar crossing, and went to Bukhara.

On Monday, the 12th of the month,[b] highly skilled and masterful secretaries wrote proclamations of the victory (*fatḥ-nāma*), and they were sent with swift ambassadors to all surrounding countries. Among them, Quvanch Bek, one of the Chowdur nobles, was sent to Manghïshlaq; Mulla Ishim Bay was sent to Qaratay Khan son of Nur ʿAli Khan, the ruler of the Tabïn tribe, which belongs to the Qazaq people in Dasht-i Qïpchaq;[907] Allah-Berdi Khoja and Jan Muhammad, Mulla Ishim Bay's son, were sent to ʿAbd al-ʿAziz Khan—Ghayib Khan's son, the ruler of the Chekli tribe (*ulus*) on the banks of the Sïr, and Jan Nazar Biy, as well as to Sultan Timur Khan, the ruler of the Chomekey tribe on the banks of the Quban.[908]

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[a] Qurʾān, II,179.
[b] 29 September (Sunday).

Among this people (i.e. the Qazaqs) there were many captives from the regions of Khorezm; [the khan] demanded also that these captives be released.

The same day [the khan] appointed the amir Muhammad Riza Qoshbegi to demolish the city wall (*qalʿa*). Consequently, he divided the pillars of the wall (? *qalʿa arkāni*) between the Aral subjects (*raʿāyā*), and they worked with great ardor, and in three days this wall, which encompassed a space that could accomodate as many as 20 thousand tents (*öylük*),[a] and which was so tall that it boasted of reaching the sphere of the zodiac, was demolished and destroyed, so that it could be appropriately referred to with the [Qurʾānic] expression "*[We turned] it uppermost nethermost*".[b]

By a happy coincidence, Tawqara Bek, who was the most outstanding among the sons of Töre Sufi, after having lost his horse and arms, came out of the reeds and, together with his companions, wandered for several days until, overcome with fear, he separated from his companions and, being unable to follow any road, went (814) wherever the fate would lead him and came out near the town. Extremely afraid and anxious, he sought a refuge at the dwelling of Sayyid Jaʿfar Khoja, a descendant of Sayyid Ata. The Sayyid informed ʿAbdallah Inaq of this, and the inaq seized him at the house of the sayyid and brought him to the royal court. This happened on Tuesday. The wrathful khan decided to demolish the edifice of his life, and, to avenge Er Niyaz Bek, he handed him over, together with Sultan Murad Bek, to Baltash Bek, son of Bay Nazar Biy and Er Niyaz Bek's nephew. After the execution of Khoja Murad Biy, Er Niyaz Bek had gone to Qongrat to demand [that Töre Murad Sufi] submit to his majesty, had been put in Töre Murad Sufi's dungeon, and had died a year later. *Now Baltash Bek killed these two men.* Riza Bek—the younger brother of Muhammad Safa Bek, Jumʿa Niyaz Bek—son of Hasan Murad Bek, Sarïgh Chowdur, Manghït Biy, Khuday-Berdi Biy, and Allah-Quli Yomut were similarly sent to the desert of destruction. [*Shiʿr.*]

The next day, at sunrise, (815) his royal majesty went for a hunt together with the amirs, crossed the river [Amu] and engaged in hunting to the east of the town of Qongrat. [*Nazm.*] At mid-day he returned from the hunt, crossed the Jayhun, *and arrived at the

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[a] Or 'families,' 'households.'
[b] Qurʾān, XI,82, XV,74.

royal camp*. The same day Qandïm Sardar returned after utterly defeating the Yomut rebels, and had the honor of kissing the royal threshold. He offered appropriate gifts out of the booty brought by him and was distinguished with the grant of infinite royal favors. The same day the news was received that the Qazaqs had come and besieged the Qaraqalpaq people (*ulus*) who lived on the Yangi-Darya. Aydost Biy, the governor of Aq-Yaqïsh, was sent to help these people and to punish the Qazaqs. The explanation of this event is as follows.

As was mentioned earlier, after the conquest of [the region of] the Yangi-Darya, the Qaraqalpaqs who had lived in that region migrated and moved to the banks of the Kök-Üzäk and the Amuya, as ordered [by his majesty]. Some people of this community, under Aman Jan Biy Khitay, went to the Yangi-Darya to summer pastures (*otlaq va yaylaq*) in spring (816) and settled in the environs of Hasan-qalʿa. News about this reached the Chomekey tribe of the Qazaqs, which was an old enemy of the people of the Yangi-Darya, and Sultan Timur Khan and Burkut Bay Biy assembled an immense army of Qazaqs and sent it to the Yangi-Darya at the beginning of [the month of] Mīzān.[a] When the Qazaq troops arrived in the Yangi-Darya region, they raided the people who were on the summer pastures and killed or took many of them prisoner, while the rest ensconced themselves in Hasan-qalʿa, dug trenches around it and occupied themselves defending it. The Qazaq army besieged them for several days and engaged in battles with them twice daily. Once during this period, the Qaraqalpaqs took counsel together, found a swift horse, had an adroit young man mount it, and sent him in the direction of Aq-Yaqïsh to bring news [of the siege] to the royal court. This young man, trusting in God, came out of the fortress, spurred on his horse, passed through the Qazaq troops "*Like a dazzling [bolt of] lightning and a violent wind*"[b] and went off. The Qazaqs pursued him till Kök-tepe, which is one and a half stations (*manzil*)[909] away from Teng-Yar-bashi, but were unable to catch him and turned back. The next day, before dawn, this young man came to Aq-Yaqïsh and brought the news to Aydost Biy. Aydost Biy sent Okubay to the servants of the imperial court to report the incident,

[a] September.
[b] An Arabic saying.

and was charged to deal with this important matter. On his majesty's orders, therefore, Aydost Biy took 500 warriors from Aq-Yaqïsh and set out for the Yangi-Darya. In the meantime, after the news had reached the khan, the Qazaq troops became frightened and offered a truce, and it was decided that 200 families (*öylük*) of the Qazaqs (817) should come and live among the Qaraqalpaqs, while 200 families from the Qaraqalpaqs would join the Qazaq *ulus*, in order that this truce be strengthened by such an exchange. The Qaraqalpaq simpletons were deceived by this fraudulent truce and sent 200 of their families to the Qazaqs. The Qazaq troops broke the truce, plundered and took those unfortunates into captivity and hastily returned to their own *yurt*. Aydost Biy arrived at the Yangi-Darya two days after this event and sent an advance party (*ilghār*) after the Qazaqs. The party went as far as the Quvang, but could not overtake the Qazaqs and returned. Aydost Biy had this tribe move off and assigned them places of habitation in the environs of Aq-Yaqïsh.

When, by divine favor, the town of Qongrat was captured by the servants of the imperial court and the affairs of Aral were entirely settled, his majesty appointed two servants from his august retinue, Muhammad Niyaz Gerchek Bahadur and Berdi Bahadur, as joint governors of Aral, having distinguished them by granting them the title of *biy*. They belonged to the Achamaylï and Kök-Üzäkli tribes and had come from Aral accompanying Khoja Murad Biy, and after the execution of the aforementioned biy had been promoted from the lowliest of ranks to the highest dignity, the rank of commander (*sipahdārlïq*).[910] Khuday-Berdi Bajban, who had rendered valuable service in killing "the Sufi without a guide (*Sūfī-i bī-pīr*)," was appointed as their partner and companion (*sahīm u sharīk*) in all financial matters (*dakhl va kharjda*), and the notables of Qongrat were shown honor and gladdened with robes of honor (818) and all kinds of gifts. [*Qiṭ'a.*]

On Wednesday, the 14th of the blessed month [of Ramazan],[a] [the khan], perfectly successful and happy, set out from Qongrat under the wings of divine protection and went back. After the midday prayer he stopped in the locality of Tumarlï. There Soyun Biy attained the honor of kissing the ground [before the khan] and was pardoned for his crimes. The circumstances of this are as follows. After Soyun Biy had lost his horse and arms and parted from Tawqara

[a] 1 October (Tuesday).

Bek, he could not go by any road and, having lost his way, came to a ruin and hid there. At that time one of his acquaintances came across him, and Soyun Biy sent him to Qïlïch Inaq imploring [his] intercession. After Qïlïch Inaq had heard about this, out of respect for their clanship ties (*urughdashlïq*), he asked the sublime court to pardon [Soyun Biy] and, having obtained a letter of conciliation (*istimālat-nāma*), sent it to Soyun Biy with trusted men. Incidentally, before they reached [Soyun Biy], the younger brothers of Soyrï Biy, who had also been assigned to pursue Soyun Biy, came upon him and seized him. They brought him to the troops on the march (*qosh*) and asked Shah Niyaz Atalïq for permission to kill him in revenge for Soyrï Biy. (819) The atalïq reminded them about the letter of conciliation (*istimālat-nāma*) sent to him by his royal majesty and forbade them to take revenge. He took him from them and sent him to Qïlïch Inaq. Qïlïch Inaq sent him, accompanied by his (Qïlïch Inaq's) nephew, Muhammad Jan Bek, to the imperial court. His majesty showed him his favor and pardoned his crimes. At the same place the khan let Muhammad Niyaz Gerchek Biy and Berdi Bahadur Biy go to Qongrat, having ordered them to establish the ways of equity and justice and regulations to prevent sedition. The khan also granted their *nökers* (?) to Muhammad Karim Qoychi Atalïq,[a] who had demonstrated his self-sacrifice in the aforementioned battles, and bestowed upon him the rank of a commander (*sipahdārlïq mansabïn*). The khan also showed royal favor to Oraz Bahadur, son of a Qïyat noble (*akābirzāda*), who had long previously fled from the Sufi and had come to the imperial court, appointed him to the post of *biy* in place of Soyun Biy, and sent him back to Aral.

The next day, which was Thursday, [the khan] set out from Tumarlï, and moved for five days, under divine protection, as swiftly as the fast travelling moon, and on Monday, the 20th of the month,[b] arrived at the imperial capital. *The joyous shouting and benedictions of the inhabitants of the royal capital deafened the court of heaven.* [*Rubā'ï.*] (820) Famous scholars and eloquent poets *compiled *qaṣīda*s, chronograms, and letters of congratulation (*tahniyyat-nāma*) on this occasion, and received precious gifts from the khan*. Among them, it would be proper to quote here a *qaṣīda* by Mirza Masiha-yi Bukhari, together with his chronogram, as well as a *qaṣīda*

[a] The sentence in the original is not quite clear.
[b] 7 October.

by Mulla Vays Niyaz Zirek, written to eulogize this victory. [*Qaṣīda* by Mirza Masiha (820–824). Chronogram on the conquest of Aral (*Tārīkh-i fatḥ-i Aral*) by the same author (824–825). *Qaṣīda* by Zirek, in imitation of one by Nava'i (825–829).] Zirek submitted this *qaṣīda* on the night of the Festival [of Breaking the Fast],[a] and was rewarded with a festive gold-embroidered robe. This humble [author] also wrote poems in imitation of them,[b] composing several minor pieces,[c] among them—four chronograms on the killing of the Sufi. [*The first tārīkh is the following* (a chronogram in two verses).] [*The second tārīkh* (829–830). *The third tārīkh* (830–831). *The fourth tārīkh* (831–832).] And on the occasion of the conquest [of Aral] three chronograms were compiled [by the author]. [*The first tārīkh* (832–833). *The second tārīkh* (two verses).] The inspiration for this [third] chronogram came to the author on the day that Qongrat was conquered. By a marvelous coincidence, on the day that the victory proclamation (*fatḥ-nāma*) reached the royal capital Khiva, my noble teacher Nusrat ad-Din Sayyid Muzaffar Khoja Mutavalli invented the same chronogram.[d] [*The third tārīkh.*] (834) On the eve of the festival, when I was honored with kissing the royal threshold, I submitted these chronograms quoted above to the khan, together with a splendid *qaṣīda*, the beginning of which contained a description of the festival. *Thanks to my good fortune and lucky star, the poems were received by the khan[e] favorably*, and he distinguished and singled out this humble [author] with [the gift of] royal favors and august largesses and granted me two healthy and valuable slaves, who were husband and wife. [*Qiṭ'a.*] This *qaṣīda* is given below (834–844).

As to the notables of Aral and the warriors, who, in accordance with the decree, left [Aral] and became the servants of his majesty,[f] each of them was granted vast cultivated lands (*mazra'a-i vasī'*) out of the royal domain (*arāżī-i khāṣṣa-i sulṭānī*), in order that these people, with their dependants, might settle in those pleasant places contented and live in peace and tranquility, unaffected by the vicissitudes of time.[911]

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[a] 1 Shavval 1226/18 October 1811.
[b] In imitation of Nava'i, not Zirek.
[c] Lit. "potsherds."
[d] I.e., he compiled the same expression showing the date, which is contained in the last hemistich of Munis (*'ashar shahr-i ṣiyāmī*).
[e] Lit. "by the servants of his majesty."
[f] Lit. "servants at the august stirrup."

A description of measures taken [by the khan] after his return to the imperial capital.

The first event which occured after the khan, with divine assistance, achieved the conquest of Aral and returned to the capital, was the following. Hubbi[912] Niyaz Bek, son of Sayyid Nazar Biy, a paternal cousin of the Sufi, at the time of the Sufi's killing went into hiding, [then] followed the royal army and managed to reach Khoja-eli, where he had the honor to kiss the threshold of *his holiness Tursun Khoja Ishan*. The latter took the trouble of going to the royal court to intercede for him, and on Wednesday night, the 28th of the blessed month [of Ramazan],[a] he held a conversation with his royal majesty, giving his majesty the pearls of his advice and admonition, with pure faith and sincere intentions. (845) Due to the intercession of his holiness, his majesty forgave the crimes of Hubbi Niyaz Bek, *granted a pardon for him and his family, and relieved him from fear of persecution. On the same occasion the khan, upon the intercession of the same khoja, pardoned the sin of Mulla Dawlat Nazar—who, when his father Orun Bay Biy had fled in confusion and fear to Bukhara,[b] had been imprisoned because of this—and honored him with royal favors. So too, at the request of his holiness, all prisoners, who were imprisoned in the dungeon in chains of misfortune for the crimes they had perpetrated, were released and set free.

Another [event] was as follows. On the day of the Festival [of Breaking the Fast],[c] two noble amirs, Bek Balta Mirab Nokuz and Niyaz Muhammad Divanbegi, who had been servants of the late martyred prince Hasan Murad Bek (may God illuminate his grave!), went to the region of the Saghcha well (*quduq*)[913] intending to hunt with falcons, and did so. Suddenly, like divine punishment, Teke robbers came out of an ambush and captured them. The explanation of this incident is as follows. The rebels of the Teke tribe had occupied Merv and lived there. Several rascals from that tribe, instigated by Qurban Niyaz Pallachi, had set out towards Khorezm bent on highway robbery. In the region of Saghcha they took those [two] hunters as their prey, then hastily turned back and did not stop anywhere until they reached the region of Merv. The news of this inci-

[a] 15 October (Tuesday).
[b] Cf. above, pp. 330–331.
[c] 18 October.

dent was confirmed three days after the festival. Because of the fact that five days passed since this happened, it was useless to send men in pursuit, and therefore nobody was sent. (846) Because Niyaz Muhammad Divanbegi's origin and lineage (*aṣl va tamūr*) were somewhat obscure, some learned men jokingly compiled a chronogram on his capture [saying:] "A base man became a prisoner of a goat" (*badraǧ asīr-i taka shud*).[a]

Another [event] was as follows. During the audience (*körünüsh*) on the day of the festival, his majesty, the khaqan, granted the Bukharan ambassadors, Uraq Bay Mirakhur and ʿAvaz Muhammad Yasavulbashi, the honor of kissing [the royal] carpet and bestowed a precious robe and a gold-ornamented belt upon each of them. Along with the ambassadors he dispatched Hasan Murad Atalïq, to congratulate Mir Haydar Padishah with the feast (*toy*) [of circumcision of his son], and Qandïm Sardar, to announce the happy news about the conquest [of Aral], with a letter of congratulation (*tahniyat-nāma*) and the proclamation of victory (*fatḥ-nāma*), [respectively], and sent them to Bukhara. After the end of the festival, he sent Abdal Khoja Bekabadi, with a *fatḥ-nāma*, as ambassador to the Teke in Akhal, ʿAshqabad, and Qïzïlribat, who were adorned with the collar of obedience. As for the Turkmens who lived in the regions of Tezhen, Murghab, and Sarakhs, who consisted of the tribes of Teke, Sarïq, and Salor, and especially the Teke of Merv, who, tempted by the devil of haughtiness, showed their vagrants' legs under the skirt of propriety and, intent on rebellion, pulled their heads out of the collar of obedience,—for the purpose of admonishing them, [the khan] sent Javanmard Khoja, a descendant of his holiness Sayyid Ata, as an ambassador, with the proclamation of victory (*fatḥ-nāma*) and a threatening letter (*siyāsat-nāma*), so that they should [again] adorn their neck with the collar of submission and obedience, and reject sedition, in accordance with [the words] "*Whosoever does evil shall be recompensed for it*".[b] [*Qiṭʿa.*]

(847) Yet another [event] was as follows. Having sent the ambassadors, *on the first day of Shavval,[c] the khan dispatched the great amir Qutlugh Murad Inaq to Aral, to administer certain affairs of state, and the amir Muhammad Riza Qoshbegi*, to collect *zakāt* and

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[a] Tribal name Teke means 'goat' in Persian. The sum of numerical meanings of letters in this phrase is 1226.

[b] Cf. Qur'ān, IV,123.

[c] 18 October.

the indemnity (*māl-i amān*) there. Within a short time both of them finished their business as desired, returned to the capital and came to the khan.

Yet another [event] was as follows. *His royal majesty has always taken great care to restore destroyed dwellings and rebuild demolished buildings. He decided therefore to restore Manghït-qal'a on the bank of the Atalïq-arna, which had lain desolate and in ruins and had become the haunt of beasts and the demons of the desert (*ghūl-i biyābān*) for eleven years, since 1215 A.H.,[a]—from the time of Oraz 'Ali Supaq, at the end of the rule of 'Avaz Inaq. After the conquest of Aral, he resettled the people of Manghït, who, suffering from the hardships of exile in that country, had already acquiesced in their misfortune, but had been weeping, longing for their [previous] homes.* He had them move off to their own town, and they went there in great joy and happiness. (848) On Thursday, the 15th of the aforementioned month, *the khan appointed, as the governor of the Manghït *ulus*, Dosïm Bahadur, one of the select Manghïts who had rendered good service to this dynasty*. Similarly, he gathered the Nokuz of Aral, who, because of the vicissitudes of time, had been dispersed to various regions of the [khan's] well-protected kingdom, and assigned them a *yurt* on the banks of the river Sarïmay.[914] He appointed Hakim Niyaz Bahadur as their governor, granting him a patent for the rank of a biy (*biylik yarlïghï*). Hakim Niyaz had long previously chosen exile because of the tyranny of the Sufi and had come to the royal court, and now he was promoted from the lowest of ranks to the highest dignity. And as a governor of the Naymans of Aral, who had lived in Kuyuk-qal'a, in the environs of the Sevgenli, and *had dispersed in all directions* because of the oppression of Töre Murad Sufi, but had gradually been gathering together in great numbers for the preceding two years, [the khan] appointed Tashim Bahadur Nayman, who had also avoided serving the Sufi and had come to the royal court, and he was [now] rewarded by being granted the title of *biy* (*biylik khiṭābi*). Finally, due to his majesty's felicity, these aforementioned three tribes (*yurt va el*), *reached prosperity* within a short time. [*Naẓm.*]

(849) And another [event] was as follows. *His majesty was always punctillious about the matters of the *sharī'a* and religion*; therefore,

[a] 1800/01 A.D.

in the same month, he selected *several theologians and jurists*, promoted them to appropriate distinguished posts, and appointed all of them to various regions, so that they might properly enforce the *sharīʿa* and promote [the well-being of] the Islamic community, and strive to eliminate unlawful and wanton things, so that all the subjects who were entrusted to them by the Creator, would live in peace and tranquility. [*Qiṭʿa.*] Among them, *Sayyid Shams ad-Din Khoja*, a sayyid of Khoja-eli and a grandson of Qïzïl Khoja, was relieved of his post of *raʾīs* of Hazarasp and appointed the *muftī* of Khoja-eli, *while Sayyid Asghar Khoja, son of Pirim Khoja Ishan*, was appointed a *mudarris* at the madrasa which had been built the same year near the mausoleum of his father. (850) Baba Makhzum, *a grandson of the late ʿAyd Muhammad Ishan*, was appointed in his (i.e. Shams ad-Din Khoja's) place as the *raʾīs* of Hazarasp. Damulla Muhammad Nazar Qongrat Qosh-Küprüki, who had been qazi and *raʾīs* of Besh-Ariq, was appointed *raʾīs* of Qongrat, while Yar Muhammad Akhund Khoja-eli, who had been *raʾīs*[a] of Shahabad, was appointed the qazi of Aral. In their places, Damulla Yusuf Qataghan was appointed to the post of qazi and *raʾīs* of the region (*navāḥī*) of Besh-Arïq, and the post of *raʾīs* of Shahabad was conferred upon Damulla Muhammad Sharif Hazaraspi. The *raʾīs* of the city of Urgench and [that of] Khanqah, Saʿd ad-Din Makhzum—son of the late Muhammad Zahid Akhund,—and Damulla Niyaz Muhammad Khivaqi, with whose behavior the people were discontented,[b] were released from their duties, and in their places Muhammad Ghafur Akhund Urgenji was appointed *raʾīs* of Urgench, and Damulla ʿAbdallah Yazdi Khanqahi was honored with the post of *raʾīs* of Khanqah. ʿUbaydallah Akhund Manghït was appointed qazi and *raʾīs* of the Manghït *ulus*.

Since knowledge of the recitation of the Qurʾān is a duty and religious obligation, because without it it is impossible to correctly perform prayer, which is the major pillar of the edifice of Islam, and since at that time most commoners and nobles were content with the inexpert way of recitation (*qirāʾat-i ʿajamī*),[c] and nobody

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[a] Lit. "who was busy with the affairs of *iḥtisāb*."

[b] It is not clear, whether the people were discontented with both, or only with the second one.

[c] Apparently, the word *ʿajamī* (lit. 'Persian') is used here in its figurative meaning 'inexpert,' 'semi-ignorant,' 'inadequately trained.'

wanted to acquire a correct method of reading, *his majesty payed a special attention to the value of this noble science (i.e. *qirā'a*). He brought Muhammad Sharif Qari, who was uniquely expert in the science of recitation in his epoch and unequalled in his time, from the city of Urgench, which was his usual residence*, appointed him as head of the Friday mosque of Khiva, (851) and ordered that this venerable man, after finishing the recitation of the Qur'ān, should teach the rules of this noble science and share the beautiful enunciation of the [correct] sounds with the students every day. [The khan] also appointed a group of the reciters of the sacred Qur'ān from memory (*ḥāfiẓ*) to the *mausoleum of his holiness Pahlavan Mahmud* (may his grave be hallowed!), where his royal majesty had just then finished the renovation of the shrine (*ziyāratgāh*), the madrasa, and the lofty *khānqāh*, at his own expense (*öz amvāl-i khāṣṣasidin*), in order that this group [of memorizers] should recite the word of God in this blessed place and *gladden the holy spirit of the saint with this reward*. And he assigned a food-store from the royal domain (*anbār-khāna-i khāṣṣadin*), to satisfy their needs without trouble and vexation. He also *bestowed royal favors upon Hajji Muhammad Qari, who was a successor of Imam ʿAsim and the deputy of his holiness Nafiʿ in the science of recitation and reading of the Qur'ān, but, being paralyzed, suffered from the infirmities of age* [*Mathnavī*], freeing him, together with his dependants and children, from all mundane worries, (852) and, in his extreme generosity, assigned him a place to live in one of the rooms in the royal precinct in the citadel (*ärk ḥiṣārida ordu-yi humāyūn ḥujrātidin*), near the mosque (*masjid-i sharīf*). On Wednesday, 12 Zu'l-Qaʿda 1226 A.H.,[a] his majesty himself took a lesson in the science of the recitation from his excellency. In a short time, he mastered this noble science to perfection and would have amazed the "seven readers" themselves with his beautiful enunciation of all the letters.[915] Therefore, in accordance with [the saying] "*The people follow the example of their king*",[b] all the princes, the amirs, the servants of the court, the commoners and the nobles, showed a great zeal in studying this science, to the extent that all the encampments and settlements were filled, like mosques and madrasas, with [the sound of] the rules of recitation of the holy Qur'ān

[a] 27 November 1811.

[b] A spurious *ḥadīth*; see Ismaʿil b. Muhammad al-ʿAjluni, *Kashf al-khafā' wa muzayyil al-iltibās*, Beirut, 1351/1932–33, vol. I, p. 311, No. 2790.

being repeated [loudly], and the uproar from the discussion of the rules of the recitation in the city and in the countryside reached the court of heaven and delighted those who praise [God] at the Further Mosque.[a] According to the august order, *Damulla Muhammad Safa*, who was teaching at the Madrasa-i Chubin and held the post of a *muḥtasib* (*manṣab-i iḥtisāb*) of the royal capital, appointed knowledgeable reciters of the Qur'ān (*qāri'*) at the mosques and *khānqāh*s in [all] the neighborhoods and communities (*maḥallāt va kentlar*), and they would teach the noble science [of *tajvīd*] to the whole population, which until then had been unable to acquire the proper [way of] recitation because of various impediments of that time. When his majesty finished [the study of] this science, in his great generosity, he rewarded his excellency the *qāri'* and singled him out among his contemporaries by granting him gold-embroidered robes of honor, money beyond counting, pleasant dwellings (*manāzil*), lovely fields (*mazāri'*), high-priced servants (*khuddām*), and beautiful female slaves (*javārī*), and also granted him, with all his dependents and (853) relatives, a decree for the status of *tarkhān* (*tarkhānlïgh yarlïghi'*)[916] adorned with the red seal (*āl tamghā*).[917] [*Mathnavī.*]

Yet another [event] was as follows. Oraz ʿAli Supaq, who, as described above, at the end of the rule of the late ʿAvaz Biy Inaq rebelled, killed Masaw Biy, and brought about the disintegration and dispersion of the Manghït *ulus*, served the Sufi for a long time, but in the end bad luck affected himself; he lost the Sufi's favor and for a while (854) lived in want and misery, but before the royal army set out for the conquest of Qongrat, he fled from Qongrat to Bukhara, and when, on his way, he stopped near Aq-Yaqïsh, Aydost Biy had him stay with him. When, in the middle of Zu'l-Qaʿda, Aydost Biy came to the royal court with the elders of Aq-Yaqïsh, he brought [Oraz ʿAli Supaq] with him, and when Aydost Biy returned, [Oraz ʿAli] remained in Manghït with Dosïm Biy. After the end of the Festival of Sacrifice,[b] Dosïm Biy, in accordance with [khan's] order, sacrificed him and two his sons, and handed over one of his sons to the avengers of Masaw Biy, so that vengeance was brought upon him. [*Bayt.*]

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[a] This is a reference to *al-Masjid al-Aqṣā* (Qur'ān, XVII,1), that is, "Heavenly Mosque."

[b] 10 Zu'l-Hijja 1226/25 December 1811.

How his royal majesty married [the woman] concealed behind the curtain of chastity.

Since the mercy of God made it lawful and even imperative to have a number of wives—as God, the most High and Exalted, said: "*Marry such women as seem good to you*",[a] his royal majesty sought to conform to the order "*Marry repeatedly*",[b] and the phoenix of his desire cast the shadow of felicity upon the fortunate head of the [woman, who was like a] happy tree in the garden of Töre Murad Biy and a precious jewel in his casket of chastity, and who was concealed behind the bridal curtain of harem and the enclosure of virtue.[918] According to the sublime order, the servants of the royal court furnished the supplies for a [wedding] feast (*toy*) and prepared everything for a nuptial banquet (*sūr*). [*Nazm.*] (855) The whole world offered its congratulations, and the heaven strewed the flowers of jewels as *nithār*[919] at the hem of the khan's robe. The waiters of felicity spread out the table-cloth of joy, and the cup-bearers of happiness offered the cups of pleasure to the nobles and the common people alike. [*Fard.*] *Everything was prepared which one could possibly desire for joy and delight, and every conceivable game and entertainment took place everywhere.* [*Bayt.*] (856) *The cup-bearers were constantly filling gilded cups with ruby-colored wine, and from all sides, from which sound was audible, [*Bayt*] could be heard the pleasing sounds of harps.* [*Nazm.*]

How preparations were made for the campaign to Dasht-i Qïpchaq, and how it became necessary to punish the Qazaq people.

** The tribe of Chomekey, whose numbers exceeded those of raindrops and the leaves of a tree, usually had their summer pastures on the banks of the Yayiq and the Atil, and their winter pastures on the banks of the Sïr and the Quvang. At the beginning of the reign of Muhammad Amin Inaq, this tribe raised Er ʿAli Khan, Abu'l-Khayr Khan's son, to be their monarch, and lived peacefully under his protection. After the death of Er ʿAli Khan, (857) dominion passed, in turn, to his sons, and under them the wealth and

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[a] Qur'ān, IV,3.

[b] *Ḥadīth*; see ʿAbd ar-Ra'ūf al-Munāvī, *Fayḍ al-qadīr*, Beirut, 1391/1972, III, 269, No. 3366.

well-being of this tribe increased. In accordance with [the words] "*Surely Man waxes insolent, for he thinks himself self-sufficient*",[a] they trespassed the limits of permissible[b] and started to rebel. At that time, Sultan Timur Töre, a son of Er ʿAli Khan and a younger brother of Bölekey Khan and an accomplice in the evil deeds of that tribe, and indeed the cause of the rebellion, became their khan, and their sedition continued in the Dasht for a long time. With their robberies they closed the Yangi-qalʿa[c] and the Irdar roads, often plundered the caravans from Mavarannahr, Khorezm, and Russia, and killed or captured many innocent people. In particular, beginning with 1223 A.H.,[d] when for three years there was famine everywhere and the poor and helpless began to go in all directions in search of daily bread and to leave their countries, the news of this disaster spread among the Chomekey and Chekli, and three or four times every year robbers and rascals from these tribes commited highway robbery in the environs of Üch-Uchaq, Tive-Boyun, and Khal-Ata,[920] captured many poor and helpless Muslims from Khorezm and Bukhara who were travelling trying to find livelihood, and kept them as slaves. Not content with this, they began to bother and molest the people who lived in the borderlands of Khorezm. After his royal majesty conquered Yangi-Darya and resettled the population of that region, Sultan Timur Khan, Katta Bay Biy, Burkut Bay Biy, and others, set out with hostile intentions with a numerous party of Chomekey scoundrels (858) in the direction of Khorezm. After this party passed the Yangi-Darya, in the region of Tawqara they raided the people who came there from the Yangi-Darya, captured numerous prisoners and livestock and returned. How they came to the Yangi-Darya during the siege of Qongrat and what they did to the Qaraqalpaqs, has already been mentioned above, so that there is no need to repeat it.[e]

When Aydost Biy resettled that [Qaraqalpaq] tribe and came back, the Qazaqs began to act in an arrogant and haughty way, with total disregard of the law, and they established their winter pastures and habitations in the Yangi-Darya region, which had been added to the well-protected kingdom [of Khorezm]. [*Bayt.*] Such unbecoming

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[a] Qur'ān, XCVI,6–7.
[b] Lit.: "of human nature."
[c] I.e. Orenburg.
[d] 1808/09 A.D.
[e] See above, p. 378.

behavior by this despicable hostile group looked improper to his royal majesty, and, to punish them, he resolved upon a campaign to Dasht-i Qïpchaq. At that time, the Teke rascals, from among the Turkmens of Merv, overstepped their own limits and committed improper acts, which made the chastisement of this tribe more urgent than the punishment of the Qazaqs. A campaign against Merv was therefore decided upon, and the ever-victorious army was ordered to prepare for this campaign. At that time Hasan Murad Atalïq and Qandïm Sardar, who had gone to Bukhara with an embassy, as mentioned above, returned from Bukhara with Ya'qub Qurchi-begi Manghït and Kal Yasavul, ambassadors of Mir Haydar Padishah, and (859) were received at the sublime court. These ambassadors submitted [a letter] from that monarch expressing his loyalty and concord, in which he referred to his royal majesty [the khan] as elder brother and to himself as younger brother, and they presented precious gifts and gold-embroidered robes from [Mir Haydar]. His imperial majesty, sincerely wishing to perfect the friendship, revealed his intention of punishing the Qazaqs first and then the Teke. Following [the Qur'ān's injunction] "*And take counsel with them in the affair*",[a] he sent Berdi Bek, son of Khuday-Berdi Inaq, who had been honored with the title of *inaq* in place of his father, to Bukhara, to obtain the advice [of Mir Haydar] on those two matters, having attached him to the aforementioned ambassadors. When Berdi Inaq arrived at the royal court of Mir Haydar Padishah, the latter treated him with honor and respect, and, overcome with pride because his advice was sought, pledged to punish the Teke himself and guaranteed that he would demand the restitution of all property and prisoners from Khorezm that were in the hands of the Teke rebels and would send them to the [khan's] royal court. He wrote a letter of sincere friendship (*ṣadāqat-nāma*) in this sense and sent [two ambassadors] to the imperial capital Khiva, to accompany [the returning] Berdi Inaq: Sayyid Musa Khoja Uraq[921] Mir Kulali, *a descendant of Mir Kulal and a prominent *ṣadr* of Bukhara*, and Bay Muhammad Chura-aghasï Manghït, who was also one of his trusted men. On the day of the Festival of the Sacrifice (*Īd-i Aẓḥā*),[b] they were honored to receive an audience with the khan and submitted the expres-

[a] Qur'ān, III,159.
[b] 10 Zu'l-Hijja 1226/25 December 1811.

sion of loyalty and concord of the ruler (*vālī*) of Bukhara [as written] in his letter of friendship (*ṣadāqat-nāma*). (860) His royal majesty therefore heeded the request of the monarch of Bukhara, cancelled his plan to punish the Teke, and decided to go ahead with the punishment of the Qazaqs. At that time Jan Muhammad, son of Mulla Ishim Bay, came with the Qazaq ambassadors and reported about the revolt of Sultan Timur Khan.

The explanation of this event is as follows. As mentioned above, the said Jan Muhammad had been sent as an ambassador to Dasht-i Qïpchaq with the proclamation of victory (*fatḥ-nāma*) and the demand to return the Khorezmian prisoners. He found the tribe of Chomekey on the banks of the Quvang and the Yangi-Darya and handed over the royal decree to Sultan Timur Khan and the *töre*s and *biy*s of the Chomekey tribe. Sultan Timur Khan and the sons of Bölekey Khan, despite the fact that their younger sister *was in the harem of his royal majesty*, disregarded this family connection and, impelled by the traditional Qazaq wickedness (*sharārat-i Qazaqiyyat-i ʿurfī*), did not obey [his majesty's] august order. Transgressing the limits of propriety, they uttered some insulting words and failed to show due respect to the ambassador. They sent Allah-Berdi Khoja, who was Jan Muhammad's companion, to the Qazaqs of the Middle Horde (*yüz*) with [this message]: "If that people submits to his royal majesty, we will also obey, and if they do not, neither will we." Quran Bahadur and Burkut Bay, who were prominent biys of the Chomekey tribe, had come, with the people subject to them, to the Yangi-Darya and had been wintering in the environs of Hasan-qalʿa. They did not agree with such impropriety of Sultan Timur Khan and (861) gave him the following advice: "Let us send [our] ambassador along with that ambassador, for the sake of peaceful appearances, and until the ambassador returns, you will finish the preparations for the exchange on the border of [your] people (?), and [then], without worry, can simply do whatever you wish."[a] The khan liked this advice, and, with the biys' approval, he dispatched Burkut Bay Biy's son and several elders along with Jan Muhammad and sent them to the royal court. When the ambassadors arrived, Jan Muhammad reported on the events which had taken place. Thereupon the khan became infuriated and had the ambassadors seized and lodged

[a] The sentence in the original is not quite clear.

into the dungeon. [*Bayt.*] And a royal command was issued to the ever-victorious troops, ordering that every two or three men take one camel and one camel-load of baggage (*partāl*), and that each camel be loaded with two water-skins and provisions for two months, and that they gather in the vicinity of Qïpchaq.

THE REMARKABLE EVENTS OF THE SEVENTH YEAR OF HIS MAJESTY THE KHAQAN'S AUSPICIOUS ACCESSION.

How the royal banners moved to Dasht-i Qïpchaq, how the Qazaq rebels were shattered, and how the ever-victorious army captured plentiful booty and returned with good fortune.

**** (862) When preparation for the campaign was finished, *his royal majesty [*Nazm*]* Muhammad Rahim Bahadur Khan (may God make his reign everlasting!) appointed *the great amir Qutlugh Murad Inaq [*Shi'r*] to protect the kingdom (863) as his deputy*, and on Monday, 12 Muharram 1227 A.H.,[a] corresponding to the end of the Year of the Sheep and the first day of the Khorezmian [month of] Ḥūt, set out from the royal capital *and camped in Mayli-chungul*. The next day, on Tuesday, when he arrived at the Atalïq-arna, the Qaraqalpaq warriors killed a Turkmen raider from Gürgen and brought his head. The explanation of this incident is as follows. When the ruffians and scoundrels from the Turkmens of Gürgen suffered a crushing defeat at the Iltije well (*quduq*) at the hand of Qandïm Sardar and lost their pack animals (*ulagh*) and provision, they suffered great hardships and some of them died on their way back, while the rest returned to their habitations half dead. [Then] a number of villains from that tribe, intoxicated with the desire [for booty], scratched their impudent heads with the fingernails of sedition and set out for Khorezm to raid one of its regions. They moved quickly, and raided a Qaraqalpaq tribe in the vicinity of Khoja-eli. The Qaraqalpaq warriors however came from all sides and utterly defeated the Yomuts. As a

[a] 26 January 1812 (Sunday). From here to the end of the part written by Munis the days of the week mentioned by him are consistently one day ahead; it looks like he switched to the era based on "civil" reckoning (from 16 July 622 A.D.), but it could also be the result of this first erroneous date, on which all the subsequent ones were based.

sign [of their victory] they brought one head to the servants of the royal court and were rewarded by his majesty with infinite favors. On Wednesday his royal majesty set out from the Arna and set up his camp at Qïpchaq. An august order was given to *<Muhammad> Yusuf Mehter and Muhammad Riza Qoshbegi* (864) to carry the ever-victorious troops, without delay, across the river [Amu] by boats, which had been assembled there beforehand, by royal command, from the lower and the upper courses of the river. On Friday, 16 Muharram,[a] his majesty, under God's protection, crossed the river [himself] *and set up his camp* on the bank of the river under the eastern side of Chilpuq.[922] In this place he stayed for four days, until the ever-victorious troops crossed the river, and engaged in falconry and hunting. [*Mathnavī*.]

During this stay, Qapan Bay Bahadur,—a younger brother of Aman Bay Biy of the Middle Horde (*yüz*) of the Qazaqs,—who was a powerful amir and a *noyin* of that *ulus* equal to a king, came as an ambassador from his elder brother, accompanied by Allah-Berdi Khoja. He had the honor of kissing the royal threshold and presented a swift-flying falcon (*shunqar*) and nine horses[923] [to his majesty]. He also handed in a petition from his elder brother expressing his obedience and submission and was rewarded with favors. By royal order, (865) he was accomodated at the *ribāṭ* of the late Eltüzer Muhammad Bahadur Khan and received a stipend and provision (*vazīfa va ʿalūfa*) from the royal treasury (*sarkār-i khilāfat*). Sultan Husayn Töre, known as Chong Sultan, the third son of Bölekey Khan, also came, sent by Sultan Timur Khan, on the pretext of seeing his brother. He was instructed to see, *whether, as was probable, the khan had abandoned the revenge intended; [if so,] then well and good; otherwise he was to send a message [to Sultan Timur Khan] immediately*. When Chong Sultan left the Qazïlï[924] road and approached the vicinity of Chilpuq, he understood what was happening and at once sent back two of his servants to inform Sultan Timur Khan, while he himself was honored with kissing the ground at the sublime court. The informers (*munhī*) reported that he had sent men to warn the Qazaqs, and the khan sent men in pursuit. Those so assigned captured the men sent by Chong Sultan on their

[a] 30 January (Thursday).

way and brought them back. After interrogating Chong Sultan, his royal majesty sent him, together with his servants and companions, to the city [of Khiva] and assigned men to guard him.

On Tuesday, the 20th of the month,[a] at dawn, [the khan] appointed *Muhammad Riza Qoshbegi* to [command] the advance-guard (*muqaddima-i sipāh va harāvul-i lashkar*) of the ever-victorious army, gave him Töre Bek Qïyat, Mulla Dawlat Nazar, and Taylaq Bahadur as guides (*ghacharchi*), and sent him towards Qazïlï. He moved [the rest of] the ever-victorious army after them, and late in the morning stopped at Qatïgh-Aghach sands. The next day, at dawn, when the ever-victorious army set out, pitch-black clouds covered the sky, just like the dust raised by the marching troops, (866) the moon and the stars were hidden, like puppets behind the curtain, [as the Qur'ān expresses it:] "*Hidden behind the veil*",[b] snow began to fall through the sieve of the cloud, and it became very cold. [*Nazm.*] The ever-victorious army, going by the Qubash road to Qazalï, crossed the Teng-Yar-bashi ford and on Friday, the 23rd of the month,[c] stopped at the beginning of the Qaqma-Süksavul road. On that day a young man from the Keneges tribe, from among the Qaraqalpaq captives, came [to the army], having fled from the Qazaqs, and it became clear from his account that the Qazaqs were still unaware of the approaching royal army. At that place Aydost Biy joined the royal army with 500 brave Qaraqalpaq warriors and was honored with a royal audience. He presented nine times nine gifts and had the honor of their being accepted [by his majesty]. On Saturday, before noon, the sinister sky became pityless, the air became thick as candy from the extreme cold, the water of the river became as steel-bound from frost as a tyrant's heart, the rush of the north wind slapped the world with its chilling hand, and the gusts of the west wind struck the universe with its frosty swords. [*Mathnavī.*]

(867) On Sunday, despite the fact that the cold had become even more severe than the previous day, his royal majesty (868) moved on, and when they passed the thicket of Qaqma-Süksavul,[925] they came to the steppe which was vaster than the sky and flatter than a mirror. [*Nazm.*] This steppe is known as Aq-Taban-taqïr. When they approached it, on their left hand, which was the western side,

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[a] 3 February (Monday).
[b] Qur'ān, XXXVIII,32.
[c] 7 February (Thursday).

there was an elevated ridge (*qol*)[926] named Aq-qïr, and its foot was connected with Börichi-senger. On this steppe many horses and camels perished because ground was slippery and the cold extreme, and most of the troops suffered frost-bite on their hands, feet, noses and ears. One of his royal majesty's blessed cheeks and the edge of one of his ears were frost-bitten too. And there was a rumor that two men died of cold on that steppe that day. Before the evening prayer, [troops] stopped at Kök-tepe sands, which look like a mole on the surface of the aforementioned steppe, and the royal tent was pitched at the southern edge of these sands. From there they set out [later] and for two days advanced [only] slowly, because of the cold, upon the Chertekli [plateau], (869) and on Tuesday evening arrived at Chaghïllï. The next day, Wednesday, the royal army set out from there. That day the cold abated somewhat. Late in the morning they left the sands, crossed the Yangi-Darya upon the ice, and stopped at the foot of the Yakhshi-Qashqa-tepe. When the sun was setting [*Bayï*], [the khan] drew up the army and the advance-guard and sent Qandïm Sardar, Panah Bahadur Qongrat, Dawlat Nazar Yüzbashi son of Orun Bay, Sultan Keneges, and Töre Bek Qïyat, with ten men, towards Hasan-qalʿa on reconnaissance. Those so assigned seized two men in the vicinity of Yaman-Qashqa, captured more than a thousand horses, and returned before midnight. From the captured men they learned that the Qazaqs were close and remained unaware of the approaching ever-victorious army. But one companion of the captured men had escaped and fled, and brought the news to his tribe at midnight. *The Qazaqs were alarmed by this news*, and they took to flight, one *küren* after another, and one clan after another.

That night, at dawn, this humble writer had the following dream. All the pack animals and horses of the ever-victorious army were going south, loaded with firewood, (870) and his royal majesty was rushing on a swift horse trying to keep the army under control. At that moment I noticed a millstone lying on the road. It began to split into pieces of its own accord, until it disappeared entirely without doing any damage. In the morning I related this dream to several learned men camped close to my party (*qosh*). They interpreted it as follows: the firewood represents the desired booty and spoils; God willing, after his royal majesty defeats the enemy, he will ride the steed of his desire, and, thanks to his felicity, all the troops, including us, will obtain plenty of booty; and the stone which crumbled

on the road represents the cold: it too will disappear, and we will return without suffering from it. *This interpretation of my dream came true very soon.*

The next morning, which was Thursday, the 19th of the month,[a] *when the sun rose*, his royal majesty appointed a number of reliable men to guard the royal camp (*ordu-yi ʿālī*) and commanded [to the rest of the army] to move on, to stop at Hasan-qaʿla and wait there for new orders. He drew up the ever-victorious army, arranged the amirs and the commanders (*sipahdār*), with their own *tümen*s and *qoshun*s,[927] in flanks (*qol qol*) and detachments (*dasta dasta*), and gave the order that everyone move off with his flank and detachment, maintaining the place assigned to him. He appointed the amir Muhammad Riza Qoshbegi and his younger brother, Muhammad-Quli Bek, with ever-conquering troops, to the advance guard and battle outposts (*harāvulliq va qaravulliq*), and dispatched (871) the rest of the army behind them. When they passed Hasan-qalʿa and the sun was at the zenith, they overtook the rear of the Tübet clan of Burkut Bay's tribe, which was on the move (*köch*), plundered and took them prisoner. After this, in accordance with the order, each commander, with his detachment, took a separate road, and they began plunder and pillage. In this way they advanced very quickly, and when the royal army passed Orun-Bay-qalʿa,[928] they reached the main party of the fleeing Qazaqs (*Qazaqniŋ ulugh köchi*) and even the tribes and *aul*s which lived [on their winter pastures], and raided them. At that moment Soyun Biy, who had been in the khan's service after the conquest of Qongrat and had been promoted from the lowliest point of abasement to the highest degree of felicity, broke through, ahead of everybody, together with his relatives, into the moving party, dispersed the Qazaqs, brought a string of nine camels, with their loads and trappings, and presented them to his majesty. His majesty showed him even greater favor and bestowed the gift which he brought on [Soyun Biy] himself. Having rushed in pursuit of the fleeing rebels, [the Khivan troops] killed or captured many of them, and by afternoon prayer *arrived* at the Qopa-Arïgh sands, which are at a distance of two stations (*manzil*) from the Quvang-Darya. [The khan] ordered the sounding of the *nafīr*s and *karranāy*s,[929] so that the conquering troops which had dispersed in all directions

[a] Erroneous date; read: the 29th of Muharram (12 February, Wednesday).

to raid and plunder should regroup under the ever-victorious banner. The ever-victorious troops, which, divided in groups and detachments, were pursuing the fugitives in this boundless steppe and plundering and capturing the Qazaqs from all the tribes, gathered to the ever-victorious banner by the night prayer from all directions, heavily loaded with booty. (872) One party of Yomuts went one station ahead of the royal army, and attacked the fleeing enemies, killing and plundering. At sunset they overtook a large group of Qazaqs, fearlessly attacked them and began the pillage. When *the rebels* saw that their children and women were going to be captured by the enemy, they were overwhelmed by the sense of Qazaq honor (*ḥamiyyat-i Qazāqiyyat*), and all of them together attacked the Yomuts and joined battle. One of the Qazaq warriors wounded Qaqa Sardar on the shoulder with a lance. Despite this wound, Qaqa Sardar, with the help of the Yomut warriors, knocked this bold fellow off his horse and killed him,[a] and they defeated the enemies of the state. It is told that Ayten Töre, one of the sons of Bölekey Khan, was wounded by the Yomuts in this battle and had to use a clever ruse to escape death. From this place the Yomuts returned to the royal army with numerous prisoners and countless booty.

On that day Ata Niyaz [from] Baghlan, a *nöker* of Hubbi-Quli Khoja known as Khoja Jan Khoja, was killed. This happened as follows. The said Ata Niyaz, together with Sayyid Mansur Khoja, the younger brother of Khoja Jan Khoja, enthusiastic about plundering the rebels, went in a certain direction. At that moment Salaq Bahadur, son of ʿAbdallah Sardar Ala-Buluk, and the Chowdur *nökers* came up and joined them. All of them together pursued the Qazaqs at full speed, overtook them, and began to plunder their property and livestock. (873) It so happened that the number of Qazaqs was more than two thousands, while these [warriors] were not more than thirty. Therefore the Qazaq party turned around and attacked them furiously. Salaq Bahadur withdrew, putting into practice the words [*Bayt*:] "It is foolish to fight an army which is more numerous than yours," while the aforementioned Ata Niyaz, *in the excitement of the battle, continued fighting and knocked down many Qazaqs with his sword*. The Qazaqs shot [arrows] at him, wounded him and knocked him off his horse. Sayyid Mansur Khoja saw this, chased the Qazaqs

[a] Lit.: "knocked down . . . from the horse of life to the ground of abasement."

away by successive attacks, and carried Ata Niyaz off the battlefield. [*Nazm.*] After they broke off from the Qazaqs, Ata Niyaz gave up his soul to God. That night Sayyid Mansur Khoja (874) brought his body to the royal army and handed it over to his clansmen.

On that day the ever-victorious troops captured plenty of booty and innumerable prisoners, including more than 100,000 sheep and more than 40,000 camels; and from this one have some idea about the rest of the booty. There were 500 virgin girls among the prisoners, and from this one may estimate the number of other prisoners. The daughters and harems of Jantu Töre and Ayten Töre, sons of Bölekey Khan, were also captured. One wife of Burkut Bay Biy and his young son were also taken prisoner.

At sunrise, his royal majesty sent a man to the army with an order to continue the pursuit of the Qazaqs. But the great amirs and the distinguished nobles, headed by Shah Niyaz Atalïq, came to the royal court and respectfully said the following: "The rebels have received due punishment and probably even more. Those who have escaped are dispersed and wandering in this boundless desert. It will be useless for the royal army to pursue those vagrants through this vast steppe. It would be consistent with the [royal] felicity, if [the khan] were to return now happily to the royal capital and thus show his favor to the subjects." Therefore his majesty cancelled the advance intended and sent a messenger to the royal army with an order not to go beyond Hasan-qal'a. At that moment a news came that the sons of Quran Biy, with the clan of Jïldïr, had ensconced themselves in the rear.

The explanation of this event is as follows. Quran Bahadur, who was the head of the clan of Jïldïr, (875) had wintered with his clan at a distance of one *farsakh* south-east of Hasan-qal'a. His clan had gone ahead to the banks of Quvang, to the royal camp (*ordu*) of Sultan Timur Khan, as mentioned earlier.[a] When before noon his sons learned what was happening, they took off with the clan of Jïldïr and fled. To the east of Zanghar-qum, on the bank of the Kichkine-Darya,[930] which is a branch of the Yangi-Darya, they came across a group of soldiers from the ever-victorious army who had come there in search of livestock, and ensconced themselves.[b] The

[a] See above, p. 391.

[b] As seen from the following account, they formed a *küren* (see on it note 193).

soldiers besieged these people and sent a messenger to the servants of his royal majesty. When the news reached the khan, he sent Muhammad Niyaz Bek Mahram there with a big party, and himself set out before noon on the return journey. When he was close to Zanghar-qum, news came that the tribe of Quran had still not been conquered.[a] His majesty went there himself, *and soon the Qazaqs were defeated, and the ever-victorious troops entered their *küren*. [*Mathnavī*.] (876) All their men and women were taken prisoner, and their property, cattle (*abqār*), camels, and horses became the booty [of the Khivan troops]. But the sons of Quran Bahadur hid themselves, with great difficulty, in a thicket and escaped the gulf of perdition. His elder son, Ediku Mirza, was wounded in the head and captured, but, because of the negligence of his guard, (877) he escaped and fled. But, with the exception of Quran Bahadur's sons, all his other relatives were taken prisoner, so that their total number, including his younger brothers and their sons, exceeded twenty five.

After this victory, his royal majesty happily returned to the august camp. At that time three or four Qazaqs came across the royal army and were taken prisoner. During their capture, Babajan Bek, son of Sayyid ʿAli Bek Qïyat, who is a younger brother of *Allash Biy*, having overtaken one of the Qazaqs, was seizing him, when the latter, showing great dexterity, pulled out his saber and wounded the aforementioned bek in the right hand, with which he was holding his (Qazaq's) bridle. Allash Biy immediately came up, wounded the Qazaq in the head and captured him.

By the time of the evening prayer *his majesty came to the august camp at Hasan-qalʿa*. The next day, which was Saturday, the first day of Safar,[b] the prisoners were registered and entrusted to reliable men. At that time an ambassador named Toqtash Khoja came from the Qazaqs and brought a declaration of submission and apologies from Sultan Timur Khan and the biys. His majesty, prompted by his innate kindness, accepted their apologies and issued the following order: "You should demand the return of all prisoners[c] captured [by the Qazaqs] in [our] well-protected kingdom and from among

[a] Lit.: "not been captured."
[b] 14 February (Friday).
[c] In E: "property and prisoners."

the Muslims and get them back; then, God willing, we will extend our royal favor to the Qazaq prisoners and return them, in accordance with [the words] '*And he will return to his family joyfully.*'"[a] (878) He sent Toqtash Khoja back with this answer, and, after the mid-morning meal, set out from this place and camped to the north of the Yaman-Qashqa sands. The Qaraqalpaqs and some of the [Khivan] troops had avoided paying one fifth (*ghān*) from their booty and had gone by unknown roads to the shore of the [Aral] sea and to the Aq-Yaqïsh-Darya. [The khan], therefore, sent Allash Biy and Dawlat Qara Köz, together with collectors (*muḥaṣṣil*), as ferocious as Mars, to Aq-Yaqïsh to collect one fifth of the booty of those who had gone to these regions. The next day, Sunday, [the khan] rewarded the captured relatives of Jantu Töre and Ayten Töre with his favors, assigned them a tent (*khayma*) and provision for three or four days, and let them go happily.

Because of the abundance of booty, [the army] travelled for [only] one or one and a half stations (*manzil*) daily, and they moved towards Qashqaldaqlï-qaq. On Wednesday, the 5th of the month,[b] they stopped to the south of Maslahat-tepe. There Aydost Biy and the Qaraqalpaq elders were released and went to their home territories. On Thursday they moved further, on Friday they passed Qashqaldaqlï-qaq and came to the Ghazna road. Here snow had been falling for two or three days, and so the ever-victorious troops were saved the trouble of drawing water [from the wells]. On Saturday, the 8th of the month,[c] they stopped at Kökche-qïr.[931] Here Iskandar Arbab, together with a number of soldiers, lost their way and [later] reached the bank of the river [Amu] near Hazarasp, from the Sawqïlï [side]. From Kökche, the royal army set out and on Monday, (879) the 10th of the month,[d] they reached the region of the Old Kat and set up their camp on the bank of the Chalïsh channel, near the holy mausoleum of Shaykh ʿAbbas Vali (may his grave be hallowed!). The Amu's water had become ice-bound during the cold, but for two or three days before [the arrival of the army] the ice had begun to break up because of warm weather, and so it was impossible to cross the river at that crossing. However, it was reported to his majesty

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[a] Qur'ān, LXXXIV,9.
[b] 18 February (Tuesday).
[c] 21 February (Friday).
[d] 23 February (Sunday).

that the Chat-qal'a crossing was entirely free of ice and that, in addition, there were many boats (*kimā*) at the pier there. Therefore, on Tuesday they left the bank of the Chalïsh and came to Chat-qal'a.[932] Thursday, the 13th of the month,[a] was the Nawruz according to the custom of the people of Khorezm, and his majesty gave a New Year's feast (*toy-i nawrūzī*) and rewarded all the amirs and military commanders (*akābir-i lashkar*) with royal gifts. Bek Balta Mirab and Niyaz Muhammad Divanbegi, who, thanks to divine assistance and the royal felicity, had been released from captivity of the Teke and had come [earlier], had the honor to kiss the [royal] carpet on that day. Also the same day, *his majesty had his tent pitched at the crossing and stayed there*, while for four days careful reviewers (*'āriż*) were counting the ever-victorious troops, detachment by detachment and party by party; *the vizier* <Muhammad> Yusuf Mehter was collecting the *ghān* of one fifth of their booty and letting them cross the river, and *the amir* Muhammad Riza Qoshbegi was inspecting those who had crossed and registering their names. After the end of the review of the troops, his royal majesty presented the great amirs (*umarā-yi 'iẓām*) with countless livestock (*māl*) from the *ghān* [collected], and then, on Monday evening, the 17th of the month,[b] at the time of the night prayer, he crossed the river himself, and camped on this side of the Amu. (880) In the morning he appointed *Muhammad Riza Qoshbegi* to compensate, from the *ghān*, the men who had lost their horses and pack animals (*ulagh*) and to let the troops return to their homes happy and contented, in accordance with [the words of the Qur'ān] "*And he will return to his family joyfully*".[c] Late in the morning he set out, and, with divine protection, arrived at the city [of Khiva] at the time of the evening prayer. [*Qiṭ'a.*]

To describe this victory, *poets and learned men compiled *qaṣīda*s and chronograms, submitted them to the khan and were rewarded with precious gifts. Among them was Mulla Niyaz Muhammad*, who was one of the *dīvān*s and *munshī*s at the royal chancery (*dīvān-khāna-i 'ālī*) and who, having written a *qaṣīda* in Turkic (*alfāz-i turkāna*), submitted it to the khan, and his royal majesty granted him gifts according to his desire. It is true that, (881) to please the people

[a] 26 February 1812 (Wednesday).
[b] 1 March (Sunday).
[c] Qur'ān, LXXXIV,9.

(*ṭabāyiʿ qabūl uchun*), he wrote it in Turkic, but at the same time he provided an example of an elegant and graceful style. [*Qaṣīda* of Mulla Niyaz Muhammad (881–883), 24 verses.] This *qaṣīda* had more than 70 verses, but this humble [author] does not remember more than those quoted above. This humble [author] compiled a chronogram [about the victory]. [*Tārīkh.*]

(884) When [the khan was yet] on the bank of the river [Amu], the aforementioned Toqtash Khoja came again from Dasht-i Qïpchaq as an ambassador and brought with him twenty or thirty [Khorezmian] prisoners who had been hastily gathered [from the Qazaqs]. His royal majesty, showing his kindness, released Burkut Bay Biy's son and his companions, who had remained imprisoned in the dungeon during the campaign, and handed them over, with their belongings, to the khoja. The khan sent along with him Qosh Nazar Divanbegi, who, after capturing abundant booty, had carried it off illegally, before the *ghān* had been levied on it, and had returned by the Qubash road ahead of the royal army. To punish him for this offence, he was sent as an ambassador, to demand the delivery of the remaining Muslim prisoners from the Qazaqs and to bring them home.

About some events that took place after the return [of the khan] to the capital.

The first event which occured after *the khan, with divine assistance, (885) conquered Dasht-i Qïpchaq and returned to Khiva*, was the following. When the royal army was in Dasht-i Qïpchaq, ambassadors were coming from everywhere, some of them expressing obedience and submission, others expressing friendship and loyalty. Among them was an eloquent ambassador from the prince Vali, one of the sons of Baba Khan Shah, the king of Iran, who governed the whole of Khorasan as [the shah's] deputy; he came with a friendly letter (*ṣadāqat-nāma*) expressing sincere loyalty and fidelity. *And, because the fame of the august felicity of his majesty had reached all people in the provinces of Iran, nobles and commoners alike*, Begler Khan, son of Lutf ʿAli Khan Chavushlu, the governor of Derregez, who ruled that province with undivided authority, began to secretly make advances to the servants of his majesty seeking close friendship, and sent to the royal court one of his trustworthy men, sending him along with the embassy from the Teke of Tezhen; *the latter feared the khan's wrath, and Begler Khan, pre-emptively, inter-

ceded on their behalf*. Similarly, Murad Bek and Nur Khoja Bek, the leaders (*akābir*) of the tribe of Sarïq, which lived in the region of Merv, sent their own sons, Mahmud Bek and Ay-Doghdï Bek, to the royal court, dispatching with them a petition indicating [their] submission and obedience. Also from the Teke of Akhal, Berdi Atalïq, Aman Dawlat, and Khal Nefes, who were leaders of that tribe, came to express their submission and obedience. As to the arrival of Qapan Bay, a younger brother of Aman Bay Biy, a ruler of the Middle Horde (*yüz*) of the Qazaqs, (886) that has already been mentioned previously. Three days later, on Friday, 21 Safar,[a] [the khan] granted an audience to these ambassadors, and, after the formal ceremony,[b] presented them with money and precious robes; then, to each of them, he attached [his own] reliable ambassadors and the collectors (*ʿāmil*) of *zakāt*,[933] and sent them to collect *zakāt*. Thus, he sent Nadir Sardar Yemreli as ambassador to Mashhad, to prince Vali, and he also sent another ambassador to Begler Khan. He sent Pahlavan Niyaz Bek Qïyat to the inhabitants of Tezhen for the collection of *zakāt*, and he sent Khojash Naib of Qïyat-Qongrat to the tribe of Sarïq, and he dispatched Abdal Khoja Bekabadi and Muhammad Niyaz Bek Mughalchaki to the Teke of Akhal as collectors (*ʿāmil*) of *zakāt*, and he sent Allah-Berdi Khoja to Dasht-i Qïpchaq, as an ambassador to the Qazaqs of the Middle Horde.

And another [event] was the following. His royal majesty attached great importance to the construction of public buildings (*abniyya-i khayr*).[c] Consequently, in 1225 A.H.[d] he had three stone bridges built across the Sïrchalï canal, one of which was in Gandumkan, another near the tomb of his holiness Bay Timur Ata (may the mercy of God be upon him!), and the third one in Baghcha, opposite the New Gates; it had not been customary to build such bridges in the country of Khorezm from the Chingiz Khan's conquest up to the present time. Although simple and well-made [bridges existed], they were not agreeable to his majesty's noble taste. Therefore, after his return from Dasht-i Qïpchaq, he ordered the demolition of the bridge at the Baghcha crossing and, of [all the] architects and engineers, he

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[a] 5 March 1812 (Thursday).
[b] Lit.: "after the ceremony of politeness."
[c] Lit. "charitable buildings."
[d] 1810 A.D.

chose Mulla Adina-i Hazaraspi, known as Mulla Öke, to rebuild it, and he appointed *<Muhammad> Yusuf Mehter* to help him in this work. Within a short time he finished this structure, whose attractive (887) and pleasing appearance was beyond description.[934] The following chronogram well describes this building: [*Tārīkh* by Munis.]

(888) In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate!

Be it clear and evident to the perceiving and knowledgeable people that the last king of the Chingizid dynasty that reigned in the royal capital Khiva was Abu'l-Ghazi Khan <b. Yadigar Khan>. The late *illustrious king*, Eltüzer Muhammad Bahadur Khan, deposed him, mounted the throne himself and put the crown of governance on his own august head. The foundation of tyranny was destroyed by the torrent of his punishment, and with his justice as architect the entire kingdom was made flourishing and prosperous. At that time the most erudite of the learned men of the world, the most excellent of the perfect men of his time, the crocodile of the sea of learning and erudition, the pilot of the ship of knowledge and wisdom, the rising place of the sun of knowledge and the refuge of the people of perfection, [*Mathnavī*] (889) who unravels the difficulties of subtle meanings and lifts the veil from verities, the embodiment of excellency and perfection, <the exalted and honorable master (*ustād*)>, that is the late Munis Mirab (may he rest in peace!), who was an old and faithful servant of his majesty, was granted endless favor and boundless benevolence and, being ordered to write this august book, was distinguished and exalted among his contemporaries.

In accordance with the binding order, he set to work and recorded [the events] from the creation of Adam (peace be upon him!) till the sons of Nuh (peace be upon him!). After this (890) he described the kings of the Mongols from Yafeth (peace be upon him!) down to the branch of the Qongrat. Thereupon he recounted those of Quralas' descendants who became kings. When he had reached the account of Shir Ghazi Khan, *due to the vicissitudes of fortune, the ship of his majesty's life sank in the whirlpool of death. When the turmoil caused by this tragic event subsided, the brother of the late king*, Muhammad Rahim Bahadur Khan, [now] residing in paradise, put the seal-ring of monarchy on his finger and took the reins of governance into his mighty grasp. The sword of his punishment shed the oppressors' blood so profusely that the customs of tyranny disappeared until the day of resurrection, and, with his justice as architect, he made the edifice of the kingdom flourish so greatly that [his] enemies' hearts despaired of despoiling it until the day of judgement. During those happy days, the aforementioned writer was a faithful servant and even a personal companion (*nadīm-i khāṣṣī*) of the late

king. One day, during a feast, [the khan] looked at him benevolently and said: "Finish your book which has remained unfinished, and also include in it the noteworthy events of our [reign]!" [Munis] was gladdened and pleased by this order and wrote [the history] from [the time of] Shir Ghazi Khan until Abu'l-Ghazi Khan. After this he wrote about the great ancestors and honorable forefathers of the late king. After this (891) he described all the events of [the reign of] the late khan Eltüzer Muhammad Bahadur Khan, from his accession to his death. After this he described in detail all the events which occured until the seventh year of the reign of the late khaqan Muhammad Rahim Bahadur Khan (may the mercy and pardon of God be upon him!), and recorded also the events of the campaign in the Dasht-i Qïpchaq; but before he began the [description of] other events, his majesty ordered the author to <translate> the book *Rawżat aṣ-ṣafā'*—which was written in Persian language—into Turkic.[a] When, in accordance with the saying "*He who is ordered is absolved*", the aforementioned author began to render the *Rawżat aṣ-ṣafā'* into Turkic,[b] the compilation of this book was entirely abandoned and forgotten. When the first volume (*daftar*) of the *Rawżat aṣ-ṣafā'* was finished and [the translation of] the second volume reached the battle of Badr, *the khan died, and his elder son, Allah-Quli Muhammad Bahadur Khan, [*Fard*] (892) ascended the throne of his father*. [*Mathnavī*.] (893) When his majesty also gladdened and contented the aforementioned author with his royal favors and largesses and ordered him to translate the remaining [portion of] the *Rawżat aṣ-ṣafā'* into Turkic, he worked for some time on [the translation], as commanded, but, in 1244 A.H., before he finished the second volume, he died.[935]

Eleven years after this event, during the 15th year of the reign of his royal majesty, which was 1255 A.H.,[c] [the khan] suddenly *looked with favor* at this servant with no skill and little ability, this hermit in the ruins of grief and affliction, the most contemptible of God's servants, the weak and feeble Muhammad Riza Mirab b. Er Niyaz Bek, with the pen-name of Agahi, the nephew and pupil of Munis Mirab (may God pardon their sins and forgive their faults!), who

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[a] Lit.: "to adorn the book *Rawżat aṣ-ṣafā'*—which was explained in Persian words—with Turkic words (*Turkī lafẓī bilä*)."

[b] Lit.: "to make the *Rawżat aṣ-ṣafā'* Turkic."

[c] 16 March 1839–3 March 1840.

had been an old and faithful servant of his majesty, and ordered [me] to gather these scattered pages (*awrāq-i parīshān*),[a] whose style made the heart astonished and the mind confounded, and to complete them. This order lifted this heartsick man from the ground of abasement, and raised my pride above the skies: although in those happy days *the learned and wise people* (894) were innumerable, this service was entrusted to me by right of succession.

When, thanks to his majesty's favor, I was honored with this command, all I could do was to obey and to bow low (*qulluq qilmaq*), in accordance with the words "*He who is ordered is absolved*"; but where would I find the strength to cope with such an arduous task, and where would I find the power to set out on such a difficult road? [*Mathnavī.*] (895) *[The support came from] the prince Rahim-Quli Töre,[936] who was adorned with wisdom and learning; he knew all the difficult rules of writing poetry, knew by heart the dates and stories of all the men of past generations from the beginning of the world till our time, and in royal assemblies could easily interpret any difficult verse which would puzzle the learned men. [*Qiṭʿa.*] (896) There were always plenty of people of knowledge and perfection in his company and at his court.* [*Mathnavī.*] (897) This humble [author], who sometimes, out of helplessness and despondency, hurried to express obedience and bent his body in a bow, betook myself to the servants of this perspicacious prince's sublime court and benefited from their pleasant company. Suddenly, he looked at me thoughtfully, recognized the signs of my ability, and took great care in order that I write and compile this noble book and these elegant pages—which is a great task and an equal work (*kār-i sahīm*),[b] and thus distinguished [me] among my contemporaries and peers. When, owing to this infinite favor, I was exalted to such degree, I immediately got ready to begin the work. Now, be it known to the noble mind [of the reader] that there will be recorded in a concise form all the events that happened from the eighth year since the accession of his imperial majesty, the late Muhammad Rahim Bahadur Khan, until his death—some of them found by examining manuscripts, and others heard, through much exertion, from the narrators, (898) God willing.

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[a] See on this Introduction, p. XXVII.

[b] Not clear; "equal" with the work done by Munis?

Prayer (*munājāt*):

O God! I, the weak and the helpless,
Will begin an inexhaustible work.
Let my sad mind attain its goal,
That is, bring my work to the end.

THE EVENTS OF THE EIGHTH YEAR SINCE THE HAPPY ACCESSION OF HIS MAJESTY, THE LATE KING.

How his majesty, in order to give a feast, opened the doors of the treasuries of gifts and awards, how he scattered the jewels of his favor and benevolence upon the heads of the people, how the people from the entire world gathered to [enjoy] the munificence of his table, and how the nobles and the commoners received the dishes to carry home, agreeable to their desires.

*** In Muharram 1228 A.H.,[a] corresponding to the end of the Year of the Monkey,[b] *[*Mathnavī*] (899) Muhammad Rahim Bahadur Khan, in order to have the circumcision performed for the prince Rahman-Quli Töre, who was his second son and who is at present the governor of Hazarasp and has the title of *inaq*, (900) considered that it was befitting his royal felicity to arrange a great feast and celebration, to invite the people from the whole world to his table and to have everyone enjoy his generosity and hospitality. To prepare the feast, he appointed the grand vizier Muhammad Yusuf Mehter (may he rest in peace!) and, to carry out certain tasks, attached to him Yar Muhammad Divanbegi. Being proud of their commission, they took the utmost care in the arrangement of the feast, and within a short time prepared everything needed for it. In accordance with the khan's order, they brought everything to the *ḥawlī* of Sayyad, which had been rebuilt by his majesty;[937] [*Mathnavī*] (901) they assembled there such a quantity that it was impossible to count or describe it. [*Mathnavī.*] When the preparation was finished, his majesty sent swift messengers and heralds to all the cities and towns of the inhab-

[a] 3 January–1 February 1813.
[b] The Year of the Monkey was from February 1812 to February 1813.

ited quarter of the world to invite the people from the entire world to this feast.*

On Wednesday, the last day of the aforementioned month,[a] his majesty set out for the place of the feast (*toy-khāna*), accompanied by the great *'ulamā'*, the honorable amirs, the dignified beks, and the high-ranking *maḥram*s. (902) [*Mathnavī.*] (903) *Having arrived there, he stopped at his own palace (*qaṣr*) which, for its beauty and splendor, was the envy of the castle of Shirin and of [the palace of] Khavarnaq.[938] The *'ulamā'* and the amirs were also accommodated at pleasant palaces (*qaṣrlar*) and enjoyed food and drink, while people from everywhere gathered there in such numbers that it surpassed the crowd on the day of resurrection, and the clamor from it reached the court of heaven. [*Mathnavī.*] (904) Every day people from everywhere, tribe after tribe and clan after clan, received their subsistence and rations (*vaẓīfa va qonuqlari*) from the royal storehouses (*anbār-khāna*), as much as they wanted, so that every day many thousands[b] of *kharvār*s of rice and several thousand jars of oil were given, and every day camels, horses, oxen and sheep were slaughtered in such numbers that no room was left in the entire country. [*Fard.*] And in addition to this, his majesty gave each day a special banquet and great feast, (905) to which he would invite all the *'ulamā'* and the amirs and all the notables and grandees, so that they would gather at the sublime palace and lofty *ayvān* and sit in the august assembly according to their ranks, [*Mathnavī*] (906) engaged in lively conversation. Swift footmen and servants placed silver and golden tables before the *'ulamā'* and the amirs, and brought them endless dishes and copious delicacies, tea with candies and milk with sweets, jams and preserves, various fruits, limitless sugar and sweetmeats, all on golden trays, accompanied with wine,—such that the mind could not comprehend the amount of it all. [*Mathnavī.*]*

*After the end of the banquet, the khan set out to watch the horse race (*at chapar tamāshāsi*). (907) He had all the [horsemen with their] horses, swift as lightning, [*Mathnavī*] gather in one place, and had the mature horses, the three-year old colts (*ghūnān*), and the one-year old colts (*tāy*) divided in three separate groups; he attached to each group a trustworthy person as a supervisor (*amīn*), set a

[a] 1 February (Monday).
[b] Lit. "ten thousand thousands."

finish-line[a] for each, and sent them forth. They rushed forward, and when they reached the assigned places, they spurred their horses to the racing field (*tamāshāgāh*). [*Nazm.*] (908) When the horse race was finished, his majesty gave lavish awards and gifts to the owners of the winning horses. After this he ordered that the wrestlers (*pahlavān*) start wrestling (*gūshtīgīrlik*). The wrestlers and athletes (*zūrgar*) immediately came forth, and fought each other with such an awful force that the tumult from this fight reached heaven; at last one of them would throw another to the ground (909) and receive royal presents and an outfit (*sarūpāy*). Then another one would immediately come up to wrestle with the winner. After the end of the wrestling, his majesty had the archers (*oqchi*) shoot at the golden gourd (*altun qabaq*) and gave copious awards to those who hit the gourd. Then he went towards the place of the feast (*toy-khāna*) and stopped at his palace. He had the same kind of horse races, wrestling, and other amusements continue daily for ten days, and on these occasions he gave presents to everybody. [*Mathnavī* (909–910).]*

*(911) After these festivities continued for ten days, on the last day his majesty invited the *'ulamā'*, the amirs, and the nobles to his court, gave a royal feast, and, after the end of the meal, presented everyone with precious robes of honor and gilded waistbands (*fūṭa*), so that they all were clad in gold from head to feet, and had them attach to their waists sharp daggers, whose hilts were encrusted with jewels, rubies, and pearls, and whose value equalled the *kharāj* of the entire world. [*Mathnavī.*] (912) After the assembly ended and the royal outfits were donned [by the nobles], his majesty's horse-trainer brought beautiful peri-like Arab horses for everyone [*Nazm*], (913) and they all went home. At this feast there was no one among the nobles and the commoners, among the high and the low, who was not exalted with royal favors, each one according to his status. [*Mathnavī.*]*

[a] Lit. "place for return (*qaytarmaq*)."

How his imperial majesty, the late Abu'l-Ghazi Muhammad Rahim Bahadur Khan, set out towards Khorasan; how he made the Qïzïlbashes tremble from the march of his numerous army; how most of that people fulfilled the duties of submission; and how his majesty turned back, accompanied by good fortune.

(914) Since it is obligatory for the Muslims *to set out every year for the holy war and to fight the infidels*, in accordance with the words "*And struggle in God's way*,"[a] the late khan, following this prescription, became resolved in his desire for the holy war.[939] He gave a large amount of money from the treasury to the troops and ordered supplies prepared for the campaign. He also gave copious presents to all the servants of the royal court, each according to his rank. When, in a short time, everything needed for the campaign was ready, his majesty appointed *the great amir Qutlugh Murad Inaq* as his deputy in the city [of Khiva], *mounted his horse* and, on Sunday 19 Zu'l-Hijja 1228 A.H.,[b] corresponding to the Year of the Hen, unfolded the ever-victorious banners and set out from the city. [*Mathnavī*.] (915) *He arrived, with great pomp, at the lower reaches of the Qara-köl,[940] (916) where the royal camp had been set up.* He stayed for two days at that place to wait until the ever-victorious troops assembled [there], and on Wednesday set out and stopped at Kesekli.[941] On Thursday he had the army train (*aghruq va buna*) move from there *and set up the royal camp* near the Saghcha well. He stayed there for three days, and on Monday, the 27th of the month,[c] he moved from there and established the royal camp at the well known as Khan-quduq,[942] which had been dug [previously] by the order of his majesty himself. He stayed there for one day, and the next day, which was Wednesday, he moved from there and stopped at Yeke-Süzen. [Here] the younger brother of Mahdi Bek, <the Teke chieftain>, came with gifts and presents. On Thursday he moved off from there and, having camped one night on his way, on Friday *arrived* at the Chirla well.[943] He stayed there for two days and sent Pahlavan Niyaz Bek, <one of the servants of the royal court>, to Akhal, and Khuday Nazar Qaq, [another servant], to Tezhen, to

[a] Qur'ān, II,218, VIII,74, IX,20.
[b] 12 December 1813.
[c] 20 December.

gather and bring the Teke *nökers*. He sent forward *the amir* Karim-Berdi Atalïq and *Muhammad Riza (917) Qoshbegi* to go to the lower reaches of the Tezhen and have wells dug.

When the new year came and the year 1229 A.H. began, on 5 Muharram, which was Monday,[a] [the army] left that place and, having passed several stations, camped. The next day they traveled during the night, and on Wednesday stopped at Yantaqlï. On Thursday they set out, marched in the night, and on Friday, the 9th of the month,[b] they stopped in the vicinity of another well. At that place [soldiers] captured and brought a Teke named Saʿat from the clan Qara Ahmad, together with two Qïzïlbashes, who were going to Bukhara as the ambassadors from Begler Khan, <the governor of Dastgird and Derregez>.[944] At first they did not acknowledge [who they were], but later confessed. [The khan] released them on bail to Qandïm Sardar. On Saturday [the army] passed the sands of Bavard and stopped at Chungul.[945] On Sunday [the khan] rested and gave a banquet for the amirs and army commanders. [*Mathnavī*.] (918) After the banquet, on Monday, *his majesty mounted his horse and set out toward his goal*. He marched during the night, and the next day, which was Tuesday, at mid-morning, he sent the aforementioned Saʿat, along with Aymir Shaykh, to Dastgird as ambassadors to Begler Khan. Before noon he passed Küren-qalʿa and stopped to rest near the fortress of Lutfabad.[946] *Muhammad Riza Qoshbegi and Karim-Berdi Atalïq*, who led the advance guard of the army, had set out earlier and stopped near the village (*qaṣaba*) of Chilegan.[947] The governor of that village, Allah-Berdi Khan, asked the qoshbegi for protection (*amān*) and was given the privilege of kissing the threshold of the sublime court of his majesty the khan.

(919) His majesty the khan stopped at the bank of the river Qozghan, between Chilegan and Lutfabad, and set up the army camp at the foot of the mountain. On that day <an assemblage of ill-bred Qïzïlbash came out of the fortress of Lutfabad, and,> after some fighting, <took to flight. In this battle> three men from the army of Islam were killed, while many Qïzïlbashes were taken prisoner. They were released to Allah-Berdi Khan, <upon his own intercession>. The same evening <one of the elders> of Lutfabad named

[a] 27 December 1813.
[b] 31 December 1813.

Rustam Bek came with supplication and penitence and expressed submission. On Wednesday, Allah-Berdi Khan, <showing his loyalty,> brought one good horse as a gift. The same day he was sent, along with ʿAvaz Yüzbashi and Amir Khan, with an embassy to Begler Khan. Tengri-Berdi Bek, who had earlier been sent to bring the *nökers* of the Qarakhanlï Teke,[948] on Tuesday took 400 horsemen from the Teke and on Thursday brought them to the sublime court, together with Musa Khan, the governor of Qozghan.[949] After Musa Khan was honored with august favor and royal largesses, he became Muslim,[a] took with him Mulla Haqq Niyaz to receive instruction in the matters of faith and the *sharīʿat*, and brought all his *nökers* to serve the sublime court. [*Qiṭʿa.*]

(920) On that day an ambassador from Begler Khan arrived; after being treated with great favor, he went back. On Saturday, the 17th of the month,[b] his majesty the khan set out to inspect the environs of Hisar, Chilegan, and Khusraw-qalʿa,[950] after which he returned <to the camp (*senger*)>. At that time two ambassadors, one from Fath ʿAli Khan, the governor of Kelat, and one from Riza-Quli Khan, the governor of Quchand,[951] came with Geldi Khan[c] and expressed their obedience. On Sunday [the khan] dismissed them, moved <the ever-victorious troops> to the west of the camp and drew them up at the entrance to the Darband [gorge], opposite Mir-qalʿa.[952] <Then> the khojas of that fortress came and attained the [honor of] kissing the [royal] stirrup. [The khan] left there Karim-Berdi Atalïq, Muhammad Riza Qoshbegi, Berdi Biy, Dosïm Biy, Ilyas Shigavul, Hubbi-Quli Khoja, Muhammad Jan Khoja, Niyaz Muhammad Bay, Taghan (921) Niyaz Bahadur Abdal, Bayli Bahadur, Hasan Bay Biy, and all the Qaraqalpaq commanders (*sardārs*), with 3,000 troops, and went [himself] to Qakhlan-qalʿa.[953] The younger brother of Allah-Berdi Khan, together with the elders (*kedkhuda*) of that fortress, expressed their submission and attained the honor of kissing the [royal] stirrup. From there [the khan] came to Bavardjiq, which had been abandoned. Having had its crops taken for the troops (*alaman*), he passed Lutfabad and came to the camp (*senger*).

On that evening ʿAvaz Yüzbashi came with the ambassadors from the Teke and reported that a Teke named Vali had brought bad

[a] I.e. Sunni.
[b] 8 January.
[c] Words "with Geldi Khan" omitted in E.

news.[a] On Monday at dawn the khan sent them back. On that day numerous troops came to the royal court from the Teke of Akhal; and Qanbar ʿAli Bek, who was the governor of Safar-qalʿa[954] and Mir-qalʿa, also came, and went back after receiving royal favors; and a royal banquet was also given for the Teke elders (*kedkhuda*). The same day Qanbar ʿAli Bek came again to the royal court with <all> his *nökers* for service. In the afternoon came the ambassadors: Begler Khan's uncle, Fath ʿAli Khan; Riza-Quli Khan's younger brother, Rustam Khan, and his vizier, Mirza Muhammad Riza; and Qalandar Bek Chamishgezek, as well as Nadr Muhammad Bek, from Najaf ʿAli Khan.[955] On Tuesday, having given them a fine banquet, [the khan] sent them back. On Wednesday the governor of Bam, (922) Saʿadat-Quli Khan,[956] as well as <the aforementioned> Mirza Muhammad Riza and the aforementioned Qalandar Bek, came with fifty men, and they brought four horses and four mules as gifts. On Thursday his majesty the khan gave them a royal feast and granted them precious robes of honor from the wardrobe of gifts (*khayāṭ-khāna-i iḥsān*). The same day <the aforementioned> Rustam Bek came with a hundred mounted *nökers*. On Friday his majesty dismissed Saʿadat-Quli Khan. On Saturday, the 25th of the month,[b] *it became clear to his majesty that Rustam Bek and his companions had come with bad intentions*, and he ordered all of them seized; he took away their arms, and, entrusting them to reliable men, took care to guard them.

On Sunday, his majesty set out in person, besieged Mir-qalʿa and ordered all the army commanders (*sarkarda*) to attack it. At that moment the troops surrounded the fortress like a sudden misfortune and, with *their shouts and war-cries*, (923) raised a panic among the people of the fortress. The commanders Muhammad Niyaz Bek and Allash Bek, who were distinguished and could be relied upon for their valor, together with eight men, brought two ladders (*zankū*) to the gates of the fortress and attached them to the wall. When Shir ʿAli Nokuz was climbing on the ladder, a musket ball (*multuq uqi*)[c] [shot] from above struck him, and he was killed. And another three soldiers were struck and killed by the [musket] balls (*uq*), while,

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[a] E omits the words "that a Teke" etc. Cf. MITT, II, 386, where "Vali" is erroneously understood as the name of a clan.

[b] 16 January (Sunday).

[c] E has *gulūla-i tufang*.

from among the commanders, Muhammad Niyaz Bek and Allash Bek were seriously wounded <by the [musket] balls of the wicked infidels>. Besides them, many [other] men,[a] including Shaghal Mahram, were wounded, and many soldiers were killed, including Ish Niyaz Shamkhalchi and Sayyid Nazar Jarchi. After this they turned back and came to the camp (*senger*).[b] On Monday they also remained at the camp. On Tuesday some fighting took place at Lutfabad. In this battle, Javanmard Khoja, from the Muslim army, rushed his horse to the battlefield and speared and knocked down one of the Qïzïlbash scoundrels. And Qïlïch Bek also spurred his horse, (924) rushed at the Qïzïlbash riflemen (*mergen*), took one of them prisoner, but was himself seriously wounded; on Wednesday, he drained to the dregs the drink of martyrdom from the cup of death. On Thursday, the 29th of the aforementioned month [of Muharram],[c] <his imperial majesty> moved off from the camp (*senger*) and stopped on the bank of the Chetli-su in the vicinity of Bavard. On Friday he left this place and on Sunday 2 Safar[d] he stopped at Qosha-chungul. On Monday, the late khan, having sent Geldi Khan to Derregez as ambassador and granted royal outfits (*sarūpā*) to the Teke elders headed by Muhammad Salih Khoja, moved off and camped near Zaman-quduq. At that place Salih Shaykh came from <the city [of Khiva]>, from the great amir Qutlugh Murad Inaq, and his eyes were illumined by seeing the radiant face of his imperial majesty. He was honored by the [grant of] a royal outfit. On Tuesday, his majesty set out from there and arrived at Yantaqlï. On Wednesday, he moved off from there and sent Qandïm Sardar, together with [the returning] Salih Shaykh, to the city [of Khiva], <to convey news [from the khan]>. On Friday, the 7th of the month,[e] *he camped* in the environs of the Chirla well. (925) On that day he honored and exalted the Teke elders (*kedkhuda*), headed by Khal Nefes <Atalïq>, who had served his majesty from the beginning of this campaign,[957] with [grants of] precious robes of honor and a liberal sum of money from the treasury of his generosity. On Saturday, he left <Chirla> and camped at the southern side of Baba-Zardadïm

[a] E, instead of "many men," has "among other commanders."
[b] E has "august camp" (*ordu-yi humāyūn*) instead of *senger*.
[c] 20 January 1814.
[d] 23 January.
[e] 28 January.

plateau (*qïr*). On Monday <he moved off from there, and>, on his way, ordered Khuday-Berdi Bek arrested, along with his companions, and on Monday morning he sent <all of them> to the highway of destruction.[958] The same day, at the mid-morning meal, Qandïm Sardar brought news of the rebellion of ʿAbdallah Inaq. <Out of his perfect clemency and kind nature>, the late khan dispatched *Sayyid Yusuf Khoja Naqib* to ʿAbdallah Inaq with a letter of appeasement (*istimālat-nāma*). On Tuesday evening, after [the khan] had passed Yeke-Süzen and halted, Jahangir Bek, Yusuf Aqa, and Safar Mushrif, as well as Salih Shaykh, one of *Qutlugh Murad Inaq's* *nökers*, and others, brought the news that ʿAbdallah Inaq had been besieged in Hazarasp, and had fled, unable to hold out there. The same day [the khan] stopped near Saghcha well, [then] moved off and camped at Kesekli. On Wednesday, the 12th of the month,[a] at mid-morning, he entered the capital Khiva with great pomp and splendor, (926) *and gladdened the people with his arrival*.[959]

THE <REMARKABLE> EVENTS OF THE NINTH YEAR SINCE THE <AUSPICIOUS> ACCESSION OF <HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY> THE LATE KHAN.

The incident with ʿAbdallah Inaq.

This event occured as follows. After *Muhammad Rahim Bahadur Khan* left for the campaign (*ghazāt*), ʿAbdallah Inaq, to whom his majesty, in his infinite benevolence, had entrusted the governorship of the town[b] of Hazarasp, being unable to bear such a great fortune and high rank, drank from the bowl of pride and arrogance, and became confounded by the intoxication of indolence and ignominy. At the time of such drunkenness, instigated by several people, in particular Adina Murad Naib, he went astray and sent Khojam-Berdi Eshek, who was his own retainer and *dīvānbegi*, to amir Haydar, the ruler of Bukhara, expressing his obedience and submission. Amir (927) Haydar, in his turn, sent him a decree (*yarlïgh*), secretly recognizing him as a monarch[c] of the [khan's] well-protected kingdom,

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[a] 2 February.

[b] E has "province" (*mamlakat*) instead of "town" (*qalʿa*).

[c] Lit.: "granted him the kingship" (E has, instead of "kingship," "the post of sultan and governor").

and provided much encouragement and instigation in this affair.[960] That fool trusted those deceitful and discord-sowing words, and on Friday 7 Safar of the aforementioned year[a] he sent a letter (*nāma*) with Safar Mushrif to the elders of Besh-Arïq,[961] summoning [them] to him. Safar Mushrif did not deliver this letter to the men for whom it was intended, but on Saturday brought it to *Qutlugh Murad Inaq*. As soon as the inaq learned about this incident, he set out the same day with the available troops (*yïghïn*) and camped at Khitay. The next day, Sunday, he set out towards Hazarasp and sent forward Qïlïch, son of Yusuf Aqa, [with a message:] "We are coming, let ʿAbdallah Inaq prepare a place [for us]." From these words ʿAbdallah Inaq understood that his vile deeds and disgraceful words had become known to Qutlugh Murad Inaq and that the latter was coming to depose and destroy him, and he arrested Qïlïch. He arrested also Qazi Hajji and Damulla Shukur Niyaz, barricaded the town gates, and ordered the drums (*nawbat*) beaten in the name of amir Haydar.[962] At that time Qutlugh Murad Inaq, who had reached the bridge over the Khassa-arïq, (928) did not cross it, but turned back after exchanging fire <with the rebels>. On that day all the Qanglï troops, led by Jahangir Bek, gathered to [Qutlugh Murad] Inaq, rendered good service and displayed laudable bravery. In the afternoon, the people of the town also began to come out [of the town] in flight. On that night [Qutlugh Murad Inaq] lodged at the estate (*ḥawlī*) of ʿAbdallah Inaq, <which was situated on the western side of the Khassa-arïq>. At midnight Balta Aqa fled [from the town] and came bringing the news that ʿAbdallah Inaq intended to flee. When this became known, men were appointed to <guard> the roads. That night, at dawn, ʿAbdallah Inaq left the town with great difficulties, like a bird escapes from its cage, and, in great haste, <heading to Bukhara>, took to the course of flight *through pathless tracts*. [*Mathnavī*.]

(929) Adina Murad Naib, <who was the cause of sedition>, was seized, together with his son-in-law, and executed, and their heads were sent to the city <of Khiva, the royal capital>. ʿAbdallah Inaq fled along with nine [of his] men. <Amir Qutluq Murad> Inaq sent ʿAbdi Bek and Muhammad Panah Bek, along with a hundred horsemen, in pursuit. They failed to find the traces <of the fugitives> in

[a] 28 January 1814.

the dark night and returned. <After they had come back>, Bukhari Mergen, with a number of men, was sent [in pursuit]. They also could not find [the fugitives, and so] ʿAbdallah Inaq and his companions escaped. <After this search> *Qutlugh Murad Inaq* entered the town of Hazarasp (930) and lodged at the house of ʿAbdallah Inaq. On Thursday afternoon, <after> his majesty the late khan <had returned to the city [of Khiva from his campaign]>, he sent Muhammad Riza Qoshbegi, and on Friday, [in addition,] *amir Shah Niyaz Atalïq and Sultan Mirab*, to bring hostages (*aq öylük*)[963] from Hazarasp. They went, as ordered, removed 200 hostages,[a] and on Monday, the 17th of the same month,[b] returned to the royal court and were honored by [the gifts of] royal outfits (*sarūpāy*).

On Wednesday, Aymir Shaykh and Amir Khan, <who, when the late khaqan had been returning from his campaign, had been sent to the khans of all provinces of Khorasan, as mentioned above>, came [back] from Khorasan and brought petitions (*ʿarīża-dāsht*) <and letters of loyalty (*ikhlāṣ-nāma*)> from all the khans. They also brought the news that the Qïzïlbashes had raided the Teke of Akhal.[c] That same day the late khan dismissed Qalandar Parvanachi and gave the post of *parvānachī* to Jahangir Bek, and entrusted [the governorship of] the town of Hazarasp to *Qutlugh Murad Inaq*.[964] And also, <among the wondrous things, [the following happened]>: On Tuesday morning, which was the 25th of the same <month of> Safar,[d] a fire passed through the sky over the city from north to south, revolving like a windmill, so that its light illuminated the entire world, (931) and an awful sound was heard that awakened many people from their sleep. And this fire was observed at every place in the country.

At the beginning of Rabiʿ I,[e] Hasan Murad Atalïq and Bay Muhammad Jarchi-bashi came on an embassy from Bukhara. At the end of the same month, [the khan] attached Berdi Inaq [as his ambassador] to these ambassadors and sent them to Bukhara. On 25 Rabiʿ II, a Friday,[f] the late khan set out for Ambar for the dredging of the

[a] Or: 200 families.
[b] 7 February.
[c] This sentence omitted in E.
[d] 15 February.
[e] From 20 February.
[f] 15 April.

canals (*qazu qazdururgha*). On the 27th of the same month, a Sunday,[a] Berdi Inaq came from Bukhara with Padishah Khoja-i Sadr, <an ambassador of amir Haydar>. On 10 Jumadi I, Friday,[b] ambassadors from Kurdistan[965] came and brought as presents six horses and three pieces of fine *fūṭa*,[966] made of expensive fabric,[c] and they also brought news about a battle that had taken place with the Qajars. The late khan stayed in Ambar for seventeen days. He appointed Muhammad Riza Qoshbegi and Qutlï[d] Muhammad Bek to [conduct] the *qazu*, while on the 13th of the same month, a Monday,[e] [he himself] set out for Qongrat for hunting. He returned by way of Qara-Shafaq-qayir, and on the 25th of the aforementioned month, on Saturday evening,[f] after the night prayer, he arrived in the city [of Khiva]. [There] he again attached Berdi Inaq to the Bukharan ambassador Padishah Khoja, and sent them [to Bukhara]. On Friday 8 Jumadi II[g] (932) [the khan] presented the Qïzïlbash ambassadors <from Khorasan> with royal gifts and dismissed them. He sent Sattar-Quli Aqa, <a servant of the sublime court>, having attached him to Badr Khan Bek and Muhammad Husayn Bek, a younger brother of Musa Khan, the governor of Qozghan, with the following message: "If they are sincere in expressing their loyalty (*ellik*) <and obedience>, then we want to go this autumn to that region to save them[h] from the tyranny of the Qajars, but if they are unfriendly and hostile, we shall go there [nevertheless], God Most High willing; if they are loyal (*el*), let them dispatch here a trustworthy <notable>, like Saʿadat-Quli Khan, and send [with him] *zakāt* and *kharāj*, as is <their duty>." [The ambassadors] left on Tuesday.

On the 21st of the aforementioned month, a Thursday,[i] [the khan] arrayed *Allash Bek* in the precious robe of the rank (*manṣab*) of *biy*, and he *appointed Muhammad Jan Bek to the post of *inaq**, in place

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[a] 17 April.
[b] 29 April.
[c] E has, instead of the words "six horses" etc., "numerous gifts and copious presents."
[d] E: Qutluq.
[e] 2 May.
[f] 14 May.
[g] 27 May.
[h] Lit. "to take them."
[i] 9 June.

of amir Muhammad Qïlïch Inaq, who had averted his heart from the love of [this] world, resigned from the post <of an amir>, and chosen retirement and seclusion. On Wednesday 19 Rajab,[a] the late khan gave a royal banquet <for the *ʿulamāʾ*, the amirs, the nobles and the grandees>, (933) and laid the foundation of the Gandumkan *ḥawlī*.[967] That same day Qutlugh Muhammad Bek was appointed to the post of inaq.

On the 23rd of the aforementioned month, a Sunday,[b] Berdi Inaq, together with the Bukharan ambassador, the Manghït ʿAli Muhammad Chaghatay-begi, brought cannon and *shamkhāl*s sent by amir Haydar. On Friday 4 Shaʿban[c] his majesty the khan permitted the Bukharan ambassador to return, and, after Friday prayer, set out with the intention to go to Tuzgani and lodged at Sayyad *ḥawlī*. On Saturday, he lodged at the *ribāṭ* of ʿAbdallah Bek <son of Fazil Bek> in Nayman to attend his banquet. At that place Qutlugh Murad Inaq also came to his majesty.[d] <The aforementioned> ʿAbdallah Bek arranged a fine banquet and offered laudable service.

{The same year, that is 1229 A.H.,[e] the Year of the Dog, *a son was born to Allah-Quli Töre—who now adorns the throne of kingdom—named Rahim-Quli Töre* (may God save them both from misfortunes and calamities!).} On Sunday, [the khan] came to Khitay and stayed there for two days. On Tuesday he set out from there and came to Hazarasp. On Wednesday he set out and came to Sultan-Saray, which is Tuzgani.[968] (934) On Friday he turned back and came again to Hazarasp. He left it on Saturday and came to Khitay. On the 14th of the month, Sunday,[f] he left Khitay, rested on the way <several hours> at Kerki *ḥawlī*, and at the time of the afternoon prayer came to the city [of Khiva]. On Tuesday,[g] the moon of the holy month of Ramazan appeared. On Saturday night, which was the 5th of the month,[h] the late khan had the Qurʾān-recitation (*khatm*) begun. [During the reciting], Daniyal Qari served as imam, while Hajji Qari, Muhammad Sharif Qari, Ish Timur Qari

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[a] 6 July.
[b] 10 July.
[c] 21 July (Thursday).
[d] E omits this sentence.
[e] 1814 A.D.
[f] 31 July.
[g] 16 August.
[h] 20 August.

and others followed [him]. They finished the reciting in six evenings,[a] and [during this period] every night, before dawn, [the khan] would give a royal banquet. On the last night, all the *qāri*s were honored with innumerable gifts from his majesty, and the closest nobles and pillars of the state, as well as [all] others, who were present at the reciting, received precious robes of honor.

On Sunday, the 13th of the same month,[b] in the afternoon, his majesty had Yar Muhammad Divanbegi seized; <his shameful and disgraceful actions had been revealed to his late majesty, the shadow of God. In accordance with [his] binding order, the servants of the auspicious court caught him by the lasso of wrath, and the same night>, after the night prayer, he was put to death, along with all his brothers, cousins, and [other] relatives; the total number of those executed was thirty two.[969]

On Friday, the 18th of the aforementioned month,[c] (935) Sattar-Quli Aqa, who had gone as ambassador to Derregez, came back, and <all the> Qïzïlbash ambassadors also arrived—namely, Qazi Yusuf Shaykh Nawkhandani from Begler Khan, Murshid Bek from Amir Guna,[d] Baghir Bek from Najaf ʿAli Khan,—and they brought three <fine> horses as a gift. On Thursday, which was the Festival [of Breaking the Fast],[e] [the khan] granted the ambassadors <royal> outfits (*sarūpāy*) and dismissed them. They returned on the 15th of the month [? sic].[f] On 5 Shavval, which was Monday,[g] the late khan went to Darghan for a hunting [expedition]. He passed up [the river Amu] a little beyond Kökerdeli and camped there. At that station the scouts (*qaravullar*) encountered seven mounted robbers (*qaraqchi*); they killed one of them and captured[h] five of their horses. Several men of the scouts pursued the fleeing robbers as far as the fields [near] Charjuy, and Jayilghan Bahadur Shahabadi ran down and captured Baba Khoja, who had gone from Khiva, had joined the Turkmen scoundrels and had been engaged in highway robbery.

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[a] E has "nights."
[b] 28 August.
[c] 2 September.
[d] Apparently, "Amir Guna" should be emended (also in the text edition) to "Riza-Quli Khan, son of Amir Guna."
[e] 15 September.
[f] In E this sentence is omitted.
[g] 19 September.
[h] E: killed.

<[Jayilghan Bahadur] brought him to his majesty>, and he ordered him to be hanged in Darghan. After <his majesty hunted with birds on the banks of the river [Amu]> for ten days, he returned and on Wednesday evening, the 27th of the same month [of Shavval],[a] arrived in the royal capital Khiva. On the previous night, (936) ʿAbd ar-Rahim Mufti died. On 6 Zu'l-Qaʿda, a Wednesday,[b] Babajan Bek, son of Niyaz Muhammad Bek, passed from this transitory world to the everlasting one.

How his <late> imperial majesty went <with great pomp to Old Vazir and Qongrat> on a hunting expedition and, <by his falconry>, brought disaster to the prey.

The same year [of 1229], on 18 Zu'l-Hijja, a Wednesday,[c] <his majesty the late king>, set out from the royal capital Khiva wishing to go hunting, and lodged in Bederkend, in a newly built *ḫawlī*.[970] On Thursday he hunted with birds in this region, performed a pilgrimage to [the mausoleum of] his holiness Ism-i Mahmud Ata, and returned to the <same> *ḫawlī*, <where he rested>. On Friday he set out from there, hunted in the vicinity of Zamakhshar,[971] and by the time of night prayer came to Tashhawz.[972] On Sunday, the 22nd of the month,[d] he set out from there and, having hunted with birds in that area, arrived at Manghït. On Tuesday he moved off and camped in the lower reaches of the Aman-Quli canal. On Thursday he went further and camped on the bank of the Sharqïrawq. (937) On Friday, the 27th of the month,[e] he visited <the blessed tomb of> Shaykh Najm ad-Din Kubra in Old Urgench, and stopped in the region of Küprükli-yap. Having moved off from there, he camped twice on his way, and on Monday stopped at the eastern foot of the Ereng-qïr, on the bank of the Qaylï. While he was there, the new year, 1230, came, and on Tuesday 1 Muharram[f] [the khan] hunted with birds on the Ereng-qïr. At that place Qongrat elders and Qaraqalpaq biys came to the sublime court, and also news came that Qazaqs had migrated and had come to the encampment (*aul*)

[a] 11 October (Tuesday).
[b] 19 October.
[c] 30 November.
[d] 4 December.
[e] 9 December.
[f] 13 December 1814.

of Hasan Bay.[a] The late khan remained there for six days, and every day he hunted with birds in the environs of the Ereng-qïr and annihilated all the prey. At the same place <the servants of the royal court reconciled the biys and elders of the Qazaq tribes, who, after having fought each other, had come to submit their petition and to seek justice; all of them> were granted <royal> outfits (*sarūpāy*). And [the khan] sent Töre Bek Qïyat[b] and Taylaq Yüzbashi, along with the younger brothers of Chongay Biy, to the Nazar tribe, <which had plundered some live-stock from the Tabïn tribe>,[c] with a threatening letter (*siyāsat-nāma*), demanding the return of the animals. The Qazaq ambassadors (sent with the Khivan officials?) were Muhammad Jan Qazi son of Qazaqay Akhund, and Yamancha Biy.

On Sunday the 7th of the aforementioned month,[d] [the khan] moved off from Qaylï and camped at Aybugur. He hunted with birds on Monday, but on Tuesday he rested at the camp (*qosh*) because of rain. (938) On Wednesday he <set out from there and> camped in the vicinity of Ay-Khoja. On Friday he <left, toured and> examined Old Vazir and returned <again to Ay-Khoja>. On Saturday he moved off and camped at the next station (*manzil*). He stayed there for three nights, <hunting antelopes>, and on Tuesday came to the Qaylï and stopped near his previous campsite there. On Thursday he moved from there and came to Qïzïl-Yïlghun.[973] On Friday he camped in the vicinity of Chowdur-qalʿa. On Saturday he came to Aq-chungul.[974] On Sunday he crossed the At-Yolï and stopped [on the other side].[975] At this place he remained for three days, hunting with birds, and on Thursday he lodged at the *ḥawlī* of Khoja Murad Biy situated on the waste-land (*boz*). On Friday he hunted with birds along the banks of the Tallïq, and on Saturday, the 26th of the month,[e] he was honored with the pilgrimage to [the tomb of] Hakim Ata (may the mercy of God be upon him!). On Sunday he hunted with birds in the environs of <Qalʿa-i Khavand, otherwise called> Boghra Khan. On Monday he camped in the vicinity of Samiʿ-Bar-qalʿa,[f] on the banks of the Abdal canal. On

[a] E omits the words from "and also news" to the end of the sentence.
[b] E omits this name.
[c] C has instead: "which had comitted evil deeds."
[d] 19 December (Monday).
[e] 7 January 1815.
[f] In the MSS. reading uncertain; can be Samiʿ-Yar.

Tuesday he hunted again on the banks of the Tallïq and returned [to Samiʿ-Bar].

On Wednesday, the last day of the aforementioned month,[a] he moved off from there and camped at Khoja-Terki, which is further up [the Amu] from the head of the Yengichke [canal].[976] On Thursday, the first day of Safar,[b] he left this place, went to the banks of the Kürkürawk [canal] and camped there. On Friday (939) he crossed the river [Amu] over the ice and camped at the Qarabayli. On Saturday he remained at the same place, hunted with birds in the environs of Burlï, and returned [to his camp]. On Sunday he moved off from the Qarabayli and camped at Chal-Turangu.[977] On Monday he camped on the bank of the river [Amu], opposite [the tomb of] Muʿin-<Ata (the mercy of God be upon him!)>. On Tuesday he crossed the river [Amu] over the ice and came to Khoja-Terki. On Wednesday he made pilgrimage to <the blessed tomb of> his holiness Shamʿun Nabi <(peace be upon him!)> in Mizdahqan[c] and camped opposite Kuyuk-qalʿa. On Thursday he hunted in the environs of the <river (*nahr*)> Lawdan and returned [to the same camp]. On Friday he moved off and camped near Porsï.[978] On Saturday he camped on the northern side of Buldïmsaz. At that place the elders (*kedkhuda*) of the [clan of] Qïrïmsa [of the] Salaqs[979] brought fine presents to the royal court. On Sunday he moved off from there and lodged at Tashhawz. On Monday, the 12th of the month,[d] after the evening prayer, he came to the royal capital Khiva.

As was mentioned above, the same year, that is in the Year of the Pig, ʿAbdallah Inaq had fled to Bukhara. He was unable to remain in Bukhara, returned with a thousand apologies and attained to the [honor of] kissing of his majesty's threshold. His majesty pardoned his crime (940) and did not cause him any harm. For five or six months he remained among the servants of the [khan's] court, but then, prompted by his innate wickedness, he committed certain vile deeds. These actions became known to his majesty and, during [the same hunting] expedition, after the arrival at Mizdahqan, [the khan] ordered him seized, and he was executed.

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[a] 11 January 1815.
[b] 12 January.
[c] E: "on the Mizdahqan height (*qïr*)."
[d] 23 January.

THE EVENTS OF THE TENTH YEAR SINCE THE ACCESSION OF THE LATE KHAN.

While his majesty the late monarch had been on hunting expedition, ambassadors from the surrounding countries had come <to the city [of Khiva]>. Thus, Gün-Doghdï Qazi Yemreli and Isma'il Qazi Yemreli, who were relatives,[a] came as ambassadors of the prince Muhammad Vali Mirza from holy Mashhad. On Friday night, <15 Safar>,[b] [the khan] <gave them a public audience (*bār-i 'āmm*)> and read the letter which they had brought. The letter contained the expressions of loyalty and friendship, and even a commitment to fraternal relations (*'aqd-i ukhūvat*). Similarly, letters were brought from the prince Din Nasir <Töre>, from the Aymaq Qïlïch Khan Temuri, who was the beglerbegi of Mashhad, (941) and from 'Isa Khan Qarayi, who was the governor of Turbat; <they all contained expressions of obedience and submission>. From Bukhara, 'Arif Khoja came as ambassador, with an expression of friendship. Mulla 'Abd al-Ghafur came from Meruchaq as ambassador from Yalangtush Khan Jamshidi and his younger brother, Mahmud Bek[c] Khan, to express [their] <loyalty and> submission. On the first day of Rabi' I,[d] his majesty the late khan granted royal outfits (*sarūpāy*) to [all] the ambassadors and dismissed them, having attached Berdi Inaq to 'Arif Khoja, and Nadir Sardar to <the ambassadors from> Mashhad and the Yemreli, to go with them. <At the same time>[e] Khal Nefes Atalïq, <a chieftain of the Teke of Qïzïl-ribat>,[980] came, along with the elders (*kedkhuda*) of the Teke of Akhal, <to kiss the [khan's] threshold>, [and they declared:] "We will pay *zakāt* and tax (? *māl*)[f] and give hostages (*aq öyli*)."

The raid of Soyun Biy, <Dosïm Biy and Ilyas Shighavul> into Dasht-i Qïpchaq.

The same year, that is 1230 A.H., on Friday 15 Rabi' I,[g] his imperial majesty, the last [khan], ordered Soyun Biy, Dosïm Biy, and

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[a] In E the words "who were relatives" are omitted.
[b] 26 January (Thursday).
[c] In E "Bek" omitted.
[d] 10 February.
[e] C, instead of "At the same time," has "After that."
[f] In E *va māl* omitted.
[g] 24 February.

Ilyas Shighavul, along with *5,000 troops*, to raid the tribe of Jan Nazar Biy Chekli, <one of the Qazaq tribes>, which, having rebelled, (942) had not released Khoja Nazar, who had gone to them as ambassador, but had been holding him [in captivity].[a] [The khan] distinguished Soyun Biy, *who surpassed Rustam and Isfandiar in his valor*, with royal favor; he gave him a standard (*tugh*) <made of a yak's [tail] (*qūtāsliq*)> and a kettle-drum (*naqāra*), put under his command <all> the commanders (*sarkhayl*) and *yüzbashi*s of the troops dispatched [with him] and [also] attached to him Qïlïch Niyaz Bay and ʿAvaz Yüzbashi with [a detachment of] slave troops (*qullar sipāhi*), with [the warning] that, if anyone sees fit to oppose the aforementioned biy's command, he will be severely punished. [The khan] appointed also Badal Yüzbashi as army inspector (*ʿāriż*), so that he should count the troops, inspect their weapons and supplies (*yaraq va asbāb*) and return [to report to the khan].

Those so assigned received the late king's permission to go, [and then] within two days crossed <the river [Amu]> at the Qïpchaq crossing and camped on the shore of a lake near Chilpuq. They stayed there for three days to allow the troops (*yïghïn*) to assemble. <On the fourth day> they moved off from there, and in six days came to Aq-Yaqïsh. At that place Badal Yüzbashi counted all the troops, inspected their weapons and supplies, and went back. They set out from there, (943) and reached Börichi on the third day. From there they moved further and in two days came to the sea-shore. The next day they went onto the sea <over the ice>, and marched for three days. <When they reached the place called> Qïzïl-Yïlghun, Shah Niyaz Qaraqalpaq captured three people and brought them <to the commanders>. It appeared that one of them was a Qaraqalpaq by the name of Amir, and the other two were Qazaqs. They killed one of the Qazaqs and took the second one prisoner. After that they travelled for another three days and left the sea. At that place they left Ilyas Shigavul with transport and baggage (*aghruq va buna*), and all [the rest], armed and ready, went on the raid. That day, late into the evening, they plundered and pillaged, killed or captured many people, and captured such a great number of livestock that the mind fell short of counting them. The next day they crossed the Sïr-Darya and went on a raid in pursuit of Jan Nazar Biy and ʿAbd

[a] See above, p. 337 (the ambassador's name Muhammad Nazar Shaykh).

al-ʿAziz Khan, who had fled, <having heard about this misfortune>. On that day they also killed or captured many people and took innumerable livestock as booty; but they did not find Jan Nazar Biy and ʿAbd al-ʿAziz Khan. Many Qazaqs made a *küren* [at] Aq-Öyräk, on the Aqcha-taw (?),[981] (944) and ensconced themselves there. The troops, like a sudden misfortune, rushed their horses at the *küren* from all sides, and in one assault[a] captured the *küren*, <having killed or captured many rebels>. Malik Aman and ʿAvaz, a slave (*qul*), showed great valor there. They moved off from there with copious booty, and on the way stopped once overnight; [then] they joined Ilyas Shighavul, who had remained with the train (*qosh*), and [all together] set out to return. In ten days they came to Teng-Yar-bashi. There they stayed for five days and divided their booty. [Then] they moved off, travelled for several days, and on Monday 8 Jumadi I[b] came to the city [of Khiva] and were honored with kissing the threshold of the sublime court. His majesty showed Soyun Biy great favor, appointed him commander (*sarkarda*) of thousand, mounted him on a steed with golden trappings, <and [thus] distinguished him among his peers and contemporaries>. He also granted Dosïm Biy and [Ilyas] Shighavul <fine> horses and <royal> outfits (*sarūpāy*). And his majesty chided Qïlïch Niyaz Bay, who had unjustly taken part of the booty from [his] soldiers, and ordered him to return whatever he had taken from anyone.

The events that happened in the country (*yurt*) after the biys had been dispatched on raid.

(945) On the first day of Rabiʿ II,[c] after his majesty had given the troops [under Soyun Biy] permission [for a raid], he attached Pahlavan Niyaz Bek to the Teke elders and sent him to collect *zakāt*. On the 6th of the same month, which was Friday,[d] [the khan] set out to Besh-Arïq Khitay to go duck-hunting. On that day the Qïzïlbash beks, whom his majesty had seized during his campaign [in Khorasan] and brought [to Khiva], as mentioned above,[e] set out [from the city] after the afternoon prayer, saying that they would follow the khan.

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[a] E: "in consecutive attacks."
[b] 17 April.
[c] 12 March.
[d] 17 March.
[e] See above, p. 414.

When they were in the region of Peshkanik, they feigned a brawl (?),[a] and at dusk[b] they seized Hasan the slave (*qul*), who was attached to them <as a guard>, bound him hand and foot and abandoned him <in the sands>, taking his horse; and they fled, [all] eighteen men,[c] taking the Khorasan road. Firewood gatherers (*otunchi*) found Hasan the slave at dawn, removed his bonds, and in the afternoon came to the city [of Khiva] and brought the news [of this incident]. As soon as he heard this news, *his majesty Allah-Quli Muhammad Bahadur Khan*,[982] (946) who had remained in the city <as the khan's deputy> when his father had gone hunting, sent the *nökers* of Niyaz Muhammad Bay, together with his own men, in pursuit. Those so assigned pursued [the fugitives] for several days, but were unable to overtake [them] and returned.

Another [event] was the following. On the first day of the same month, the late khan ordered his younger brother Muhammad Nazar Bek to dig a large canal through the waste-land (*boz*) south of Gurlen. Consequently, the aforementioned bek took great care in carrying out this order; he had [the canal] dug from Baghlan-arna,[983] passing by Qïyat and extending to the waste-land south of Oraz-ʿAli Inaq's orchard (*bāgh*), which stood on the waste-land, with its [other] end passing south of the Khitays of Yangi-qalʿa. <Having finished this work>, he joined his elder brother at Ambar and was honored with royal favors. At present this canal <in its lower part reaches the Sharqïrawq and> is known as Qïlïch-Niyaz-Bay-arna.[984]

Another event [was the following]. On 25 Rabiʿ II, a Thursday,[d] his majesty the late [khan] set out to [supervise] the dredging of the Khivanik canal, <which is known as Pahlavan-yap>, and in the evening lodged at the Sayyad *ḥawlī*. On Friday he went to Sarbantüpe, <which [marked] the upper limit of the *qazu*> and assigned sections (*chek*) to the workers (*qazuchi*).[e] On the fifth day <of the *qazu*>, which was Tuesday 2 Jumadi I,[f] [the work] was finished. On the Tuesday preceding his departure for the *qazu*, (947) Berdi Inaq arrived along with an ambassador from Bukhara. On Sunday, when the late khan was at the *qazu*, Sayyid Muhammad Hajji, ambassador

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[a] Text: *chirishbazlïq*; cf. *chïrmamaq*>*chïrmatmaq*, Budagov, I, 474.
[b] E: "after the evening prayer."
[c] E omits "eighteen men."
[d] 5 April (Wednesday).
[e] E: *kārgudhār va ḥasharīlar.*
[f] 11 April.

of ʿUmar Khan, the ruler (*ḥākim*) of Qoqan, [also] arrived <and was received at the court>.

Another event [was the following]. On Wednesday 10 Jumadi I,[a] the late khan set out to [supervise] the dredging of the Shahabad canal and lodged at Ambar. On Friday he went to Tashhawz, and on Saturday he saw a site suitable for building a town (*qalʿa*), and assigned land to all the amirs and servants (*mulāzim*). Late Sunday he came to Ambar. On Monday he went from Ambar to the *qazu*, examined [the work], and camped at Yangi-yap. On Tuesday, Muhammad Nazar Bek took the workers (*qazuchi*) from Khanqah, Uyghur, Bashqïr, Ming, and Baghlan, brought them [to a place] above the Gurlen bridge [on the Shahabad canal ?], and assigned them sections (*chek*) [for work].[b] On that day, Qurban Qïlïch Khan Salaq came from Khorasan and was honored with kissing the <threshold> of the royal court. On Tuesday, his majesty received him, lavished him with favors and honored him with the grant of precious robes of honor and a gold-studded belt, and he assigned him land (*yurt*)[c] for him to move [to Khorezm]. The dredging of the canal (*qazu*) was finished in twenty days. On Thursday 9 Jumadi II[d] [the khan] came to the royal capital Khiva. This expedition lasted for thirty days. On Saturday, he dismissed the Bukharan ambassador.

(948) THE EVENTS OF THE ELEVENTH YEAR SINCE THE AUSPICIOUS ACCESSION OF HIS MAJESTY THE LATE [KHAN].

How [the khan] moved the ever-victorious banners to Khorasan for the second time; how he subjected the Teke rebels to thorough punishment and with the hand of wrath tore life's thread from most of them; how he went into the mountains, so that the movement of the huge army caused the mountains to tremble; how he set up the army camp near the Gürgen and how the tribes of that region expressed their submission and obedience; and how his majesty set

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[a] 19 April.
[b] In E this sentence (from the words "Muhammad Nazar Bek") is omitted.
[c] E: "place of habitation and fields" (*mā'vā va mazārīʿ*).
[d] 18 May.

out for return journey, and how the grace of his arrival made the royal capital Khiva flourish.

[Untitled poem (6 verses).] (949) The Teke tribe at times would turn their neck away from the collar of obedience and submission and direct their steps to the desert of mutiny and rebellion, and would deviate from the strait path of loyalty and service and run wildly in all directions in the wilderness of ignorance and vice; and at times some of their scoundrels would come raiding and would kidnap gatherers of firewood (*otunchi*) and procurers of charcoal (*kömürchi*) from the well-protected kingdom [of Khorezm]. Therefore *his majesty Muhammad Rahim Bahadur Khan decided to teach this tribe a lesson and destroy and exterminate it*, and he sent *yasavuls*, as ferocious as Bahram, and *sürdavuls*, as fearsome as Mars, to all the provinces to assemble the army. Within a short time, an innumerable army was assembled, and weapons and supplies for the campaign were prepared. On Friday, the last day of Rabi' I 1231 A.H.,[a] [corresponding to] the Year of the Mouse, when the sun (950) was in the sign of Aries,[b] his majesty set out personally for Khorasan *and camped in the vicinity of Bederkend*.[985] He stayed there one day, and on Sunday moved off and set up the army camp and the royal headquarters at the lower reaches of the lake (? *su ayaqï*).[986] At that place he rested for three days, <to allow the ever-victorious troops to gather under the shadow of [khan's] ever-conquering banner>. On Thursday they moved off, marched swiftly by night for four days, and on Monday *camped in the environs of Orta-quduq*. On that day [the khan] sent Aymir Shaykh <as ambassador> to Gürgen, to the Yomuts, to have them come, with proper gifts and presents and with all their troops (*yïghïn*), to the royal court at Qïzïl-ribat. And he [also] sent Sattar-Quli Aqa to the Göklens,[c] to Sultan Khan,[987] and [sent] Qandïm Sardar to the Teke. On Tuesday he sent forward the qoshbegi, to have the wells at Bala-yi Sham[c][988] dredged.[d]

On Wednesday [the khan] moved *the army* from Orta-quduq and, after traveling for two days, *set up his camp* at Kurtish-Ata.[989] On Saturday he moved off from there and, after traveling for five

[a] 28 February 1816 (Wednesday).
[b] Corresponds to March.
[c] E: "to the ruler (*ḥākim*) of the Göklen *ulus*."
[d] Lit. "dug."

days, (951) on Thursday arrived at Qïzïl-ribat. On that day Mengli ʿAli Kafir, along with several <Gürgen> Yomut <chieftains>, came <and received the honor of kissing the royal threshold>. On Friday Sultan Khan came <and was honored with kissing the royal threshold>. On Saturday his majesty, the late king, gave an audience to Sultan Khan and honored and distinguished him by granting him innumerable presents. From there [the khan] moved off and camped at Qoch-Ata.[990] On Sunday he camped at Bami, and on Monday he had a breakfast at Beurma and camped at Archman.[991] On Tuesday he had a mid-day meal at Suncha-qalʿa[992] and lodged at Durun. On that day the [Khivan] soldiers (*alaman*) brought abundant booty and numerous prisoners <captured> from the people of Murcha-qalʿa.[993] <His majesty, out of his innate kindness>, set the prisoners free and sent ʿAvaz Yüzbashi <to the people of this fortress for reconciliation>, so that they might not worry, but live in tranquility.

On Wednesday [the khan] camped at Mehin, and on Thursday in Khirmantu. The Teke of Akhal, (952) having learned of the arrival of the *Khivan army*, <feared for their lives> and ensconced themselves, <along with their families>, in the Khirmantu gorge, like a swarm of flies, who flee and hide themselves from a gale. His majesty sent to them Muhammad Salih Khoja Ishan, Javanmard Khoja, Ersarï Khoja, Qandïm Sardar, and Dawlat Nazar Bay, with a promise of reconciliation (*istimālat*). On that same day Aymir Shaykh brought troops (*yïghïn*) from Gürgen to the royal court. On Friday, the men headed by Muhammad Salih <Khoja> Ishan and Javanmard Khoja returned, accompanied by two ambassadors <from the Teke, namely>, Mulla Mengli Dawlat from the Toqtamïsh <clan> and another one from the Otamïsh <clan>, with the following [promise]: "We will supply <at once> 200 men[a], and after his majesty the khan goes back, we will give, in addition, 200 hostages (*aq öyli*)." Although his majesty new about the seditious thoughts and downright mendacity and unreliability of that rebellious tribe, he accepted their deceitful and mischievous words upon the intercession of several amirs headed by *Shah Niyaz Ataliq* and of Qurban Qïlïch Khan, with the intention to let their (Teke's) rebellion and sedition become apparent to those who judge by appearances. So he gave a binding order <to the Teke ambassadors>: "Tomorrow morning, before breakfast, you

[a] E: *nökers*.

should bring your *nökers*; otherwise (953) you will earn royal punishment." Then he attached Javanmard Khoja, <Muhammad Salih Ishan> and Dawlat Nazar Bay to the ambassadors and sent them off. When on the next day, which was Saturday, the ambassadors had not come by breakfast time, his majesty set out personally against the rebels. On his way he met [the returning envoys], Javanmard Khoja, Muhammad Salih Ishan, and Dawlat Nazar Bay, who reported that tomorrow they would bring all the *nökers*, under the command of Murad Sardar's son. His majesty sent them back, telling them to bring [the *nökers*] promptly. That same day, <after> that wicked group <had returned the ambassadors>, many of their soldiers (*yïghïn*) came out <of the gorge> for a raid to capture some of the men sent around by the ever-victorious army to gather firewood (*otunchi*) and fodder (*otchi*). At that time a number of horsemen from the ever-victorious army, <having noticed the enemy troops from afar>, went out [of the camp] and *joined battle with them*. [*Mathnavī.*] (954) The despicable enemy troops were unable to withstand the repeated attacks of the [Khivan] warriors and, retreating and attacking, *finally took to flight*. The [Khivan] warriors spurred their horses in pursuit and *with their swords and lances killed most of the fleeing enemies*. The rest of them withdrew to the gorge with great difficulty, piled up stones to block the entrance, sent riflemen (*mergen*) to the mountains on both sides of the gorge, and began firing [at the Khivan troops]. From our side, his imperial majesty, the late king, came to the entrance to the gorge and stopped there, [magnificent] as a mountain, as [the Qur'ān says:] "*And the mountains as pegs.*"[a] *Amir Karim-Berdi Atalïq, Qutlugh Muhammad Inaq, and Sultan Khan*, (955) who were on the left wing [of the army], climbed to the mountain on the east side of the gorge and drew up the ever-victorious troops. Allash Biy and Soyun Biy, who were exemplars of bravery and valor, went forward and sent <the commanders of the *shamkhālchī*s>, ʿAvaz-Berdi Yüzbashi, Ish Muhammad Yüzbashi, and Bek Niyaz Yüzbashi, with their *nökers*, to climb the mountain from both sides and to open fire with the *shamkhāls*. They fired their *shamkhāls* so [intensely] that *the smoke covered the sun and the thundrous sound deafened the heavens*. And the moment was close when the rebellious assemblage *would be destroyed by the mus-

[a] Qur'ān, LXXVIII,7.

ketballs, lances, and swords [of the Khivan army]*, but at that time the perspicacious amir Shah Niyaz Atalïq asked his majesty to forgive their sins: "Pardon them today, and if they do not come tomorrow [to show their obedience], their sins will be on their own shoulders; perhaps now they will resolve to correct themselves." Thanks to his perfectly pure nature and boundless generosity, his majesty accepted this request, and so the aforementioned atalïq went to the ever-victorious troops and ordered them to return. But before the atalïq went [to the troops], Ish Muhammad Yüzbashi had been struck in the forehead by an arrow and killed, and Oraz Parikhan Yüzbashi had been wounded in the mouth. His majesty (956) returned victorious and triumphant and came to the encampment (*senger*). On that night Javanmard Khoja and Dawlat Nazar Bay came, accompanied by the ambassadors <of the governors of Kurdistan>, Najaf ʿAli Khan Shadillu and Riza-Quli Khan Zaʿfaranlu, who submitted the following petition to the servants of the royal court, professing their loyalty: "Our people (*jamāʿa*) have come to Qushkhana <and live there>; we will obey any order <of his majesty>." On Sunday [the khan] left that place and camped closer to the gorge. On Monday his majesty attached Dawlat Qara-Köz and Qïlïch Niyaz Bay, <servants of the royal court>, to the ambassadors of the Kurds, and sent them with the following message: "If you are loyal (*el*) to us, don't fail to attack the Teke." [The khan also] honored Jan Muhammad Qazi, Dawlat Nazar Bay, and Khoja Nazar <Bek, who were the leaders of the loyal and obedient Teke>, with royal favors, and granted them two decrees (*yarlïq*). One of them was of the following content: "Anyone from the tribe of Teke who joins you and comes to Khorezm is pardoned, and anyone who does not join you will be subject to royal punishment; and if the ever-victorious army encounters anyone [of those who go to Khorezm], it should not cause them any harm."[a] And the other [decree was] of the following content: "We have granted [the land in] the [region] of Lower Nayman (*Nayman Ayaqï*) <in Khorezm> to the aforementioned chieftains (*akābir*), along with their subjects (*tavābiʿi*). (957) As soon as you see this decree, transfer [the land] to them without delay."[b]

The same day, after breakfast, [the khan] sent Sultan Khan, Allash Biy, Soyun Biy, Dosïm Biy, and Esen Bay Biy, along with a 4,000-

[a] In E the last sentence (from "and if") omitted.
[b] In E this sentence omitted.

man detachment of troops [headed by] Yomut chieftains, to raid the regions up to the Tezhen. And in the evening he sent Khal Niyaz Yüzbashi, <who was a well-known robber>, Jahangir Bek, and Iskandar Bek Bukhari, along with twenty men on foot, to the entrance to the gorge in order to capture a prisoner for interrogation. Before they reached the gorge, they had encountered six horsemen, but the latter, having recognized them from afar, fled and escaped. Then they came across two horsemen; they captured and killed one of them, while the other one abandoned his horse and escaped in the mountains. Those so assigned brought two horses and one [severed] head, and were honored with royal favor. Three days passed without event. On Thursday Teke robbers killed Qotur Shaghal, along with seven men, and fled. On Friday, news came from the commanders sent raiding <to Tezhen, and on Saturday they returned [themselves]>.[a] *Be it known* that after the commanders had departed [from khan's camp], they promptly went straight northward, and on Wednesday *fell upon* one nomadic encampment (*oba*), slaughtered all the men there, took the women and children prisoner and captured their livestock as booty. <They made a quick march again, and> on Thursday, near Qarï-chirla, (958) south of Eshek-Siyan well,[994] they encountered the encampment of a group of the Sïchmaz tribe and fought with them from early morning to the time of mid-morning prayer. At that time Aman Dawlat Bay, Bayram ʿAli Bay, and one more man, along with their families, [left] the rebels, putting themselves under the protection of Sultan Khan. Three times the [Khivan] commanders sent Aman Dawlat Bay to the people of that *oba* telling them that if they came out, their lives and property would be spared, but if they persisted with their rebellion, they themselves would be responsible for their blood being shed. That foolish group paid no heed to these words, became even more intent upon its rebellion and sedition, and exchanged fire [with the Khivan troops]. Finally, *the brave warriors drew their swords*, dismounted from their horses, and stormed [the *oba*]. [*Mathnavī*, describing the capture of the encampment and the slaughter of its inhabitants.] (959) Thus, more than two hundred people were *put to the sword* and sent to the next world along the straight path of destruction, while (960) many women and children perished under the hooves of horses.

[a] The text in C is not clear.

[The troops] captured more than 270 women and children, and, returning on Saturday to the royal court with plentiful booty, were honored with royal favors and largesses. On Sunday, his majesty divided the booty brought by them equally among all the troops.

On Monday [the khan] went back and camped west of the first campsite (*senger*), on the bank of the river Garm-ab.[995] On Tuesday he moved off and stopped at Mehin, and on Wednesday he lodged at Murcha. On that evening he set an ambush at Mehin, under the command of Allash Biy, Soyun Biy, the elders (*kedkhuda*) of the Yomuts, Yemreli, and Chowdurs, and the Qaraqalpaq biys, along with 300 men. On Thursday, before his majesty had left Murcha, news came that the enemy had skirmished with the [Khivan] scouts (*qaravullar*). [The khan] sent an order that they should not engage, but slowly draw [the enemy] closer [to the main part of the army],[a] so that the enemy would be ambushed and destroyed. When this order reached the biys, who were in Durun, they began <to retreat> without fighting, drawing the enemy closer. And his majesty sent Qandïm Sardar and Muhammad Qïlïch, who were at Suncha,[996] along with 150 men, to come to the aid <of the ever-victorious troops> if fighting should take place. <Those so assigned went quickly, but>, being uninformed, took the enemy for their own [troops] and came quite close to them. The enemy troops fled [from them], (961) but when they reached the large detachment lying in ambush, they turned back. Here some fighting took place, in which Pahlavan Niyaz Bek, Iskandar Bek Bukhari, Malik Aman Kati, and several more men were killed, while Jahangir Bek, fighting bravely, captured a horse from the enemy. On the side of the Teke, Muhammad Zaman Sardar, <who was a chieftain of the rebels>, was killed with a pitiless sword, and his [severed] head was brought to the royal court.

As soon as his majesty heard about this event, he set out <with the royal army> in pursuit <of the rebels> and, having chased them beyond Durun, turned back and camped at Archman. On Friday he moved off and camped in the fields of Beurma and Langar. At that place he handed over the male <Teke> prisoners to the <relatives of those among the ever-victorious troops who had been killed [by the Teke]>, and had them all slaughtered <in revenge>. On Saturday, the first day of Jumadi I [1231],[b] he moved off from there

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[a] E: "to this side."

[b] 29 March 1816 (Friday). The date is apparently wrong: from the previous date

and camped at Bami, and on Sunday camped at Qoch-Ata. On Monday he sent Baba ʿArab back to the city [of Khiva],[a] <*moved the army to the mountains*>, entered the Qara-Qadaq gorge, and camped near a spring called Kiri; this spring is the source of the Qïzïl-ribat river. On Tuesday, he *left Qara-Qadaq and camped <near> Khoja-qalʿa*.[997] (962) On Wednesday, the 5th of the month,[b] [the khan] stayed at the same place and sent Sultan Khan and Qutluq Muhammad Inaq, with a small number of troops, to move off the Qaradashlï people who lived at the eastern edge of the Hisar-tagh.[998] On Thursday he left that place and camped on the bank of the Ters-Aqar <river>,[999] and on Friday he camped on the bank of the Sumbar river. On Saturday, the 8th of the month,[c] he moved off from there and came to Mir-Sarayi, where there is a spring. But at that place it rained without end, and due to the mud, the troops suffered great difficulties; [the khan] stayed there Sunday to allow the troops, who were behind, to catch up. On Monday he left and *set up his camp* on the bank of the Chandïr river. As to the commanders who had been sent <earlier to move off the Qaradashlï people>, they, as ordered, moved off the Qaradashlï who had lived on the banks of the Közsiz-su and the Yuvan-su,[1000] more than 750 families (*öylük*) in all, resettled them to Shaytan-qalʿa, near Qarrï-qalʿa,[1001] <and went back>. Qutlugh Muhammad Inaq, along with his troops, (963) on Sunday *came [to the khan]* in Mir-Sarayi, while Sultan Khan had remained to prepare presents [for the khan], and came to the royal court on [the banks of] the Chandïr. His majesty stayed on the banks of the Chandïr through Tuesday, and on Wednesday, the 12th of the month,[d] he camped at the entrance to the Qaplanlï gorge.[1002] On Thursday he came to the place called Öylük, on the bank of the Atrek. At that place Sultan Khan presented his majesty with a white tent (*aq öy*),[1003] two male slaves, one female slave, two horses, and two hundred sheep, and arranged a fine banquet and rendered laudable service. He covered the ground

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mentioned, 30 Rabiʿ I/28 February (see above, p. 430), 42 days have passed, according to the account of Agahi; thus, it should have been 15 Jumadi I/12 April (Wednesday). If the date is correct, there must have been errors in the preceding account.

[a] In E this sentence omitted.

[b] 2 April (Tuesday).

[c] 5 April (Friday).

[d] 9 April (Tuesday).

[at the place of the banquet] with expensive fabrics, and he scattered upon [those present at the banquet] innumerable coins and precious stones. [In return], he had the honor of receiving royal favors <and innumerable gifts>. [*Qiṭʿa.*]

That same day his majesty sent Mengli ʿAli Kafir and Sayyid Nazar Bek Yemreli <as ambassadors> to Najaf ʿAli Khan, (964) to find out whether he was going to be loyal or hostile. And he sent Oghlan Ishan to the Göklens with encouragement and an offer to come <to the khan> without fear. On Friday [the khan] moved off <from the banks of the Atrek>, on his way camped at two stations,[a] and on Sunday stopped at Chinaran[1004] and made a fortified camp (*senger*). On Monday, Igdir troops, headed by Mulla ʿArab, came to the royal court. On that day ʿAvaz Muhammad Bay died. On Tuesday and Wednesday [the khan] remained at the same place <and rested>, and on Thursday he entered the Qïzïlja gorge[1005] and camped there. On Friday he camped on the bank of the Gürgen river at Qara-tüpe.[1006] On that day came the leaders of the Bayandïr, Qara-Talqanlu and Ergachlu [clans] of the Göklens of Qara-tüpe, [namely] Avaja Onbegi <Bayandïr>, Allah-Berdi Qara-Talqanlu, Muhammad-Quli Ergachlu, and others, expressed their submission and obedience, <and were granted the honor of kissing the [royal] threshold>. They were exalted with [the grants of] royal outfits (*sarūpāy*) and left with a promise to move off and come [to Khorezm?]. On Saturday [the khan] moved off and camped on the bank of the Gürgen, opposite Derregez.[1007]

(965) <It appeared that the Qïzïlbash chieftains>—Mahdi-Quli Khan Qajar, Mustafa Khan Beglerbegi, Farajallah[b] Khan, Ismaʿil Tillai's younger brother Zu'l-Fiqar Khan, governor of Semnan, Muhammad Husayn Khan Karrai Qïrq, and Adina Husayn Khan Bayandïr—along with around 10,000 men, having heard that his imperial majesty had set out for the conquest of the world, like Alexander, and was coming to that region, ensconced themselves at Peserek.[1008] <This news reached his majesty, and>, from Qara-tüpe, he sent the Yomut troops on raid against Peserek. Those so assigned came at night and lay in ambush, and in the morning they raided the Qïzïlbashes. They captured plentiful booty and [many] prisoners, and came to the royal court at Derregez, bringing [their spoils]

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[a] So E; C has "stayed overnight once" (hardly possible).
[b] *FI Text ed.* has a misprint: "Farrohallah."

and one head [of a slain enemy]. On Sunday, [the khan] sent Sultan Khan, along with the Yomut and Göklen troops, [against the Qïzïlbashes]. They encountered the enemy outposts and had a skirmish, in which two men of Muhammad Husayn Karrai were killed, and two Yomuts were taken prisoner [by the Qïzïlbashes]. That same day Mengli ʿAli Kafir (966) and Sayyid Nazar Bek returned accompanied by the ambassadors from Najaf ʿAli Khan and Riza-Quli Khan.

On Monday, two thieves, [one] a Göklen and [another] from the Ata tribe (*khalq*) [living] among the Yomuts, were caught. <By royal order>, they were loaded into a cannon <like a cannon-ball, as a warning to the onlookers>, and [the cannon] was fired.[1009] On Tuesday, a man came from the Göklens with a promise that [they would] move off. They took with them Sultan Khan and Qutlugh Muhammad Inaq, <so that they help them to migrate; but, having gone to their encampments (*oba*)>, they were unable to move off in fear of the Qïzïlbashes, and [instead] they fled to a gorge. On Wednesday, [the khan] appointed Qutlugh Muhammad Inaq, Sultan Khan, Yomut and Chowdur chiefs (*akābir*), as well as, <from among the army commanders (*sipahdār*)>, Hubbi-Quli Khoja and Muhammad Karim Qoychi, along with 2,000 of the ever-victorious troops, to attack the Qïzïlbashes. They returned after a skirmish. On Thursday, the 26th of the aforementioned month [of Jumadi I],[a] his majesty himself girded his waist with the belt of resolution, put the coat of mail of reliance on his shoulders, drew the sword of valor from the sheath of vengeance, mounted the steed of zeal, set the ever-victorious banner in motion, adorned the auspicious right wing and the fortunate left wing [of the army] with the famous warriors and innumerable fighters, and, having reached the foothills of the mountains, drew up the troops in battle array. And the Qïzïlbashes also decorated their ill-omened left wing and ill-omened right wing with their troops doomed to defeat, went up the mountain, and drew up their ranks. At that time, (967) by royal order, *the [Khivan] artillery opened fire and caused great losses to the enemy. Then the brave warriors went forward onto the battlefield and joined battle with a large group of the enemy which opposed them. In the fierce fighting that followed, the Khivan warriors shed so much of the enemy's blood that

[a] 23 April (Tuesday).

it painted the surface of the mountains and the steppe; and the execrable heads of the Qïzïlbashes were kicked by the horses' feet as if they were balls in a polo game; and the dust raised by the hooves of the horses concealed the sun; and the pandemonium in the mountains caused by the battlecries of the warriors was like the uproar of the Day of Resurrection. After the battle had lasted for a short time, the sun set, (968) and the stars appeared in the sky.* The troops of the infidels were thrown into confusion, and his majesty moved the ever-victorious banners [back] and went to the royal camp. In this battle, a few men from the army of Islam were wounded and six were killed. Among those killed were Berdi Inaq, Khuday Nazar Qaq, Muhammad Niyaz Sardar Okuz, and others, while among the wounded were Iskandar Khoja, Javanmard Khoja, and seven more men. As to the troops of the infidels, *a great many of them perished from the blows of swords and lances and went straight to hell*.

On Friday, the 27th of the aforementioned month,[a] Avaja Onbegi came <to the royal court> and asked [to send] somebody with him to help move off his people (*el va aḥshām*). His majesty attached to him Sayyid Niyaz Mutavalli and dispatched him [for this purpose]. On Saturday [the khan] rested, and on Sunday, the last day of the same month,[b] he set out and camped near Qojuq-qalʿa, at the place called Qazuqlï. That same day he appointed Sultan Khan, ʿAvaz Yüzbashi, and Jeren Yüzbashi, along with the Göklen troops, to help the tribe of Avaja Onbegi migrate <promptly>. On Monday 1 Rajab he stayed at [the same] place; this day was the 30th of the month of Jawzā.[c]

(969) On Tuesday, he set out from there and camped again at Derregez, having passed the place of his former encampment (*qosh*).[d] On Wednesday he <left and> came to Qara-tüpe. On that evening ʿAvaz Yüzbashi and Jeren Yüzbashi, who had separated from Sultan Khan in the locality called Keng-jay, came to the khan. On Thursday,

[a] 27 Jumadi I/24 April (Wednesday).
[b] 27 April (Saturday).
[c] The date 1 Rajab is an error: it should be 1 Jumadi II/29 April. However, 30th day of Jawzā of Khorezmian zodiacal calendar indeed corresponds to 1 Rajab/27 May (Monday), but it was one month later than the events mentioned here. It follows that all subsequent dates in the account of this campaign mentioning "the same month" should be understood as Jumadi II.
[d] E: *senger*.

the 4th of the month, [the khan] stayed <at the same place> and sent Sayyid Nazar Bek Yemreli, having attached him to the ambassadors of the Kurds, to Najaf ʿAli Khan and Riza-Quli Khan. He also sent ʿAvaz Yüzbashi, along with a man of Sultan Khan, to Sultan Khan, ordering him to come along with the Göklen elders (*kedkhuda*). On Friday [the khan] also remained there, and on Saturday he left Qara-tüpe, entered the Gökche gorge[1010] and camped [there]. On Sunday he camped at the place called Chat, where the Chandïr and Sumbar rivers flow into the Atrek.[1011] On Monday, the 8th of the aforementioned month, he crossed the Atrek. On Tuesday he stayed [there]. At that place ʿAvaz Yüzbashi and Mir Dawlat Sardar came from Sultan Khan and brought the news that the latter had arrived at the bank of the Chandïr. His majesty sent their ('Avaz' and Mir Dawlat's) companions [to Sultan Khan] with [the following] message: "We are moving off tomorrow morning, come to us promptly." On Wednesday he set out and camped at another place. On that evening, at the time of the night prayer, Sultan Khan, along with the Göklen elders, arrived at the royal court.

On Thursday [the khan] (970) *set out* from that place and camped at Garricha, which is the name of a rainpit (*qaq*) located west of the Küren-tagh. On that day he honored Sultan Khan with royal favors and regal largesses, and dismissed him. At the time of the night prayer, he set out and, after a night march, camped at Aji-qaq. He set out from there and at mid-morning on Friday camped at Gabr-qaq located between the Balqan and the Küren mountains. Having moved off from there, he marched by night and set up his camp in the environs of Dana-Ata.[1012] There he had a midday meal,[a] and on Saturday he <left and> set up *the royal camp* in the sands. Having set out from there, he camped on Sunday in the sands [near] Jiyen-Muhammad-qaq. He left there and on Monday camped at <a place> [called] Yasqa.[1013] There he stayed for one day <to rest>, and on Wednesday he left, marched by night, and at noon set up the army camp at Qara-Tegelek[1014] and on the bank of the Aṣḥāb-su. In the afternoon he set out from there and camped in yet another place. On Thursday, the 18th of the same month [of Jumadi II],[b] he moved off, had a midday meal at a rainpit (*qaq*) on the edge of Jamal-Ayi, and in the evening camped again at another rainpit within

[a] E omits the words "There he had a midday meal."
[b] 14 June (Friday).

the confines of Jamal-Ayi. (971) On Friday evening he left, and in mid-morning stopped at one place, then left and in the evening camped at another place. On Saturday evening he marched in the night and camped after having crossed the Üch-Taghan sands.[1015] There he had a midday meal, and in the evening came to Aq-Yaylaq. On Sunday he ordered all <the troops> to fill their water-skins and flasks, at noon set out, and, having stopped once overnight, on Monday afternoon camped in the vicinity of Orta-quduq. On Tuesday he left Orta-quduq and, after having travelled rapidly, with two overnight stops, on Thursday noon arrived at Khatib-qaq. <At that place> many horses and camels perished because of hot weather, burning sands, and lack of water, <so that most of the troops remained unmounted>. From there [the khan] moved off on Friday and camped at Ayrï-Tam. At that place, thanks to God's favor, rain fell and formed a rainpit, so that all the troops quenched their thirst. On Saturday [the khan] set out from there and camped at Chaghïllï-gerish.[1016] From there he moved off in the early afternoon, and, after a night march, on Sunday, the 28th of the same month,[a] at dawn, he lodged at the Bederkend *ḫawlī*. Having recited there the mid-morning prayer, he set out and, happily and auspiciously, arrived at the city [of Khiva], (972) and [thus] brought boundless joy to the inhabitants of the capital.[1017]

Some events which occured after his majesty's return to the capital of the caliphate.

The same year, that is 1231 A.H., on 1 Sha'ban,[b] a number of scoundrels from among the Turkmen rebels living in <the region of> Merv formed a party and set out for thievery in the well-protected kingdom <of Khorezm>. They went <towards the Jayhun>, and when they reached the bank of the river, they killed two shepherds in <the vicinity of> Sadvar[c1018] and fled, having captured a few animals. *The great amir Qutlugh Murad Inaq*, who <was the governor> of Hazarasp, learned about this incident and sent Dawlat Murad Bek, along with a hundred men, in pursuit. Those so assigned rode quickly, and when they passed Darghan and reached <the locality of> Kökerjinli, they overtook [the Turkmens]. The

[a] 24 June (Monday).
[b] 26 June 1816.
[c] In E vocalized.

rebels, *seeing that they could not withstand their attack*, abandoned all the animals they had captured, took to flight, plunged into the river or hid in the thickets, *and, with great difficulties, escaped (973) from the soldiers. The troops* <were unable to find them, despite a long search>, and, after having taken all the animals [abandoned by the Turkmens], returned victorious and triumphant. On the 9th of the same month,[a] his imperial majesty sent Qandïm Sardar with an embassy to Bukhara, and on 10 Ramazan, a Saturday,[b] a Bukharan ambassador, Nur Muhammad Bek Toqsavul-bashi Toq-Mangït, brought a letter from amir Haydar declaring his friendship (*ikhlāṣ-nāma*).

The raid of Qaqa Sardar and Mengli ʿAli Sardar against the Teke of Merv.

On the 12th of the aforementioned month, a Monday,[c] his late majesty ordered Qaqa Sardar, Mengli ʿAli Sardar, Ata Niyaz Mergen, Sumbar Sardar, as well as Khallï Atalïq, from among the Uzbeks, along with *200 troops*, to raid the Teke. Those so assigned *marched at a great speed* eastward from Dengiz-quduq; and on Wednesday the 21st of the same month,[d] they burst into the encampment (*oba*) of Muhammad Niyaz Qazi, consisting of seventeen families, which belonged to the Arïq clan [of the Teke] and was situated in the locality of Gök-tüpe, in the lower reaches of the Merv river, a half-day's journey from [the city of] Merv. They *killed* twenty or thirty men, took prisoner the women and children, who numbered nearly forty, plundered their livestock and (974) property, <and went back>. On Wednesday, the 28th of the same month,[e] they came to the sublime court. His majesty *granted all of them numerous presents* from the royal treasury (*khazīna-i iḥsān*), and distinguished them with the gifts of precious robes of honor from his royal wardrobes (*jāma-khāna-i iltifāt*).[f]

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[a] 4 July.
[b] 3 August.
[c] 5 August.
[d] 14 August.
[e] 21 August.
[f] E has different version: "[The khan] granted the soldiers who killed the [enemy] men 6 *ṭillā* [per head], and those who brought prisoners—5 *ṭillā* for each, [and] he granted them [also] royal outfits."

The raid of Murad Sardar against the Teke of Akhal.

Murad Sardar, a Yomut chieftain, along with a number of brave warriors under his command, obtained his majesty's permission and, on the first day of Shavval,[a] went on raid against the Teke. Within seven days, they <arrived> at a well south of Akhal (?),[b] killed eight Teke, took two men prisoner, captured around 400 camels, and went back. And in the middle of the same month,[c] his majesty dismissed and sent back Nur Muhammad Bek Toqsavul-bashi, who had [earlier] come as ambassador from Bukhara.

The raid of Baghi Bek Bahadur on the region of Bami [and] Beurma.

On 23 Shavval, (975), a Sunday,[d] Baghi Bek Bahadur, a Yomut <chieftain>, having received his majesty's permission, led a number of troops and went quickly by way of Orta-quduq <to raid the Teke tribe>. At a well in the environs of Bami [and] Beurma, they entered <a Teke encampment (*oba*)> like hungry lions, *killed seven or eight men and cut off their heads*, captured innumerable camels, and went back. On 11 Zu'l-Qa'da,[e] they returned to the city [of Khiva]. On the 12th of the same month, a Thursday,[f] Khal Nefes Atalïq, the leader of the Teke of Qïzïl-ribat, came as an ambassador along with seven [other] men from seven Teke clans; they were honored with kissing the court's threshold. On the 27th of the same month,[g] his majesty dismissed them and, having attached to them <Khoja Jan Khoja known as> Hubbi-Quli Khoja, <sent [the latter] to the Teke [as an ambassador]>. On the first day of Zu'l-Hijja, which was Tuesday,[h] Hubbi-Quli Khoja left for the place of his destination, along with the Teke.[i] That same day, Nurum Töre, a Qazaq rebel and a younger brother of Arang Ghazi Khan,[1019] along with twenty two <Qazaq> horsemen, came <to Khorezm intending to commit robbery>; they fell upon the procurers of charcoal (*kömürchi*),

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[a] 24 August.
[b] So the text; apparently an error, instead of "north of Akhal."
[c] About 9 September.
[d] 15 September.
[e] 2 October.
[f] 3 October.
[g] 18 October.
[h] 22 October.
[i] In E the words beginning with "Hubbi-Quli Khoja" are omitted.

<who were crossing [the Amu-Darya] at Khanqah <crossing, captured their animals>, and fled. Three days later this news reached the servants of his majesty, and Soyun Biy and ʿAvaz Yüzbashi were sent in pursuit. (976) They pursued the Qazaqs for seven or eight days, but were unable to overtake them, and returned.

The departure of Soyun Bahadur for a campaign to the Dasht-i Qïpchaq, and his raid against the Qazaq tribes.

On the third day of the Festival of the Sacrifice, which was 12 Zu'l-Hijja,[a] a Saturday, the late king appointed Soyun Bahadur son of Muhammad Niyaz Sardar Chowdur, along with Qïlïch Yüzbashi Manghït, Qïlïch Bahadur Khitay, and 250 men, of which four parts were formed by the Chowdur and the Yemreli, [for a raid] against the Qazaqs, having made Amir, the Qaraqalpaq, their guide (*bashchi*).[b] Those so assigned crossed the [Amu] river on Thursday, and on Saturday, the 19th of the same month,[c] they left *chungul* and passed near Kökche. They went quickly for nine days, and on the tenth day encountered a group of four families (*öylük*) in the vicinity of Aqcha-Tengiz, of which two were Qaraqalpaqs and two were Qazaqs. They killed the Qazaqs, made the Qaraqalpaqs their guides, and went forward. <The same day>, by night, they fell upon the tribe of Üch-Bölek, slaughtered their men, took their children and women prisoner, captured their property and animals, and, having left a number of troops to guard them, went forward themselves at high speed. (977) At midnight they saw a fire and went in that direction. There were families of two Qazaqs, who were brothers, near that fire. By chance, on that night the elder brother had come home with twenty two[d] [other] Qazaqs, <who came on some matter of business>. *The soldiers put all of them to the sword*, plundered their livestock and belongings, and moved on again. At dawn, in the region of Qara-Saqal, which is close to Qopalï, they fell upon the encampment (*aul*) of Bulan Biy, a relative of Turan Bahadur, like divine punishment. <By chance, at that moment Bulan Biy> himself came out of his tent to relieve himself. He realized from the uproar of the troops that they were hostile, and went into a thicket and saved himself. Be it known that he had recently come from the

[a] 2 November.
[b] E: *ghajarchi*.
[c] 9 November.
[d] E: many.

tribe of Arang Ghazi Khan, by [the latter's] order, and was gathering troops and provisions (*qonalgha*) <for a raid on Khorezm>, and his encampment (*aul*) had seventeen families (*öylük*). The ever-victorious troops plundered all of them, captured all their women and children and slaughtered the men. The next day, before noon, the troops came across a caravan of that people, which was a veritable Korah's treasure and was coming from Bukhara. The auspicious troops plundered their merchandise as well, and at noon went back. (978) On 21 Muharram 1232 A.H., which was a Tuesday,[a] *they came to the royal court* and were honored by royal gifts.[1020]

<THE EVENTS OF THE TWELFTH YEAR SINCE THE AUSPICIOUS ACCESSION OF HIS LATE MAJESTY>.

The following day, which was <22 Muharram>, a Wednesday,[b] a Qazaq rebel named Sarï Khoja, along with 200 men, came and lay in ambush at Shor-Bulaq;[1021] they captured a purveyor of charcoal (*kömürchi*) from Hazarasp by the name of Baba Makhzum, along with a Qaraqalpaq man, and went back. On their way they captured four Qaraqalpaqs returning from Bukhara and killed them, while [another] one fled and escaped. After this, they captured four or five flocks of sheep belonging to the stockbreeders of Bukhara up the river [Amu] from the Bazergan thicket, along with five shepherds, and turned back. But both Baba Makhzum and the Qaraqalpaq fled and escaped. News about [all] this reached *Qutlugh Murad Inaq* at Hazarasp, and he appointed Dost Nazar Katavul and ʿAbd ar-Rahman Yüzbashi, with a number of horsemen, to pursue the Qazaqs. Those so assigned went at a great speed, overtook [the Qazaqs] in the locality of Qosh-Bulaq,[1022] (979) *took two of them prisoner, killed another one*, and returned.

In the middle of Muharram,[c] his majesty sent Sumbar Sardar to Sultan Khan, the ruler (*ḥākim*) of the Göklens. On the 29th of the same month, a Wednesday,[d] ambassadors from the Teke and from the Qïzïlbashes [arrived and] were granted the honor of kissing the royal threshold.

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[a] 10 December 1816.
[b] 11 December.
[c] Early December 1816.
[d] 18 December.

<How Qaqa Sardar raided the Qazaqs, and Taghan Niyaz Bahadur attacked a caravan on the Irdar road.>

That same day[a] his imperial majesty appointed Qaqa Sardar, Ata Niyaz Mergen, and Mengli Sardar, <from among the Yomut nobles>, along with a thousand Yomuts, to raid the Qazaqs, and he sent <the Chowdur nobles—> Taghan Niyaz Bahadur Abdal, Qïlïch Yüzbashi, Bayli Yüzbashi, and Husayn Sardar[1023]—along with 700 Chowdurs and Yemreli, to Irdar road, having attached to them Töre Bek Qïyat Qaraqalpaq as a guide. Muhammad Niyaz Yasavulbashi, a royal retainer and confidant (*maḥram-i rāz*), counted them, had them cross the [Amu] river, and returned. On Saturday 16 Safar [1232],[b] news came that they had attacked and captured numerous Qazaq caravans on Irdar road. On Wednesday, the 20th of the aforementioned month,[c] Sumbar Sardar, who had gone to Sultan Khan, returned. On Friday, the 22nd of the same month,[d] (980) in the evening, news came that the Yomut troops <of Qaqa Sardar> had raided the Qazaqs; <they returned with plentiful booty and were granted the honor of kissing the royal threshold>. On the last day of the same month,[e] [the khan] dismissed the Teke ambassadors, having attached to them Khoja Jan Khoja and Qandïm Sardar [as his own ambassadors]. And he sent off the Qïzïlbash ambassadors, having attached to them Bek Niyaz Naib.[f]

How Soyun Biy raided the people (*el*) of Arang Ghazi Khan among the Qazaqs, and how Arang Ghazi <Khan> fled and hid in a thicket (*tughay*).

On Monday 9 Rabiʿ I,[g] his majesty, the late king, appointed Soyun Biy, <a Qïyat noble>, as a commander, and put [the following] under his command: Dosïm Biy, Ilyas Shighavul and Dawlat Qara-Köz, <the great amirs>; ʿAvaz-Berdi Yüzbashi, Beki Yüzbashi and Muhammad Sharif Yüzbashi, the *shamkhālchī*s; Aman Bay Yüzbashi

[a] E: "The last day of the same month, Thursday."
[b] 4 January 1817.
[c] 8 January.
[d] 10 January.
[e] 17 January.
[f] C has here the heading for the beginning of the 12th year of reign of Muhammad Rahim Khan—obviously, misplaced.
[g] 26 January (Sunday).

and Bek Pulad Yüzbashi, the military commanders (*sipahdār*); Qaqa Sardar and Mengli ʿAli Sardar, the Yomuts; Husayn[a] Bahadur son of Muhammad Niyaz Sardar, the Chowdur; ten men, headed by Dost Nazar Katavul, from among the *yüzbashi*s of Qutlugh Murad Inaq; and most of the *yüzbashi*s of the Qaraqalpaqs headed by Dawlat Nazar Biy. He assigned 8,000 troops to them, (981) and sent them on raid against the Qazaqs. That same day, Kejek, a younger brother of Sayghundï Bay Qazaq, <a wealthy and distinguished man>, came as an ambassador <from his brother>, with the following [message]: "We, four or five families of the [Qazaq] subjects headed by Sayghundï Bay, have separated from the majority of the Qazaqs and are coming here; we will obey and follow any orders of his majesty."

On Tuesday, <as ordered>, the Soyun Biy's men left the city [of Khiva], crossed the river [Amu] at the Qïpchaq crossing, and camped in the vicinity of Chilpuq, until the troops had [all] assembled. On Sunday, the 16th of the aforementioned month,[b] when 10,000 troops had gathered, they left Chilpuq and went towards their destination. After sixteen days [of travel], at Ayrï-Tam, they encountered the Sayghundï Bay's flock of sheep and plundered it. From that place they sent one of the shepherds as an envoy to Sayghundï Bay; they themselves continued their ride, and within four days they reached the Quvang <river>. The next day they again sent an envoy to Sayghundï Bay, whose encampment (*aul*) was in that region. They left there Ilyas Shighavul with the train and baggage (*aghruq va buna*), crossed the Quvang and moved on. At noon they reached Jankent-qalʿa, situated on the bank of the Sïr river. At that place the troops received permission for a raid, and they all at once rushed forward <at great speed>.

(982) When they reached Qara-tüpe, the ever-victorious troops divided into three groops. Soyun Biy himself led the central group. By the time of the afternoon prayer, they passed Aq-Öyräk [and?] Aqcha-taw, and came out onto the plateau (*qïr*), and at the time of the evening prayer overtook the fleeing Qazaq rebels. [The troops] set about killing and slaying them until the time of the night prayer; they took many Qazaqs prisoner and captured abundant booty, then turned back, descended from the plateau by midnight and camped. The next day they went westward along the stretch of land separating

[a] E: "Soyun" (which is a popular pronunciation of Husayn).
[b] 2 February.

the Sïr from the Quvang, plundered the tribes which lived on both sides <of the river> and took prisoners, then moved on again; at midnight they stopped at a certain place and rested. The next day they again raided [the Qazaqs in] that area, and before noon came to Jankent, with plentiful booty and innumerable prisoners. At that time it snowed so heavily that in most places horses would sink into the snow up to their breasts, and in some places the snow accumulated up to the height of a camel's neck. The ever-victorious troops in turn marched forward and cleared the road. During this march, a Qaraqalpaq named Mulla Sarïtay served as a guide. (983) The ever-victorious troops moved off from Jankent, and the next day came to the Quvang. But Arang Ghazi Khan, whose tribe and followers (*el va aḥshāmi*) were in Jankent, had received the news of the raid in advance, and had moved off from Jankent and fled, entered a thicket (*tughay*), and [thus] escaped *from the Khivan troops*.

Be it known that, before Soyun Biy and his troops came to the Quvang, Sayghundï Bay had come to Ilyas Shighavul <expressing his submission>. After the aforementioned <Soyun> Biy came, he attached Adina Bay Atalïq to Sayghundï Bay, to relocate him, along with his encampment and people (*el va ordusï*). That same day [Soyun Biy] had sent Dosïm Biy, with 2,000 men, on raid up [the river]. They raided that area, captured plentiful booty, and returned at midnight. The next morning Sayghundï Bay left and came, with all his people. The next day <the ever-victorious troops> went back, joyous and happy. Be it not concealed that in that raid twenty men from among the ever-victorious troops perished, and from among the Qazaqs, about 2,000 were killed, aside from <women and> children, and 700 girls and women were taken prisoner.

Having passed three stations, the ever-victorious troops (984) went onto the sea.[a] On the fourth day, Soyun Biy sent his own younger brother, Eltüzer Bek, as well as a certain Atalïq, the son of Khal Murad Darugha, who was in turn a younger brother-in-law of Dawlat Qara-Köz, along with twelve men, with a jubilant announcement of victory (*fatḥ-nāma*), to the city [of Khiva]. They traveled on the sea for five days, left it on the sixth day, and in two days, after a speedy march, reached the Misr-Bay rainpit (*qaq*). At that place, by the late

[a] I.e., upon the ice.

khan's order, Ata Niyaz Chökken came and took one fifth (*ghān*) of the booty, which made 750 camels, the same number of cows, and 6,000 sheep.

At that place they stayed for nine days, then moved off, made three overnight stops, passed west of Börichi, and camped at Qubash. From there they set out, and three days later, on Saturday 19 Jumadi I,[a] were honored to be received at the royal court. All military commanders and warriors beginning with Soyun Biy were distinguished by royal favors and were granted royal outfits (*sarūpāy*).

Be it known that while the men of <Soyun> Biy were in the Qazaq [steppe], Dollï Teke came from the Teke and brought news that Qandïm Sardar had died, and the Teke people had broken their promise and had not supplied hostages (*aq öyli*). And on Wednesday 20 Rabiʿ II,[b] twenty five Teke rebels came and grazed [their horses] between the Dengiz-Qazghan and Saghcha wells; (985) [then] they came by way of Söyünchi,[1024] stole all the sheep of *the vizier* Muhammad Yusuf Mehter, which had been looked after in the sands, killed one firewood gatherer (*otunchi*), and fled. The same day his majesty, the late king, sent Hubbi-Quli Khoja, Muhammad-Quli Bek, and Badal Yüzbashi in pursuit. They went as far as Saghcha and also sent scouts to Dengiz[-Qazghan] well, but were unable to overtake the rebels and returned.

How his imperial majesty, the late [khan], went to the region of Qongrat for a hunting expedition (*sayr u shikār*) and returned.

Three days after the return of Soyun Biy's men from the raid on the Qazaqs, on Tuesday 22 Jumadi I,[c] his majesty, the late king, set out from the royal capital Khiva intending to go hunting, and lodged at Ambar. On Wednesday he set out from there and arrived auspiciously at Tashhawz. That same day an ambassador from the Qazaqs arrived by name of Allah Unghaz, and also, Mulla Murad ʿAli, Najaf ʿAli Khan's qazi, came from the Qïzïlbashes, accompanying Bek Niyaz Naib, together with the ambassadors from the other khans [of Khorasan], to express their submission and servitude. His majesty stayed at Tashhawz for four days, and on Sunday moved

[a] 5 April.
[b] 8 March (Saturday).
[c] 8 April.

off and *lodged* at Qïlïch Niyaz Bay's *ḥawlī*, <which was his own tax-exempt estate (*öz milk-i khāliṣī*)>. On that day Khoja Nazar Bek, a Teke leader, along with the hostages (*aq öylük*) from his own tribe, were granted the honor of kissing the royal court's threshold. (986) The next day, which was Monday, [the khan] set out from Qïlïch Niyaz Bay's *ḥawlī* and crossed the <Jayhun> river at the Hajji Murad Ölgen crossing, hunting in the region of Qarabayli and Mayli-Üzäk; every day he engaged in falconry and hunting, and every hour he caught the hearts of the subjects (*fuqarā' va ghurabā'*), like game, with the falcon of his kindness. [Then] he crossed the [Amu] river south of the town of Qongrat *and lodged at his own *ḥawlī**. From there he set out *and performed pilgrimage to the tomb of his holiness Hakim Ata*. From there he turned back and, slaughtering his prey every day [on his way], passed west of Khoja-eli, hunted with birds in the environs of Mizdahqan, passed near Quba-tagh, and lodged at Qïlïch Niyaz Bay's *ḥawlī*. From there he set out, had a midday rest at Mayli-chungul, and on Sunday, which was 18 Jumadi II,[a] he arrived at the royal capital Khiva and took rest on the throne of governance.

How Allash Biy raided the Teke rebels.

(987) In the middle of Rajab 1232,[b] which was the first day of the Khorezmian [month of] Saraṭān, his imperial majesty, the late [khan], sent Allash Biy, <a Qïyat noble, whom he made commander>, and Dosïm Biy, <a Manghït noble>, along with a large party of Yomuts, Chowdurs, Yemrelis, and Uzbeks, on a raid against the Teke. Despite hot weather, they left the city [of Khiva] on Saturday, as ordered, and, relying upon God Most High, went quickly by way of Saghcha well; after eleven days [of travel] they left their camels [behind], and the horsemen alone raced on at full speed. At night they slept at Biyabancha-qal'a, which was in ruins. The next day, which was Wednesday, the 27th of the month,[c] before noon, they raided the village (*aul*)[d] of the Qarakhanlï Teke, who lived on the banks of the Qozghan, in the foothills between Kelat in the east and Derregez

[a] 4 May.
[b] 15 Rajab/30 May or 16 Rajab/31 May 1817.
[c] 11 June.
[d] E: *oba.*

in the west, and who were very numerous <and wealthy, and had plenty of livestock>. Most of their families escaped, having climbed into the mountains. [The troops] killed sixty people, captured many camels and limitless property, so that [even] all the troops [together] were unable to carry it with them. Finally, (988) abandoning the heavy and worthless things, they took as much as they could of the fine and valuable property, and returned. At the time [of the raid], all the horsemen <and able-bodied men> of that village had gone for a feast (*toy*) to the place called Gökche.[1025] They heard about this misfortune during the feast, tore the collars [of their shirts] with the hands of grief, moistened their eyes with the tears of repentance, raised their laments and cries to the heavens, and turned the feast into a funeral banquet. [Then] all the Teke horsemen mounted their horses and set out in pursuit in great haste. At midday they overtook the troops. Allash Biy sent forward the unfit horsemen, along with <the heavy load> and the abundant booty, while he himself went promptly after them with good horsemen, having drawn them up in battle array. In the meantime the Teke divided into two groups and fearlessly attacked from two sides. At that moment Ata Niyaz Mergen and Qaqa Sardar, along with all the Yomut warriors of the [Khivan] troops, valiantly attacked the group of the Teke which was on the west. And from the other side, Allash Biy, along with the Chowdur, Yemreli, and Uzbek warriors, numbered in all more than two hundred, at once (989) raced their horses at full speed against the group [of the Teke] to the east, *and a fierce battle began*. [*Mathnavī*.] The ill-omened enemies fought for several hours, but, in the end, they were unable to withstand the [Khivan] warriors *who fought like lions, (990) and took to flight*. In this battle the [Khivan] troops captured again many horses, and the rebels lost many men killed, whose number was impossible to count. On our side, one Orus-Qoshchi [soldier] was killed, and one Qojuq [soldier] perished during the raid, and also, <during the battle>, the Chowdurs killed by a mistake one Qara-Khoja [soldier].

That night all the troops set out and continued their journey, [but] Qïlïch Yüzbashi, along with five or six men, slept [through the departure] and, losing their horses, remained behind. Their disappearance became known [only] when [the troops] reached Tezhen, and men were sent to find them; despite a long search, these men were unable to find them and returned. After travelling several days, [the troops] came to Chirla <well>. From that place <Allash Biy>

dispatched Babajan Bek, along with fifteen men, to bring the good news to the royal court. On Wednesday 4 Shaʿban[a] they arrived at the city [of Khiva] and brought the news. At Chirla Allash Biy divided the booty between all tribes <and moved off>. On Friday, the 6th of the same month,[b] at dawn, he arrived at the lower reaches of Qara-köl and sent Rahmatallah Aq Qash to his imperial majesty, (991) to request [khan's] orders as to the allotment of the khan's portion of the booty (*ghān*). His majesty appointed Qurban Niyaz Yasavulbashi to take the *ghān.*[1026] The latter <divided the booty> that same day and took the *ghān.* <Be it known that among> the troops who had gone on this raid, everyone received booty worth fifty or forty *ṭillā*, while [even] the smallest [amount of booty received was worth] thirty five *ṭillā*. On Saturday they came to the royal court and were honored with the khan's favors. On Sunday, all the commanders of the troops, headed by Allash Biy, received gold-embroidered robes from the royal wardrobe (*khayāṭ-khāna-i iltifāt*), and Quti Khoja[c] b. Baba Divana, <who served well during this expedition and showed his bravery, was honored with royal favors and> granted the post (*manṣab*) of *shaykh al-islām.*[1027] Soldiers who captured prisoners were granted ten *tilla* [for each prisoner] from the royal treasury (*khazīna-i iḥsān*), and those who killed enemies were granted five *tilla* [for each], so that [everyone] was made happy.[1028]

The raid of Sarï Karnay against Akhal.

On Monday, the 23rd of the aforementioned month [of Shaʿban],[d] Sarï Karnay, a Yomut <noble>, along with a hundred select soldiers (*yigit*), received permission from his majesty the late king for a raid <against the Teke>. They went out to the sands south of [the mausoleum of] his holiness Ism-i Mahmud Ata, traveled quickly with no road, and near a certain well, which was at a distance of one station north of Akhal, (992) <and which was the place of habitation of a group of Teke>, they brandished their lethal lances, drew their blood-shedding swords from their sheaths, and stormed [the encampment] like roaring lions and fierce tigers. *They killed fourteen men*, captured plentiful booty, seized 600 camels, and went back. In the mid-

[a] 18 June.
[b] 20 June.
[c] E here and elsewhere: Qutb ad-Din Khoja.
[d] 7 July 1817.

dle of Ramazan[a] they came to the royal court *and were honored by gifts from the khan*. This campaign lasted twenty days.

How Allash Biy *set out on a raid against the Teke, how he encountered the Teke troops on his way and the two sides engaged in battle*; how the whirlwind of the brave warriors' attacks made the flame of battle blaze up; how most of the enemy troops were killed, and those who remained alive fled, frightened and in panic, and went to the valley of perdition.

**** When the Yomut braves learned about the exploits of Sarï Karnay and the booty captured by him, they asked his majesty *permission for a raid against the Teke rebels*; (993) and Allash Biy, who, in his zeal and valor, preferred fighting to feasting and campaigning to staying behind, supported them and also requested [such] permission. Therefore his majesty appointed him chief commander of all the troops, and attached to him Dosïm Biy, Soyun Biy, and Bek ʿAli Mirab <from among the great amirs>, as well as a number of military commanders, such as Niyaz Muhammad Bay, Muhammad-Quli Bek, Muhammad Jan Khoja, Qutlugh Murad Bek, Sattar-Quli Aqa-yi Qahramani, Mamïsh Bek, Aman Bay Yüzbashi, Dawlat Nazar Biy, Tölegen Yüzbashi, and others, along with all the Chowdur and Yemreli leaders and their troops. They delayed their departure somewhat, until they prepared all the supplies needed for the campaign. In the meantime, Quti Khoja Shaykh al-Islam, Töre Murad Atalïq, and Töshekchi (?), of their own accord, [also] received [the khan's] permission and joined them. *And prince Allah-Quli Töre, who is now honoring the crown and throne of governance, and by whose order this work is now being written*, also attached to them a hundred of his own *nökers*. And the perspicacious amir Qutlugh Murad Inaq attached to them Khallï Bek, from among his own troops, along with 200 men. The total number of troops became 4,000, of whom 1,000 were Yomuts and Yemreli, 1,000 were Chowdurs, and 2,000 were Uzbeks and Qaraqalpaqs.

(994) On Monday, 22 Ramazan,[b] Allash Biy received the blessing of his imperial majesty and in the evening, at dusk, set out and

[a] End of July.
[b] 4 August.

camped in the lower reaches of the water (? *su ayaqï*).[1029] He stayed there for two days, [until] most of the commanders joined him. On Thursday he set out, travelled quickly, and in five days reached Orta-quduq. He remained there for two days, then set out and came to Kurtish <Ata>. He stayed there for two days, then moved off and took the road to Qïzïl-taqïr.[1030] When he was at a distance of more than half a station from Qïzïl-taqïr, <Allash Biy> appointed to the advance guard (*qaravul*) 200 Yomuts, under the command of Töre Murad Atalïq and Bek ʿAli Mirab, and sent them forward. And two or three men from almost every detachment (*qosh*) went with them to dig wells.

Be it known that Murad Sardar and Khani Kör Sardar Qanjïq, the leaders and chieftains of the Teke rebels, had [earlier] sent their men to all the Teke, from the highest to the lowest, (995) had gathered 700 brave and audacious warriors, and had set out to raid the environs of Khiva (may God Most High adorn her with good order and administration!). By chance, that same day they took water at Qïzïl-taqïr, <loaded it on their camels> and sent the camels forward, while they themselves remained behind to water their horses. The advance guard [of Allash Biy] encountered those camels, captured five or six of them, and turned back. The Teke learned about this incident, all at once raced forward, overtook the advance guard, and attacked [them]. Because of their small number, the advance guard retreated in disarray. The rebels pursued them, fought with them at close quarters, and killed fifteen men from the ever-victorious army, including Yaw-Basar Bek, son of Qara Bahadur Mirab. At that moment Allash Biy learned what was happening and, having unfolded the ever-victorious banner, rushed forward at full speed. [*Mathnavī* (995–999) describing the battle that followed, in which the Khivans were victorious.]

(1000) *The valiant warriors* pursued the ill-omened enemy for [the distance of] one station and captured all their horses and camels. That day was Saturday, 4 Shavval.[a] In that battle they killed 150 rebels, including Khani Kör. When the ever-victorious troops went back, victorious and triumphant, secure and loaded with booty, glad and joyous, <Allash Biy> sent forward Muhammad Riza Bek Qïyat, his own younger brother, along with Fulad, a slave, to convey the

[a] 16 August.

good news [to Khiva]. On Thursday, which was the 9th of the same month,[a] his imperial majesty set out for Bederkend to hunt, and on the way the messengers arrived. On Friday, Allash Biy, along with all the amirs and military commanders, had the honor of arriving at the royal court at Bederkend and were distinguished by grants of innumerable royal gifts and favors. His imperial majesty, the late [khan], stayed at Bederkend for three days, [during which] he performed a pilgrimage to [the tomb of] his holiness Ism-i Mahmud Ata and gladdened the sweepers of the holy place with copious offerings and alms. On the fourth day he engaged in falconry in the environs of Tashhawz <and lodged there>. He rested there for two nights, (1001) and returned <to the capital>.

The Teke tribe was very frightened and terrified by this misfortune, and they sent two ambassadors, along with Aymir Shaykh, with a letter of apology (*muʿadharat-nāma*). Aymir Shaykh, along with the ambassadors, arrived [at the royal court] on the last day of the aforementioned month. It so happened that [already] on previous day his majesty had sent Muhammad Salih Khoja Ishan to the Teke with an admonition. Now he promptly returned the ambassadors, along with Aymir Shaykh, <to follow the ishan>.

On the first day of Zu'l-Qaʿda,[b] his imperial majesty set out for a hunt, crossed the river [Amu] at the Khanqah crossing, and for several days hunted on that side [of the river]. During this time, the younger son of Ghayib Khan, as well as Jan Nazar Biy and [other] Qazaq nobles, came [to the khan]. His majesty sent them to the city [of Khiva], and himself crossed [back over] the river [Amu] near Sultan-Saray, hunted [in the area] as far as the place called Atkhur, and returned. On his way, *Qutlugh Murad Inaq* received him at his newly built *ḥawlī* in Shaykh-Arïq, gave a royal banquet and presented him with gifts, and mounted [the khan] on a horse swift as lightning and fleet as the wind. From there his majesty set out and came to As.[1031] The next day he moved off from As and arrived at the city [of Khiva]. This journey lasted twenty eight days.

(1002) On Thursday, 20 Zu'l-Hijja,[c] Sultan Khan, the ruler (*ḥākim*) of the Göklen <*ulus*>, who migrated <from Khorasan> with his family and household to live [in Khorezm] in security under his

[a] 21 August.
[b] 11 September.
[c] 30 October.

imperial majesty's protection, came to Yangi-yap. On Friday, his majesty sent Dawlat Qara Köz to meet him, with a horse and an outfit (*sarūpāy*) [prepared for him]. On Saturday, Sultan Khan arrived at the royal court and was granted the honor of kissing the [royal] carpet.

THE EVENTS OF THE THIRTEENTH YEAR SINCE THE AUSPICIOUS ACCESSION OF THE LATE KHAN.

How his imperial majesty, the late [khan], set out for Qongrat on hunting expedition and, on this occasion, cast the shadow of his kindness over the heads of the subjects and the poor, listened to their petitions and dispensed justice.

*** On Monday, 8 Muharram 1233 A.H.,[a] his imperial majesty *mounted his steed, left the city of Khiva*, and came to Bederkend for hunting. For this journey, he also took Sultan Khan with him. (1003) From there he set out and came to Tashhawz. From there he went to Qaraja-köl,[1032] where he entertained himself with falconry and hunting. From there he set out *and arrived at the Aman-Quli canal*. From there he moved off and came to the Sharqïrawq. From there he went to Old Urgench, where, with the purest intentions, he was honored to perform a pilgrimage to [the tomb of] his holiness Shaykh Najm ad-Din Kubra (may God hallow his precious grave!). His majesty obtained support and help from the blessed spirit of his holiness, and came to the plateau (*qïr*) of Aybugur. <On that plateau> he hunted a great deal with birds, then took the At-Yolï road and *camped at Qongrat*. Moving off from there, he made a pilgrimage [to the tomb of] his holiness Hakim Ata, and received from his holy spirit abundant spiritual graces and a multitude of sacred bounties. From there he went back, crossed the river [Amu] over the ice south of Qongrat, then hunted with birds in the vicinity of the Kürkürawk, Mayli-Üzäk and Qarabayli, then crossed the Qul-Yarghan <river (*nahr*)> in its lower course and camped at the Kegeyli. From there he moved off, (1004) passed upon the bank (? *chep*) of Imam Ishan, crossed the Kök-Üzäk over the ice, for several days travelled along the bank of the river [Amu], and *camped at Baday thicket (*tughay*)*. During this entire expedition *his majesty

[a] 17 November 1817.

entertained himself with different kinds of falconry and hunting, and at the same time would inquire every day about the affairs of the subjects and the poor*, catching their hearts, like game, with the falcon of his kindness. [*Mathnavī.*]

(1005) *After his majesty enjoyed hunting as much as he desired*, he went back to the royal capital and, having crossed the river [Amu] at the Gurlen crossing, arrived auspiciously at the city on 25 Safar[a] and mounted the throne of governance. This journey lasted forty days.

(1006) [Here] the events will be registered which took place during the time of this journey.

One of them was the following. On the last day of Muharram,[b] Ata Niyaz Mergen, a Yomut brave, along with forty men, received his majesty's permission and went on a raid. He first went to the Gürgen, <then crossed it> and raided a village (*kent*) among the villages of Astarabad. He took six men prisoner, and in about thirty days returned.

Another [event] was the following. The Teke elders (*kedkhuda*) put the collars of submission on their necks and arrived at the royal court along with their hostages (*aq öyli*).

Another [event] was the following. An ambassador with a letter <of loyalty> (<*ikhlāṣ->nāma*) from prince Kamran, son of Mahmud Shah Afghan, arrived [at Khiva]; and an ambassador from Hakim Khan, governor (*ḥākim*) of Sarakhs, and an ambassador from Bunyad Khan Hazara, with his letter of loyalty (*ikhlāṣ-nāma*), also arrived. [In Kamran's letter] news came that prince Kamran had captured Herat from prince Firuz, [and that] the nobles of Herat had killed Agha Hajji Khan, seized prince Firuz and sent him to [Kamran's] father.[1033]

Another [event] was the following. On the first day of Safar,[c] Bayqara Bek, son of Karim-Berdi Atalïq, conspired with forty Uyghur rebels and killed Mulla Allah Nazar Atalïq. Therefore the flame of the khan's wrath blazed up, and on Tuesday evening he ordered Karim-Berdi Atalïq seized and had put him in prison, and on Wednesday, at the time of afternoon prayer, 7 Rabi' I,[d] he had him

[a] 3 January 1818.
[b] 9 December 1817.
[c] 10 December.
[d] 14 January 1818.

executed, along with seventeen of his children and dependents. (1007) And [the khan] had the Uyghur tribe move off <from their land and places of habitation>, divided them into three groups and assigned them to [three] separate regions—Tashhawz, Zey, and Aq-Masjid, where he gave them land.

The same day, when the aforementioned atalïq was killed, Jalal Aʿlam died. And on Monday, the 9th of the same month,[a] Mulla Niyaz Muhammad <Munshi>, known under the nickname "Black Mouth" (Aghzï Qara), passed away. In his place, Mirza Masiha, who was a wonder and an exemplar for his eloquence, was appointed to the post (*manṣab*) of *munshī*. And in the middle of the same month his majesty appointed Ilyas Shighavul, <an Uyghur noble>, to the post (*manṣab*) of atalïq <which had belonged to Karim-Berdi Atalïq>, and honored ʿAli Mardan Bek by appointing him to the post (*ʿamal*) of *shighāvul*. In the middle of Jumadi I,[b] Nar Bek came from Bukhara accompanied by Nur Muhammad Bek, amir Haydar's ambassador. Before that Salih Shaykh had come, along with the ambassadors from the Salor, the Sarïq, the Ersarï, and from Bunyad Khan, announcing their obedience and submission. Also at that time, Shir Ghazi Sultan Qazaq, <the ruler of Dasht-i Qïpchaq,[1034] put upon himself the collar of submission and servitude and, to strengthen the [ties of] sincere friendship and unity>, sent one of his daughters,[1035] who was a star rising in the constellation of chastity and a gem conspicuous in the jewel-chest of purity, to his majesty the khaqan as a present, accompanied by Qazaq nobles, who handed her over performing the ceremonies of submission. To meet them, his majesty sent out Khojash Mahram (1008) and Ata Niyaz Chökken. They <arranged a royal banquet> and let [the Qazaqs] stop at Maylichungul. After this [the khan] sent *Sayyid Yusuf Khoja Naqib and amir Shah Niyaz Atalïq* to receive them, and they brought [the Qazaqs], with full honors, <to the city [of Khiva]>. On 1 Jumadi II,[c] Aymir Shaykh came to the royal court accompanied by Teke ambassadors. And also at the same time, Kedi Khan Afghan, who was a vizier of Shah Mahmud and a relative of Fathi Khan, brought a letter of friendship (*ikhlāṣ-nāma*) from Shah Mahmud and prince Kamran and was received at the royal court.

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[a] 16 January (Friday).
[b] 20s of March 1818.
[c] 7 April.

How his majesty, the late khaqan, set out for the third time for the conquest of Khorasan; how the Teke of Akhal showed their rebelliousness; how, from the movement of the ever-victorious army towards Akhal, fire was scattered upon the harvest of the rebellious assemblage, and from the gale of the brave warriors' attacks the straw of the rebels's life was winnowed off to the valley of annihilation; how some of them hid themselves, while others fled; and how his imperial majesty, like the sun, *which returns from the west to the east*, went from the province of Khorasan and returned to the royal capital Khiva.

Be it known to historians and biographers (1009) that in 1233 A.H., [corresponding to] the Year of the Leopard, on Sunday 6 Jumadi II,[a] which was the 16th of the Khorezmian [month of] Thawr and the 25th of the Bukharan [month of] Ḥamal,[b] his imperial majesty, the late [khan], intending to conquer Khorasan, had the cannons and arsenal (*top va top-khāna*), as well as the [royal] tents and canopies (*bārgāh u shamyāna*), taken out of the city [of Khiva]; and on Saturday, the 12th of the same month,[c] he himself *mounted his horse, left the city with indescribable pomp, and arrived at Kesekli, where the royal camp had already been set up. On Sunday he set out and camped in the environs of Saghcha well. He rested there for two days, and on Tuesday, when the sun reached the zenith, moved off from there and arrived at Süzenli. There he also rested for two days, and on Thursday left and came to Khan-quduq. On Friday he left from there and came to Mirza-chirla.* There he stayed for four days, (1010) and on Sunday, which was the 20th of the aforementioned month,[d] his majesty appointed Dosïm Biy along with the Yomut troops to the advance guard (*harāvul*) and sent them forward. He also attached to them Kedi Khan, who had [earlier] brought a friendly letter from prince Kamran, and sent him off. On Monday he sent Dengiz Khalifa, along with the Teke hostages (*aq öyli*), to Akhal, and sent Qazi Jan Nazar to the Teke of Merv. On Tuesday he moved forward the cannons and the arsenal (*top va top-khāna*), and

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[a] 12 April 1818.

[b] Bukharan (and Persian) month of Ḥamal begins on 21 March, therefore 12 April corresponds to 23rd of Ḥamal.

[c] 18 April.

[d] 26 April.

on Wednesday, the 23rd of the same month,[a] he left Chirla and camped at Minarlï.[b] From there he set out, and on Friday camped at Yantaqlï.

On Saturday[c] he moved on, camped twice on his way, and on Monday, late in the morning, he <arrived at> Tezhen and camped at Bavard-tüpe, on the bank of the river. On that day the scouts (*qaravullar*) captured a scout of the Teke of Merv and brought him <to his majesty>. On Tuesday, his majesty showed him his favor, granted him an outfit (*sarūpāy*), and let him go to his country. On Wednesday,[d] which was the first day of Rajab,[e] [the khan] stayed <at that place>, and on Friday he moved off and arrived at Yeke-Üzäk. On Saturday he rested there, and that same day the troops of Sarakhs arrived at the royal court. (1011) On Sunday, the 5th of the same month,[f] a messenger from the Aymaqs came,[1036] and a number of troops from the Sarïqs also arrived. On Monday came Dengiz Khalifa, along with twenty two Teke nobles (*akābir*) headed by Khal Nefes <Sardar> and Murad Khan, with the message that Murad Sardar was gathering troops in the area of ʿAshiqabad and Anau[1037] and intended to come [to the khan]. On Tuesday, the 7th of the month,[g] Geldi Khan Yemreli and the troops of the Qarakhanlï Teke came <*to the khan*> and brought five horses as a present. And from the Teke of Merv, Begenj Bek's son, along with three more meń, came with the message that they submitted [to the khan] and that their troops were coming. That day his imperial majesty sent Dengiz Khalifa, along with four Teke, to Murad Sardar, with [an order] to come promptly. That same day [the khan] set out from Yeke-Üzäk and camped at a rainpit (*qaq*). On Wednesday, he set out from there and camped near the Chetli-su. On Thursday *he moved the ever-victorious army and set up the army camp in the vicinity of Khusraw-qalʿa*. He remained there for two days, and had all the crops there destroyed.

On Sunday, the 12th of the same month,[h] he moved off from

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[a] 29 April.
[b] In *FI Text ed.* misprint: Minazlï.
[c] E: Sunday.
[d] C adds "and on Thursday" (an error corrected in E).
[e] 6 May.
[f] 10 May.
[g] 12 May.
[h] 17 May.

Khusraw-qal'a and set up his camp in <the vicinity of> Chilegan-qal'a. (1012) On Monday came an Afghan ambassador named Mirza 'Abd al-Karim, along with Dawlat Bakhshi, ambassador of Begler Khan, Murshid Bek Karbalayi, ambassador of Riza-Quli Khan, and Taqi Kurd, ambassador of Najaf 'Ali Khan, who brought three horses as a present.[a] On Tuesday, [the khan] *received Mirza 'Abd al-Karim and honored him with his favor*. On Wednesday, Berdi 'Ali Naib Shahabadi captured a Kurd horse-thief near the army camp (*senger*) and brought him to the khan. As a warning to the onlookers, his majesty ordered him loaded into a cannon in place of a cannon-ball and shot out, <so that his limbs, torn into a hundred thousand pieces, scattered and vanished in the air>. That same day [the khan] dismissed the ambassadors from Kurd<istan>, attaching to them Qïlïch Niyaz Bay.

On Thursday, a Kurd came who had fled from the fortress of Lutfabad. On Friday, <all the> Salor troops under the command of Khoja Nazar Bek's son came and were granted the honor of kissing the royal threshold. Also [the same day, the khan] dismissed the ambassadors from Akhal, with the following [message]: "If they express obedience and submission and come to serve the khan, they will be honored by royal favor, but if they show wickedness and obstinacy and avoid submission, they will be severely punished." (1013) On Saturday, Aymir Shaykh and Dengiz Khalifa came from Murad Sardar, and also, from the Teke of Qïzïl-ribat, came Sharif Sardar, Qurban Qïlïch, and Dawlat Nazar Bay's eldest son, while three or four men came from the Teke of Akhal, bringing three horses as a present. That same day his majesty attached Khoja Nazar Bek to them and sent them off with a letter of conciliation (*istimālat-nāma*). When they came to Gavurz,[1038] they did not find the Teke troops there, but heard that 400 Teke horsemen had gone to Begler Khan asking for help, that some of the Teke had dispersed <in all directions>, and that Murad Sardar had taken position at the entrance to the Darband gorge and had prepared himself for battle; with this news they returned to the khan. *The wind of this news fanned the flame of the khan's wrath*, and on Sunday he moved off the artillery, the royal tents and canopy, the train and the court, and left Chilegan. He sent Allash Biy and Muhammad Jan Inaq with the advance

[a] It is not clear, who of them brought horses. In E horses are not mentioned, instead it has "who came with gifts and presents."

guard to the northern side of Küren <fortress (*qurghan*)>, while he himself unfolded the ever-victorious banner, and, with the ever-conquering army, passed south of Lutfabad, went to Mir-burji,[1039] surveyed the environs of Darband, and camped in the fields north of Qakhlan. On that day Sayyid Muhammad Divan died, and a bier with his body was sent to the city [of Khiva].

On Monday (1014) morning [the khan] set out from there *and marched against the Teke. In the evening he set up his camp at Gavurz. On Tuesday he set out from there and set up his camp in [the environs of] Anau. As soon as the ever-victorious army arrived there, the Teke troops fled and hid themselves. And the elders of Anau came to the royal court and offered their submission*. His majesty spared <the fortress of> Anau for them, for the sake of a vow [which he had given] to Shaykh Jamal ad-Din (the mercy of God be upon him!); in the evening he granted them royal outfits (*sarūpāy*) and sent them back. On Wednesday he moved off and camped in <the vicinity of the fortress of> ʿAshiqabad. The Teke rebels had fled from there also. On Thursday evening his majesty sent the Yomut, Sarïq, Chowdur, and Yemreli troops to the gorges of Kelte-Chinar, Bardar, and Hinduvar,[1040] <*to attack the enemy*>. Those so assigned went the same night, and in the morning they captured three men from the Teke outposts, killed another three, and returned to the khan. That same day, at the afternoon prayer, Muhammad Salih Khoja Ishan came as an ambassador from Murad Sardar, with the following message: "We fear very much to go [to the khan], (1015) but we will obey any orders he would give." <His majesty> stayed there on Friday as well, and he sent back the aforementioned ishan. That same day he sent Khal Nazar Bek son of Söyünch Bek, Mulla Muhammad Niyaz, and one man from the Qara clan to Baba Onbegi and Ayim Bek at Kelte-Chinar, with a letter of conciliation (*istimālat-nāma*). [Also] that same day Hajji Makhzum brought two cows from Anau as a present <and was honored by royal favors>. On Saturday, [the khan] sent Hajji Makhzum, along with Aymir Shaykh, back to Anau.

On that day a Teke was taken prisoner. His mother brought a camel as a present, prostrated herself in supplication on the ground before the khan, and asked for her son [to be released]. Out of his perfect kindness and boundless generosity, [the khan] set him free, granted him an outfit (*sarūpāy*), and sent him, along with his mother,

to Ayim Bek, in order that, through the guidance of such humanity and benevolence, he might go along the straight path.

On Sunday, when [the khan] was about to leave, Ja'far Khan and Mulla Qurban 'Ali came from Anau, along with Aymir Shaykh, and they were granted the honor of kissing the royal threshold. On that day the royal army <moved off> and camped in the fields of Kavashi. In the afternoon, [the khan] honored Ja'far Khan with royal favors and dismissed him. On Monday, Qïlïch Niyaz Bay and Mirza 'Abd al-Karim came accompanied by ambassador<s> of the Kurdish khans.[a] On Tuesday, there came reports, one after another, that Ayim Bek did not accept conciliation. (1016) That same day [the khan] dismissed Mirza 'Abd al-Karim, along with the Qïzïlbash ambassadors.

On Wednesday, *his imperial majesty unfolded the ever-conquering banner and moved his army*. Having come to the Izghand gorge,[1041] he *drew up the army in battle array. The brave warriors spurred their horses and valiantly attacked the enemies of the state, and a fierce battle took place in the gorge*. [*Mathnavī*.] (1017) In this battle, twenty three famous and important people among the enemies of the state were killed, among them Mirza Ishe-bashi, 'Avaz Bek, a younger brother of Murad Khan, (1018) and Dawlat Murad Bek, a younger brother of Ayim Bek. And one can judge from this about [the number] of others killed. As to the ever-victorious troops, from among them Karim Atalïq Salaq was martyred. [After the battle], his majesty, victorious and triumphant, *made his way to the royal camp and rested there*.

On Thursday, the last day of the month [of Rajab],[b] [the khan] sent back the elders of the Merv and Qarakhanlï[c] Teke <to their own *yurts*>. On that same day, in the evening, [the khan] appointed Yomut, Chowdur and Yemreli troops to raid the environs of Akhal-Ata.[d1042] It happened that the same evening 400 Teke horsemen set out <and lay in ambush> ready to penetrate the environs of the camp (*senger*) and to capture some of the gatherers of firewood and fodder (*otunchi va otchi*). At that time one man from among the [Khivan] troops went after the [Teke] raiders, came across them

[a] E has "Kurdistan," instead of "Kurdish khans."
[b] 4 June.
[c] Text has *Qarakhanlïgh*.
[d] E omits "Ata."

and was taken prisoner. Upon learning from him that the [Khivan] troops had set out, the rebels divided into three groups. Two of them followed the troops, while [the third] one came across the moving troops (*köch*) on Friday morning and fled. <As soon as> his majesty <heard about this>, he himself set out quickly towards Akhal with the ever-victorious army. On his way he learned that the Teke troops (1019) had pursued the raiding detachment, and he sent after them Allash Biy, Muhammad Jan Inaq, and Soyun Biy, with the troops under their command. Be it known that, [in the meantime, however], the two groups of the Teke troops had united, followed the [Khivan] raiding party, and fallen upon them from an ambush. [The Khivan troops] first thought that those [troops] belonged to the ever-victorious army and did not pay enough attention; then they realized that they were rebels, and fought them briefly, but were defeated. In this battle Nur Muhammad Bahadur, son of Taghan Niyaz Bahadur, was wounded and fell [from his horse], and several[a] Chowdur and Yomut soldiers, headed by Sattar-Berdi Arbab, were killed. At that moment the men of Allash Biy *arrived and fell upon the Teke with such a force that within a moment they piled up the bodies of the slain rebels; those who remained were unable to withstand the Khivan troops and fled in disgrace*. <The ever-victorious troops> pursued them for two (1020) *farsakh*s, but then returned, by his imperial majesty's order, and came to the khan.

His majesty returned from the Khirmantu river and came to Mehin, where the royal camp had been set up. On Saturday, 2 Shaʿban,[b] [the soldiers] captured Taqi, a slave (*qul*), together with one Teke, and brought [them to the camp]. Taqi, the slave, brought a letter from Najaf ʿAli Khan of the following content: "To the grand vizier and honored councillor, the like of Asaf, Muhammad Yusuf Mehter (may the spirit of God be with him!). Fathi Khan, the vizier, is sending Muhammad-Quli Khan to declare that his majesty should not destroy Begler Khan's province (*mamālik*), because it belongs to us, and the two states are one whole. And it is the same with the Teke tribe. In this sense this [letter] bearing the seal with [the khan's] aigrette (*jīghalï muhr*)[1043] has been sent." His majesty sent back Taqi, the slave, with admonitions.[c]

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[a] E: "many."
[b] 6 June.
[c] E omits the entire episode, including the letter.

On that day and the next day *the khan was engaged in granting rewards to the soldiers who distinguished themselves in fighting*. On Monday, Isma'il, a slave (*toghma*) of the great amir Qutlugh Murad Inaq, along with two other men, came from the city [of Khiva] <and reported about the well-being of his excellency [the inaq] and the safety of the country>. On Friday, the 8th of the month,[a] Muhammad Salih, son of Sadiq Bek Qïyat, came to the khan from Churma-qal'a,[1044] where his father was governor (*ḥākim*). On Saturday, [the khan] moved off from Mehin and set up the army camp on the southern side of Akhal-Ata, (1021) on the bank of the Khirmantu river. At that place he stayed for two days, and on Tuesday his majesty set out with the intention to thoroughly punish the Teke tribe, whose leader was Murad Sardar and who lived on the banks of the Kuyujek spring. He sent forward the Yomut and the Chowdur troops, and after them dispatched Soyun Biy, Dosïm Biy, and Berdi Biy, along with all the Aral and Qaraqalpaq troops. After them he himself moved the ever-victorious banner and set out. At a place called Yeti-Aghach, which is a salt-marsh, Khuday-Berdi Arqar brought news that <the advance guard> had clashed with the Teke troops at the Kuyujek. When they crossed the Kuyujek, the Yomuts <raced their horses and> captured one Teke <from a group of rebels>. The Teke troops were unable to withstand the attacks of the ever-victorious army and fled in disgrace. The [Khivan] troops were on their heels and pursued them up to Mehin. There also they were unable to hold, and, like foxes fleeing from the attack of a lion, they divided into three groups, so that some of them [went] into the sands, some, led by Murad Sardar, [went] to Aq-tüpe and Durun, and some ensconced themselves in a gorge southwest of Mehin. The Yomut and Chowdur troops pursued the group [of the Teke] which fled to the sands, and captured many camels and horses (1022) and two prisoners. And the Qaraqalpaq troops, along with some of the Chowdurs and Berdi Biy, pursued Murad Sardar up to Aq-tüpe and returned <with plentiful booty>. Soyun Biy, Dosïm Biy, Qïlïch Niyaz Bay, and Hubbi-Quli Khoja, who had been dispatched later, attacked [the Teke] in the Darband gorge like lions, *and routed the enemy and put them to flight*. Hubbi-Quli Khoja, despite his illness, *fought so valiantly*, along with Qïlïch Niyaz Bay, *that they

[a] 12 June.

totally defeated the rebels*. At that moment the son of Karim-Berdi Ataliq,[1045] whose horse was struck by a musket-ball (*multuq oqi*), was left on foot in the middle of the enemy troops. Muhammad Karim Qoychi, *who was an outstanding warrior of that time, attacked, put the enemy troops to flight, and thus rescued the ataliq's son from this danger*. At that time the troops captured innumerable sheep, camels, and horned cattle (*qara mal*) from the Teke, and plundered their household items and carpets.

His imperial majesty passed Mehin, pitched the ever-victorious banner on a hill north of Darband, and rested. (1023) At that time the brave warriors *drew their swords*, <rushed to the battlefield>, killed eight Teke chieftains (*akābir*), and brought their heads as a present to his majesty. *After sunset*, his imperial majesty, the late [khan], unfolded the ever-victorious banner and set out for the return; at midnight *he came to the royal camp (*senger*)*. The next day, which was Wednesday, the captured booty was registered, and on Thursday it was distributed among those of the ever-victorious troops who had lost their horses and camels.

On Friday, Khal Nefes <Sardar> came from <the Teke of> Qïzïl-ribat, and Dola Sardar, Dawlat Saʿat and Qurban Sayyid [came] from Dawlat Nazar Bay, expressing their submission, saying: "We will obey and follow any order [of the khan], and we will hold it as a favor if you spare our lives." On Sunday evening, his majesty attached to them Khoja Nazar Bek and sent them to Qïzïl-ribat. On the same day, [the khan] distributed the captured horned cattle (*qara mal*), which was countless and innumerable, among all the amirs, for slaughter. On Monday, Alaq Kör and Qul Muhammad Sardar Gerkez arrived at the royal court from the city [of Khiva], having traveled [only] nine days by way of Orta-quduq.[1046] On Tuesday, (1024) the 19th of the month,[a] <his majesty> moved off from Khirmantu and set up the royal camp a little farther to the west,[b] on the northern side of a lake. After he stayed at that place for two days, on the third day, which was Friday, Khal Nefes, Sharif Sardar, Dawlat Nazar Bay, and Qurban Sayyid came to kiss the ground before the royal court, and they reported to his majesty that the Toqtamïsh tribe (*jamāʿa*) would be loyal and obey [his] orders. On Saturday, his majesty attached to them Aymir Shaykh and dis-

[a] 23 June.
[b] Or downstream (*ashaq*).

missed them. After four more days passed, on the fifth day, which was Wednesday, Khal Nefes, Dawlat Sa'at Bay, and Aymir Shaykh came [again].

On Thursday, [the khan] *moved off and set up his camp* at Asparzan-tüpe. On Friday he rested, and on Saturday, the first day of Ramazan,[a] he left and *set up the royal army's camp at Mehin*. On Sunday his majesty, the late [khan], moved off, set up the royal camp at Durun, and [from there] *the ever-victorious troops attacked the enemy, blocked them in the Irdad gorge, and joined battle*. Neither side suffered losses, and his majesty returned to the camp (*senger*) safely and loaded with booty.

(1025) On Monday, he stayed [there], and on Tuesday, the fourth of the month,[b] he went back and stopped at the previous camp at Mehin. On Wednesday he set out from there and camped at Khirmantu. On that day the Teke troops, having followed the [Khivan] army (*köch*), captured one camel and fled. On Thursday, the brave warriors pursued the Teke like hungry lions, overtook the rebels, *killed eight men and severed their heads*, and captured countless horses. In that battle *Muhammad Karim Qoychi fought especially valiantly, and the Khivan troops* burned up abundant crops and (sic!) wheat[c] of the rebels. On Friday, [the khan] set out from Khirmantu, crossed the Qara-su, and stopped at the place named Gökche.[1047] On Saturday he set out from there and camped in <the vicinity of> 'Ashiqabad <fortress>. On that day the Yomut warriors killed one Teke and brought his head to the royal court as a present. [The same day] Sadiq Makhzum brought fresh grapes from Anau and submitted a petition from the inhabitants [of Anau]. That same day [the khan] sent him back.

On Sunday, the 9th of the aforementioned month,[d] [the khan] left 'Ashiqabad, and, as he approached Anau, Ja'far Khan (1026) came out to meet him in utter humility, brought a horse and [other] gifts befitting the royal dignity, and expressed submission and servitude. That same day his majesty, the shadow of God, passed by a road near Anau, and *camped at Gavurz*. By chance, while [the troops] were on the way, several soldiers entered one or two orchards

[a] 4 July.
[b] 7 July.
[c] E: "fields and crops."
[d] 12 July.

in the environs of Anau without permission <of the owners and stole some fruit there>. As soon as the owners of the orchards complained, his majesty, out of his perfect humanity and fairness, and his infinite clemency and compassion to his subjects, sent men to punish those who committed this disgraceful deed, *and generously rewarded the owners of the orchards*. That same day Khojam Shukur came [to the khan] and brought twenty sheep as a gift. The next day, which was Monday, Hajji Makhzum, along with the merchants of Anau, was granted the honor of kissing the ground before the khan.

That same day [the khan] distinguished the Yemreli elders (*ked-khuda*), the Sarïq beks, and Khoja Nazar Bek with the grants of royal outfits (*sarūpāy*). And that same day, <in accordance with the royal order>, the troops filled their water-skins and flasks with water, and on Tuesday, the 11th of the same month,[a] <his majesty>, showing his kindness, permitted the troops of the Yemreli and the Sarïqs, as well as Khojam Shukur and Hajji Makhzum, to return to their homes, in accordance with [the words of the Qur'ān] "*And he will return to his family joyfully*,"[b] (1027) and thus made them rejoice. And he himself, in accordance with the [saying] "*Love of homeland is above the faith*," and also following the wise injunction "*The bond between the king and the country is like the bond between the soul and the body*," set out to return to the royal capital. After travelling for two days, on Thursday, the 13th of the same month,[c] he came to the environs of Tezhen *and camped at Qosha-chungul*. On Friday he granted royal outfits to Hasan son of Muhammad Niyaz Bahadur, and to Isma'il, a slave (*toghma*) of Qutlugh Murad Inaq, along with their companions, who had come from the city [of Khiva], attached to them Dengiz Khalifa and sent them to the city, with the message that *he was returning and would soon be back in Khiva*.

On Sunday he moved off and, after travelling for half a station, *set up his camp* on the bank of a river. On that day he permitted the Aral and the Qaraqalpaq troops to go in front [of the rest of the army]. On Monday, before noon, he sent forward the pack camels, the cannons and arsenal, the royal enclosure and camp-equipage, and, after the midday prayer, (1028) *mounted his horse* and, after travelling by night, arrived on Tuesday at Yantaqlï. On

[a] 14 July.
[b] Qur'ān, LXXXIV,9.
[c] 16 July.

Wednesday he set out from there, travelled in the night, and on Thursday, the 20th of the same month,[a] *he camped in the vicinity of Chirla well. That night he rested there*, and the next day, Friday afternoon, he set out and, having travelled by night and made two stops on the way, arrived at Süzenli, where he camped. At that place there arrived water and camels, as well as sweets and fruits, which had been sent [from Khorezm] by *Muhammad Riza Qoshbegi*. His majesty distributed this among all the amirs and the pillars of the state, and on Monday *set out* from there and *camped* at Saghcha well. He left there in the late afternoon, and at the time of evening prayer camped at Kesekli. From there he moved at dawn, and the next day, which was Tuesday, the 22nd of the month,[b] before noon, *he camped in the lower reaches of Qara-köl*. At that place the great *'ulamā'*, the venerable notables (*kubarā'*), the exalted princes, and the high-ranking beks and nobles (*āzādalar*) *came from Khiva to greet the khan. (1029) His imperial majesty auspiciously entered Khiva and gladdened all the inhabitants of the city by his arrival*. [*Mathnavī.*][1048]

Some remarkable events, which happened after his imperial majesty the late [khan's] arrival at the royal capital Khiva, will be briefly recorded [here].

The first event that occured after his majesty, with divine help, dispersed the assemblage of the Teke rebels, defeated and routed most of this tribe, and auspiciously returned (1030) to Khiva, was the following. After the Holiday of Ramazan,[c] on Tuesday, 2 Shavval,[d] Sumbar Sardar, who was one of the servants of Allah-Quli Muhammad Bahadur Khan during the time of his *beklik*, gathered 150 famous warriors from among the Yomuts and Yemrelis, received the *late khan's* permission, and on Wednesday left his *oba*, travelled at a great speed, and came by way of Orta-quduq to Kurtish. From there they raced eastward through the sands, but were unable to find anyone at the wells north of Archman, Durun and Mehin. After they passed Mehin, in the darkness of night, (1031) they came across a shepherd, received directions from him and went to Soltï-quduq,

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[a] 23 July.
[b] 25 July (Saturday!).
[c] E omits the words "After the Holiday of Ramazan."
[d] 4 August.

which is situated north of Akhal, at a distance of one and a half stations from Gök-tüpe. There they found three or four families of Khojas, but they did not cause them any harm. It appeared that sixty families of Khojas lived at that place, and among them lived also fifteen families of Teke. A companion of the aforementioned shepherd had informed them that a raiding party was going after them, and they dispersed and fled everywhere in fear of their lives. <Not having found anybody there>, the raiders *searched in the vicinity*, captured around 600 camels which belonged to the Teke, *killed nine men*, and went back with abundant booty. By chance, on their way they came across many more camels, but they were unable to drive off all of them; they took [only] one or two herds, which consisted of over 200 or 300 [camels], and moved on. [*Bayt.*]

The soldiers travelled in great joy, (1032) and when they reached Kurtish, they sent a messenger to the city [of Khiva] to convey the good news. This happy news from them came on Thursday, the 18th of the same month,[a] and on Saturday, the 20th of the month,[b] they themselves were granted with the honor of kissing the [royal] carpet *and had precious robes of honor from the royal wardrobe of gifts (*khayāṭ-khāna-i iḥsān-i pādishāhī*) bestowed upon them*. One of them lost his way and remained behind. His relatives received twenty camels in addition to his share [of the booty], but three or four days later he arrived safely himself.

The raid of Baghi Bek Bahadur.

On Wednesday, 2 Zu'l-Qa'da,[c] the Yomut chieftains Baghi Bek Bahadur, Murad Sardar, and Sumbar Sardar, as well as 'Arab Sardar Yemreli and others, together with a large party, most of which were Yomuts, Yemreli, and Hasan-eli, received his imperial majesty's permission and, by way of the Saghcha well, went to raid the Teke. When they reached the Chirla well, they made Sa'at Sardar their guide and turned eastward. At [the distance of] two stations from there they came to Khan-quduq. They stayed there for two nights, watered all their horses, then left and came to another well, at [the distance of] one station. From there they returned their camels to the previous well, and themselves raced on for one and a half sta-

[a] 20 August.
[b] 22 August.
[c] 2 September.

tions, entered the lower reaches of the Balïqlï, and made a raid southward. They killed around thirty Teke men, (1033) but, unable to find any property, they returned, having slaughtered many sheep. The reason [why there was no property] was that three days earlier a Sarïq had brought news about the coming raiders, and [the Teke] had taken all their <livestock and> property to the other side of the Merv river. The troops went back and in twenty days, on Monday, the 21st of the same month,[a] arrived at the royal court.

The raid of Sarï Karnay.

Sarï Karnay, who was famous for his valor, gathered forty brave warriors, each of whom was equal to a hundred men on the battlefield, received permission from his majesty, went by way of Orta-quduq, and, after travelling for several days, fell upon *the subjects of Murad Sardar, the chieftain of the Teke rebels*. They put nine men to the sword, captured more than 200 camels, and went back. Upon learning of this, about seventy Teke set out, pursued the raiders, overtook them and joined battle. The [Khivan] warriors also turned back and all at once attacked at full speed, defeated the rebels and put them to flight. In this battle they killed another ten men, (1034) captured their horses, weapons, and belongings, and returned to the country (*vilāyat*) [of Khorezm] safe and loaded with booty. They had left the city [of Khiva] on 1 Zu'l-Qa'da,[b] and on the 19th, a Sunday,[c] they arrived at the royal court.

On the 1st of the same month, an ambassador by the name of Mulla 'Abd an-Nasir Mingbashi came from Russia (*Urūs*). On the 6th of the same month, his imperial majesty dismissed him and let him go back.[1049]

On Monday 26 Zu'l-Hijja,[d] his imperial majesty, the late [khan], divided the Yomut, Hasan-eli, and Yemreli *sardār*s and *nöker*s into three groups and sent them on raids in three directions. On Friday, the month of Muharram began and the year 1234 A.H. started.[e]

THE STORY OF THE FIRST GROUP: Sarï Karnay and Shah Niyaz Bek, along with 160 Yomuts, went by way of Orta-quduq and, by a

[a] 21 September.
[b] 1 September.
[c] 19 September (Saturday).
[d] 26 October.
[e] 30 October 1818. E omits this sentence.

mistake, plundered a group of five or ten[a] families of Teke from the clan of Dawlat Nazar Bay, who were migrating from the region of Bami [and] Beurma to the [khan's] well-protected kingdom. They killed [all] the men, captured the women and children, and returned. This raid continued twenty days.

THE TALE OF THE SECOND GROUP: On the aforementioned day, Murad Sardar, <a Yomut noble>, along with thirty *warriors*, went quickly by way of Saghcha *and fell upon* [the region of] Durun and Mehin from the north. They [killed] five <rebels>, cut off their brainless heads from their foul bodies, captured around 200 (1035) camels and returned.

THE ACCOUNT OF THE THIRD GROUP: All the commanders of the Hasan-eli led by Husayn[b] Bahadur Chowdur, all the *sardār*s of the Yemreli tribe, and Qïlïch Yüzbashi Khitay from among the Uzbeks, gathered a party of 700 Turkmens and Uzbeks, and on the aforementioned day went to Tezhen by way of the Saghcha <well>. From Tezhen, they rushed on, raided the Teke in the environs of Sarakhs, killed about thirty men, and went back. When they came to the banks of the Tezhen, twenty men headed by Qïlïch Yüzbashi, Durdï Murad Bahadur Igdir, and ʿAvaz-Berdi Tavar separated and remained there saying that they would not return until they accomplish some feat; and Husayn[c] Bahadur, <with the rest of the troops>, returned from Tezhen and came to the royal court. This expedition lasted eighteen days.

THE EVENTS OF THE FOURTEENTH YEAR SINCE THE <AUSPICIOUS> ACCESSION OF THE LATE KHAN.

How his majesty the late king set out for hunting and went to the country of Aral; how he enjoyed and gladdened himself for several days with the entertainment of falconry and hunt, and then returned to the royal capital.

On Saturday 23 Muharram 1234 A.H.,[d] his imperial majesty, the late king, wishing to go for a hunt, (1036) set out from the royal capi-

[a] E: "fifteen."
[b] E: Soyun.
[c] E: Soyun.
[d] 21 November 1818.

tal Khiva. When he came to the place [called] Tash-Ayaq,[1050] he permitted[a] <the great amirs> Allash Biy, Soyun Biy, Bek ʿAli Mirab, and Quti Khoja Shaykh al-Islam to go for a raid on the Teke and ordered them to prepare everything needed for the expedition, while he himself lodged at a *ribāṭ* at Shimal-qalʿa, and for three days hunted in those environs. On Tuesday, he sent Sultan Khan, ʿAvaz Yüzbashi, Khuday-Berdi Yüzbashi, ʿAli Riza Yüzbashi, ʿAbd as-Samad Bek Chura-aghasï, and ʿAbd ar-Rahim Bek, along with all the slave troops (*qullar nökeri*), to Sūnat (?), and himself camped at Tashhawz. [At that time] the elders of the Teke from Bami [and] Beurma and from Qïzïl-ribat, headed by Dawlat Nazar Bay and Sharif Tilku, [arrived] at Bederkend and expressed their submission. His majesty showed them his favor and kindness and, having sent them back, [sent] <after them> three men, to move off their encampments (*oba*), which stayed in the environs of Sansïz well, and to bring them [to Khorezm]. Also, the day when his majesty left the city [of Khiva], the aforementioned Qïlïch Yüzbashi and Durdï Murad Bahadur, along with their companions, returned to the city. They had separated [from the Khivan troops] and remained behind, [as mentioned above, then] had gone from Tezhen in the direction of Akhal, passing near the *oba* of Khojam Shukur on their way, and had encountered a Teke caravan of forty camels in the vicinity of Anau; they had killed all the men, captured their goods and gone back and [now], in Bederkend, they arrived at the royal court.

(1037) His majesty stayed at Tashhawz for two nights, then set out, came to the *ḥawlī* of Qïlïch Niyaz Bay, and from there came to Qaraja-köl. From there he moved off, and on the last day of Muharram, a Saturday,[b] he came to Yïlan-qïr. Be it known that in the meantime, on Sunday, *the first day of Safar,[c]* <the men of> Allash Biy set out for a raid. And that same day ʿAbd al-Ghafur Bek Bukhari, <a Bukharan noble>, fled from Bukhara and came [to Khiva], and [he came to the khan] along with Khojash Mahram and was granted the honor of kissing the royal threshold at Yïlan-qïr. The next day [the khan] returned the aforementioned bek, together with Khojash Mahram, [to Khiva], then set out and came to Qum-senger. From there he moved off, hunted with birds east

[a] E: "ordered."
[b] 28 November.
[c] 29 November.

and south of Khoja-eli, and camped at Bala-Qoyghan-tüpe.[1051] From there he set out, hunted with birds in the environs of Qutlugh Murad Inaq's *ḥawlī*, on 6 Safar[a] visited [the tombs of] the holy men in Old Urgench, and from there came to Qum-chungul. Then he set out and came to Bavat, where he stayed for one day, and on the 10th of the same month[b] he camped at Keng-Yantaq. At that place news came that Allah-Quli Bek ibn Fazil Biy ibn Amir Daniyal had fled from Bukhara and come <to Khiva>. At that place [the khan] stayed for four days and, engaging in falconry every day, slaughtered his prey. From there he moved off, extensively hunted with birds for several days in the environs of Aybugur plateau (*qïr*), passed the At-Yolï crossing, and *arrived at his own *ḥawlī* at Qongrat*. (1038) There he stayed for two days, hunted in the vicinity, [then] moved from there, crossed the river [Amu] over the ice, and camped on the bank of the Öküz-Ketken, which is one of the major branches of the river.[1052] From there he moved off, and on Sunday, the last day of the aforementioned month, he camped at the place [called] Munchaqlï. On that day, Muhammad Riza Bek, a younger brother of Allash Biy, came with happy news from the raiding party [of Allash Biy].

On the first day of Rabiʿ I,[c] <his majesty> crossed the river [Amu] at Hajji Murad Ölgen <crossing> and camped between Muʿin-Ata and Khoja-Terki. From there he set out and came to Qutlugh Murad Inaq's *ḥawlī*. At that place Dosïm Biy came to the khan from the raiding party [of Allash Biy]. <His majesty> set out from there and stopped on the eastern side of the Sharqïrawq.[1053] That day, after the evening prayer, Allash Biy, Soyun Biy, <Qutb ad-Din Khoja> Shaykh al-Islam, and Qurban Niyaz Mahram Yasavulbashi came to the khan. From there he moved off and camped in the lower reaches of the eastern branch of the Aman-Quli canal. From there he set out and lodged *at Qïlïch Niyaz Bay's *ḥawlī*. At that place arrived most of[d] the *maḥram*s and *yüzbashi*s, headed by the *dastūrkhānchī*, who had been sent on a raid [with Allash Biy]. On the 7th of the same month,[e] [the khan] set out, and when he came to the vicinity of

[a] 4 December.
[b] 8 December.
[c] 28 December.
[d] E has "all," instead of "most of."
[e] 3 January 1819.

Ambar, a man arrived <from Khorasan>, who brought the news that Sultan Khan had safely come to his country (*yurt*), (1039) and that Murad Sardar had plundered a caravan of a hundred camels belonging to his (Sultan Khan's) tribes. That day his imperial majesty traveled quickly and at night arrived at the royal capital.

The account of the raid of Allash Biy.

***** On Sunday, the 1st day of Safar,[a] Allash Biy set out from the city of Khiva with Uzbek and Yomut[1054] troops, the majority of whom were beks and *maḥrams*, numbering in all nearly 2,000. [They included]: the assigned amirs, namely, Quti Khoja Shaykh al-Islam, Dosïm Biy, Bek ʿAli Mirab, Soyun Biy, and Hajji Murad Dasturkhanchi; the military commanders Hubbi-Quli Khoja, Niyaz Muhammad Bay, Muhammad-Quli Bek, Qutlugh Murad Bek; Qutlugh Murad Inaq's *nökers* Umbay Bek, Khoja Niyaz Biy Qïpchaq, and Rahim-Berdi Biy Khitay; Dawlat Nazar Biy from among the Qaraqalpaqs; Qaqa Sardar from among the Yomuts, and others. For the supervision (*sar-anjām-i mahāmm*) of these troops, Qurban Niyaz Yasavulbashi was attached to them. *They [first] camped in the environs of Saghcha well, where they stayed on Tuesday, and on Wednesday afternoon they moved off, travelled for two stations, and on the third day, which was Saturday, they camped near the Chirla well. There they watered all their [pack] animals and horses, and on Sunday set out (1040) towards their destination*. On the following Sunday, the 15th of the same month,[b] they came out [of the desert] in the lower reaches of the Qara-su, and at dawn moved towards the fortresses of Qïpchaq[1055] and Arman and pitched the ever-victorious banners there. They sent the troops,[c] led by Hubbi-Quli Khoja, to raid the surrounding regions. By a happy coincidence, on that very day two caravans of the Teke of Akhal were travelling, one from Merv to Akhal, the other from Akhal to Merv; when the two caravans had met each other, they encountered the troops, and they were slaughtered, and [their goods] were plundered. [*Bayt.*]

<After having captured the goods of the caravan>, the troops plundered the region between ʿAshiqabad and Mehin, killed many people and captured many women and children, so that no one was

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[a] 29 November 1818.
[b] 13 December.
[c] E: "commanders."

left in that country who did not fall victim to the raiders and who was not either killed or taken prisoner. On that day the troops [also] captured countless camels and horses. At noon they gathered to the ever-victorious banner. On that day more than a hundred Teke <rebels> (1041) were killed and 77 were taken prisoner, and [the troops] plundered all their houses and [then] set them on fire.[a] From among the troops, three common soldiers (*majhūl kishi*)[b] were killed. That evening they went back *and made their way into the desert*. Within a short time they reached the Chirla well. At that place Allash Biy dispatched Muhammad Riza Bek, his own younger brother, along with the men of the aforementioned amirs, to convey the happy news <to the servants of the court>. They stayed in the vicinity of the Chirla <well> for two days, and divided the booty among the troops, after one fifth (*khums*) had been collected. After that they moved off and, travelling quickly, on Wednesday, the 25th of the same month,[c] they arrived at the city [of Khiva].

The raid of Saʿat Sardar and Khal Niyaz Yüzbashi.

After Allash Biy had gone for a raid, Saʿat Sardar and Khal Niyaz Yüzbashi, along with 180 Yemreli and Uzbek troops, received permission from <his imperial majesty, the late [khan]>, and set off towards Merv. At Sirab-quduq[1056] they found numerous sheep which belonged to the tribe of Burqaz. They killed the shepherds and captured all the sheep, <and returned to the khan>. They divided [the booty], and everyone received twenty five sheep.

The raid of Qïlïch Sardar.

Qïlïch Sardar, <a famous Yomut noble>, along with about ninety men from among <his own> Yomut tribe, (1042) *received permission from Qutlugh Murad Inaq* and on Friday 20 Safar,[d] five days before the return of Allash Biy's men, went to the desert, passing by [the tomb of] <his holiness> Ism-i Mahmud Ata. They travelled quickly, and at Shor-quduq, which is north of Akhal, they came upon numerous camels of the Teke. They killed eight of their (i.e. Teke) men,

[a] E omits the second part of the sentence ("and [the troops]" etc.).
[b] Lit.: "unknown men." E. omits *majhūl*.
[c] 23 December.
[d] 18 December.

took two slaves (*toghma*) prisoner, captured all the camels, and went back. On 7 Rabiʿ I[a] they came to the royal court and presented the slaves and 50 camels as the khan's share of the booty (*ghān*).

At that time, most of[b] the Teke of Qïzïl-ribat moved off with their families and came under *his majesty's* protection. On the 11th of the aforementioned month,[c] Khal Nefes <Sardar> also came, with his family and sons. Two elders (*kedkhuda*) from Akhal came along with him and submitted a petition to the sublime court expressing their submission and obedience. On Wednesday, the 15th of the month,[d] nine men from Akhal came with a declaration of servitude. That same day, his holiness <*Sayyid*> Tursun Khoja Ishan passed away, and on Thursday he was buried at Manzilkhan; may the mercy of God be upon him! On Friday, Qutlugh Murad Inaq invited all the Teke elders (*kedkhuda*) to the chancery (*dīvān-khāna*), listened to their words, and dismissed them. They requested a twenty days' delay, (1043) after which they pledged to bring one hundred *nökers* and two hundred hostages (*aq öyli*), <and returned [to Akhal]>.

On Saturday, Khojash Mahram gave a funeral feast (*fātiḥa toy*), <to which he invited Qutlugh Murad Inaq>. When *the latter* left the feast, he went to Khoja-eli, to the funeral feast for Tursun <Khoja> Ishan. At that time Shir Ghazi Khan, the Qazaq khan, came to him. *Be it known to the people versed in history* that, when Shir Ghazi Khan, by a binding decree of his majesty, became a khan, he went to the banks of the Sïr river, and became ruler of the Qazaqs [living] on the banks of the Sïr. In turn, Shir Ghazi Khan appointed Bek Timur Akhund, who was a qazi in that region, as his deputy for this community (*jamāʿa*), and himself followed his people (*ulus*), who had moved off to the steppe (*qïr*). And this community, a majority of whom belonged to Tört-Qara <tribe>, unanimously obeyed Shir Ghazi Khan. Arang Ghazi Khan, <who was a younger brother of Shir Ghazi Khan>,[1057] was disappointed and frustrated by this development, but, outwardly showing his friendship to the khan, dwelled alongside that tribe. At that time Bek Timur Akhund strayed away from the just path, secretly invited Arang Ghazi <Khan>, and instigated the people (*ulus*) to submit to

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[a] 3 January 1819.
[b] E omits "most of."
[c] 7 January.
[d] 11 January (Monday).

him and to rebel against Shir Ghazi Khan. As soon as Shir Ghazi Khan learned about this, (1044) he became debilitated and impotent and sent many people to the akhund <with admonitions>, but to no avail. Under these circumstances, Arang Ghazi <Khan> and the akhund, in agreement with the biys subordinate to them, divided the Chekli tribe into four parts. One part they assigned to Arang Ghazi <Khan>; to the akhund they attached one thousand families of the Qazaqs, and one thousand families of the Qaraqalpaqs, who [all] lived on the banks of the Sïr river; one part they entrusted to Nurum Ghazi Sultan ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAziz Khan; and the governance of the Tört-Qara <tribe>, which was on the side of Shir Ghazi Khan, they assigned to Shir Ghazi Khan. The akhund was not satisfied even with this, and, out of fear of his imperial majesty's punishment, he designed a ruse; he came to his imperial majesty with Arda Ghazi Töre, Arang Ghazi's youngest brother,[1058] as well as with several biys and a son of Saʿadat Keray, bringing forty amblers, forty [hunting] birds, and forty white felts as presents,[1059] and, saying that Shir Ghazi Khan had transferred the status of khan to his younger brother Arang Ghazi of his own will, claimed that Arang Ghazi should be made khan. His majesty understood what had [really] happened from the very words of the liars; he detained them, and sent Aman Bay Yüzbashi and Taylaq Yüzbashi to Shir Ghazi Khan and Arang Ghazi <Khan>, to bring both of them to (1045) the royal court, <so that it might become clear what is lie and what is truth>. When these so assigned came <to Shir Ghazi Khan>, some tribes (*el*), which, led by Jan Nazar Biy, had submitted to Arang Ghazi, repented and joined Shir Ghazi Khan [again]. When Shir Ghazi Khan set out to go to his imperial majesty, Arang Ghazi encountered him with 300 men and blocked his way. Finally, they fought each other, and Shir Ghazi, receiving help from the nearby tribes, defeated Arang Ghazi. [Then] Shir Ghazi Khan came to the royal court. His words made clear the lie of Bek Timur Akhund, and so the akhund and Arda Ghazi Töre were fettered and imprisoned in the dungeon.[1060]

On the last day of Rabiʿ I,[a] Qutlugh Murad Inaq came from Khoja-eli. And on Saturday 4 Rabiʿ II[b] *Khojash Mahram* arranged a big feast (*toy*) and a great assembly (*quraltay*) and requested that his

[a] 26 January.
[b] 30 January.

imperial majesty gladden all those present at the feast by his joy-inducing arrival. *His majesty accepted this request and thus made him extremely proud.* (1046) [*Bayt.*] The aforementioned mahram rendered proper service and arranged a pleasant banquet, showered innumerable *pearls and jewels at the feet of his majesty and presented him with a robe [golden] like the sun and a steed with a gold bridle*. He also dressed the pillars of the state and the closest nobles in gold-embroidered robes and showed them his great esteem. His majesty spent there one night enjoying himself, and the next day, which was Sunday, he went back.

On Wednesday, the 8th of the same month,[a] his majesty invited Shir Ghazi Khan to the citadel (*ärk*) and gave a royal banquet [for him]. Three days earlier,[b] news came about the flight of Arang Ghazi Khan to the banks of the [river] Sïr and the submission of the remaining tribes (*ulus*). Also at that time, ten hostages (*aq öyli*) from the Qarakhanlï Teke arrived. And on Sunday, the 12th of the aforementioned month,[c] <amir> Fazil Bek passed from the transient world to the eternal one. His age was 85, and both his birth and his death occured in the Year of the Leopard. He had six sons, whose names are as follows: ʿAbdallah (1047) Bek; Yusuf Bek; Tengri-Quli Bek, who had died at the age of five; Khuday-Bergen Bek, who was killed during the <misfortune with the late khan Eltüzer Muhammad Bahadur Khan, during the> invasion of the Bukharan <troops>; Yaʿqub Bek; and ʿAvaz Bek. And he was buried in his own madrasa, at the place which he had assigned. On Monday, the 20th of the same month,[d] Niyaz Muhammad Bek passed away. He had one son who had died before him. Niyaz Muhammad Bek's age was 58, and his year [of birth] was [the Year of] the Snake. On that same day twenty Teke *nökers* came <to the court>.

The raid of Soyun Biy.

On Friday, 9 Jumadi I,[e] his majesty appointed Quti Khoja Shaykh al-Islam, Muhammad Jan Khoja, and, <from among the *shamkhālchīs*>, ʿAvaz-Berdi Yüzbashi, along with 2,000 Uzbek and Turkmen troops,

[a] 3 February.
[b] E: "That same day."
[c] 7 February.
[d] 15 February.
[e] 5 March.

<under the command of> Soyun Biy, for a raid on Merv, and he also attached to them Muhammad Niyaz Yasavulbashi. That night Soyun Biy <rested> at Ängärik, and on Saturday, the 10th of the same month,[a] he set out towards his destination by way of the Saghcha <well>. Thirteen days later, on the 22nd of the month, a Thursday,[b] he entered <the region of> Merv and, having come to a recently built fortress in the locality called Qum-yap, sent raiding parties to the surrounding areas. They killed many people, captured countless camels, (1048) and went back. They travelled quickly for several days, and, upon reaching the royal court, *were honored by royal favors*.

And Shir Ghazi Khan, who, by order of his imperial majesty, had come during the affair of Bek Timur Akhund and dwelled in the city [of Khiva], <attached to the royal court>, died on Wednesday 10 Rajab[c] from anthrax (*kuydurgu yarasï*).[1061]

On Thursday, the 18th of the same month,[d] the late khan set out <in person> to dam the Lawdan <river (*nahr*), which is one of the branches of the river Amuya that flows north of Khoja-eli and passes west [of it]>. That same day Nur Muhammad Bek Mahram, an ambassador of <amir> Haydar, came to kiss the ground at the royal court. On Saturday, Aymir Shaykh arrived with the Teke elders (*ked-khuda*) led by Ayim Bek, <and they offered their submission>. On Sunday 6 Shaʿban,[e] his majesty returned to the city [of Khiva], having dammed the Lawdan; this expedition lasted eighteen days. At that time ambassadors of the Teke of Merv and of the Sarïq tribe came <to the court> expressing their submission. On 17 Shaʿban[f] <his majesty> dismissed <the aforementioned> Nur Muhammad Bek and let him return to Bukhara. On Thursday, 13 Zu'l-Qaʿda,[g] his majesty the khan set out for a hunt, crossed the [Amu] river near Urgench, went up the river <along its northern bank> till Sadvar,[h] <and hunted along the way>; [then] he returned, (1049) crossed [back over] the river at Qapqaqlï <thicket (*bīsha*)>, and on

[a] 6 March.
[b] 18 March.
[c] 4 May (Tuesday).
[d] 12 May (Wednesday).
[e] 30 May.
[f] 10 June.
[g] 2 September.
[h] E: Meshekli.

Monday 8 Zu'l-Hijja[a] came to the city [of Khiva]. This expedition lasted 26 days. During this expedition, news came that in the Qazaq [steppes] Jan Ghazi Töre b. Shir Ghazi Khan and Sultan Timur <Khan> had declared their loyalty <and submission>.

On Saturday 13 Zu'l-Hijja,[b] [the khan] dismissed Ayim Bek and the [other] Teke elders, as well as Riza-Quli Khan's ambassador, Mahdi Bek, and Najaf 'Ali Khan's ambassador, who had come earlier expressing loyalty; and, attaching to them 'Avaz Yüzbashi and Bek Niyaz Naib, he ordered [the following]: "If their words are truthful, let them send [here] their younger brothers and their sons, along with their *nökers*!" That same year, that is 1234 A.H.,[c] [corresponding to] the Year of the Hare, a son, Babajan Töre, that is, Muhammad Amin Töre (may his life be long!) was born to his majesty, the world-conqueror, Allah-Quli Muhammad Bahadur Khan.

THE EVENTS OF THE FIFTEENTH YEAR SINCE THE ACCESSION OF HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY, THE LATE [KHAN].

On Tuesday, the first day of Muharram 1235 A.H.,[d] a Russian ambassador <named> Nikolai Nikolaich came from the governor (*ḥākim*) of Georgia and Tiflis, Aleksei Petrovich. (1050) By order of his imperial majesty, At Chapar and Ish Nazar Shibirghan went to meet the ambassador and brought him to the *ḥawlī* of Khojash Mahram.[1063] On Thursday, the 3rd of the same month,[e] his imperial majesty set out for a hunt, crossed the river [Amu] at Yïlan-qïr, and came to Besh-tüpe. There he enjoyed falconry and hunting for several days, and went back. On the 22nd of the same month[f] he came to the capital. This expedition lasted twenty days.

On Friday, the 25th of the month,[g] Jan Ghazi Töre ibn Shir Ghazi Khan,[1064] along with [some] Qazaq nobles, <came> and were granted the honor of kissing the royal threshold. On Tuesday, 3

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[a] 27 September.
[b] 2 October.
[c] 1819 A.D.
[d] 19 October.
[e] 21 October.
[f] 9 November.
[g] 12 November.

Safar,[a] his imperial majesty honored Jan Ghazi Töre with the khan's crown, in his father's place, and appointed him to rule the Qazaq <tribes (*aqvām*)>. On Friday evening, [the khan] gave an audience to the Russian ambassador[1065] and dismissed him, having attached to him Ya'qub Bay and Ish Nazar Shibirghan, <servants of the royal court, as [his own] ambassadors>. At that time Sarï Karnay, a Yomut chieftain, along with 200 Yomuts, as well as Dost Muhammad Sardar Gerkez, along with 100 mounted Göklens, and Mengli-Geldi Yaruq, with sixteen men, who, in the month of Muharram, had gone, one after another, to raid the Qïzïlbashes, came one after another with plentiful booty and innumerable prisoners. On Friday, 7 Rabi' I,[b] Hakim Khan Salor, the governor of Sarakhs, came to his majesty, along with the elders (*kedkhuda*) of the Salors. On Wednesday, the 15th of the same month,[c] the sons of the Qïzïlbash khans, (1051) <along with their brothers [and] *nökers*>, came to the khan with a declaration of submission; these were Najaf 'Ali Khan's son, Iskandar Khan, who was twelve or thirteen years old; Riza-Quli Khan's paternal cousin, Sharaf Khan ibn Allah-Berdi Khan; and Begler Khan's maternal cousin, Karim Khan. On Saturday 3 Rabi' II,[d] his imperial majesty gave Hakim Khan and the Kurdish khans a royal banquet and a public audience (*bār-i 'āmm*), and granted the gold-embroidered garments and unbroken horses.

Also at that time came news that Aman Bay Yüzbashi and Taylaq Yüzbashi had been seized by Arang Ghazi Khan. The details of this are as follows. By his majesty's order, the aforementioned *yüzbashi*s had brought Shir Ghazi Khan [to Khiva], while Arang Ghazi Khan had not come and had remained [in the steppe]. His majesty sent the same *yüzbashi*s again as ambassadors to Arang Ghazi Khan with a letter of conciliation (*istimālat-nāma*) and a promise to make him khan of the Qazaq *ulus*. [Arang Ghazi], still not trusting those words, imprisoned them.[1066] *The khan was enraged by this terrible news, and resolved upon a campaign to the Dasht-i Qïpchaq in order to destroy the Qazaq rebels. To assemble the army, he sent *tovachi*s to all the regions of the kingdom.* In a short time, having prepared the weapons and supplies for the campaign, innumerable troops (1052) gathered to the royal court.

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[a] 20 November (Saturday!).
[b] 23 December (Thursday).
[c] 31 December (Friday).
[d] 18 January 1820 (Tuesday!).

How his majesty, the late king, for the second time set in motion [his] banners, resplendent like the rising sun, towards the Dasht-i Qïpchaq; *how the news of his departure frightened the Qazaq rebels and made them disperse; how Arang Ghazi Khan escaped death by flight; how some of his people perished, while the majority were taken prisoner; and how the ever-victorious army returned joyfully*.

***** When the supplies for the campaign were prepared and the troops were gathered, on Friday, 26 Rabiʿ II 1235 A.H.,[a] [corresponding to] the end of the Year of the Hare, *his majesty Muhammad Rahim Bahadur Khan* set out from the royal capital Khiva for the campaign to the Dasht-i Qïpchaq and the destruction of the Qazaq people, (1053) *and came to his Shahabad *ḥawlī*. [*Mathnavī*.] He stayed there for two nights, spending time at feasts and royal assemblies. On Sunday morning he set out from Shahabad and came to his *ḥawlī* in Khitay. There he also stayed for two days. On Tuesday, the first day of Jumadi I,[b] he set out, crossed the river Amu over the ice, and camped at Baday thicket (*tughay*). (1054) [*Rubāʿī*.] Having rested there for one night, on Wednesday, at dawn, his majesty came to the place named Qubash. On Thursday he set out from there and camped in the sands. On Friday he moved off and camped at the place named Bash. On Saturday he moved on and camped, having gone for one and a half stations. On Sunday he rested at the same place. On that day Qasim son of Chongay came to the court, along with Qulman Sufi, a <Qaraqalpaq chieftain>. His majesty honored him with royal robe of honor and sent him back the same day. On Monday the khan moved off, passed Tengri-Yar-bashi (1055) and camped at the place called Toghrï-Chang. At that place a herd of gazelles was seen. Therefore on Tuesday the khan did not move on, but went hunting in the surrounding steppe and, after killing plenty of game, returned to the camp. That same day Nefes Yüzbashi, a Qaraqalpaq military commander, brought to the royal court six Qazaqs, whom he had caught when they had come to Aq-Yaqïsh to harvest[c] wheat.*

*On Wednesday, the khan moved the army, passed Kök-tüpe, and set up a camp at the place called Marqay. On that day they

[a] 10 February 1820 (Thursday).
[b] 14 February (Monday).
[c] Lit. "to take."

encountered on their way a Qazaq who was going to the khan's well-protected kingdom for commerce. By mistake, the troops plundered his sheep. As soon as the khan learned about this incident, he had the sheep returned to their owner. On Thursday he set out and camped, having gone for half a station. On Friday he moved on and arrived at the bank of the Yangi-Darya. (1056) That same day was Nawruz, according to the customs of the people of Khorezm.[a] On Saturday, at dawn, the khan moved off from the Yangi-Darya, and by breakfast time stopped in the sands. After breakfast, he left from there, and camped in the Shor-qaq sands. On Sunday at dawn, he set out and came to Shor-qaq. There he had breakfast and moved on, and by the afternoon prayer arrived at a place called Karnay. That night he rested there, and the next day, which was Monday, at dawn, he moved the army and set up the camp at a place called Maʿash-Aralï. On Tuesday at midnight, he moved off and came to Khoja-Bergen-tamï.[b] He had breakfast there, then set out and, after passing the mausoleum (*gunbadh*) of Khoja-Bergen, set up his camp.*

*At that place the khan learned that Arang Ghazi Khan had moved off and fled with all his subjects. That same night, which was Wednesday evening, the khan decided to rush in pursuit of the fugitives himself. To defend the royal camp, he appointed, <from among the great amirs>, Muhammad Panah Bek, Muhammad Jan Inaq, Khuday Nazar Atalïq, Muhammad Niyaz Bek, Qurban-Quli Naib, Allah Nazar Biy, 'Abdallah Bek, (1057) <and others>, ordered the army to take five days' provisions, and raced forward at top speed, [*Mathnavī*] despite very cold weather. Suddenly, it began to snow so heavily that everything was covered with snow, and the sky could not be distinguished from the earth. [*Mathnavī.*] (1058) A strong west wind made the cold unimaginably severe. Nevertheless, his majesty, guided by his good fortune, went ahead. Within five days, he reached the encampment (*ordu*) of Nurum Sultan, <one of the rebel chiefs>, near Kichik Bursuq,[1067] plundered all his property and animals, and captured Nurum Sultan himself. And Iskandar Sultan fled and escaped. The mother and daughters-in-law of Arang Ghazi Khan were also taken prisoner. That same day his majesty moved on again, <raided the rebels in that area, killed or took prisoner [many of] them>, and in the evening camped at <Ulugh> Bursuq.[1068]*

[a] 25 February.
[b] Lit. "Khoja-Bergen's house."

*During this campaign, many Qazaqs were killed, and many of their women and children were taken into captivity. The troops captured innumerable animals, and plundered countless tents (*öy*), but the ever-victorious army also lost many horses <because of severe cold and the lack of fodder>.[1069] (1059) Upon the request of the pillars of the state and the closest nobles, his majesty turned back, and on Sunday, the twelfth day since he had left the army train (*qosh*) and had gone on the raid, he returned to the train in the place called Qosh-Tam. He rested there for two days, and had <all> the booty of the troops registered; it was so plentiful that the mind was unable to comprehend it even before one thousandth of it was registered. The khan put all the prisoners under the protection of the army commanders, moved off the encampment (*aul*) of Bek Timur Akhund, and on Tuesday moved the ever-victorious army and came to Jankent, where he camped. On Wednesday he set out from there and camped on the bank of the Quvang. On Thursday he arrived at the place called Kelte-Bash. On Friday, which was the first day of Jumadi II,[a] he moved off and came to Balïqlï. At Balïqlï, he granted gold-embroidered garments to Jan Ghazi Khan and nine influential Qazaq biys, who had come to the royal court during the time of the raid <and had rendered valuable service>, and dismissed them. And he also conferred the rank of biy on Rahman-Quli, who served well during this campaign as a guide, and, (1060) having granted him a steed with a golden bridle, a precious woolen robe (*chekmen*) with a gilded belt, and a dagger with a gilded hilt, honored and distinguished him among his peers, and dismissed him.*

*On Saturday, at dawn, he moved off from Balïqlï, and at breakfast time stopped at Sandal. At noon he set out from there, and in the evening arrived at a place called Kech-Qïran. That night he rested there, and the next day, on Sunday, he moved on and set up his camp at a place called Bosay. On Monday he moved the army from that place and, after travelling for many stations, passed Qubash, and camped on the bank of the Amu. At that place, Muhammad Yusuf Mehter and Muhammad Riza Qoshbegi were ordered to collect one fifth (*khums*) of the booty from the troops; they fulfilled this command that same day. On Friday 15 Jumadi II,[b] his

[a] 15 March (Wednesday).
[b] 29 March (Wednesday).

majesty crossed the Amu river, unfolded the auspicious banners, and, with great pomp, returned to the capital.*

The account of some events that happened after his majesty's return to the capital.

(1061) At that time Mulla Murad ʿAli came to the royal court from <the khans of> Kurdistan expressing loyalty and submission. Also, at the same time, [came ambassadors from] Muhammad Husayn Khan Karrai, a Göklen noble. He had killed <many> men of Mahdi Khan Qajar, a Qïzïlbash, and had become his enemy; moving off from the banks of the Gürgen along with three or four thousand Göklen families (*öylük*), he had come to the region between Qïzïl-ribat and Bami [and] Beurma, and had sent his son and Oghlan Ishan as ambassadors to the royal court; [now] they arrived with an expression of submission.

<How Murad Sardar and Sarï Karnay raided the Sarïqs.>

A little later his imperial majesty appointed Murad Sardar and Sarï Karnay, Yomut nobles, to raid the Sarïq <tribe, which from time to time had rebelled and had not payed respect to the royal court>. They went, along with 400 Yomut horsemen, to Sirab-quduq, were unable to find any people (*el*) there, [but] captured innumerable livestock, and returned. Sarï Karnay separated from them with twenty men, captured many sheep and countless camels in the region of Repetek,[1070] and came back; in this raid they found about twenty Sarïqs and killed them. The first group returned to the khan before the fast (*rūza*),[a] and the second one—in the middle of the fast. And on Sunday, the 21st day of the fast,[b] [the khan] sent the Yomut, Göklen, Chowdur, Yemreli, and Qaradashlï *sardār*s, with numerous troops, on a raid against the Sarïqs. (1062) Those so assigned, 200 men in all, went by the Repetek road, killed a few Sarïqs, captured many camels, and returned. After the Festival of Breaking the Fast, on Friday 3 Shavval,[c] Qaqa Sardar, along with a number of Yomut troops, was sent to raid the Sarïqs. They also went out with many men, captured countless camels from the Sarïqs, and returned.

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[a] E: Ramazan.
[b] 21 Ramazan/1 July (Saturday).
[c] 13 July (Thursday).

<How his imperial majesty enjoyed a hunt and returned.>

On Tuesday, 18 Zu'l-Hijja,[a] his imperial majesty set out for hunt and came to Hazarasp. The great amir Qutlugh Murad Inaq gave a fine banquet at his newly built *ḥawlī* on the bank of the Khassa canal, arranged a royal feast and rendered laudable service. From there his majesty set out and came to Shaykh-Arïq. There he hunted well with birds <for several days>, and then crossed the river [Amu]. On the other side [of the Amu], he also hunted every day. Once, during the hunt, he fell from his horse and for a while remained unconscious. [*Bayt.*] He soon returned to his senses, and gave the horse which he was riding and plenty of gold as alms. (1063) And all the amirs also joined his majesty and gave alms. After this he travelled down the river along its other bank. At that time he appointed ʿAvaz Yüzbashi, <commander of the slaves (*qul sarkardasi*)>, to raid the Teke tribe and the Sarïqs. And, according to some, that same day [the khan] granted Murad Sardar a decree (*yarlïq*) of [appointment as] khan of all the Teke. Also at that time, at the end of the aforementioned month, when his majesty was near Urgench, Jan Ghazi Khan and Rahman-Quli Biy came from the Qazaqs and brought the news that Arang Ghazi had rebelled.[1071] Earlier, in the month of Zu'l-Qaʿda,[b] Chin Ghazi Sultan, Iskandar Sultan, and Tawke Sultan had come to the khan and [the khan] had dismissed them, giving them <some of> the Qazaq prisoners; after his majesty heard the news [of Arang Ghazi's rebellion] he had them stopped on their way and sent back, to be placed at Qïlïch Niyaz Bay's *ḥawlī*. And he sent Chin Ghazi, along with Kejek, to the Qazaqs to gather information.

[Also] at that time, on Saturday, the last day of Zu'l-Hijja,[c] Sultan Mirab passed away. The venerable teacher, the late Munis Mirab, wrote two chronograms on his death. One of them is as follows. [*Tārīkh.*] (1064) And another one is as follows. [*Tārīkh.*]

His majesty <came, on his hunt, to> the Qapqaqlï <thicket, and> from there crossed the river [Amu] and came to Hilali.[1072] From there he went to Bederkend, and from there he set out, and on 4 Muharram [1236][d] entered the royal capital.

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[a] 25 September (Monday).
[b] August–September.
[c] 7 October.
[d] 11 October.

THE EVENTS OF THE SIXTEENTH YEAR SINCE THE ACCESSION OF THE LATE KING.

An explanation, how a conflict began between his imperial majesty, the late [khan], and amir Haydar, the king of Bukhara, and how the glass of their concord broke against the stone of enmity; how the late king ordered a raid against Bukhara; and how the brave warriors, by their raid, caused turmoil in that country.

(1065) *** When some of the scoundrels and villains among the Qazaq tribe of Chomekey committed improper deeds, in 1226 A.H.,[a] [in] the middle of the Year of the Sheep, his imperial majesty, in order to punish them and teach them a lesson, made preparations for a campaign into the Dasht-i Qïpchaq. At that time some scoundrels from among the Teke of Merv did many abominable things, <which are impossible to count>. One of them was the following: a number of horsemen from that tribe came for thievery, at night broke into one house near Hazarasp, captured two or three people and some property (*māl*),[b] and fled. The news of this reached the late khan, and he decided that to punish the Teke tribe was more important and urgent than to punish the Qazaq rebels, and he began to prepare everything for a campaign against Merv. And in accordance with the injunction "*And take counsel with them in the affair*",[c] he sent Berdi Inaq as ambassador to amir Haydar Padishah, the ruler of Bukhara, with whom he had had for a long time an exchange of letters and ambassadors and relations of friendship and concord, and to whom the province of Merv belonged, (1066) carrying a letter in which [the khan] described the evil deeds of the people of that province and asked amir Haydar's advice about these two matters, namely, whether to punish the Qazaqs or the Teke. As soon as Berdi Inaq brought up this request before amir Haydar, the turban of his pride rose to the sky, and he displayed great joy and unspeakable delight, and he undertook to punish the Teke scoundrels and guaranteed that he would demand the return of all the prison-

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[a] This date is written correctly in both C and E, athough E had originally 1236. In *FI Text ed.* 1236 was mistakenly assumed as correct reading; but Agahi refers here to the events that had happened ten years earlier (see above, p. 390).

[b] Possibly "live stock."

[c] Qur'ān, III,159.

ers, animals, and property captured [by the Teke] in the [khan's] well-protected kingdom, and would send them to his majesty; and he returned Berdi Inaq with great honor and respect.

When Berdi Inaq came to the sublime court, he reported amir Haydar's friendly words <and his pledge> for the [khan's] consideration. His majesty cancelled the campaign against Merv, and [instead] set out for the Dasht-i Qïpchaq, against the Qazaqs. After he defeated and destroyed that people and established his authority over that country, he returned to the capital. A short time later, when no results of the pledge made by amir Haydar were seen, his majesty again sent an ambassador to him. This time [amir Haydar] said to the ambassador derisively: "The Turkmen people are too fearless and willful. If I send someone to take the [plundered] property from them by force, they will disperse everywhere, and it will not be possible to find these villains and scoundrels. (1067) We are not brave enough for such a thing. Let his majesty himself punish this tribe, if he is able to do so." [*Qiṭʿa.*]

When such mad and derisive words of amir Haydar *became known to the khan, he was enraged and decided to destroy the country of Merv and to punish the Teke. But, out of his perfect forbearance, he waited patiently and calmed down, in accordance with the proverb "*Patience is the key to joy*,"[a] and did not hurry, according to the saying "*Everything in its due time*," and delayed this matter because of the exigencies of that time*. For several years, he fought the Teke tribe, which inhabited the region of Akhal and the foothills of the mountains, and, after innumerable battles, finally defeated and subjugated that tribe and took possession of the fortresses and cities of that country.

(1068) When he had also thoroughly defeated the Qazaq rebels, and could enjoy tranquility on all the borders [of Khorezm], he [decided to punish] the Merv Teke, who, as mentioned above, had raided the possessions of Khorezm and had captured animals and a number of prisoners. To take vengeance on them, in 1236 A.H.,[b] in the middle of the Year of the Dragon,[c] his majesty appointed Yar-Quli Pahlavan, a Yomut noble, Yemreli leaders Adï Vekil, ʿArab Sardar, ʿAli,[d] and Nadr Bek, as well as the Chowdur chieftains Safar

[a] Arabic proverb.
[b] 8 October 1820–26 September 1821.
[c] From February 1820.
[d] In E this name omitted.

Bay, Bayli Yüzbashi, and Qurban-Geldi, to raid Merv. Those so assigned went quickly with 400 horsemen, raided the Sarïq clan (*tīre*) called Alasha, captured twenty four men and 300 camels, and went back. At that time Ata Khan Bek, the governor of Charjuy, and Karim-Quli Bek, by order of amir Haydar, assembled all the horsemen from the tribes living on the southern side of the river Amu, thus making up 1,500 horsemen, confronted the raiding party at the place called Bek-tüpe and drew up the troops in battle array. At that time the commanders of the raiding party, <seeing this>, dispatched a man to Ata Khan Bek, explaining in detail how the Merv Teke had committed their vile actions, how his imperial majesty had (1069) sent an ambassador to amir Haydar to consult him about the punishment [of the Teke], how amir Haydar first undertook to punish the Teke tribe and to return the [Khorezmian] prisoners, but then agreed to leave it to his majesty himself, and how, by order of his imperial majesty, they made a raid to take revenge [upon the Teke]. [The Bukharans] turned a deaf ear to their words and, all at once, *attacked the Khorezmian troops. The latter had no choice but to counterattack, and, having mingled with the enemy troops, they fought so fiercely* that they killed numerous enemies including Ata Khan Bek [himself], <severed his head>, and captured his blackheaded standard (*qarabashlï tugh*).[a1073] Having witnessed this misfortune, the enemy troops were seized with panic and fled, and could not stop anywhere until they entered the town. The brave warriors pursued them, killed many [enemy] soldiers, and, returning victorious and triumphant, arrived at the royal court and reported to the khan about the improper actions of the Bukharan troops.[1074] (1070) This incident was very annoying and irksome for his majesty, and it became the source of the conflict and rift [with amir Haydar].[1075]

The raid of Soyun Biy against the Altun-Jappas.

When Jan Ghazi Khan <and Rahman-Quli Biy> came and reported to the servants of the royal court that Arang Ghazi had rebelled and stretched the hand of oppression upon the Qazaq *ulus*,[1076] and when at the same time [similar] reports came one after another, on

[a] E, instead of the words "and captured" etc.: "and, having overturned their ill-fated banners (*rāyāt*), captured one black-headed standard (*qarabashlï tugh*)."

Thursday, 6 Jumadi I 1236 A.H.,[a] six days before the <Khorezmian> Nawruz,[b] his majesty appointed Soyun Biy as a commander [of the raiding party], [attached to him] Jan Ghazi Khan, Qurban Niyaz Yasavulbashi, Beki Yüzbashi and ʿAvaz-Berdi Yüzbashi from among the *shamkhālchī*s, and ʿAvaz Yüzbashi and Jeren Yüzbashi from among the slave [troops] (*qul*), made Töre Bek, a Qaraqalpaq, their guide, and sent them, with all the Yomut troops, against [the tribe of] Altun-Jappas and Arang Ghazi Khan. Those so assigned went quickly and came to <a place called> Altï-tüpe.[1077] From there they quickly moved on eastward for seven days in search of Arang Ghazi, but were unable to overtake him, because, as it appeared, he had earlier plundered a Bukharan caravan and, seven days before the troops arrived at Altï-tüpe, had learned about [them] and fled. Then the troops plundered the tribes in the environs [of Altï-tüpe], killed or took prisoner countless people, (1071) captured an enormous amount of livestock, and went back. Within fifty six days, on Wednesday, they came to the khan. Their booty was so abundant that the sheep [alone] were more than 150,000, and after the one-fifth (*panj-yak*) [for the khan] was collected, 85,000 sheep remained [to be divided among the troops], and 17,000 sheep were collected as one-fifth (? sic).[1078] And the number of [captured] horses and camels was of the same order.[1079]

The raid of the Chowdur warriors on Charjuy.

That same year, on Monday 22 Jumadi II,[c] his imperial majesty sent more than 400 Chowdur warriors on raid against Charjuy. In accordance with the binding order, the troops so assigned set out the same day and went along the bank of the river [Amu]. By coincidence, they entered Charjuy on a market day, and, before that people realised [what was happening], they stormed the bazaar. [*Mathnavī*.] (1072) On that day they *made there such a tumult and slaughter that it was like the Day of Resurrection*; and they captured plenty of goods at that bazaar, as well as innumerable sheep, camels, horses, and donkeys, and went back. From the ever-victorious troops, one soldier from Qosh-Küprük was lost, but the rest returned

[a] 8 February 1821.
[b] So both in C and E; should read "sixteen days" (cf. Introduction, pp. XLIII–XLV).
[c] 26 March 1821.

safely to the royal court, loaded with booty, on Monday 7 Rajab,[a] (1073) and were honored with royal favors and countless gifts. This campaign lasted fifteen days.

The raid of Sarï Karnay on the Sakhar [tribe][1080] and Charjuy.[b]

That same year, on Thursday, 8 Shaʿban,[c] seven commanders from among the Yomut chieftains, led by Sarï Karnay, along with 700 men, received permission from his imperial majesty and set out on a raid against Charjuy. They travelled quickly for several days, and when they neared Charjuy, they did not enter it, but bypassed it and stopped in the sands. *At dawn, they drew their swords* and fell upon Sakhar.[d] But that people had been forewarned, and they ensconced themselves <in the fortress>; and it appeared also that 500 horsemen from the Bukharan army had come and joined them, and the environs were full of fences, gardens, and trees. For these reasons the troops could not capture many prisoners or a great deal of booty: they took [only] fifteen prisoners, and their booty, consisting of camels, horses, oxen, (1074) and donkeys, totaled [only] 200 animals. As they were returning, when they approached Bektüpe, which is near the town (*qurghan*) of Charjuy, they saw three or four horsemen on the hilltop. They immediately raced their horses and came to the hilltop, while those horsemen fled and went downhill. [Now] they saw that about 500 mounted Charjuy troops were standing at the foot of the hill. Because most of the troops had not yet gathered after the raid, and they were still very few, the Charjuy troops, seeing their small number, moved against them. The <ever-victorious> troops also attacked fearlessly, like roaring lions. The enemy troops were unable to withstand the single attack and turned back and fled like foxes, and the ever-victorious troops did not pursue them because of their own small number. [*Qiṭʿa.*]

At that moment ʿIsmatallah Bek, the governor of Charjuy, brought out all the inhabitants of the town, mounted and unmounted, (1075) himself unfolded the blackheaded standard (*qarabash tugh*), and drew up his troops in battle array near the city gates, having arranged them in a left wing and a right wing. And other [Bukharan] com-

[a] 9 April.
[b] E: "The raid of Sarï Karnay on the Saqar tribe."
[c] 10 May.
[d] E: Saqar.

manders, with four banners (*baydaq*), moved nearly a thousand soldiers against the ever-victorious troops. As soon as the Yomut commanders saw this situation, they all at once rushed their horses and made an assault.[a] At the first attack, the ill-omened [Bukharan] troops were defeated and fled. The brave warriors pursued them and, continuously killing the enemy troops with their deadly lances and lethal swords, they reached a canal, into which the enemies fell one upon another, so that the canal filled up to the brim with men and horses. The [Khivan] warriors also went into the canal and killed so many enemies that they filled up that canal with the enemies' corpses. [*Mathnavī.*] [Then] the ever-victorious troops, like an irresistible calamity, crossed the canal, [continued to] pursue the fugitives, and killed many [more] men. When they approached the city wall (*qal'a*), 'Ismatallah Bek, (1076) like a bitch fox fleeing from the attack of a male lion, was again unable to withstand the assault of the brave warriors, turned back, and, having hastily and with great difficulty entered the town, fortified himself there. At that time the ever-victorious troops *killed so many enemies that it pleased the spirit of Isfandiyar himself*. [*Mathnavī.*]

The ever-victorious troops engaged in killing and plundering until noon, and in the afternoon, having captured many horses and three banners (*baydaq*) from the ill-omened [enemy] troops, went back. The ever-victorious troops (1077) lost three men during the raid on Sakhar, and two men were struck by arrows under the wall of Charjuy and died. On Friday, the 23rd of the aforementioned month,[b] [the troops] arrived at the royal court and were honored with royal gifts. This expedition lasted sixteen days.

The raid of Dawlat Nazar Biy on the region of Nur-Ata.

On 25 Sha'ban,[c] Dawlat Nazar Biy, <a distinguished Qaraqalpaq chieftain>, along with the Qaraqalpaq *yüzbashi*s, obtained the late khan's permission, crossed the river [Amu] and set up the army camp at Andray-chungul. After all the troops assembled, they left the *chungul*, *moved on quickly and, having passed numerous stations, entered the Nur-Ata region and raided its environs. The brave

[a] E: "made successive assaults."
[b] 25 May.
[c] 27 May.

warriors killed about a hundred men and captured 27 prisoners*; and they themselves lost three men killed. The same day they went back, having captured abundant booty. On Wednesday, 20 Ramazan,[a] came a messenger from them [to Khiva], and on Monday, the 25th of the same month,[b] they themselves had the honor of kissing the ground before the royal court.

(1078) How Dosïm Biy set out for a raid on Bukhara and, by divine decree, lost his way and returned without achieving his goal.

On Sunday, the 17th of the aforementioned month,[c] the late king appointed Dosïm Biy, <a Manghït noble>, as [the chief] commander, attached to him Beki Jan Bek Bukhari <and Jahangir Bek Bukhari>, along with 7,000 Uzbek, Yomut, Chowdur, and Yemreli troops, as well as Muhammad Niyaz Yasavulbashi, ʿAvaz-Berdi Yüzbashi, ʿAvaz Yüzbashi, and others, and sent them to raid Bukhara. They travelled promptly for several days, and, when they neared Khoja-Kenefsi,[1081] they entered the Qandahar sands in order to raid Qara-Köl, by way of Qara-Hajji.[1082] There, by the will of God Most High, they lost their way, wandered for several days, and returned in disarray. Many horses and forty men perished there from thirst; Beki Jan Bek, Jahangir Bek Bukhari, and Qutluq Murad Yüzbashi were among those [lost]. But Beki Jan Bek and Jahangir Bek, along with a few soldiers, [in fact] lost their way, came out [of the sands] to Khoja-Kenefsi, and were captured by the people of that *kent.* That community killed eleven of them and severed their heads; but they did not kill Beki Jan Bek and Jahangir Bek, along with seven [other] men, but sent them to Bukhara, <to amir Haydar>. News of this misfortune reached the city [of Khiva] on the next day after the Festival of Breaking the Fast, which was Sunday.[d]

The account of the raid of Murad Sardar <on Khoja-Kenefsi>.

Three days after the news about Dosïm Biy (1079) had arrived, his majesty, the late king, dispatched Murad Sardar, a Yomut noble,

[a] 20 June.
[b] 25 June.
[c] 17 June.
[d] 2 July (Monday).

along with fifty men, towards Bukhara to capture a prisoner for interrogation (*til tutmaq*). As ordered, *they went quickly*, entered the environs of Bukhara and raided the fortress (*qurghan*) of Khoja-Kenefsi. They killed fifteen people and captured abundant property. From there they went on, plundered a caravan of Eljik which was coming from Qara-Köl and crossing the plateau (*qïr*) between Eljik and Khoja-Kenefsi, [then] also killed many people from Tuzlaq, and went back. *They returned after thirteen days and were granted royal gifts.*

How Niyaz Bahadur went on raid against Bukhara, and how Qurban Bay Toqsaba, being incidentally encountered by him, was annihilated along with his troops.

The same year, in the middle of Zu'l-Qa'da,[a] *the khan* sent Yomut troops, under the command of Niyaz Bahadur, to raid Eljik, one of the regions of Bukhara. *They went promptly, and, when they reached Qïz-qal'a,[1083] they annihilated all the troops of Qurban Bay Toqsaba.* The details of this are as follows. At that (1080) time amir Haydar Padishah appointed Qurban Bay Toqsaba *commander of 200 Tajik horsemen and sent them on raid against Khorezm, to attack the shepherds and nomads <on the borders of the kingdom>, being unaware of what fate had in store for them.* When Qurban Bay Toqsaba set out with his troops, the sun was in the zenith. They stopped near Qïz-qal'a and let their horses graze freely, without bridles and untied. And they themselves, unable to withstand the heat, all shaded themselves with their robes and turbans, and <were left naked>; some of them were sleeping, some were boiling tea, and some were cooking, feeling very secure and at ease. At that moment *the ever-victorious troops fell upon them. They cut off the heads of most of them with their swords and daggers, while some of them dispersed and fled, on foot, in fear of their lives. The ever-victorious troops (1081) pursued them and killed them also. In short, not a single one of them remained alive, and all fell by the brave warriors' swords*. [*Mathnavī*.]

The ever-victorious troops erected mounds and towers at that place from their corpses, took possession of all their horses and belongings, and went back.[1084] After travelling for several days, on the last

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[a] Mid-August 1821.

day of the same month,[a] *they came to the royal court and were granted royal garments as a sign of the khan's favor*.

How the Chowdur commanders set out to raid Bukhara; how they plundered Vardanzi (1082) and, having captured abundant booty, went back; how amir Haydar, having learned about this misfortune, set out and sent <forward> Rajab Biy Inaq, with seven army commanders and numerous troops, to pursue the raiders; how the ill-omened army *went quickly* and overtook the ever-victorious troops, and how a fierce battle took place, the enemy troops suffered a shameful defeat and fled; and how the brave warriors killed numerous [enemy] men, took Irdana Bek <and numerous soldiers> prisoner, captured seven blackheaded standards (*qarabash tugh*), and returned in glory.

*** In the middle of Zu'l-Qa'da, on the day when the Yomut troops set out for a raid on Eljik, Soyun Bahadur Abdal, Safar Bay, and Bayli Yüzbashi, from among the Chowdur commanders, and Tölegen Yüzbashi and Töre Bek Yüzbashi, from among the Qaraqalpaq <commanders>, along with a number of troops, received *the khan's* blessing and set out in great haste for a raid against Bukhara. They raided Vardanzi, killed many people, captured 300 camels, and went back. On the way, the Bukharan troops (1083) pursued and overtook them, and a fierce battle followed. In the end, the enemy troops were defeated and fled. The details of this short summary are as follows. When the news that the ever-victorious army had raided Vardanzi reached amir Haydar, he immediately sent *tovachi*s everywhere to gather troops (*nöker*), *and himself unfolded his banners and set out from Bukhara*. He stopped at one place and sent forward Rajab Biy Inaq, along with seven military commanders (*sarkarda*), seven blackheaded standards (*qarabash tugh*), and around 1,500 men, to pursue the raiders, and he sent several more detachments after them. By the time of the afternoon prayer, those so assigned overtook the ever-victorious troops and joined battle. *The Khivan warriors, despite their small number, valiantly attacked the enemy and began slaughtering them. [*Mathnavī*.] (1084) They continued to fight the enemy until the time of the evening prayer, (1085) and the ene-

[a] 30 Zu'l-Qa'da/28 August.

mies also fought, attacking and retreating, out of shame [for being defeated] and for fear of their lives, until they were finally unable to withstand the lion-like attacks of the brave warriors; they took to flight, and came to the encampment (*senger*) of amir Haydar.* The amir, <in great fear>, also fled, entered the city of Bukhara by night and fortified himself there. The ever-victorious troops pursued the fugitives *and killed many of them. They also took many prisoners, including Irdana Bek, Rajab Biy Inaq's son, captured their seven blackheaded standards (*qarabash tugh*), and went back with such an abundant booty that it was impossible to count it*.[1085]

Among the amazing things that happened in this battle was the following. Despite the fierce and protracted fighting, in which numerous enemy troops were killed or taken prisoner, thanks to God's favor (1086) no one from the ever-victorious army was injured, except for one camel (which, moreover, had been among the booty captured from the enemy) that was struck by an arrow. The good news came from them <to the city [of Khiva]> in the middle of the Festival of the Sacrifice (*Qurbān ʿĪdi*),[a] and they themselves came on 15 Zu'l-Hijja.[b] On the day of their arrival, at the place called Nan-Yemes, north of the city <wall (*ḥiṣār*)>, the soldiers, out of great joy, brandished their swords and lances, drew up their ranks from two sides as in a battle, [and the two groups] attacked each other, *so that the sounds of muskets (*tufang*) and of *karnāy*s reached the sky, and the dust [raised by them] covered the sun. All the inhabitants of the city, nobles and commoners alike, gathered there to watch the show*. The warriors played this game from noon until the afternoon prayer, gladdening the people of the city with all kinds of entertainment; and then, in perfect joy and happiness, *they were granted the honor of kissing the ground before the khan, who bestowed upon them gold-embroidered robes and precious garments and lavished them with favors*.

[a] 10 Zu'l-Hijja/7 September 1821.
[b] 12 September.

THE EVENTS OF THE SEVENTEENTH YEAR SINCE THE ACCESSION OF THE LATE KHAN.

(1087) How his imperial majesty, the late khaqan, set out to Charjuy; how, having ordered a raid, he struck the enemy assemblage with a heavy blow; how amir Haydar came with numerous troops and stopped on the bank of the river [Amu] opposite the ever-victorious army; *how the shots of the [khan's] cannons made the enemy disperse*; how the two armies did not join battle, because the river was separating them, and his imperial majesty went back, having passed near Eljik.

*** On Sunday, 15 Safar 1237 A.H.,[a] which was the end of the Year of the Snake,[b] *his majesty, [*Mathnavī*] (1088) Muhammad Rahim Bahadur Khan, set out from Khiva [*Bayt*] (1089) for a campaign and lodged at the Sayyad *ḥawlī*, [*Mathnavī*] and his arrival there made it like paradise. [*Mathnavī.*] (1090) In the morning the late khan set out from Sayyad with his innumerable army, and on Monday lodged at the *ribāṭ* in the region of Yangi-Arïq. There he also spent a night, and on Tuesday set out and arrived at the Khitay *ḥawlī*. The next day, which was Wednesday, [*Mathnavī*: the khan arrived at Hazarasp]. There he stayed for two nights, and, after finishing the preparation for the campaign, (1091) arranged a royal banquet for the pillars of the state and the closest nobles. On Friday he left Hazarasp and set up his camp at Yeke-Chïqïr.[1086] From that place he sent Saʿat Sardar to bring the Sarïq troops, who had some time ago expressed their desire to serve his majesty. Having stayed there for two nights, on Sunday [*Mathnavī*] (1092) he set out from Yeke-Chïqïr and, after travelling for nine days, on Sunday [sic!], the last day of the aforementioned month,[c] he camped at Kech-Qïran.[1087] At that place (1093) a slave who had fled from Charjuy came to the khan.*

On Monday, the first day of Rabiʿ I,[d] the khan moved off from there *and stopped at Aq-ribat.[1088] That same day [the period of]

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[a] 10 November 1821 (Saturday).

[b] This is, apparently, a mistake: the end of a cyclic year in Khorezm should have been in February (cf. Introduction, p. XLI).

[c] 24 November (Saturday).

[d] 25 November (Sunday).

the *chilla* began.[a1089] The khan stayed at that place for two days and sent twenty select Yomut, Teke, and Yemreli *nökers* across the river [Amu] in the direction of Bukhara, to capture a prisoner for interrogation. On Thursday he set out from there and camped on the bank of the river, opposite [the tomb of] Darghan Ata (the mercy of God be upon him!). On Friday he moved off and came to Kökerchinli, and on Saturday he rested there. That same day the soldiers who had been sent to capture a prisoner returned, bringing one prisoner and the heads of six killed enemies, and they were honored with royal favors and outfits (*sarūpāy*). On Sunday, his majesty set out and stopped at Daya-Khatun.[1090] On Monday he moved off and set up the army's camp at the place called Qosh-qal'a,[1091] west of Qabaqlï.[1092] On Tuesday he left and camped east of Qabaqlï, and on Wednesday he moved off and stopped on the plateau (*qïr*) of Isbaz.[1093] He stayed there for two nights. (1094) During this time, several brave warriors from the ever-victorious army captured five men and brought them to the royal court. His majesty lavished them with gifts from his treasury. The next day, his imperial majesty appointed Khal Niyaz Qaraqchi, who was outstanding in knavery and surpassed everyone in roguery, [*Mathnavī*] along with two or three adroit soldiers, to do mischief to the enemy. They took a small boat (1095) and went towards their destination. [*Bayt.*] At night they came to the Eljik crossing, captured two ferries (*kimä*), together with their load, and, having taken the boatsmen by surprise, returned to the khan before dawn and were granted royal favors.*

*On Saturday, the khan moved off, unfolded the ever-victorious banner, and, having arrived at the Eljik crossing with great splendor, set up the royal camp there, <on the bank of the river [Amu]>. He stayed at that place for four days. Amir Haydar also came with his army and camped on the northern side of the river, opposite the royal army. Because the water of the river was flowing near <the northern side of the riverbed>, close to Eljik, leaving sandbars on its southern side, and the channel was very narrow, the boats which were carrying provisions and ammunition for the ever-victorious army[1094] might have been damaged by the shots from the enemy cannons and *shamkhāls* had they passed down the river. (1096) Therefore the khan ordered the <auxiliary> troops <(*qara cherik*)> to dig

[a] E, instead of this sentence, has: "That same day the sun, illuminating the world, passed to the sign of Capricorn."

a canal (*yaf*) in the sandbar, and had all the boats pass there. At that time his imperial majesty appointed a number of soldiers for a raid on Charjuy. Those so assigned went quickly, plundered the environs of Charjuy, returned to the khan with abundant booty and prisoners, and were honored with royal favors. On Wednesday, his majesty sent the prisoners, with Qïlïch Niyaz Arbab, to the city [of Khiva]. Thursday evening, the khan sent Khal Niyaz Qaraqchi to the enemy army camp (*senger*) to cause them some mischief. As ordered, he crossed the river, penetrated the enemy camp, <entered the encampment (*qosh*)> of Qurban-Quli Biy, one of amir Haydar's trusted commanders, pulled out Qurban-Quli's son, <who was asleep in a tent>, and went back, carrying him on his back. Khal Niyaz brought Qurban-Quli's son to the royal court before dawn, and the latter, waking up, saw what had befallen him.*

*On Thursday, the khan moved the camp and the cannons from Eljik and set up his camp at the head of the Kuyang canal, opposite Üsti. At that place one soldier from the enemy troops deserted and came to the khan. On Friday, (1097) the Khivan and Bukharan armies, facing each other [across the river], exchanged artillery fire of such intensity that the sound of the cannons deafened the heavens, and the smoke from shooting obscured the sun. [*Mathnavī*.] <When the enemy troops were unable to withstand any longer the fire of the khan's artillery, they fled from the bank of the river.>*[1095]

That same day his imperial majesty sent the Yomut troops for a raid on Charjuy. As ordered, those so assigned (1098) set out, fell upon the environs of Charjuy like irresistible fate, killed four men, took eight men prisoner, and captured plenty of booty. They returned safely and loaded with spoils, and came to the khan. On Saturday and Sunday, the khan remained at the same place, had the provisions for the army unloaded from the boats, and returned all the boats, under the command of Keday Niyaz Mahram, [to Khorezm].

On Monday, five chieftains of the Salors and the Sarïqs came to the royal court to express submission, with the message that <[now] they came themselves>, [but] all their *nökers* would soon come after them. That same day the Yomut troops, having obtained permission [from the khan], went again to raid Charjuy. That time the Charjuy sentries saw the troops and had all the people enter the fortress and ensconce themselves there. Most of the troops returned, while some separated and remained there. Those who remained fell upon a house near the city wall (*qal'a*), killed four people, captured

another one, and brought him [to the army camp]. On Tuesday, it became known that a number of enemy troops had crossed the river up-stream and were moving in our direction. When his majesty heard this news, (1099) he sent the Yomut troops against them, while he himself moved back and stopped at the camp (*senger*) of Nadir Shah.[1096] Those so assigned *spurred their horses, drew their swords, and rushed upon the enemy, who, seeing the brave warriors, took to flight, with great difficulty boarded the boats, and fled; but the majority, unable to board the boats, threw themselves into the river and perished. The brave warriors captured two horses, one coat of mail, three swords, and two muskets (*multuq*), along with plenty of other booty, came to the khan's court, and were honored with royal favors*.

On Thursday, his majesty set out from Nadir Shah's camp (*senger*), came to Qabaqlï, and, out of his extreme kindness and compassion, released all the prisoners and let them go to their homes. On Friday, he moved off the royal army from there and set up his camp at the place called Üch-Kersen.[1097] On Saturday, he moved off and *came to Kökerjinli*. On Sunday he appointed Muhammad Niyaz Yasavulbashi, along with the Yomut troops, to cross the river and to raid Bukhara. The same day, his majesty *set up his camp* near [the tomb of] Darghan Ata (the mercy of God be upon him!), on the bank of the river [Amu]. (1100) On Monday, he left that place and came to Kech-Qïran. On Tuesday, he *moved off and camped at Burlï*.[1098] That day was the first day of Rabiʿ II.[a] At that place [the khan] stayed for seven days, waiting for the return of the troops which had been sent on the raid. On the sixth day, which was Sunday,[b] these troops raided the community (*kent*) called Khayr-ribat, in the vicinity of Bukhara, took prisoner all the <women and> children, captured all their animals and property, and came to the khan. That same day, his majesty ordered all the Uzbek, Chowdur, and Qaraqalpaq troops to raid Bukhara. Those so assigned crossed the river [Amu] that same day. The names of their commanders were as follows: Soyun Biy, Dosïm Biy, Gerchek Biy, Berdi Biy, Saʿid Biy, Khoja Niyaz Biy, Vays Niyaz Biy Qanglï, Hakim Niyaz Biy Nokuz, Tashim Biy Nayman, Oraz Biy Qïyat; from among the Qaraqalpaqs: Esen Bay Biy, Mulla Khuraz Biy, Qosh-Bergen Biy,

[a] 25 December 1821.

[b] Six day from Tuesday should have been Monday (7 Rabiʿ II/31 December 1821).

Qadïr-Berdi Biy, Qul Yumri Biy, El-Keldi Biy, Quvanch Biy, Rajab Biy, Aymirza Biy—all of whom were Qongrats and Qïyats; Ekilik Biy, Dosïm Biy, Mulla Dawlat Nazar Biy, Dollï Biy, Shah Niyaz Biy—who were Manghïts; and, from among the [Qaraqalpaq] Keneges, Qabil Biy son of Chon Qara Biy, Shaghal Mahram Yüzbashi, and Maqay Yüzbashi, and the Uyghur Khuday-Berdi Biy, and the Qanglï Uraq Biy, and the Khitays Bay Dost Biy, Asghar Biy, Shukr ʿAli Biy, Tümen Biy, Bek Nazar Yüzbashi, Bala Bahadur, Ishim Yüzbashi, ʿAdil Yüzbashi, Bayqara Yüzbashi, Tughay Yüzbashi, (1101) Sarman Bahadur, Khoja Tilegen Yüzbashi, Panah Bahadur Yüzbashi, Taji Murad Yüzbashi, and Sultan Bahadur; from among the detachment (*dasta*) of *maḥram*s, Qurban Niyaz Yasavulbashi, Töre Bek Yüzbashi, Tölegen Yüzbashi, Qalandar Bek, Allash Bek, Allah Nazar Bajaqi; from among the Teke, Murad Sardar, Khoja Nazar Bek, and Khal Nefes Atalïq; <from among the Chowdurs>, the Abdals Soyun Bahadur, Bayli Yüzbashi, Yarlïqab Bek, Safar Bay, Muhammad Oraz Yüzbashi, Shah-Durdï Yüzbashi, Muhammad Nazar Yüzbashi, Allah Nazar Makhzum Yüzbashi, and the Bozachis Fayz Yüzbashi and Durdï Murad Yüzbashi.

On Monday[a] his majesty sent the aforementioned commanders, along with *4,000 troops*, across the river [Amu]. Murad Sardar, a Yomut chieftain, who had returned wounded from the raid the previous day, died [on Monday]. [The khan] read a funeral prayer for him the same day, and the next day, on Tuesday, he moved off from Burlï and came to Sadvar. At that place Saʿat Sardar came with the Sarïq troops and was honored by pledging his obedience to the khan. On Wednesday, [the khan] had the prisoners registered, as well as the heads and ears [cut off from the enemies], which had been brought by the Yomut troops [from their raid], and then set out from Sadvar and camped at Qosh-tüpe. On Thursday *he moved off and came to Hazarasp, and on Friday, having presented all the troops with gold-embroidered robes, (1102) he set out from Hazarasp and lodged at the Yangi-Arïq *ḥawlī*. On Saturday he moved off from there and returned to the capital with grandeur that defies description*.

[a] Correct day of the week; cf. above—on Sunday.

A concise description of some events that happened after the return of the late king to the royal capital.

Among them were the exploits of the aforementioned commanders. On Monday, 7 Rabiʿ II,[a] having received his imperial majesty's blessing at Burlï, they crossed the river [Amu] and on Tuesday camped <at Üch-Uchaq>. On Wednesday they left Üch-Uchaq, and, after travelling for five stations, came to Khal-Ata. From there they moved off and one night <rested> at Yïlghunlï. At dawn they moved off, and before noon came to Kujumli. At that place they left their train, baggage, and camels, *and the horsemen alone advanced at full speed until the next morning*. At dawn they charged and raided Baba-Hajji, Mir-Shikaran, Zandani, (1103) and several other communities (*kent*) as far as Vardanzi. They killed many people, and everyone captured as much booty as he could take. [*Mathnavī*.] The ever-victorious army went back, bringing innumerable prisoners and plenty of booty. *On the last day of the aforementioned month,[b] they came to the royal court, were honored with royal favors and granted gold-embroidered (1104) garments.*

How the late king set out to [oversee the repair of] the dike (*qachu*) on the Shahabad canal and [then] ordered a raid on Bukhara, while he himself crossed the river [Amu] to go on a hunt and, after hunting [in the region] down to the Kegeyli, returned to the royal capital.

** <At that time>, when the dike situated in the upper course of the Shahabad canal had collapsed and all the water [from the canal] had gone [back] to the river, his majesty, to repair it, set out personally and on 1 Rajab[c] arrived at the dike, <where he had the repair work begun>. He remained at that place for seven days, and appointed Allash Biy, <one of the great amirs>, along with several other commanders and 700 troops, to raid Bukhara. After this he appointed his own brother, Muhammad Nazar Bek, to supervise [the work] on the dike, and then crossed the river [Amu] <intending to go for a hunt>. For several days he engaged in falconry on the northern bank of the river <Jayhun> down to the Kegeyli <thicket>.

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[a] 31 December 1821.
[b] 29 Rabiʿ II/22 January.
[c] 23 March 1822.

Be it known that, [in the meantime], the men of Allash Biy, having received his imperial majesty's blessing, set out for the raid on Bukhara and, after travelling for several days, entered <the region of> Qara-Köl. But, as it appeared, [the people] had learned [about the raid] before the troops arrived, (1105) and the entire population of that region entered the fortress and ensconced themselves there. <Therefore> the ever-victorious troops, having rushed through the environs [of the fortress], could not find anyone but two or three men, whom they killed, and went back; at Kegeyli, they were granted the honor of kissing the royal carpet. His imperial majesty went back from Kegeyli and, after twenty four days' journey, came to the royal capital.

Two days before the return of his majesty, an ambassador named Padishah Khoja had come from amir Haydar, the ruler of Bukhara, with [a message of] the following content: "We are very much obliged to our uncle that, out of his perfect nobility and friendship, he has not raided our country (*yurt*) while we were campaigning against the Khitay Qïpchaq. Some people claimed that his majesty was hostile to us; praise and thanks be to God, it became known that he was a friend. We hope that, through good will, we will be in concord until the Day of Judgement." The point of these words was that his imperial majesty might also send an ambassador to him in return, with some mild words, so that in this way peace might be established, the hostility between them might change to amity, and [Bukhara], being saved from the terror of raids and the difficulty of sieges, might live in peace and tranquility. Through the khan's servants, [the ambassador] conveyed the meaning of his message to his majesty. In reply, his majesty had a letter written with the following purport: "Now it is the last day of Rajab. God willing, (1106) on Wednesday, 23 Shaʿban,[a] we intend to set out from the royal capital Khiva and to go against Charjuy with the royal army. After we come there, things will come out as God Most High wishes: it will end either in friendship or in hostility." His majesty *did not give an audience to Padishah Khoja, and five days later the servants of the royal court sent the ambassador back with the above mentioned message*.

[a] 14 May (Tuesday).

How the khan moved the army against Charjuy for the second time and plunged the enemy into great fear; how the great amir Qutlugh Murad Inaq crossed the river <Jayhun> and conquered the town of Farab;[1099] how he was slightly wounded in the face, and, by the Divine decree, the enemy troops won a victory and the ever-victorious army was defeated; how some of the troops perished in the battle and others in the river; and how Qutlugh Murad Inaq came to his majesty, and the latter returned to the royal capital.

*** In 1237 A.H. (1107), [corresponding to] the Year of the Horse, on Wednesday 23 Sha'ban,[a] his imperial majesty, along with the illustrious amirs and dignified nobles, set out from the royal capital Khiva with a large army <for the campaign against Charjuy>, and *lodged at the Sayyad *ḥawlī**. At that place an ambassador from Mahmud Shah, the ruler of the province (*vilāyat*)[b] of Herat, named Kadu Khan, who was one of the leaders of the Afghan people, *was granted an audience by his majesty, submitted to the khan, through his retainers, a letter of friendship (*ikhlāṣ-nāma*) from that king, and was lavished with gifts*. Also <the same day>, several faithful warriors of the Sarïq tribe, headed by Mengli Timur Bek and Yakhshi Muhammad Sardar, brought the happy news about the conquest of the province of Merv *and were honored with gifts of royal robes*. The circumstances of this event were as follows. Amir Haydar Padishah, the ruler of Bukhara, having imperial aspirations, had for a long time been sending, one after another, garrisons (*ilghār*) to the province of Merv and providing it with a degree of protection and defense. And the Turkmen tribes which lived in that country, namely the Teke, Salor, and Sarïq, were helping those garrisons in all ways and bringing them (1108) everything they needed. *However, these tribes felt the desire to serve their own king in the first place, and, in particular, at that time, thanks to divine guidance, they had entered his majesty's service and joined the ranks of his faithful slaves.* [As a result], the [Bukharan] garrison stationed in that region, whose supplies had been reaching it, to some extent, with the help of that group [of Turkmens], was entirely cut off from [the source of] their

[a] 14 May 1822 (Tuesday).
[b] E: *mamlakat*.

salaries (*marsūm va vazīfa*), and so they were compelled to send off their families and belongings; and, realizing that they had to save their own heads, they abandoned the fortress and, in great fear and terror, fled to Bukhara. And so the fortress of Merv, of which the paradise itself was envious and which was the adornment of the earth, was joined to the provinces of the khan's kingdom without the trouble of a campaign and with no bother to the army.[1100]

On Thursday, <his majesty> set out from Sayyad *with the royal army and lodged at the Yangi-Arïq *ḥawlī*. On Friday he set out and stopped west of the Chatlï thicket (*tughay*). On Saturday he camped to the east of that thicket. On Sunday he camped at the head of the Pahlavan-Ata canal. At that place he appointed Muhammad Riza Qoshbegi to guard the city [of Khiva] (1109) and sent him to the capital. On Monday, the last day of Sha'ban,[a] he set up the army camp at Yeke-Chïqïr. On Tuesday evening, the new moon of the month of Ramazan appeared in the sky, but it had to bow in humility to the crescent (*mahja*) on the top of his majesty's ever-victorious banner. On that day [the khan] honored one of the messengers who had come from the Sarïq tribe, named Usta, with royal gifts and sent him to Merv as a *tovachi* (*tovachilïq yusunï bilä*).[1101] On Wednesday night, after the night prayer, a fierce bolt struck from the invisible world, which surpassed even the tumult of the Noah's Deluge; and the sound of thunder and the power of lightning following one another were so great that the people lost their senses; and the wind was so fierce that it tore the ropes of the tents (*khayma*), and ten to fifteen men had to anchor each tent (*khargāh*) from all sides, but were able to hold them only with great difficulty and effort. And it seemed that the waves of the river [Amu] were about to sink the boats (*zūraq*) and ships (*kimä*); but, thanks to the protection of his majesty's good fortune, [the boatsmen] cast anchors from all sides and saved [the boats] from the terrible waves. The gusts of wind continued until the morning, (1110) and subsided after sunrise. On Wednesday morning, after sunrise, his majesty set out from Yeke-Chïqïr and camped at Üch-tüpe. On Thursday he arrived at the Balïqlï station. That night he rested, and on Friday he set out, along with the pillars of the state, passed the Sadvar fortress going along the riverbank, and camped at the Südük thicket (*tughay*).[1102] That day

[a] 20 May.

the commanders of the artillery, Bekesh Mutavalli and his son, ʿAvaz-Durdï Sardar,[a] lost their way, moved their cannons onto a high plateau (*qïr*), and only with great difficulty crossed the plateau and came to the royal camp. On Saturday [the khan] left Südük and, moving towards his destination, passed the place called Dahan-i Shir;[1103] and, when the sun was in the zenith, he set up his camp opposite Üch-Uchaq, at the station called Keng-qayir, which is better known as Yalang-Senger.*

*At that place Allah-Berdi Bek, an ambassador from the Khitay Qïpchaq, came to the royal court and submitted messages from Anna-Quli Bek Parvanachi, the governor of the Khitay, and Maʿmur Parvanachi, the governor of the Qïpchaq, (1111) in which they expressed their obedience and submission, to the consideration of the khan's servants. Through the mediation of the nobles, his imperial majesty invited Allah-Berdi Bek to the royal court, lavished him with favors, handed him a royal benevolent letter (*istimālat-nāma-i humāyūn*) for those two governors, and, at the same place, having attached to him Böri Bay Bahadur, one of the courtiers, permitted him to go back to the Khitay Qïpchaq province.* The contents of this conciliatory letter, after the address to Anna[b]-Quli Parvanachi and Maʿmur Parvanachi, was the following: "Being contented and exalted with our royal favors and largesses, know that your letter of loyalty (*ikhlāṣ-nāma*) sent with Allah-Berdi Bek Bahadur reached the servants of [our] caliphal court, and the essence of its contents became known [to us]. The assurance of your loyalty and trust made to the servants of this sublime court and the secretly made gift of your service has met with our acceptance and approval. Now, it is necessary for you, through [the rest of your] lives, to make great efforts in the quest for honor and good name and, holding fast to the hem of trust in God, to exert yourselves in acquiring good reputation, so that, God willing, these efforts of yours will not forfeit the protection of God Most High, and, from the spring of the increase of our numerous royal favors, the roses of your desires, [attainment] will blossom on the meadow of your good fortune."[1104]

On Sunday, [the khan] left Yalang-Senger and made a pilgrimage to [the tomb of] Jigirbend Ata.[1105] On Monday, (1112) 7 Ramazan,[c]

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[a] E omits "Sardar."
[b] E: Adina.
[c] 27 May.

he crossed the plateau of Aq-Qash and Kech-Qïran and *set up the royal camp at Aq-ribat. On Tuesday, he remained at the same station to rest, and on Wednesday he set out from there and camped near the tomb of Darghan Ata, where he stayed also on Thursday. At that place Qutlugh Murad Inaq, along with numerous troops, joined the royal army. On Friday, 11 Ramazan,[a] he moved off from Darghan, passed through Ahmad-taqïr,[1106] and camped at the Kökerjinli station. On Saturday morning, at sunrise, the khan moved off from that station and set up his camp on the bank [of the Amu] near the Daya-Khatun *ribāṭ*, opposite Kök-Okuz Baba. At that station (1113) the ever-victorious troops gathered group by group from all parts of the kingdom and joined the royal army. Among them were, in particular, the Qaraqalpaq biys headed by Dawlat Nazar Biy and Qosh-Bergen Biy, and the Chowdur *sardār*s headed by Soyun Bahadur and Bayli Yüzbashi, with the troops under their command.*

*At the same station, the Yomut nobles Qaqa Sardar and Berdi Khan Tatar, who were loyal servants of the khan, received the khan's permission along with the Yomut troops, and went for a raid on the town of Charjuy. Also at that station, Sohbat Sardar, Kök Sardar, and Muhammad-Berdi Sardar, ambassadors of the Ersarï tribe, brought a petition (*ʿarīża-dāsht*) from that tribe to the royal court. The khan's servants brought this petition to him, and, in reply, the following letter of favor (*navāzish-nāma*) was written and handed to the ambassadors*: "[Our] word to the tribe of Ersarï living in Lebab: if your people is saying the truth and doing good in its claim of being reliable and behaving properly, you should cut off the heads of the Bukharan people, who are the true enemies of our august kingdom, and, as soon as the ever-victorious army arrives in the vicinity of Charjuy, you should come and kiss the threshold of the royal court in submission. Otherwise, as soon as the innumerable army comes to your country (*yurt*), (1114) *the worst of fates will befall you*,[b] and at that time repentance will be of no avail." With this message, [the khan] released the ambassadors and sent them off, accompanied for two or three stations by Yar-Quli Pahlavan, a Yomut noble.

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[a] 31 May.

[b] Lit.: "and all the fate, which the pen of misfortune has inscribed upon the page of your forehead, will appear before your eyes."

*On Sunday, at sunrise, the khan set out from Daya-Khatun and came to the thicket (*tughay*) of ʿAriz-qalʿa, situated opposite Qïz-qalʿa.[1107] On Monday he moved off from there and set up his army camp at the eastern end of the Qabaqlï thicket (*tughay*), which is known as Qayaqlï and Nasrabad. At that place, by khan's order, Khal Niyaz Yüzbashi, known under the nickname of "Rogue" (Qaraqchi), along with Sharif Pahlavan, a famous hero, and thirty men, some on foot and some mounted, made a night raid on Eljik fortress, cut off one head, captured one boat (*kimä*) with all its load, and brought it to the camp. On Tuesday, the khan moved off from there and camped at Isbaz, and on Wednesday he stayed at the same place. On Thursday he set out, passed the camp (*senger*) of Nadir Shah, (1115) and camped near Bilgenli, opposite Eljik fortress. That same day Khal Niyaz Yüzbashi, along with a number of daring warriors, crossed the river, entered the Eljik canal on foot, and walked in it in order to attack the enemy. At that time the Eljik horsemen came out of the fortress and lined up their ranks on an elevation (*qïr*), but they did not have courage to attack those unmounted men, and the two parties returned without fighting each other.*

*The same day, at noon, Jan Muhammad Bay, Beki Sardar, and Jumʿa Bay came as ambassadors from the Saqar tribe and were received at the royal court. They submitted to the khan's servants a letter of loyalty (*ikhlāṣ-nāma*) from this tribe, in which they confirmed their obedience and expressed their faithfulness. And the Yomut warriors who had gone for a raid, as mentioned above, had fallen upon the town of Charjuy, captured considerable booty and many prisoners and, at the aforementioned place, brought them as a gift to the khan's servants. On Friday the khan moved off from Eljik and set up his camp near the place called Dah-i Naw,[1108] at the crossing of the Üsti fortress. (1116) At that place the Yomut warriors were received by the khan and submitted the captured prisoners and goods, which were innumerable, to the khan's inspectors (*sarkār*), and each of them was rewarded according to his service and status. By his majesty's order, Khojash Mahram, the head of the retainers and the chief *maḥram*, opened the door of the royal treasury and scattered gold upon the warriors. One of the bravest among these warriors, Niyaz Bahadur, who accomplished many feats in the battle at Charjuy, was badly wounded, but was healed thanks to the efforts of his majesty.*

*On Saturday, 19 Ramazan,[a] the khan moved off from Dah-i Naw, passed the canal of Chekes-qal'a while engaging in a hunt, and set up his camp at the Qïranch crossing. At that place Niyaz Muhammad Bay, the younger brother of Muhammad Yusuf Mehter (may his grave be illuminated!), who served as the commander of artillery in this campaign, and Muhammad-Quli Bek, the younger brother of Muhammad Riza Qoshbegi, who was distinguished with the rank of *yüzbashi*, (1117)—both of whom were the khan's trusted retainers (*mu'tamad al-khavāṣṣ*)—were appointed, along with one thousand navvies (*bīldār*), to build a road towards Charjuy. The reason for this was that some places between the plateau (*qïr*) and the bank of the river were swampy, and some were covered with dense thicket (*tughay*), so that it was impossible for the ever-victorious army to pass there, and it was especially difficult and inaccessible for the carts of the ever-victorious artillery with their big wheels.[b] As ordered, those so assigned advanced towards their destination, cutting innumerable trees at every step and levelling the roads, and then they returned to the khan.*

*At that time the son of amir Haydar, the ruler of Bukhara, named 'Umar Khan, along with nine blackheaded standards (*qarabash tugh*) and numerous troops, came from Bukhara and lined up their ranks on the high plateau (*qïr*) on the other side of the Amu, opposite the Khivan army. On our side, by order of his majesty, the royal artillerists aimed a number of cannons at the enemy ranks and opened fire. The enemy was unable to withstand the bombardment and fled in great fear. Mirza Masiha-yi Bukhari said a chronogram on this event, in one word: "Fled (*gurīkhta*)."[c] His majesty was very pleased with the service of the artillerists headed by Hajji Sharif, (1118) and he granted them gold-embroidered robes and other gifts from his treasury.*[1109]

*On Sunday, the khan moved off from Qïranch and came to Khoja-qal'a.[1110] At that place Dosti Pahlavan, a Yomut warrior, who had gone for a night raid on Charjuy, returned bringing one head and one prisoner, and was honored with the khan's favor. On Monday, the khan set out from Khoja-qal'a and camped at Burya-Baf. This place was at a distance of one *farsakh* from Bukhara.[1111]

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[a] 8 June.

[b] Lit.: "wheels as big as the dome of heaven."

[c] The sum of numerical meanings of letters in the word *gurīkhta* is 1235—two years less.

At this place [several leaders] of the Ersarï tribe, which dwells in Lebab, came to kiss the royal threshold: from the Qara clan, ʿAbd al-Vahid Ishan, ʿAbd as-Samad Qazi, Nazar Qazi, ʿAvaz Jubachi, Quli Bek, Rasul-Quli Bek, and Sahib Nazar Qaravulbegi; and from the Bekaul clan, Khuday-Bergen Bay, Quli Bek, Hasan Bek, and Qïlïch Jubachi. Each of these groups brought nine horses as a present and 200 horsemen. On Tuesday, Hajji Bahadur Yomut, one of the khan's brave retainers, went against Charjuy and, having accomplished feats of valor, was wounded and returned to the royal camp (*matars-i muʿallā*). On that day the late khan appointed the great amirs Allash Biy, Muhammad Jan Inaq, Ish Murad (1119) Mirab, Bek ʿAli Mirab, Soyun Biy, and Dawlat Nazar Biy, along with the troops under their command, to guard the environs of Charjuy. The aforementioned amirs, as ordered, set out all together,[a] surrounded the town, and besieged it from morning till evening. The next day, the amirs Qutlugh Muhammad Inaq, Sultan Khan, and Qutb ad-Din Khoja Shaykh al-Islam, as well as the military commanders (*sipahdār*) Hubbi-Quli Khoja, ʿAshur Bek, and Yaʿqub Khoja, were appointed to oversee the lookouts. That same day the elders (*ketkhuda*) and *onbegi*s of the Saqar tribe came with 200 *nöker*s and a gift of fourteen sheep and six horses, and were honored with kissing the ground at the royal court. On Wednesday, the elders and commoners (*ulugh va kichik*) of the Saqar tribe came together and, by his majesty's order, dammed the canal of Charjuy, blocking the supply of water to that town. That same day the amirs and nobles of the Ersarï tribe living in Parvard,[1112] headed by Qurban Bek, Safa Bek, Khalil Bahadur, Nefes Aqsaqal, Bek Nazar, Sultan Niyaz Qaravulbegi, and Mulla Niyaz Vali, came to the royal court with numerous *nöker*s to express their obedience, and brought as a gift two fine horses.*

*On Thursday, the khan moved off from Burya-Baf and camped closer to the town of Charjuy, opposite the fortress of Farab. (1120) On Friday, Muhammad Niyaz Manghït and Quvanch Bahadur brought a report (*ʿarīża-dāsht*) from the prince Allah-Quli Töre, <who had remained in Khiva as the khan's deputy>, and who now adorns the throne and the crown of the kingdom, and thanks to whom this book is now being completed.[b] The khan granted both of them

[a] So E; C: "from all sides."

[b] Lit.: "these scattered leaves are now being bound thanks to the binding of his care."

gold-embroidered garments, gave them a letter of favor (*navāzish-nāma*), and sent them back to the royal capital. That same day, the servants of the royal court, headed by the grand vizier <Muhammad Yusuf> Mehter Aqa, the governor of Khitay Dawlat Aqa <Qara Köz>, Keday Niyaz Mahram, Qïlïch Niyaz Bay, Sattar-Quli Aqa, and Ya'qub Aqa, along with numerous men, set out and levelled the rough road leading to the town of Charjuy. On Saturday evening, 200 Yomut warriors under the command of Sayyid Niyaz Ushaq and Shaykh Nefes Bahadur, as well as many Uzbek soldiers under the command of Khal Niyaz Yüzbashi, went on foot, boarded the boats (*kimä*), crossed the Jayhun like wind, drew their swords, and in the night fell upon the enemy troops who were sleeping <on the northern bank of the river> opposite the Khivan army. (1121) They killed twenty or thirty of them, beginning with Malla Bek Dadkhah, <severed their heads>, captured numerous tents (*chādir*),[a] sabers, banners, turbans (*salla*), blankets, hookahs (*lūla takiya*), clothes, and innumerable other things, as many as they could carry, and returned to the royal court. Each of them was lavished with gifts and royal favors. The same night several soldiers encountered enemy spies (*jāsūs*), killed one of them, and captured two others prisoner. On Saturday morning, at dawn, by royal order, the gunners loaded those two spies into cannons and fired them, so that they were torn to pieces which dispersed in the air.*

*The same day, after sunrise, the khan set out from the royal camp (*matars-i humāyūn*) and went against the town of Charjuy. Having surrounded the town with his large army, he drew up the troops in battle array. (1122) Qurban Niyaz Yasavulbashi and Muhammad Niyaz Yasavulbashi,[1113] along with the military commanders (*żābiṭ yasaqchi*), took care of lining up the ranks of the troops, and the illustrious amirs and the vengeful warriors arranged them into left and right wings (*juvānghār va barānghār*), and placed the riflemen (*oqchi*)[b] in the advance guard (*manglay*) and in the rear (*sāqa*). And his majesty stood, in full grandeur, like a mountain, under the ever-victorious banner in the army center (*qalbgāh*). Karim-Quli Bek, the governor of Charjuy, pulled the troops which had been sent from Bukhara out of the town, under the command of Dawlat Biy Qataghan,

[a] That is, temporary awnings, not felt tents.
[b] *Oqchi* can be also "archer."

Khancha Inaq, and Yar Muhammad Inaq Manghït, who drew up one thousand brave warriors in battle array. Then the warriors from both sides rushed their horses onto the battlefield, and a fierce battle began [*Mathnavī.*] (1123) At that moment a number of Khivan troops, led by the Yomuts Berdi Khan and ʿAvaz Khan, raced their horses and attacked so valiantly that the enemy could not withstand them and fled towards the town, "*as if they were startled asses fleeing before a lion*".[a] The Khivan warriors pursued them, cut off the brainless heads of some of them, and took many of them prisoner. The brave warriors on the battlefield looked as if they were playing polo (*gūy u chawgān*) with the heads of the enemies. (1124) When the enemy troops were defeated, at the time when the sun was in the zenith, his majesty returned to the royal camp (*senger*).*

*On Saturday, Rahmatallah Atalïq, the leader of the Uyghurs, who had been permitted to stay behind because of some urgent business and not to accompany the khan in the campaign, came from Khorezm, along with a group of Yomut warriors. On that day, a number of people from the Bachqurlï-Shaykh community, who, because of the vicissitudes of fortune, had previously left their country and wandered as strangers and then, in need for livelihood, had joined a village of the Saqar tribe and lived with them, came to his majesty and gained peace and tranquility. The same day, the khan attached several of his servants, headed by ʿAvaz Yüzbashi, to the elders of the Ersarï tribe, and sent them as *tovachi*s to that tribe, to gather and bring their *nöker*s. On Sunday, a number of daring warriors, on foot, boarded a boat in order to fall upon the Tajik troops at night. However, because of a strong wind, (1125) they were unable to reach their destination, and at dawn they returned to the camp (*senger*).*

*At noon on Monday, which was the thirty fourth day of his majesty's campaign, twenty seven horsemen under the command of Soyun Bahadur, a Chowdur noble, and Anna Qurban Bahadur, a Teke chieftain, raided <the environs of> Charjuy, killed one of the town's notables, and brought four prisoners and two captured horses. The details of this event were as follows. When the aforementioned warriors went on a raid against the town, out of caution, they set a number of soldiers in ambush. Suddenly, an enemy party headed

[a] Qur'ān, LXXIV,51.

by Chahar-Yar-Quli Bahadur, a famous hero, came out of the town, attacked the ever-victorious troops and fought with them at close quarters. The warriors who sat in ambush waited for a while, and then all at once attacked, taking five men prisoner, including Chahar-Yar-Quli Sardar. They brought them, along with two horses, as a present to the royal court, and were granted gold-embroidered garments, expensive hats (*kulāh*), and plenty of money. On Tuesday, the Chowdur warriors made a raid on the town, killed one rifleman (*mergen*), brought his severed head to the royal court, and were granted royal outfits (*sarūpāy*).*

*(1126) On Wednesday, which was the thirty sixth day of his majesty's campaign, the grand vizier Muhammad Yusuf Mehter and Dawlat Qara Köz fastened cannons on the boats (*kimä*), set sail, and cast anchors at an island in the middle of the river; and from there they opened fire at the Bukharan troops, who were in their camp on the northern bank of the river. In the end, the enemy troops, not being able to withstand the cannon fire, fled and dispersed everywhere. That same day, 200 Yomut warriors headed by Sumbar Sardar, along with fifty *shamkhālchī*s and forty men from among the Saqar tribe, crossed the river [Amu] at the Narizum[a] crossing, came to the environs of Faryab, raided the people (*el*) of Qulanchi, captured countless booty and innumerable women and children, and returned to the royal camp without any trouble.*

*On Thursday, which was the thirty seventh day of his majesty's campaign, the moon of the Festival of Breaking the Fast (*Fiṭr ʿĪdi*) appeared in the sky.[b] On the morning of the festival, his majesty, out of his perfect kindness (1127) and clemency, freed the captured enemy soldiers, along with their families, and sent them to their homes, with the exception of a number of rebels headed by Charï Sardar, Jumʿa Niyaz Bahadur, and Qalandar Bahadur, who had stubbornly faught the ever-victorious army, and therefore, out of caution, were still detained. The released prisoners went home in great joy, praying for his majesty's good fortune.*

*On Friday, [several] trusted slaves of the governors[1114] of Charjuy fled from the town and came to the khan. They told the following about the situation in the town: "The price of bread is one half *tanga*, and two bunches of alfalfa cost one *tanga*, and the warehouses

[a] Correct: Narazïm.
[b] 1 Shavval 1237/20 June 1822.

are empty; people are fighting for a piece of bread and their purses are empty, so that for most of them the misery of war replaced their bread, and the tears of grief replaced water. (1128) And the Khivan army is besieging the town so tightly that everyone who ventures out is killed. We hope that those oppressed will soon be saved, that is, that the khan will conquer that fortress, and it will be added to his kingdom." And on Friday, which was the thirty eighth day of the khan's campaign, his majesty granted a royal audience to the Saqar tribe and honored them with the gifts of gold-embroidered royal outfits (*sarūpāy*), and, on the occasion of the festival, permitted them to go home. The same day the Chowdur warriors headed by Bayli Sardar brought one enemy's head, as well as one horse and one musket (*multuq*) that they had captured from the enemy, and were honored with the gift of gold-embroidered robes. On Saturday, a qazi of the Ersarï tribe, their mufti named Mulla Khoja Murad, and a distinguished madrasa-student (*yakhshi ṭālib al-ʿilmī*) named Mulla ʿAbd ar-Rasul, came to the royal court with their benedictions. The same day, after the mid-day prayer, ʿAyd Bahadur son of Yollï Bay came to the edge of the fortress' moat, single-handedly speared ten enemy warriors, snatched lances from the hands of two strong soldiers, and brought them to the khan, but was himself slightly wounded; he was healed due to the efforts of his majesty.*

(1129) *On Sunday night, a number of brave Yomut and Qaraqalpaq soldiers, unmounted, boarded a boat (*kimä*), crossed the river [Amu], made a night raid on the Arabs living in the vicinity of the Faryab fortress, and on Sunday at noon[1115] brought one prisoner and plentiful booty. Monday evening, after the afternoon prayer, his majesty ordered the illustrious warriors from among the Yomuts, the Yemrelis, and the Gerkez to board 80 boats (*kimä*), with ten men on each boat, and to raid the Bukharan troops. He attached to them also 200 *shamkhālchī*s under the command of ʿAvaz-Berdi Yüzbashi, ʿAbdallah Yüzbashi, and Közü Kechi Yüzbashi. These troops crossed the river on Tuesday morning and came against the Tajik camp (*senger*). In the meantime his majesty, along with Qutlugh Murad Inaq and the pillars of the state, boarded the boats (*kimä*), formed a flotilla like a large city in the middle of the river, and opened fire at the enemy's camp. The Tajik troops, seeing this, panicked, abandoned their tents, left the Farab fortress, and fled towards Bukhara.*

*The same day, at noon, the inhabitants of the Farab fortress came to the royal court (1130) to sue for mercy, and they were

granted royal outfits (*sarūpāy*). They received a letter guaranteeing their safety (*amān-nāma*) from the khan and returned to the fortress. That same day Sayyid Muhammad Bek and Khuday-Berdi Bek, the ambassadors of Allah Yar Khan, the governor of the province of Maymana, came to the royal court and submitted that governor's petition (*ʿarīẓa-dāsht*) to the khan. Also the same day, 400 Teke *nökers*, headed by Murad Sardar, came to serve the khan. On Wednesday, which was the forty third day of the khan's campaign, the khan sent a letter guaranteeing safety (*amān-nāma*) to the people of Narizum[a] with the ambassadors who had come from them. The same day, in the afternoon, came to the khan [ambassadors from] all the Eski, Chowdur, and Marghakli tribes living in Narizum [region], as well as Dönmes Toqsaba and Qandïm Qaravulbegi from the people of Eljik, and [the ambassadors from] the Bayat and Salor tribes from among the people of Qara-Köl, and they were granted safety. On Thursday, ʿAvaz Yüzbashi, who had been sent to bring the Ersarï *nökers*, returned with 500 horsemen. That same day the khan sent Mulla Ibrahim Mutavalli with a letter of favor (*navāzish-nāma*) to the beks of Charjuy.*

*On Friday evening, Qutlugh Murad Inaq, with a great pomp, entered the Farab fortress. The next day, which was Friday, the notables (*akābir*) and inhabitants of six fortresses in the environs [of Farab] came to the khan with presents, expressing their submission. (1131) The same day Qutlugh Murad Inaq sent twenty Yomut horsemen as scouts (*qaravul yusunlïgh*) from Farab in the direction of Qara-Köl. Be it known that the same day amir Haydar, the ruler of Bukhara, gathered an innumerable army, set out from the city [of Bukhara] and, having passed Qara-Köl, stopped at a certain place. The aforementioned scouts came across them unawares, and at that moment a large group of the enemy troops attacked them; the scouts fled, but by chance, in the direction they fled lay a thick salt-marsh, such that whoever stepped in it would sink up to the neck before he would pull out. [*Bayt.*] By divine decree, they entered this salt-marsh, and most of them fell off their horses and were killed by the enemy. Several of them escaped with great difficulty, came to the inaq, and reported about this misfortune. On Tuesday, amir Haydar moved his army and set up his camp on the bank of the river [Amu],

[a] Correct: Narazïm.

near the Farab fortress. (1132) On Wednesday, the Tajik troops, whose number was greater than that of ants and locusts, set out and crossed a canal west of the fortress which was a branch of the river [Amu]; its end joins the river again, while its head was dry and overgrown by orchards. They lined up their ranks in battle array, having formed the right and left wings. On our side, the ever-victorious troops also came out of the fortress and lined up their ranks facing the enemy army. The brave warriors from both sides rushed their horses at the enemy, and such a fierce battle followed that heaven itself was deafened by the sound of the war-drums, and rivers of blood flowed upon the battlefield. [*Mathnavī*.] (1133) In this battle Qalman Sufi, a prominent Qaraqalpaq warrior and chieftain, killed many enemies, but in the end was killed himself; and, besides him, three or four other men were killed. As to the Tajik troops, a great many of them were killed by the [Khivan] warriors. After sunset, the enemy troops left the battlefield and went to their camp (*senger*), and the ever-victorious troops also returned to the Farab fortress.*

*The same night, a number of Khivan soldiers, with spades and axes, went to the aforementioned canal, which passed west of the fortress, and opened its head [for the flow of water], to prevent its crossing by the Tajik troops. The next day, which was Thursday, after sunrise, amir Haydar left his camp with a large army, (1134) came to the bank of that canal but was unable to cross it, and then promptly returned; with great difficulty he crossed the same canal farther down its course and, by evening, came to the fortress and set up his camp from its northern side, in the sands. That night, after sunset, both sides, out of caution, sent sentinels around and took care of guarding their positions. At dawn, amir Haydar moved his troops against the fortress, and Qutlugh Murad Inaq also pulled his troops out of the fortress and confronted the enemy. In the battle that followed, the Khivan troops, because of their small number and, perhaps, because of divine predestination, were defeated and fled. By that time his majesty, who on the same day transferred his troops across the river by boats (*kimä*), set up his camp[a] (*senger*) on the river-bank and remained himself in the boat anchored in the river. All the troops headed by Qutlugh Murad Inaq reached the camp, and the Tajik army was on their heels. The Khivan troops

[a] Lit.: "had the camp dug (*qazqurdï*)."

stopped there (1135) and fought the enemy, but in the end, by divine decree, they were defeated and all at once rushed to the river-bank and, in great tumult and confusion, boarded the boats. By chance, at the place where the boats were standing, because of the overflow of the river, the water was only one to two *qarïsh* deep, and the bottom had pits, so that many men drowned themselves at that boggy place and perished. The majority of the rest of the troops, with great difficulty, boarded the boats, while some of them swam across the river. On that day the khan's army lost eighty men in the battle and in the river. These included, from among the Qïyat nobles, Muhammad Jan Inaq, Bek ʿAli Mirab, Qutlugh Murad Bek ibn Qïlïch Inaq, Khuday-Bergen Bek and Muhammad Niyaz Bek, sons of Qara Bahadur Mirab, Ahmad Bek ibn Vays Bek, Khuday-Bergen Bek ibn Aman-Keldi Bek, Khuday-Bergen Bek ibn Baba Darugha, and Ismaʿil Bek ibn Muhammad Panah Bek; from among the Qongrat notables, Dawlat Murad Bek and ʿAshur Bek Yüzbashi ibn Tengri-Berdi Bek; from among the Nayman dignitaries, Muhammad Riza Inaq; from among the Qïpchaq leaders, ʿAbd ar-Rahman Bek ibn Hasan Murad Atalïq; from among the *shamkhālchī* <commanders (*sarkār*)>, ʿAvaz-Berdi Yüzbashi, Muhammad Sharif Yüzbashi, Qurban Niyaz Yüzbashi, and Karim-Berdi Yüzbashi; and the rest were common soldiers (*majhūl kishi*)[a] <and auxiliary troops (*qara cherik*)>. [*Qiṭʿa.*] (1136) But the enemy troops also lost many men killed, although their number is unknown.*[1116]

*This terrible misfortune happened on Friday. On Saturday, his imperial majesty remained at the same place. On Sunday, he set out for the return and camped at the Qïranch crossing. On Monday, 18 Shavval,[b] he set out from the environs of Qïranch and, going for two stations (*manzil*) with every march (*köch*), on the thirteenth day of his return journey, which was Friday, the last day of the aforementioned month,[c] he arrived at the royal capital and brought joy to all its people. The duration of this campaign was 66 days.*

[a] Lit. "unknown men."
[b] 7 July (Sunday).
[c] 18 July (Thursday).

Some events that occured after his majesty returned to the capital.

*Since some of the great amirs perished in that campaign, his majesty, observing the custom which called for recognition of a long and devoted service, out of his perfect kindness and nobility, appointed in their place their sons or brothers, as follows. In the place of Muhammad Jan Inaq, (1137) he granted the rank of *inaq* to Qïlïch Inaq—who eight years previously had resigned from the amir's position and chosen seclusion, as was mentioned above.[a] In the place of Bek ʿAli Mirab, he distinguished Taghay Mirab with the position (*ʿamal*) of *mīrāb*. In the place of Muhammad Riza Inaq, he honored Muhammad Safa Ataliq with the rank of *inaq*, and in his place made Baba Bek *ataliq*, and so on.*

THE EVENTS OF THE EIGHTEENTH YEAR SINCE THE ACCESSION OF THE LATE KHAN.

How the khan moved his army against Bukhara; how the Khivan warriors stormed and captured the fortresses of Qaqïshtuvan and Aghar; and how the inhabitants of the first of them, through submission, escaped the gulf of perdition, while the people of the second one, because of their rebellion, were put to sword and slaughtered; and the reasons of his majesty's return.

*** *The auspicious king, [*Mathnavī*] (1138) Muhammad Rahim Bahadur Khan, resolved upon the conquest of Bukhara, and, to prepare everything needed for the campaign, paid money to the ever-victorious troops and, in particular, granted numerous gifts and presents to the dignified amirs, the outstanding heroes, the high-ranking beks, and the eminent *maḥrams*, ordering them to prepare themselves for a campaign. As ordered, they took great care in these preparations, and in a short time were ready. [*Nazm.*] (1139) In 1238 A.H., corresponding to the end of the Year of the Horse, on Friday morning, 20 Jumadi I,[b] his imperial majesty set out with a great

[a] See above, pp. 419–420.
[b] 1 February 1823 (Saturday).

pomp and royal splendor from the royal capital Khiva, and by noon arrived at the Yangi-Arïq *ḥawlī*, which was his majesty's own private estate (*milk-i khāliṣī*). He spent one night at that *ḥawlī*, and the next day, on Saturday, moved off and set up the army camp on the bank of the river [Amu], near Khanqah. At this place he rested for two days, then crossed the Jayhun by boats (*zūraq*) and ships (*safīna*), and set up his camp on the northern bank of the river. At that place he rested for three days, to allow the troops to gather under the shadow of the ever-victorious banners. On the fourth day, which was Thursday, his majesty moved off and arrived at the tomb of Miskin Ata (mercy of God be upon him!), at the place which is also called Ayrï-Tam.[1117] From there he moved off (1140) and set up his camp at the Bazergan thicket (*tughay*). From there he set out and came to Meshekli,[1118] and from there he moved off and came to Ichku-Yarï.[1119] Having left this place, he arrived at the Üch-Uchaq plateau (*qïr*), where he stayed for four or five days. During that time, numerous troops came group by group from the khan's well-protected kingdom and joined the royal camp, forming a huge army [*Mathnavī*].*

*At that place the late khan left the train and baggage (*buna va aghruq, aḥmāl va athqāl*), as well as some horsemen unfit for the campaign, and appointed the amir Qïlïch Inaq, with his own *nökers*, to protect them; and on the first day of Jumadi II,[a] his majesty himself set out, unfolded the ever-victorious banners, and went along the bank of the Jayhun. (1141) He camped once on his way, and arrived at Kökerdeli station, where he spent one night, and the next morning he set out and drew up the troops in battle array, dividing them into right and left wings (*ong qol va sol qol*)[1120] under the command of the illustrious amirs and gallant heroes, and set out towards his goal. [*Nazm.*] In this battle order the khan's army arrived at the place called Ishme. (1142) At this station the khan spent the night, and the next morning he set out with his large army and camped at Öküz-Chölgä. There he also remained for one night, then set out in the morning, marched quickly during the day and night, and in the night, close to dawn, arrived at the shore of a lake near the Qaqïshtuvan fortress, in the environs of Bukhara, and set up his camp there. At dawn, the khan left the royal headquarters (*ordu-yi*

[a] 12 February.

humāyūn), having entrusted it to some of his reliable servants, on the lakeshore, while he himself drew up his troops in battle array and marched on the Qaqïshtuvan fortress. [*Mathnavī*, (1143–1144).]*

*(1145) His imperial majesty came to the fortress displaying the awesome might of his army, and the Khivan troops, by his order, raided and plundered the environs of the fortress and surrounded it. The people of the fortress, headed by Iskandar Bek, decided to offer their submission, (1146) and, coming to the khan with supplication and penitence and prostrating themselves before the feet of his horse, they sued for mercy. His majesty crossed out the register of their crimes with the pen of clemency and, bearing no spite, granted them guarantee of safety (*amān*). Having attached to them a servant from his retinue, so that the troops would not harm their families and property, he ordered them to move off and come to the royal camp. And he <himself> moved the troops from that place and came to the camp. On that night he rested, and the next day, at sunrise, he set out and went towards the Aghar fortress.[1121] [*Mathnavī*.]*

*(1147) His majesty set up his ever-victorious banners near the fortress and rested, along with the great amirs, while some of the brave warriors galloped their horses around the fortress. The people of the fortress, out of their total ignorance and baseness, rejected submission and chose rebellion. They thought that the walls of the fortress provided them refuge, and they began to fire muskets and to shoot arrows [at the Khivan troops]. The flame of khan's wrath flared up, and he issued an order to the troops to attack the fortress and to spare no one. The brave warriors, who preferred the day of battle to the wedding-night, were extremely glad to receive the royal order. They rushed their horses at the fortress from all sides, in one attack reached the wall, and, although this wall was claimed to be as strong and (1148) impregnable as Alexander's rampart,[1122] they climbed over it and burst into the fortress from all four sides. [*Mathnavī*, describing the slaughter of the people of the fortress.] (1149) When the ever-victorious troops killed most of the inhabitants of the fortress and severed their heads, they took prisoner the remaining ones and brought them, with their families, to the khan. They piled up the severed heads in four or five places, like stacks, and each stack was so high that, if a horseman would pass it from one side, he would not be seen from the other side. His majesty, in his wrath, ordered the prisoners killed also, and most of them were slaughtered; some

of them escaped the sword thanks only to the intercession of the Khivan nobles. On that day so much blood was shed and so many heads were cut off that the mind was unable to comprehend it and reason was unable to fathom it. The dead bodies covered the ground at that place (1150) like mounds or even high mountains.*

*From this place his majesty moved his army off and in the evening camped near the Charshamba Ramitan[1123] fortress, in order to rest there at night and to move against the city of Bukhara in the morning. On that night the servants of the court received reports, coming one after another, that amir Haydar had gone to Samarkand and that the city of Bukhara remained without troops. His majesty, out of his extreme nobility and perfect sense of honor, did not consider it proper to attack a city without king and without troops. Therefore he cancelled the further campaign, turned the army back, and came to the royal camp (*ordu-yi humāyūn*) which was on the lakeshore near Qaqïshtuvan. From there he moved off and, travelling quickly, with innumerable prisoners and countless booty, arrived at the bank of the Amu and set up his camp at Kökerdeli. From there he set out and, moving along the river, he came to the station of Üch-Uchaq, where he had left the royal headquarters (*ordu-yi aʿlā*), along with some of the troops headed by Qïlïch Inaq. From there he set out (1151) and passed many stations, moving along the Jayhun, until he set up his camp at the Khanqah crossing. He crossed the river there, and on Saturday, 10 Jumadi II[a] arrived at the royal capital Khiva. The duration of this campaign was thirty days. After his majesty returned to the royal capital, he showed his kindness towards the captives brought from this campaign, gave them land in the locality of Hilali, and assigned them places for dwelling and habitation. Now they form a numerous community (*qalïn kent va ulugh el*).*[1124]

How his majesty moved the troops against Charjuy for the third time; how they raided and plundered the regions of Qutnam, Parvard[1125] and Kerki and, having thoroughly punished the rebels, returned loaded with booty.

*When his majesty, Muhammad Rahim Bahadur Khan, (1152) had conquered the fortresses Qaqïshtuvan and Aghar in the environs of Bukhara and then returned to the capital, he soon wished again to

[a] 21 February (Friday).

set out against Charjuy and ordered everything prepared for the campaign. He gave plenty of money to the troops and lavished the amirs and the nobles with countless gifts. Two months and twenty days after his return from the campaign against Bukhara, in 1238 A.H., the Year of the Sheep, when the sun was in the sign of Gemini, on Sunday, the last day of Shaʿban,[a] which was the most auspicious time, the khan set out from Khiva, along with the amirs, the military commanders, and the ever-victorious troops, and lodged at the Yangi-Arïq *ḥawlī*. He stayed there one night, and the next day, at sunrise, moved off and arrived at Hazarasp. The next day he moved off and arrived at Yeke-Chïqïr. (1153) From there he set out and came to the Tive-Boyun station, and from there he moved off and set up his camp near the Sadvar fortress, on the bank of the river [Amu]. He moved off from there and camped at the Südük thicket (*tughay*). Then he went further and camped at the thicket of Dahan-i Shir. From there he moved on and camped at the Burlï station, which is opposite Üch-Uchaq. At that place he stayed for three days, and during this time troops gathered there from all sides, group by group, and joined the royal camp. [*Naẓm.*]*

*(1154) When the troops had gathered to the royal camp in great number, his majesty moved off with this army and, having made a pilgrimage to [the tomb of] Jigirbend Ata, camped at a nearby thicket (*tughay*). From there he set out and arrived at the Shishli Qara-Ayqhïr thicket, which was very vast and dense. From there he moved on to Aq-ribat. From there he came to [the tomb of] Darghan Ata (mercy of God be upon him!) and camped in its vicinity, on the bank of the river [Amu]. From there he set out with his army and, having passed numerous stations, in seven days reached the town of Charjuy and camped on the bank of the river Amu. [*Naẓm.*] (1155) At that place he stayed for ten or fifteen days, every day dispatching troops, group by group and detachment by detachment, every amir and commander with his own troops, to raid Charjuy. And every day the blood of the enemies of the state was shed in abundance and their heads were cut off, and the ever-victorious troops captured plentiful booty the quantity of which the mind was unable to calculate. [*Mathnavī.*] (1156) The troops ravaged the environs of that town for fifteen days (1157) and made every effort to kill and

[a] 10 May 1823 (Saturday).

seize booty. During this time, Sultan Niyaz Qaravulbegi, the governor of Qutnam, frightened by the fame of his majesty's grandeur and severity, submitted to him and came with numerous presents to the royal court. His majesty moved him and his people (*el*), which amounted to 800 men, to Merv and gave them places for dwelling and habitation in that province.*

*After fifteen days, the khan moved off from Charjuy and set up his camp near Saqar-qal'a, all of whose inhabitants, out of fear of the ever-victorious army, had fled, some into the sands, and some to the other side of the river [Amu]. From there he came, with great pomp, to the Qutnam fortress and set up his camp on the bank of the river [Amu]. He moved off from there again and camped on the river-bank at the Zuhra-i Tahir *köshk*.[1126] At that time amir Haydar, the king of Bukhara, came with a large army and stopped, with great arrogance, on the northern bank of the river, opposite the royal camp (*ordu-yi humāyūn*); (1158) they began to fire *shamkhāl*s, swivel guns (*zanbūrak*) and cannons at the Khivan camp. On our side, a royal order was issued to the artillerists to subject the enemy camp (*senger*) to a heavy bombardment and to destroy it. In accordance with this order, the artillerists aimed at the enemy troops (*goshun*) and opened fire. [*Mathnavī.*] (1159) As a result of this bombardment, many tents and encampments (*gosh*) of the enemy were destroyed. When the Tajik troops witnessed this, they became disturbed and frightened, and they fled and dispersed everywhere. His imperial majesty distinguished the artillerists with royal favors and granted them robes of honor and plenty of money.[1127] Then the Tajik troops gathered again and resumed the fire. At that moment a ball from an enemy cannon struck the artillerist named Pafish the Russian (Urus),[a] tore off his arm and killed him.*

*On that day both sides were engaged in firing at each other until night, and after sunset they took rest. The next day, at sunrise, his imperial majesty (1160) left the royal camp there, along with some troops, and, with a great number of horsemen only, moved along the bank of the Jayhun raiding the environs. They captured such plentiful booty that they were unable to carry all of it, but they did not find any people, because the inhabitants of that region had heard the news about the approaching army and had fled with their fam-

[a] It is not clear, what Russian name is corrupted this way; probably, a patronymic—"Pavlych" (colloquial pronunciation of "Pavlovich").

ilies, leaving all their property. This property was captured by the ever-victorious troops, and was so plentiful that every single soldier could take as much as he could carry; and most of the troops had two or three big sacks[a] [filled with the spoils], besides other things. After having plundered this region for two days, his majesty moved the troops to the Kerki fortress. They raided and plundered that region, and on that day they also captured an enormous amount of booty. Then the khan rested for one night and turned back. (1161) He stopped overnight in one place to rest, and in the morning set out and arrived at the royal camp (*qosh*) [that had been left behind]. He stayed there for one night, and the next day, at noon, moved off towards Khorezm. The next day he camped near Charjuy. From there he set out and in two days reached the Qabaqlï thicket. From there he came in two days to [the tomb of] Darghan Ata and camped on the bank of the river opposite it. From there he came within three days to Hazarasp, and from there he set out, made one stop overnight, and on Sunday, the first day of Zu'l-Qa'da,[b] arrived auspiciously at the royal capital Khiva. This campaign lasted 64 days.*[1128]

How the Yomut warriors plundered a Bukharan caravan.

After *his majesty's* departure for the campaign against Charjuy, news spread in the country [of Khorezm] that a merchant (*sawdāgar*) of Hakim Biy, the grand vizier of amir Haydar, had left Bukhara with a small[c] caravan and was going to Russia by way of the Irdar road. Having heard this news, forty Yomut warriors (1162) obtained permission from *Allah-Quli Muhammad Bahadur Khan*, who remained as the khan's deputy in the royal capital Khiva, and quickly went to raid the aforementioned caravan. They overtook it on the Irdar road and plundered it. They plundered all their merchandise and went back. And the entire[d] load of that caravan was valuable shawls (*shāl*); the price of each of them was equal to the *kharāj* of the entire world. The raiders returned to the city [of Khiva] before the khan's return from the Charjuy campaign, and they were granted numerous favors. This expedition lasted 22 days.

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[a] E: "five *bātmans* or ten *bātmans*."
[b] 9 July 1823 (Wednesday!).
[c] E: "large."
[d] E: "most of."

THE EVENTS OF THE NINETEENTH YEAR SINCE THE ACCESSION OF THE LATE KING.

How *the great amir* Qutlugh Murad Inaq (may God illuminate his grave!) (1163) went to the province of Merv to build a dam [on the Murghab], and how, by divine decree, the dam collapsed, and [the inaq] went back and passed away.

***** In the former days,[a] the province of Merv was so prosperous that it was the adornment of the earth and the envy of paradise. Powerful kings built a dam on the Merv river and thus made all the districts (*tümenat*) and the fields [of that region] flourishing, thriving and populous. Many years ago <this heavenly province was annexed by the kings of Bukhara and, because of their ineptness and negligence>, the dam on that river collapsed, and most of the fields and orchards of that province were destroyed and perished. When, with divine assistance, this vast heaven-like province was added to the possessions of *the late monarch, Muhammad Rahim Muhammad Bahadur Khan* (may God grant him forgiveness!), he saw that such a vast region was in decay and ruin because of the lack of water. He became firmly resolved to make it prosperous, and in 1239 A.H., the Year of the Sheep, when the sun had entered the sign of Sagittarius, on Tuesday 27 Rabiʿ I,[b] (1164) he appointed to the province of Merv his beloved brother, *the great amir* Qutlugh Murad Inaq, in order to build a dam <on its river>, to bring the water to all the fields, and to make the ruined and desolate lands blooming and prosperous.

The aforementioned inaq, as ordered, accepted this task, left the royal capital Khiva the same day and went to Hazarasp. There he stayed for some time and, after having prepared everything needed for the expedition, set out from Hazarasp, along with the troops under his command; from the lower course of the Nayman [canal] he entered the sands, *and travelled quickly. Having passed numerous stations*, he arrived in the province of Merv, set up *the army camp* on the bank of the river, and, with great care and effort, built the Bend-i Sultan twice. By divine decree, both times the dam

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[a] *Ayām-i māżīdā*; MITT II, 423 has erroneous translation: "At the time of (Sultan Sanjar) Mazi."

[b] 30 November 1823 (Sunday).

collapsed, and the water flowed as before. At that time, his majesty, the late king, sent many commanders from among the servants of the royal court, along with innumerable troops, to Merv to join the inaq. Their names were as follows. From among the great amirs: Rahmatallah Atalïq, ʿAli Mardan Shighavul, and Khal Niyaz Dargha, the Uyghur leaders; Dosïm Biy, a Manghït noble; and Qutlugh Muhammad Inaq, a Qïpchaq chieftain. From among the military commanders (*sipahdār*): Hubbi-Quli Khoja, Niyaz Muhammad Bay, Muhammad-Quli Bek, Ata Niyaz Bek, Muhammad Safa Bek, Salaq Yüzbashi, Badal Yüzbashi, Safar Aymaq, Bek Fulad Yüzbashi, (1165) Khuday-Berdi Tavuq, Shah Fulad Mergen, and Khuraz Atalïq. The aforementioned commanders, as ordered, went promptly through the desert and came to the inaq in the middle of Jumadi I.[a] The inaq ordered them to build a fortress [at the] Egri-guzar [crossing],[1129] while he sent back to the country [of Khorezm] some tired and exhausted[b] soldiers from among the troops who had come with him. At that time the inaq's noble person was affected by a serious illness, and *he took to his bed*. Coincidentally, at the same time *the late khan also became sick, and he sent Ruzum Pahlavan, one of his most trusted and reliable servants, to the inaq, with a decree (*yarlïgh*) ordering him to return promptly to Khorezm. The aforementioned Pahlavan, after travelling quickly*, came to the inaq and handed him the decree of the late khan. As soon as his excellency learned the contents of the decree, he accepted it, but waited for a short time until the construction of the aforementioned fortress was completed, and then appointed the aforesaid commanders to protect and defend that province, and [himself] went back on Friday, 15 Ramazan.[c] During his journey, his illness became aggravated day after day. (1166) When on Friday, the 22nd of the same month,[d] he came to the lower reaches of the Tezhen, his hour of death came; he gulped the unpalatable drink of [the commandment] "*Every soul shall taste of death*",[e] and entered the retirement-place [referred to in the words:] "*Return unto thy Lord, well-pleased, well-pleasing!*"[f] [*Mathnavī*.]

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[a] Mid-February 1824.
[b] Lit.: "hungry."
[c] 13 May (Thursday).
[d] 20 May.
[e] Qurʾān, III,185, XXI,35, XXIX,57.
[f] Qurʾān, LXXXIX,28.

The trustful retainers of his excellency performed the rites of mourning, put the bier with the inaq's body on a litter, and travelled quickly. On Tuesday, 4 Shavval,[a] at dawn, they left the sands (1167) and arrived at the lower reaches of Qara-köl. The great *'ulamā'*, the noble amirs, the dignified princes (*shahzāda*), the mighty beks, and all the great and the small came out of the city [of Khiva] to meet them, and, having deafened the heaven itself with their clamor and lamentation, in accordance with the customs befitting the kings, they strewed his excellency's bier with coins, jewels and pearls and, in an indescribable uproar, brought him into the city and buried him in his own madrasa—which he had had built in 1226 A.H., the Year of the Sheep,[b] and which was the tallest building ever constructed up to that time in the city of Khiva—where he had assigned a place for his own [tomb].[c1130] (1168) His age was 56. He left behind, as a memory of him, three fortunate sons. Their names are as follows: *Muhammad Yusuf Bek, 'Abdallah Bek, and 'Ibadallah Bek* (may God extend their lives and their good fortune!). [*Mathnavī*.]

(1169) How the Chowdur troops of Qurban Niyaz Yasavulbashi made a raid on Eljik and went back, and *how they defeated the Bukharan army*.

The same year [of 1239], [corresponding to] the Year of the Monkey, on the last day of Sha'ban,[d] his imperial majesty, the late [khan], appointed Qurban Niyaz Yasavulbashi, along with the Chowdur troops that were under his command, to raid <the region of> Bukhara. (1170) Those so assigned, *in accordance with the royal order, set out and travelled quickly*. They crossed the river Amu at the Khanqah crossing and travelled along the northern bank of the river. They left their camels at the place called Narqïz,[1131] two stations before Eljik,[e] and, with the horsemen alone, marched by night and at dawn raided the environs of the Eljik fortress. Having captured many prisoners and abundant booty, they turned back and came to the place where they had left their camels. From there they travelled station by station. When they came to Üch-Uchaq, they

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[a] 1 June.
[b] 1811 A.D.
[c] E has here two chronograms by Munis in the margin.
[d] 28 April 1824.
[e] The text here and below has Elchik.

found traces of numerous horsemen who had passed there, having come from Bukhara and having gone back. The circumstances of this were as follows. Amir Haydar, the ruler of Bukhara, had appointed a hundred horsemen from among the Arabachi clan of the Chowdur tribe,[1132] led by Muhammad-Berdi Bek, to go to Khorezm and to raid, as thieves, the nomads of that well-protected kingdom. By coincidence, when the ever-victorious troops had gone to Eljik, these [raiders] had passed Üch-Uchaq and, in the locality of Meshekli, had killed three or four people who were cutting reeds and willows there, and had fled. When the ever-victorious troops saw their traces, they understood that they were enemy troops and that they were nearby, (1171) and, in the afternoon, ready for battle, they rushed their swift horses after the ill-omened enemy. Having marched through the night, they overtook them at dawn, at the place called Aq-Tash.[1133] By chance, [by that time] Muhammad-Berdi Bek had again moved off the ill-omened troops from that place and sent them forward, while he himself stayed behind and fell soundly asleep. [The troops] took him prisoner at the place where he slept, then also overtook those who had gone forward *and slaughtered that malicious group with their swords and lances and erected mounds out of their bodies*. Then they also pursued those who had fled in fear of their lives, killing more all the time, and, after reaching Khal-Ata, turned back.

In that expedition, *not a single man from the ever-victorious army was injured*, while many men among the enemy troops were killed, and, aside from three or four horsemen, no one escaped alive. The victorious troops captured many horses and [other] booty, cut off innumerable heads and, victorious and triumphant, travelled quickly, and on the last day of Ramazan[a] came to the royal court and were distinguished with royal favors and honored with regal outfits (*sarūpāy*).

Be it known (1172) that several <amirs and> commanders led by Rahmatallah Atalïq and Qutluq Muhammad Inaq, along with their troops, who had remained in Merv by order of the late Qutlugh Murad Inaq, as mentioned above, returned to the khan, in accordance with his order, in the middle of Shavval,[b] and were granted the honor of kissing the [royal] carpet.

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[a] 28 May.
[b] Mid-June 1824.

THE EVENTS OF THE TWENTIETH YEAR SINCE THE AUSPICIOUS ACCESSION OF *THE LATE KHAN*.

How Sayyid Niyaz Ushaq and Yar-Quli Pahlavan raided the region of Kerki, and how the enemy troops came pursuing them, but suffered a shameful defeat.

**In 1240 A.H., [corresponding to] the Year of the Monkey, on 10 Muharram,[a] 250 men from among the Yomut, the Yemreli, the Göklen, the Qaradashlï, and the Uzbeks, <headed by> the Yomuts Sayyid Niyaz Ushaq and Yar-Quli Pahlavan, [along with the commanders] Ghalang Bay Salaq,[b] Oraz ʿAli Salaq, and ʿAbdu Ghaffar Bek Salaq from among the Yomuts, Qara Mergen from among the Yemreli, Bahadur Khoja from among the Göklen, Qashuqchi Qurban Sardar from among the Qaradashlï, and Iskandar Bahadur Uyghur from among the Uzbeks, received *the late khan's* permission for a raid (*yurtavul*) and set out along the bank of the Amu. Within six days they came to Qabaqlï. On the seventh day they entered the sands,[1134] made one stop overnight, and then camped at Takht. They moved off from there, made two overnight stops, and arrived at the Üch-Aji <well>. From there they moved off, made two overnight stops, and came to Repetek. There they took a supply of water, (1173) moved off, and within two days came to Yol-quduq. There they rested one night, and the next day came to Deli-quduq. There also they stayed one night, and, setting out the next day, travelled for two stations and came to Aji-quduq. From there they moved off and the next day came out to the Khalaj road.[1135] There were two wells there; during the night they rested near them. At dawn they captured four Ersarïs riding donkeys, who were coming from Andkhu and going to Khalaj. They learned from them that a forty-camel party (*köch*) was following them. *They killed three of these prisoners.* The next day, at noon, they fell upon that [forty-camel] party (*köch*), slaughtered their men, took prisoner thirty[c] of their women and children, left them, along with the camels, [under the guard of] fifty horsemen on the Khalaj road, and moved on quickly [themselves], after the night prayer.

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[a] 3 September 1824.
[b] E omits this name.
[c] E: "all."

The next day, at noon, they reached the Zayt road. There was a water-cistern (*sardāba*) of ʿAbdallah Khan at that place.[1136] They watered their horses from it, and in the evening came to the Tonguz-sïrt, which was the name of a plateau (*qïr*).[1137] They crossed it and came to Kör-quduq, where they spent the night. In the morning they set out and, on the eastern side of Chash-Baba, east of Kerki,[1138] they captured three shepherds. They killed one of them, made the other two their guides, and raided the community (*kent*) called Khoja-Salar. They captured about six hundred (1174) camels and a hundred horses, took thirty families (*oghlan ushaq*) prisoner, and went back.

At that time Baba Bay Hazaraspi, one of the ever-victorious troops, fell from his horse, which then ran away. One of the Ersarïs, named Shaykh Bahadur, caught the horse, mounted it, and brought the news [about the Khivan raid] to the governor of Andkhu. The latter immediately dispatched 1,000 men, headed by Nayza Bek, son of Yulduz Khan, and ʿAbbas Bek, to pursue the raiders. The [Khivan] troops, being unaware of the pursuit, went as they had intended and, when they approached Kerki, moved along the bank of the river [Amu] and entered the sands. On 5 Safar,[a] late in the morning, they arrived at Yeke-quduq, and stopped there to divide the booty. At that moment the sentries brought news that the enemy was coming. All of them at once mounted their horses and went to confront the enemy. The enemy troops, in one formation, went up to a hill and lined up their ranks there. On our side, the ever-victorious troops also lined up their ranks in battle array opposite the enemy. At that time the enemies sent forward a group of marksmen (*mergen*), who opened fire from their muskets (*tufang*). Advance parties (*irävül*) of horsemen from both sides went onto the battlefield and galloped about there, to heat up the battle. At that moment Iskandar Bahadur Uyghur, who was a lion in the thicket of battle and the best of the illustrious warriors, (1175) in a flash of zeal, as well as several other soldiers, [each] put a handful of earth in their bosom, and all at once rushed their horses in a dragon-like assault. Iskandar Bahadur reached [the enemy first], and, with his lance, *knocked one of the enemy heroes, who was strutting on the battlefield inviting combat, off his horse, and then severed his head with his sword*. At that time the warriors mingled with the enemy troops like wolves breaking

[a] 28 September.

into a flock of sheep and, *having killed many of them*, put them to flight. They pursued [the enemy] until noon and, having put most of them to sword, severed more than 300 heads and captured such a large amount of booty that it was impossible to estimate it.

They returned from there and came to Repetek. From there they moved off, passed near Chekes-tüpe, and came to the bank of the Amu. From there they set out and, when they reached Qabaqlï, sent eighteen men as messengers with the happy news [about their victory].

How the late khan set out for a hunt.

Be it known that seven months previously the late khan had become ill and bedridden, as was mentioned above. Thanks to God's compassion, (1176) he had recovered from this illness. When a desire to change his place and to go for a hunt—which strengthens the body and relieves the soul—had filled his majesty's heart, after having given permission [for a raid] to the aforementioned troops, he left the royal capital Khiva on the last day of the same [month of] Muharram[a] and came to the *ḥawlī* of the late Qutlugh Murad Inaq in Hazarasp. *He contented the holy spirit of his excellency with the reading of the entire Qur'ān and the offering of a funeral banquet (*āb u āsh*).[1139] From there he moved off, crossed to the northern side of the river <Amu>, and for several days enjoyed himself with a hunt.* Then he re-crossed <the river> at the Khanqah crossing and came to the Yangi-Arïq *ḥawlī*. That day was Thursday, the first day of Rabiʿ I.[b] The next day, on Friday, the messengers sent by the raiders with the happy news came to Yangi-Arïq and conveyed these reports to his majesty. That same day his majesty came to the royal capital.

Part of the army came to the city [of Khiva] on Sunday, and part on Tuesday. *They came to the royal court and were honored with the khan's favors.*

This expedition lasted 47 days. Be it known that in this expedition Iskandar Bahadur the Uyghur killed three enemy troops with his sword, and most of the ever-victorious troops killed two men each, and there were few soldiers who did not kill anyone.

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[a] 23 September.
[b] 23 October 1824 (Saturday!).

(1177) How Allash Biy conquered the fortress of Paykent and took possession of it, and how he deported its people to the kingdom of Khorezm.

*** *His majesty appointed Allash Biy, Soyun Biy, Dosïm Biy, Muhammad Niyaz Yasavulbashi, and other mighty amirs and illustrious warriors, along with a large group of Uzbek and Yomut troops, for a raid on the region of Bukhara. As ordered, those so assigned prepared everything needed for the campaign, and in the same year, in the middle of Rabiʿ II,[a] they set out, crossed the river Amu, and proceeded along the northern bank. When they came to Kökerdeli, they left their camels and train (*qosh*) at that place and entered the sands. They passed Ishme, quickly entered the region of Paykent[1140] and surrounded [the town]. The people of the fortress blocked and barricaded the gates, and fired their muskets [at the Khivan troops] from the towers and ramparts. At that time the brave warriors attacked all at once and captured the town in one assault. They deported the people of the town, with their families, animals, and belongings, <to Khorezm>, and the ever-victorious troops plundered and ravaged the environs, (1178) killed many people, and returned with numerous prisoners and [much] booty. On the first day of Jumadi I[b] they came to the city [of Khiva], were granted the honor of kissing the royal threshold, and were distinguished with royal presents. As to the captives from Paykent, his majesty showed his favor to them and granted them places for dwelling and fields in the area of Hilali.*

How Qutluq Muhammad Inaq made a raid on Vardanzi.

*Be it known that on the day when his majesty, the late king, ordered the men of Allash Biy to go on raid, he appointed also Qutluq Muhammad Inaq, Rahmatallah Ataliq, and others, with a detachment of troops, to make a raid on the environs of Bukhara. In accordance with the royal order, they set out toward the place of their destination. They crossed the river <Amu>, travelled quickly, entered the environs of Vardanzi like divine punishment and raided the area. They killed many people, took numerous prisoners, and captured abundant booty; (1179) and, heading back, they reached the royal

[a] Early December 1824.
[b] 21 December.

court safely and loaded with spoils and were distinguished among their peers with boundless favors.*

How Allash Biy and several other commanders set out on a raid against Bukhara, but cancelled this expedition, and, turning to the Irdar road, overtook a Russian caravan, forced that caravan to go back, and returned [to Khorezm].

*** The same year, on the last day of Jumadi II,[a] his imperial majesty appointed Allash Biy, Soyun Biy, Dosïm Biy, Muhammad Niyaz Yasavulbashi, and other amirs and military commanders, along with 8,000 troops of Uzbeks, Yomuts, and Chowdurs, to raid Bukhara. Those so assigned, as ordered, promptly went towards their destination. At that time news came that numerous caravans had left Russia and were going to Bukhara by the Irdar road. The explanation of this is as follows. Many caravans had gone from Bukhara to the Russian country for trade, but for a long time, fearing the attacks of the Khorezmian troops, they had not left Russia [for Bukhara] but had remained there. Now the Russian king had attached to them many caravans from his own country, had prepared numerous troops as an escort, fully equipped and armed, had consigned artillery to them as well, and, resolving to protect and defend the people of the caravan, (1180) had sent them from his country to Bukhara by the Irdar road. As soon as this news reached the royal court, *a royal order was issued* that the aforementioned commanders should cancel the expedition against Bukhara and instead move against the caravan. They should not let it go to Bukhara, but either bring it to Khorezm, the dome of Islam, or send it back to Russia. And if [the people of the caravan] did not consent and displayed obstinacy and rebellion, [the commanders] should make every effort to fight them.

When this binding order reached the aforementioned commanders, just as they arrived at Ayrï-Tam on the other side of the Amu, *they turned in the direction of the Irdar road and went in great haste*. They passed <the tomb of> Shaykh ʿAbdallah Narinjani[1141] from the east, then passed Beshikli, Ming-Bulaq, and Qullar-qalʿa, and came quickly to the Irdar road. They did not find the caravan on that road, and went to the Chapma road. There they also did

[a] 17 February 1825.

not find <any traces>, and came to the Qobu road,[1142] and on that road they saw the traces of the caravan and understood that it had passed there three days earlier. At that place the commanders and the troops prepared their weapons and then moved at great speed after the caravan. They overtook it at the place called Bütekeli Beshtüpe, and started fighting. The people of the caravan were unable to withstand them, (1181) and they went to a high hill, surrounded themselves with a fortification made out of wagons and packs, and ensconced themselves there. The ever-victorious troops surrounded them from all sides and subjected them to a tight siege for thirteen days. And it was told that during this siege the people of the caravan, because of the lack of fuel, were burning brazil-wood, paper, and precious brocade to cook their food. When the people of the caravan saw that they were surrounded on all four sides by the ever-victorious troops and the road of escape was closed, they at last agreed to make peace. They sent as an ambassador a commander named Serköske. From our side, the commanders also pitched a tent between <the two forces> and went there. After an exchange of questions and answers, and debate and dispute, the Russian ambassador went back, having pledged to return the caravan to his country. The next day, *at dawn*, the people of the caravan abandoned the heavy packs and promptly went towards Russia. At that time the troops rushed their horses and took possession of inestimable booty. They followed the caravan for four days, and, when they were close to Russia, turned back.[1143] Having travelled through many stations, they arrived at the royal court at the end of Shaʿban.[a]

How the late khan set out for a hunt and arrived in the region of Qongrat; how he was afflicted by an illness and returned; and how (1182) an ambassador came from prince Kamran and was granted the honor of kissing the royal threshold.

After sending the men of Allash Biy against the caravan, his majesty *felt a desire to go hunting, and at the beginning of Rajab[b] he set out from Khiva. He crossed the river Amu and travelled along its northern bank from station to station, engaging in falconry. He

[a] 17 April 1825.
[b] From 18 February 1825.

hunted in the regions of Kegeyli and Qarabayli, then crossed the river and lodged <at a *ribāṭ*> in the vicinity of Qongrat. He hunted there with birds for several days, and then went to the region of Khoja-eli. At that time his majesty felt unwell, turned back, and in the middle of Shaʿban[a] came to the royal capital. This expedition lasted forty days*.

*During this expedition an ambassador came from Herat, who was granted the honor of kissing the royal threshold. The details of this short summary are as follows. When the fame of his majesty's power and greatness spread all over the world, the rulers of surrounding countries wanted to ask for his protection. One of them, prince Kamran, the ruler of the province of Herat,[1144] sent a letter of friendship (*muḥabbat-nāma*) with the ambassador Hakim Khan, pledging union and concord. (1183) He sent also presents befitting a king, the sight of which caused amazement, including a colossal elephant, before whom the heavenly elephant (?) would have seemed tiny and helpless. The aforementioned ambassador came with such gifts and was granted royal audience.*

How amir Haydar, the king of Bukhara, sent a letter of apology (*muʿadharat-nāma*) to the royal court, asking for peace; and how the late khan accepted his request and sent an eloquent ambassador [in return].

**** *For many years the warriors of Khorezm made repeated raids and destroyed many towns and many communities in the region of Bukhara. Like roaring lions and sudden catastrophe, they would make forays into various regions of that country three or four times every month and engage in killing and plundering. And the moment was near when the ever-victorious troops would entirely ruin the country of Bukhara. Finally, amir Haydar abandoned his hostility and enmity to this eternal state, expressed friendship and concord, and, out of helplessness and humiliation, sent a letter of apology (*muʿadharat-nāma*), of the following content*: "Let it be revealed to the perspicacious mind of our honorable brother, his majesty, as sublime as heaven, as mighty as Iskandar, as magnificent as Sulayman, (1184) that we ourselves regret and repent of all the hostile and improper acts that we committed, and that we stretch out the hand

[a] Early April.

of sincerity and trust to the firmest handle of concord. Our request from his majesty is the following: may he also remove all resentment from his mind and not send troops to raid the regions of Bukhara, so that [our] subjects might live in peace and tranquility. And if his purpose is to conquer the city of Bukhara, then we also place the reins of government and the bridle of rule in his mighty hand; and if he orders: 'Get out of the city,' we will consider it an obligation and will act in accordance with the binding order.[a] [*Mathnavī.*]"[1145]

This letter reached the servants of the royal court at the end of Shaʿban.[b] It happened that at that time illness had entirely overcome the noble person of his majesty, and he had taken the load of hatred and hostility off his mind, had shown his willingness to abandon enmity and to embrace concord, (1185) and had intended to send an ambassador to amir Haydar to offer benevolence and reconciliation. The letter sent by that amir confirmed his intention, and his majesty accepted his request; and on the last day of the aforementioned month he sent *Nar Bek* to Bukhara as ambassador, with an expression of friendship and cooperation. The building of this benevolence and friendship has been firm and solid ever since.[1146]

How the illness intensified and overcame his imperial majesty, the late king, and how he passed to the everlasting world and averted his eyes from the transient world; and [a discourse] to make evident the laudable virtues of his majesty, and to make a point in complaint about the base world and changeable fortune.

[An untitled poem (3 verses).] When his majesty, the late king, had returned after having toured and hunted in the Qongrat region, his illness intensified and became more serious every day. In particular, after he had sent Nar Bek with an embassy to Bukhara, the pain (1186) and sickness became so strong that *he collapsed to his sickbed*. Whatever great efforts the skillful physicians and the capable doctors made in treating and curing him, they gave no results and were of no use. Moreover, the affliction of his illness and the degree

[a] E gives a more elaborate language of the same letter.
[b] 17 April.

of his weakness grew every moment, and, in the aforementioned year, the Year of the Hen, on the evening of 19 Ramazan, which was Saturday night,[a] he heard the call: "*Return unto thy Lord, well-pleased, well-pleasing!*",[b] and, passing from the transient world, he went to the banquet-hall [referred to by the words] "*And God summons to the Abode of Peace*".[c] [*Naẓm.*]

*The bier with his majesty's body was brought to the *khānqāh* of his holiness Pahlavan Mahmud; this *khānqāh* and the place of pilgrimage (*ziyāratgāh*), with its heavenly dome and golden cupola, had been built through the efforts of his majesty himself, (1187) and he was buried in the place which he had had built for himself.*

His majesty left seven sons as a memory of himself, each of whom is a shining star in the sky of nobility and dignity and a brilliant jewel among the pearls of magnificence and greatness. Their names are as follows: Abu'l-Ghazi Allah-Quli Muhammad Bahadur Khan (may God extend his reign!); Rahman-Quli Inaq; prince Khuday-Quli Töre, who died in 1245 A.H.[d] at the age of twenty six; and Sayyid Mahmud Töre, Sayyid Ahmad Töre, Sayyid Muhammad Töre, and Tengri-Quli Töre (may God Most High extend their lives and increase their good fortune!).

Be it known to discerning people that his majesty was adorned with wisdom and knowledge. In his constant claim for imperial rule, he led his army to all corners of the world, put his enemies to the sword of zeal, and conquered many countries. He always strove to make the garden of the world flourish and bloom thanks to the spring of his justice, and to make the people of the world free from the worry of poverty and hunger thanks to the purse of his generosity. He was always granting favors to the people with justice and equity and taking the utmost care in applying the laws of the *sharīʿa*. During the time of his reign, (1188) the subjects lived in peace and tranquility and inclined toward excellence in knowledge, learning, and art. He never used superfluous, improper, obscene, or abusive words in his speech. In most of his assemblies he would sit with the *ʿulamāʾ* and the cultivated men, the wits and the poets, and he showed

[a] 6 May 1825 (Friday; but, according to Muslim calendar, Saturday began at the sunset of the preceding day).
[b] Qurʾān, LXXXIX,28.
[c] Qurʾān, X,25.
[d] 1829/30 A.D.

no liking for anything besides the reading of books, the study of subtle meanings,[a] and witty conversation. He was a very faithful friend and supporter of the community of the pious and the ascetics. And he totally exterminated all unlawful and forbidden things in the well-protected kingdom [of Khorezm] and established good customs and laudable rules.[1147] [*Nazm.*] His majesty's age [at his death] was fifty, and his reign lasted for twenty years (may God grant him forgiveness!). [*Nazm* (1188–1192).]

[a] As opposed to forms.

NOTES

[1] Mentioning the name of the ruling monarch in the Friday sermon (*khuṭba*) was a custom, although it was not explicitly prescribed (see A.J. Wensinck, "Khuṭba," in: EI², V, 74–75). The mention of the name of a new monarch in *khuṭba* served as an announcement of his accession. *Sikka* (mint) was a royal prerogative, and usually coins with the name of the new monarch were struck immediately upon his accession. Eltüzer Khan was the first ruler of Khorezm who began to strike his own coins (until then Khorezm had not have its own coinage); see ʿAbd al-Karim Bukhari, text, 80, tr., 181. Royal seals of the Qongrat khans could include such titles as "al-Muẓaffar va'l-Manṣūr" and "Abu'l-Ghāzī" (see on the seals of Eltüzer Khan also below, note 671).

[2] The epithet *Ṣāḥib-Qirān*, lit. meaning a person born at the time of conjunction of Venus and Jupiter, or Venus and sun, that is, fortunate or felicitous, was a usual epithet of Timur, and later was applied to monarchs in general. Henceforth it will usually be translated as "imperial".

[3] "Victorious and triumphant (lit. "Victorious and aided [by God]"), the conqueror" (*al-Muẓaffar va'l-Manṣūr Abu'l-Fatḥ*; more often *al-Muẓaffar va'l-Manṣūr Abu'l-Ghāzī*), were usual honorific titles preceding the name of a khan.

[4] The beat of the kettle-drums (*naqāra*) at the doors of the royal court signaled the assumption of the royal power by a new monarch; cf. about such a custom in Bukhara: Andreev – Chekhovich, *Ark*, 44.

[5] The breath of Jesus (*ʿĪsā nafasi*) was believed to have healing property.

[6] The ancestors of Munis are listed by himself (see p. 166), when he mentions the death of his father.

[7] This means that the khan's genealogy should have a place in the work of Munis (*dīvān* of his words) similar to the place of the khan himself sitting on a throne in his chancery (*dīvān*).

[8] *Maḥram* (lit. a person who has access to *ḥaram*, i.e. to his master's private rooms, a chamberlain) in Central Asian khanates was a general title of low-ranking court officials, who could have various specific duties. The term replaced its Turkic synonym *ichki*, which was used in the 15th–17th centuries; Munis also uses the expression *ichki maḥram* (see pp. 248 and 357). See Khanykov, *Opisanie*, 185; Andreev – Chekhovich, *Ark*, 89, note 1. On *ichki* see Doerfer TME, II, 174–175 (No. 635); R.G. Mukminova, "K izucheniiu sredneaziatskikh terminov *tagdzha, sukniiat, ichki*," in: *Pis'mennye pamiatniki Vostoka: Istoriko-filologicheskie issledovaniia. Ezhegodnik 1968*, Moscow, 1970, pp. 130–134.

[9] "Mirza Nazim Haravi" is probably identical with Mulla Nazim Haravi (d. 1068/1657–58), on whom see Muhammad ʿAli Tabrizi, *Rayḥānat al-adab*, IV, Tehran, 1371/1952, p. 160.

[10] The *khātima* was never written (see Introduction).

[11] On the meaning of the term *küren* see below, note 193.

[12] On Khoja-eli cf. note 251 below.

[13] On "seven climes (*iqlīm*)" in Islamic geography see A. Miquel, "Iḳlīm," in: EI², III, 1076–1078.

[14] Ereng-qïr was the name under which the Üst-Yurt plateau was known in Khorezm and among the Turkmens; the etymology of the name is unclear. The Turkic geographical term *qïr* had several meanings (see Murzaev, 327–328); the most common of them found in Khorezm are: (1) plateau; (2) height, elevation; (3) steppe. A general description of *qïr*s as flat heights or plateaus in the steppes surrounding Khorezm see Guliamov, *Oroshenie*, 68.

[15] Zal—father of Rustam, a hero of the *Shāh-nāma*.

[16] Bahram—the Old Iranian god of victory, personified as the planet Mars.

[17] Both Arisṭū and Arisṭuṭālīs are Arabic transcriptions of the name of Aristotle; Munis mistakenly assumes that they are names of two different persons.

[18] The mention of the change of the taxation system under Eltüzer Khan is not found in any other historical source. See below, note 632.

[19] As Khorezmian texts of the 19th century show, the term *bek* was applied there to the members of the families of the Uzbek tribal aristocracy (including the members of the ruling dynasty) who did not have any official appointments; thus, the term *beklik* indicated social status.

[20] In Persian rhetoric musk was the symbol of a perfect black color.

[21] Ergune is possibly river Argun (see JT, I/1, 77, note 10; I/2, 9).

[22] From Abu'l-Ghazi (I, 60, II, 63)—based on JT, I/2, 9.

[23] So Abu'l-Ghazi (I, 60, II, 63). Cf. JT, I/2, 9: Qoai Maral, senior wife of Dobun Bayan.

[24] So Abu'l-Ghazi (I, 60, II, 63; here Bichin); cf. JT, I/2, 9, note 4: Batachi Qa'an.

[25] So Abu'l-Ghazi (I, 60, II, 63); JT, I/2, 9: Tamach.

[26] Abu'l-Ghazi, I, 60, II, 63: Qachi (or Qichi); JT, I/2, 9: Qorichar (with a variant reading Qījū).

[27] So Abu'l-Ghazi (I, 60, II, 63)—Qujum Bural; JT, I/2, 10: Qujam Boraghul (or Bughrul).

[28] So Abu'l-Ghazi (I, 60, II, 63); JT, I/2, 10: Yeke Nidun (variant reading: B.ndun).

[29] So Abu'l-Ghazi (I, 60, II, 64). Cf. JT, I/2, 10: S.m Sāūchī, Sām Sāūchī; SH, § 2: Sim-sochi.

[30] So Abu'l-Ghazi (I, 60, II, 64); JT, I/2, 10: Qalï Qarchu (or Qaju).

[31] Timurtash, Mengli Khoja and Yulduz Khan are found only in Abu'l-Ghazi (I, 60, II, 64); the source of it is unknown.

[32] So in Abu'l-Ghazi (I, 60, II, 64). According to JT, I/2, 10, Dobun Bayan was a son of Qalï Qarchu.

[33] So Abu'l-Ghazi (I, 61, II, 64); JT, I/2, 11: Belgunutay and Bugunutay.

[34] The story of Alanqoa (Alangoa) follows Abu'l-Ghazi (I, 61–62, II, 64–66). On the legend of Alanqoa in various sources see E. Herzfeld, "Alongoa," in: *Der Islam*, VI, 1916, pp. 317–327.

[35] Abu'l-Ghazi, I, 62 (Būqūn Qataghan), II, 66 ("Bou-qoun-Qataghine"); JT, I/2, 14: Būqūn Qataqī. Abu'l-Ghazi, apparently, replaced "Qataqi" with the name of a more familiar to him Uzbek tribe Qataghan (although this name may well go back to Mongol "Qataqin/Khatagin", on which see JT, I/2, 14; I/1, index). Tuqun is an obvious misreading of the text of Abu'l-Ghazi by Munis.

[36] Cf. JT I/1, transl., 178: Bukatu-Salji [= Būqātū Sāljī], and the tribe Saljiut.

[37] The account from Buzanjar to Tümene Khan is based mainly on RṢ (V, 22–26). Abu'l-Ghazi (I, 63, II, 66) has Budanjar, the same in JT (I/2, 16: Bodonchar).

[38] *Mulūk-i ṭavā'if*, "kings of the territorial divisions"—a term applied in Islamic literature to regional rulers, specifically in pre-Islamic Iran after Alexander the Great and in Muslim Spain, but often used broadly for any independent regional rulers after the dissolution of an empire. Cf. "Mulūk al-ṭawā'if," in: EI², VII, 551–554.

[39] The account from Qaydu to Chingiz Khan is based mostly on RṢ (V, 25–61), but greatly abridged.

[40] The account of the sons of Tümene Khan differs from both RṢ (V, 26) and Abu'l-Ghazi (I, 65, II, 68–70).

[41] On the tribe Manghït see W. Barthold, "Mangït," in: EI, III, 244; Yu. Bregel, "Mangït," in: EI², VI, 417–418.

[42] Cf. JT, I/2, 30 and Abu'l-Ghazi, I, 65, II, 70: Duqlat (Dughlat).

[43] This explanation of the meaning of the word Elinjik (which cannot be derived from Mongol) is not found in JT, RṢ and Abu'l-Ghazi. RṢ (V, 28) and Abu'l-Ghazi (I, 68, II, 73) repeat the explanation given by Rashid ad-Din (JT, I/2, 32): "great-grandfather".

[44] Should be read Barqaq; see JT, I/2, 32–33; RṢ, V, 30; Abu'l-Ghazi, I, 66, II, 71.

[45] *Tovachi* was a military inspector; see Doerfer TME, I, 260–264 (No. 133). Under Timur, the *tovachi*s announced the orders regarding the convening of assemblies (*quriltay*) and the gathering of troops for campaigns; their post was considered second in importance after the sovereign himself (see Bartol'd, *Ulugbek*, 50). In the 19th-century Khiva this seems to have been not a permanent post, but rather an *ad hoc* duty assigned to various officials.

[46] On the title *bahādur* (lit. "hero") see Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyĭ stroĭ*, 74, 92–95; Doerfer TME, II, 366–377 (No. 817).

[47] *Chechen*—variant form of *sechen* "wise"; see Doerfer TME, I, 332–334 (No. 207).

[48] The list of sons of Yesügey is from Abu'l-Ghazi (I, 67, II, 72).

[49] These figures are spelled out in both C and E; the origin of this mistake remains unknown.

[50] Based mainly on RṢ (V, 32–61), but greatly abridged. The correct transcription of the name is Chinggis, but all Islamic sources, including Munis, spell the name as Chingīz, and this transcription is followed here.

[51] Abu'l-Ghazi, I, 68, II, 73: Yelun Yaldaq; *Ẓafar-nāma*, f. 26b and RṢ, V, 32: Divan Yaldaq. Read: Delun-Buldaq (see JT, I/2, 75, note 2).

[52] Dates of the Hijra and of the animal cycle given by Munis (who repeats Abu'l-Ghazi, I, 68, II, 73) do not correspond: the Year of the Pig began in Zu'l-Hijja 549 (from February 1155); 549 A.H. corresponds to the Year of the Dog. JT (I/2, 74) gives the Year of the Pig, "which corresponds to 547 A.H." (547 A.H. corresponds to the Year of the Monkey, from May 1152). The actual date of birth of Chingiz Khan is not known; various sources (based on the cyclic year) give either 549–50/1155 (see Bartol'd, *Sochineniia*, V, 256, 615) or 562–63/1167 (see J.A. Boyle, "Čingiz Khān," in: EI², II, 41–44; D.O. Morgan, "Čengīz Khan," in: EIr, V, 133–135).

[53] According to most sources, the official accession of Chingiz Khan happened not in 1203, but in 1206 A.D.

[54] In Islamic literature Chin and Machin were the terms for northern and southern China.

[55] Saqsin was a city (probably, more than one), apparently, in the lower Volga region; see for a detailed discussion V.F. Büchner and P.B. Golden, "Saḳsīn," in: EI², VIII, 895–898.

[56] The campaign of Chingiz Khan against the Khorezmshah Muhammad began in 1219 A.D.

[57] Jayhun—Arabic name of the Amu-Darya; see B. Spuler, "Āmū Daryā," in: EI², I, 454.

[58] On the death of Muhammad Khorezmshah cf. Bartol'd, *Turkestan*, 493–494. Abeskun is probably the island Ashur-Ada.

[59] According to traditional accounts, Najm ad-Din Kubra died in Gurganj in 617/1220 fighting the Mongols, who were storming the city.

[60] The work is *Mirṣād al-ʿibād min al-mabdaʾ ilā'l-maʿād* by Najm ad-Din ar-Razi Daya; see on him GAL, I, 448, SB I, 803–804; an English translation by H. Algar: *The Path of God's bondsmen from Origin to Return (Merṣād al-ʿebād men al-mabdaʾ elā'l-maʿād): A Sufi compendium by Najm al-Dīn Rāzī, known as Dāya*, New York, 1982. The mention by Munis seems to be not a direct reference.

[61] See *Ẓafar-nāma*, f. 54a.

[62] This is an anachronism: Qaraqorum was built after the death of Chingiz Khan, in 632–33 A.H./1235 (see Bartol'd, *Turkestan*, 535, note 7).

[63] On the sources of this story (which appears in Juvayni and Rashid ad-Din) see the note by J.A. Boyle in JT II, tr. Boyle, 216–217, note 74.

[64] On Sakkaki cf. Bartol'd, *Turkestan*, 542–544.

[65] See *Ẓafar-nāma*, f. 77a.

[66] See RṢ, V, 138; Abu'l-Ghazi, I, 149, II, 157.

[67] On *nöker* (member of a chief's warband, *comitatus*) among the Mongols see Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyĭ stroĭ*, 91–92; on the term in Persian texts see Doerfer TME, I, 521–526 (No. 388), with further references. In the Central Asian khanates of the 19th centuries *nöker*s were recruited from the general population and served in the army with their own horses, weapons, and supplies and were usually exempt from the land tax. The word *nöker* at that time became a synonym of "soldier"; in Bukhara it came to be pronounced *nawkar* (apparently as a result of an incorrect Tajik etymology). As Khivan documents and chronicles show, nobles and high officials in the khanate had their "own" *nöker*s, about whose status there is no information. Cf. also MITT, II, 325, note 3.

[68] The date is probably from the *Tārīkh-i guzīda*, 577.

[69] Alan and As—the Ossets.

[70] This account is borrowed from RṢ (V, 128–129) or from Abu'l-Ghazi (I, 131, II, 140). In fact, Jochi did not come to Chingiz Khan; see Bartol'd, *Turkestan*, 525–526.

[71] Cf. Abu'l-Ghazi, I, 169–172, II, 178–180.

[72] Otchigin Noyan was Chingiz Khan's brother.

[73] *Ordu* is originally "royal residence"; among the Turkic and Mongol nomads it meant "royal camp", "ruler's headquarters"; in the later sedentary states it would also mean "royal tent" and "palace". See Clauson, 203; Doerfer TME, II, 32–39 (No. 452).

[74] See a detailed discussion of these names in Pelliot, *Horde d'Or*, 115–143.

[75] So in Abu'l-Ghazi, I, 172, II, 180. The term Kök Orda was applied to the western wing of the *ulus* of Jochi (the "Golden Horde") erroneously; in fact, Kök Orda was the name of the eastern wing of the *ulus* of Jochi—that of Orda and his descendants. The error goes back, apparently, to Persian historical work of Mu'in ad-Din Natanzi (see Storey—Bregel, I, 339, No. 250) and later sources following him. See M.G. Safargaliev, 14–15; G.A. Fedorov-Davydov, "Anonim Iskandera i terminy 'Ak-Orda' i 'Kok-Orda'," in: *Istoriia, arkheologiia i ėtnografiia Sredneĭ Azii*, Moscow, 1968, pp. 224–230); T.I. Sultanov, "O terminakh Ak-Orda, Kok-Orda i Ĭuz-Orda," in: *Izvestiia Akademii nauk Kazakhskoĭ SSR: Seriia obshchestvennaia*, 1972, No. 3, pp. 71–74; V.P. Iudin, "Ordy: Belaia, Siniaia, Seraia, Zolotaia . . .," in: *Kazakhstan, Sredniaia i Tsentral'naia Aziia v XVI-XVIII vv.*, Alma-Ata, 1983, pp. 122–131. It seems, however, that both the Aq Orda (the Golden Horde) and the Kök Orda were, in turn, each divided into western and eastern wings for which the same terms (Aq Orda and Kök Orda) were used, and this was probably the source of the error made by Mu'in ad-Din Natanzi; this hypothesis was offered by V.L. Egorov (see his *Istoricheskaia geografiia*, 160–162) and most recently and in greater detail developed by V.V. Trepavlov, *Gosudarstvennyĭ stroĭ Mongol'skoĭ imperii XIII v.: Problema istoricheskoĭ preemstvennosti*, Moscow, 1993, pp. 86–94 (cf. also *Istoriia Kazakhstana s drevneĭshikh vremen do nashikh dneĭ v piati tomakh*, vol. 2, Almaty, 1997, pp. 106–114). On the eastern wing of the ulus of Jochi see Th.T. Allsen, "The princes of the left hand: An introduction to the history of the *ulus* of Orda in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries," in: *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi*, vol. V, 1987, pp. 5–40.

[76] The date of the death of Batu Khan is given by Rashid ad-Din (JT, II, 81), but borrowed by Munis, most probably, from Banakati (see *Tārīkh-i Banākatī*, 395). The correct date should be, apparently, 653/1255; see Bartol'd, *Sochineniia*, V, 499; Pelliot, *Horde d'Or*, p. 29. Atil is the Turkic name for the Volga.

[77] Cf. Abu'l-Ghazi, I, 172–173, II, 180–181; RṢ, V, 268–269, 283. The mention of the wars with Hülegü and Abaqa in Transcaucasia goes back, apparently, to *Tārīkh-i Banākatī*, 427–428.

[78] The date (665/1266–67) is wrong. The campaign took place in 663/1266, cf. JT, II, 82.

[79] Some sources give 665/1267 (see W. Barthold – Yu. Bregel, "Mangū-Tīmūr," in: EI², VI, 419).

[80] This figure is wrong (which goes back to Abu'l-Ghazi, I, 173, II, 181). Berke reigned from 652 to 664 A.H. (1254–1266 A.D.), see JT, II, 81–82.

[81] See Abu'l-Ghazi, I, 173–174, II, 181–183; cf. JT, II, 82–83 (the father's name given as Toqoqan).

[82] The original meaning of the word *el*, according to Clauson (121), was "realm", "a political unit organized and ruled by an independent ruler"; a secondary meaning (according to Doerfer, however,—the original one) was "peace", "peaceful", "peaceful relations". Later, up to modern times, *el* has been used in the meaning "people", "community", "tribe", and the like, retaining the second meaning "peace", "peaceful"; see also Doerfer TME, II, 194–201 (No. 653). *Ulus* (original Turkic form *ulush* borrowed in Mongolian as *ulus*, and then reintroduced in Turkic in its Mongol form) originally meant "country" in geographical sense, but since Mongol times it meant "political unit governed by one (sovereign) ruler"; later, until the 19th century, it was used loosely as "people" (esp. people belonging to a certain ruler), "country", "state", etc.; see Clauson, 152–153; Doerfer TME, I, 175–178 (No. 54). In 19th-century Central Asia the often used expression *el va ulus* meant "the people and the country".

[83] "Bulghar" here is Bulgaria in the Balkans; see Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde*, 65.

[84] The return to the Kök Ordu is not mentioned by Abu'l-Ghazi; it seems that Munis just repeats the words said above about Batu (see p. 22).

[85] Peace was concluded in 667/1268–69, see W. Barthold – Yu. Bregel, "Mangū-Tīmūr," in: EI², VI, 419.

[86] Abu'l-Ghazi gives the first name as Toqtay; JT (II, 82) has Tama-Toqta and Buqa.

[87] Cf. JT, III, text, 221; transl., 127 (the date of the battle is given as 689/1290; the names of the army commanders of Mengu Timur are different).

[88] Read: Tuda Mengu ibn Toqtay ibn Batu (cf. Abu'l-Ghazi, I, 174, II, 183).

[89] Munis follows Abu'l-Ghazi (I, 174, II, 183), who entirely omits the reign of Tele Buqa, or Tula Buqa (see Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde*, 70–72; Kafalı, 64–66; cf. JT, II, 83).

[90] In C this sentence is written in the margin, and it is an error: the date should be 686/1287.

[91] Cf. Abu'l-Ghazi, I, 174, II, 183. In most sources the name is given as Toqtay (so JT, II, 83 sqq.) or Toqta/Toqtu (see Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde*, 72–85; Kafalı, 66–73). Cf. on this name Pelliot, *Horde d'Or*, 67–71.

[92] This statement is not found in Abu'l-Ghazi, and the source of it is unknown. Toqtaghu (Toqtu) died in 713/1313 (see Kafalı, p. 72; cf. Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde*, pp. 84–85).

[93] The town of Saraychiq was in the lower reaches of the Yayiq (Ural) river.

[94] Cf. Abu'l-Ghazi, I, 174–175, II, 183–184. On Özbek Khan's reign see Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde*, 85–99; Kafalı, 73–82; Grekov – Iakubovskiĭ, 90–94; on the name, see Pelliot, *Horde d'Or*, 92–94.

[95] This sentence is not found in Abu'l-Ghazi.

[96] The date of Özbek Khan's death is given differently by different sources: 740 A.H./1340, or 1341 A.D. (= 741/42 A.H.), or 742 A.H./1342; see Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde*, 98; Safargaliev, 102; Kafalı, 82.

[97] Protection of the *sharīʿa* was considered one of the prime duties of a Muslim ruler.

[98] The account of Malik Ashraf is based on RṢ (V, 566–570).

[99] Saray (in the lower reaches of the Volga) was the capital of the Golden Horde.

[100] The *bayt* is found in RṢ, V, 569, but Munis replaced the first two words *Dānī ki* ("Know that") with Turkic *Dedi ki* ("[Someone] said").

[101] This date is given by Abu'l-Ghazi, I, 169, II, 177; it is, apparently, an error, because most sources, including Abu'l-Ghazi himself, give 758/1357 as the date of death of Janibek (see Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde*, 108; Safargaliev, 109; Kafalı, 85). Cf. RS, V, 570, where the date 759 A.H. is related to a later event.

[102] According to another version, Janibek was killed as a result of a conspiracy; see Safargaliev, 108–110; Kafalı, 85; Grekov – Iakubovskiĭ, 269–270. Spuler (*Die Goldene Horde*, 108) believes that this account is wrong.

[103] See Abu'l-Ghazi, I, 176–177, II, 185; RS, V, 569–570.

[104] On the date of death of Berdibek cf. Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde*, 109; Safargaliev, 111–112; Kafalı, 86–87; Grekov – Iakubovskiĭ, 271.

[105] See Abu'l-Ghazi, I, 184–194, II, 194–206.

[106] The "Uyghurs" referred to here are an Uzbek tribe.

[107] Munis apparently refers to special ties that existed between certain pairs of tribes, which were believed to have common ancestors and were related by marriage: their members would usually marry women from the other tribe in the pair. Among such pairs were Uyghur and Nayman, Qïyat and Qongrat, Manghït and Nokuz, Qanglï and Qïpchaq (in Mavarannahr – Khitay and Qïpchaq). Such a relationship was labelled by the Mongols as *khuda* (that is, the Qïyats and the Qongrats considered one another *khudad* "brothers-in-law" or "sisters-in-law", as was the case); see Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyĭ stroĭ*, 48; Pelliot – Hambis, 414. Such relationships were also registered by modern ethnographers in Khorezm, both among the Uzbeks and the Qaraqalpaqs, see Zadykhina, "Uzbeki," 337–338; Zhdanko, *Ocherki*, 92–93. See also p. 45 and note 250 on administrative reforms of Abu'l-Ghazi.

[108] Cf. a similar explanation in *Baḥr al-asrār*: Bartol'd, *Tseremonial*, p. 393.

[109] *Burge* is the form (with the vocalization indicated) in which this name appears in *Firdaws al-iqbāl* as well as, in most cases, in Abu'l-Ghazi. According to Pelliot (*Horde d'Or*, 47–48), it is a later or corrupted form of the original and correct Berke.

[110] On Abu'l-Khayr Khan (1428–1468) see B.A. Akhmedov, *Gosudarstvo kochevykh uzbekov*, Moscow, 1965; Bregel, "Abu'l-Ḵayr Khan."

[111] This episode is given in much more detail in Abu'l-Ghazi, I, 188, II, 199–200. Cf. Bartol'd, *Ulugbek*, 170 and note 134 (based on ʿAbd ar-Razzaq Samarqandi), where the conflict between Muhammad Juki Mirza and Burge Sultan is not mentioned.

[112] Abu'l-Ghazi does not give a date; the source of Munis is unknown. The date is obviously erroneous, because Yadigar's accession could have taken place only after the death of Abu'l-Khayr Khan, that is, not before 872/1468 (cf. Bregel, "Abu'l-Ḵayr Khan," 332).

[113] The given name of Shïbani Khan was Muhammad, with a *laqab* (honorific surname) Shāh Bakht (in Turkic form, Shahi Bek or Shaybak). As Abu'l-Ghazi (I, 183, II, 192) says, "he was a poet, and, since he was a descendant of Shïban Khan [the fourth son of Jochi], he made his pen-name Shïbani." In some recent scholarly works the name is transliterated as "Shībānī" (for instance, R.D. McChesney, "Shībānī Khān," in: EI², IX, 426–428). This, however, is not confirmed by the spelling of the name given by Shïbani Khan himself in his Turkic poem *Baḥr al-hudā*, which gives the name in the forms Shïbānī (7 times) and Shïbān (3 times), with a short first vowel, and only once Shībān (or Shaybān); see A.J.E. Bodrogligeti, "Muhammad Shaybānī's '*Bahru'l-hudâ*': An early sixteenth century didactic qasida in Chagatay," in: *Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher*, vol. 54, 1982, p. 1, notes 3 and 4; the text first quoted by A.A. Semenov, cf. his "Kul'turnyĭ uroven' pervykh Sheĭbanidov," in: *Sovetskoe vostokovedenie*, 1956, No. 3, p. 55. It apparently indicates that the correct spelling and pronounciation should be Shïbānī or Shabānī (the second form preferred by Bodrogligeti, with the meaning "shepherd"; the rationale for this preference is not convincing). The later Central Asian literary tradition was probably unaware of this and associated the khan's penname with the well-known Arabic name Shaybānī (cf. Bartol'd, *Dvenadtsat' lektsiĭ*, 134); accordingly, "Shaybanids" became

the name traditionally given the dynasty in western scholarly literature. As the name of the dynasty which ruled in Mavarannahr after Shībani Khan, "Abulkhayrids" would be better than "Shībanids," because its members were the descendants of Abu'l-Khayr Khan (see above, note 110), but not of Shībani; the name "Shībanids" can be applied only to all the descendants of Shīban, including both the Abulkhayrid branch in Mavarannahr and Yadigarid branch in Khorezm. Cf. Togan, *Bugünkü Türkili*, p. 123, note 64; Pelliot, *Horde d'Or*, 44–47 (according to Pelliot, the actual Mongol form of the name of the son of Jochi was Sīban).

[114] On the accession of Yadigar Khan see also p. 91. The story of the killing of Burge (Abu'l-Ghazi, I, 191–193, II, 203–206) is not repeated by Munis.

[115] The reigns of Abulek Khan and Amenek Khan are not mentioned by Abu'l-Ghazi. On both of them Abu'l-Ghazi (I, 185, II, 196) says nothing except the etymology of their names.

[116] Cf. Abu'l-Ghazi, I, 195–203, II, 207–217.

[117] The date (given by Abu'l-Ghazi, I, 197, II, 212) is erroneous (it is, actually, the date of the conquest of Khorezm by Shībani Khan, 911/1505). The cyclic year given by Abu'l-Ghazi (repeated by Munis below, see p. 28) is the Year of the Sheep, which corresponds to 1511 A.D. (this was indicated by Bartol'd; see his "Shaibānids," in: EI, IV, 272–273). *Silsilat as-salāṭīn* (f. 274a) gives the date of 916 A.H. (1510–11 A.D.).

[118] The expression "Khorezmshah's crown" is used by Munis metaphorically; it merely means that Ilbars became the ruler of Khorezm. On the meaning of the word "crown" (*tāj, afsar*) in Central Asia see below, notes 670 and 739.

[119] Khorezm (with Urgench as its capital) had belonged to the Timurids of Khorasan and was captured by Shībani Khan in 911/1505, several months before the death of the Timurid Sultan Husayn in Herat (911/1506).

[120] The battle at Merv took place in 916/1510.

[121] After the Mongol conquest of Central Asia and Iran, *dārūghachī* was initially a military governor in charge of the administration of a city; in the Timurid and Safavid periods this official, called already simply *dārūgha*, became a police chief (see A.K.S. Lambton, "Cities III. Administration and social organization," in: EIr, V, 609–610, with further references). In the Khanate of Khiva in the 19th century the term *dargha* (of the same origin) was used for the boatsmen on the Amu-Darya (it is not known how this usage developed). Munis repeats here Abu'l-Ghazi, who uses the term in its initial meaning.

[122] Munis, as well as all other Khivan sources of the 19th century, uses the ancient form of the name, Khīvaq, although the usual pronounciation was *Khiva*, which existed (and was registered in literature) already in the 10th century A.D. (see Barthold, "Khʷārizm," 910). On the early history of the city see Guliamov, *Oroshenie*, 143; on archeological excavations see M. Mambetullaev et al., "Khiva po itogam issledovaniĭ 1984 goda," in: *VKFAN*, 1985, No. 3, pp. 76–84; idem, "Khiva po itogam issledovaniĭ 1985 goda," in: *ibid.*, 1986, No. 2, pp. 34–40; M. Mambetullaev and Sh. Matrasulov, "Izuchenie stratigrafii g. Khivy," in: *ibid.*, 1988, No. 3, pp. 80–85. On architectural monuments see Guliamov, *Pamiatniki*; Bulatova—Notkin; Man'kovskaia; Bulatova – Man'kovskaia. The first western description of Khiva was given by Thomson and Hogg, who were in the city in 1740, during the invasion of Nadir Shah (see Hanway, vol. I, pt. IV, p. 241); at the same time the first map of Khiva was drawn by the Russian engineer Nazimov. Almost all later accounts of Russian and western travellers, who visited the Khanate of Khiva, include at least some short, but sometimes detailed, descriptions of the city; see a bibliography of these travels in: Yu. Bregel, *Bibliography of Islamic Central Asia*, pt. II, Bloomington, Indiana, 1995, pp. 827–840. In 1842, according to Danilevskiĭ (113), the population of the city was not more than 4,000, mostly Sarts (cf. Basiner, 196–197: not more than 5,000); in 1902, according to Girshfel'd – Galkin (II, 128), it had the population

of more than 19,000; in 1924 its population was 18,145 (*Materialy po raĭonirovaniiu*, 37).

[123] Hazarasp was one of the most ancient and best fortified cities of Khorezm, near its southern border (see Bartol'd, *Turkestan*, 198; idem, *K istorii orosheniia*, 174; Guliamov, *Oroshenie*, 82–83, 142). On the legend about the origin of the city and its name see Kun, "Kul'tura," 256–257; Guliamov, *Oroshenie*, 142; Snesarev, *Relikty*, 30; on excavations see M.G. Vorob'eva, M.S. Lapirov-Skoblo, E.E. Nerazik, "Arkheologicheskie raboty v Khazaraspe v 1958–1960 gg.," in: *Polevye issledovaniia Khorezmskoĭ ėkspeditsii v 1958–1961 gg.*, Moscow, 1963 (Materialy Khorezmskoĭ ėkspeditsii, fasc. 6), pp. 157–200. The city was of rectangular shape, surrounded by a high wall and a moat; it had only two gates, one facing the Amu-Darya and another towards the road to Khiva. In the 19th century it was the only city in Khorezm, besides Khiva, whose walls remained largely intact until the Russian conquest. It had a citadel (*ärk*) in its north-eastern corner; since the end of the reign of Muhammad Rahim Khan, it became the seat of *inaq-bek*—a title given to the heir-apparent. As the text of Munis shows, in the 18th–19th centuries the region of Hazarasp was the *yurt* of the Uzbek tribe Qanglï; the city itself, however, was inhabited mainly by Sarts. Descriptions of the city in the 19th century see Helmersen, 13–14; "Svedeniia," 114; Danilevskiĭ, 111; Basiner, 141–142; Lobysevich, 211–212; *Materialy dlia opisaniia khivinskogo pokhoda*, 8, clmn. 198; Kun, "Kul'tura," 256–257; Kalmykov, 61, 68–69. In 1924 Hazarasp had the population of 1461 (*Materialy po raĭonirovaniiu*, 41).

[124] Urgench mentioned here is the Old Urgench, which existed on the site where the city was built in Mongol times, at some distance from the pre-Mongol Gurganj; in 790/1388 it was destroyed by Timur, who three years later allowed one part of the city to be restored. On this site the city existed until it had to be abandoned in the time of Isfandiyar Khan (see pp. 41, 46 and note 254). The Russian merchant Rukavkin, who was in the khanate in 1753, still mentions the *empty* city "Urganich," which had a wall, two mosques, a house belonging to the khan, and several other houses, with dilapidated roofs (Russov, 378–379). Under the Qongrats, a new settlement was built about 1 km from the ruins of the city of the 14th–17th centuries, and it was called "Old Urgench"—Kuhna Urgench, or Köhne Urgench, the "Kunia-Urgench" of Russian maps, which was known in Khorezm just as "Köhne" (as many documents show). According to Kun ("Ot Khivy do Kungrada," 213), present-day Kunia-Urgench had been settled only 16 years before his visit (1873), that is, in 1857; this is not correct, however, because already in 1842 Danilevskiĭ (107–108) heard of the town as being built anew, and he says that "the settling became more active under Allah-Quli Khan." By 1900 the town had only 50 houses (Girshfel'd – Galkin, II, 131–132).

[125] Vazir (6 *farsakh*s west of Old Urgench) was founded by Mustafa Khan of the Golden Horde in 1464, and it was visited by Jenkinson in 1558. See Bartol'd, *K istorii orosheniia*, 175–177; idem, *Svedeniia*, 67; Guliamov, *Oroshenie*, 173–175. S.P. Tolstov (*Po sledam*, 52–53) identified it with the ruins Dev-Kesken-kala, at the south-eastern edge of the Üst-Yurt, 60 km west of Kunia-Urgench, on the bank of the Daryalïq (a photo of the ruins see on p. 54). This identification is supported in later archeological works; see Iu.P. Manylov, "K istoricheskoĭ geografii Sredneĭ Azii po dannym Dzhenkinsona," in: *VKFAN*, 1989, No. 4, pp. 64–66.

[126] Hatred for the *ṣaḥāba* (companions of the Prophet) is an important feature of the Shi'a.

[127] As Devin DeWeese suggests, Husam ad-Din Qattal (or Qatal) may probably be identified with Husami Khorezmi or Baba Husami (d. 923/1517) mentioned in the *Riyāż al-'ārifīn* of Riza-Quli Khan (ed. by Mihr-'Ali Garakani, Tehran, 1344 A.H.S./1925, p. 307).

[128] On Yangi-Shahr (probably identical with Adaq) see below, note 310. The location of Tersek, a town on the western fringes of Khorezm, has not been established with certainty. Tolstov (*Po sledam*, 311–312) tried to identify it with the ruins

presently known as Shemakha-qal'a (aerial photo of the ruins on p. 310), ab. 10 km from Vazir; cf., however, Guliamov, *Oroshenie*, 174–175.

[129] In chapter 4 Munis says that Tersek was given to Aqman Bahadur Qongrat, who was the *atalïq* of Ilbars Khan (see p. 91).

[130] Lit. "bent waist", from Turkic *bel* "waist" and Persian *kaj* "crooked", "distorted", "bent".

[131] Abu'l-Ghazi (I, 202; omitted in French translation, II, 216) calls this carriage *qudalaq araba* (cf. Radloff, II, 1000, under *kyòalak*: "eine Art Wagen") and says that its wheels were covered with iron (which made the rider protected from both sides)—kind of an "armored personnel carrier"! For pictures of Khorezmian *araba* see Sazonova, "K ėtnografii," 261–262.

[132] Shah Isma'il died in 930/1524. According to Safavid sources, Ilbars Khan died in 923/1518, corresponding to the Year of the Leopard (see *Tārīkh-i jahān-ārā*, 209; Dickson, appendices, pp. V–VI).

[133] Mehne (it should not be confused with Mehin), medieval Mayhana, is between Abivard and Sarakhs, ab. 8 km north of the modern Meana (see on it: Bartol'd, *K istorii orosheniia*, 131–132; C.E. Bosworth, "Mayhana," in: EI², VI, 914; Kuz'min-Korovaev, 118; Tairov, II, 74). Ruins of medieval Durun are ab. 90 km northwest of Ashkhabad (Ashgabat). On Durun see Bartol'd, *K istorii orosheniia*, 130; Tairov, I, 261; B.A. Litvinskiĭ, V.G. Moshkova, "Izuchenie Taka-Iazyra, Duruna (Itogi rabot V otriada IuTAKÈ za 1946 g.)," in: *TIuTAKÈ*, I, 276–325.

[134] On the Balqan (Balkhan) mountains see W. Barthold, "Balkhān," in: EI, I, 623–624.

[135] Historical information on the Manghïshlaq peninsula is summarized in Yu. Bregel, "Mangïshlak," in: EI², VI, 415–417.

[136] The terms *mamlakat* and *diyār* were usually interchangeable. Here they are probably used to distinguish between the appanages of the members of the ruling dynasty and (smaller?) provinces governed by amirs.

[137] It follows that Sultan Hajji Khan reigned in 923–924/1518–1519 (see Dickson, appendices, p. VI). According to *Silsilat as-salāṭīn* (f. 274a), which does not mention Sultan Hajji Khan, Ilbars Khan ruled 7 years and died in 923/1517, and after him his cousin Hasan-Quli ruled also for 7 years. *Silsilat as-salāṭīn* apparently follows Safavid sources (cf. below, note 142).

[138] Cf. Abu'l-Ghazi, I, 204–206, II, 218–220.

[139] The expression "to raise as khan" refers to the ceremony of raising the newly elected khan on a white felt (which was the equivalent of "enthronement"); see the descriptions of this ceremony in: Vel'iaminov-Zernov, *Issledovanie*, II, 408–409; idem, "Monety," 399; Meyendorff, 160; Basiner, 149, 245–246; Andreev – Chekhovich, *Ark*, 44–49 (a detailed description of the ceremony under the last amirs of Bukhara).

[140] The reason for the war, according to Abu'l-Ghazi, was the jealousy of the princes at the large revenues that the khan alone collected from Urgench.

[141] Cf. Abu'l-Ghazi, I, 206–211, II, 220–225.

[142] Safavid sources give a different succession of khans after Hasan-Quli: the latter died in 930/1523–24, the Year of the Monkey, i.e. from February 1524; he was succeeded by Buchugha Khan, who reigned until 935/1529–30, the Year of the Cow, and was followed by Sufyan Khan, who reigned until 941/1535–36, the Year of the Sheep (see *Tārīkh-i jahān-ārā*, 209); these data are, apparently, preferable (see the arguments in Dickson, appendices, p. X). The same dates are given by *Silsilat as-salāṭīn*, f. 275a.

[143] Ersarïs, Teke, Sarïqs, and Yomuts, together with Khorasanian Salors, are usually considered as the "Salor group" of Turkmen tribes, in which the Salors had a genealogical seniority, but in the 16th century the Ersarï seemed to be the most widespread and probably the most numerous of these tribes. By the 18th century it was the Teke and the Yomuts who became predominant. See Yu. Bregel, "Nomadic

and sedentary elements among the Turkmens," in: *Central Asiatic Journal*, vol. XXV/1–2, 1981, pp. 18–19; idem, "Ersarï," in: EI², Suppl. 5–6, 280–281.

[144] This figure (as well as the figure of the tribute imposed on the Turkmens, see below), probably, should not be taken literally, reflecting, as it is, the popular folkloric number 40 (on the use of this number and some beliefs and customs connected with it see A. Karahan, *Türk-İslam edebiyatında Kırk hadis*, Istanbul, 1950; J. Berque, "Le quarante," in: *Studia Orientalia*, vol. 1, 1956, pp. 215–216; O. Rescher, "Einiges über die Zahl 40," in: *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. 65, 1911, pp. 517–520; E. König, "Die Zahl 40 und Verwandtes," in: *ibid.*, vol. 61, 1907, pp. 913–917; M.S. Andreev, "Chil'tany *chihil tan* v sredneaziatskikh verovaniiakh," in: *V.V. Bartol'du turkestanskie druz'ia, ucheniki i pochitateli*, Tashkent, 1927, pp. 334–348).

[145] *Zakāt* in Central Asia was primarily a tax on livestock and merchandise.

[146] The location of Chutaq has not been established.

[147] Cf. note 144 above on the number 40.

[148] On the "inner" and "outer" Salors see Bartol'd, *Ocherk*, 593–594; OITN, 181–183. It seems that the "inner" Salors were the Salors proper, while the "outer" Salors were other tribes, initially affiliated (or allied) with them, like Teke, Sarïq, and Yomut.

[149] The name Hasan-eli (in Turkmen: Esen-eli), which goes back to the name of one of two legendary progenitors of the Turkmens, Esen and Soyun (i.e. Hasan and Husayn!), was originally applied to the group of tribes, which included Chowdur, Igdir, Bozachi, Abdal, and Arabachi, who lived on the Manghïshlaq. Chowdurs (Javuldur) and Igdirs were among the 24 Oghuz tribes, whose lists were preserved by Mahmud al-Kashghari and Rashid ad-Din. In the Khanate of Khiva in the 19th century these five groups were considered as parts of a single tribe, the Chowdur, as is clearly seen from the documents of the archives of the khans of Khiva; see, in particular, documents dated 1241/1825, 1242/1827, and 1247/1831–32 in Bregel, *Khorezmskie turkmeny*, 273–275, 277–278, 290. It seems that at that time the name Hasan-eli was applied to the Chowdurs proper. Cf. also A. Dzhikiev, "Materialy po ėtnografii mangyshlakskikh turkmen," in: *Trudy Instituta istorii, arkheologii i ėtnografii Akademii nauk Turkmenskoĭ SSR*, vol. VII, Ashkhabad, 1963, pp. 197–199.

[150] On the tribe Arabachi see Bregel, *Khorezmskie turkmeny*, 36; G.E. Markov, *Ocherk istorii formirovaniia severnykh turkmen*, Moscow, 1961, pp. 95–96.

[151] On the tribe Göklen see K. Bode, "O turkmenskikh pokoleniiakh: iamudakh i goklanakh," in: *Zapiski Russkogo geograficheskogo obshchestva*, vol. II, 1847, pp. 203–232 (English tr. in *Turkoman studies I: Aspects of weaving and decorative arts of Central Asia*, ed. by R. Pinner and M. Franses, London, 1980, pp. 46–56); D.M. Ovezov, *Naselenie doliny Chandyra i srednego techeniia Sumbara*, Ashkhabad, 1976; Bregel, *Khorezmskie turkmeny*, 32–33.

[152] Abu'l-Ghazi (I, 210, II, 224) gives separate figures for the main tribute, *barāt qoyu*, and *qazan qoyu*—the supply of sheep for the "khan's table"; Munis adds up these figures for each tribe. According to Abu'l-Ghazi, Hasan-eli paid altogether 17,600 sheep (16,000 *barāt qoyu* and 1,600 *qazan qoyu*), of which (that is, of 16,000 *barāt qoyu*) 12,000 were paid by the tribes Igdir and Chavuldur and 4,000 were paid by "small tribes." The term *barāt* used on this occasion by Abu'l-Ghazi apparently had the same meaning as in the Safavid Iran: draft for collecting revenue due to the government.

[153] For Turkmen legends about the origin and early history of the Khïzïr-eli see Abu'l-Ghazi, *Shajara-i tarākima*, text, 73–75, transl., 75–76. Modern ethnographic data on this tribe see G.P. Vasil'eva, "Raboty Turkmenskogo ėtnograficheskogo otriada v 1954–1956 gg.," in: *Polevye issledovaniia Khorezmskoĭ ėkspeditsii v 1954–1956 gg.*, Moscow, 1959 (Materialy Khorezmskoĭ ėkspeditsii, fasc. 1), pp. 168–178.

[154] On the tribe ʿAli-eli see Abu'l-Ghazi, *Shajara-i tarākima*, text, 75, transl., 76;

G.I. Karpov, "K istorii turkmen ali-ėli (ala-ėl')," in: *SĖ*, 1947, No. 3, pp. 145–149; Bregel, *Khorezmskie turkmeny*, 33.

[155] On the tribe Tivechi (in Turkmen pronunciation mostly Dueji or Devechi) see Abu'l-Ghazi, *Shajara-i tarākima*, text, 76–78, transl., 77. No separate tribe under this name has been registered at present, but tribal subdivisions Tivechi/Dueji are known among a number of Turkmen tribes. It is possible that Tivechi mentioned by Abu'l-Ghazi were later mostly absorbed by the tribe Ogurjalï, inhabiting the south-eastern shores of the Caspian Sea.

[156] Cf. Abu'l-Ghazi: "There were three Turkmen tribes which lived on the banks of the Amu-Darya being engaged in agriculture; they were called Üch El [lit. 'three tribes'], namely, Adaqlï from Khïzïr-eli, 'Ali-eli, and Tivechi. From their harvest a tithe (*dahyak*) was levied. From Tivechi and 'Ali-eli livestock was also levied, and from Adaq-eli they took [also] *nökers*." The Amu-Darya mentioned here is the old bed, Uzboy (cf. about these tribes Abu'l-Ghazi, *Shajara-i tarākima*, text, 73–78). "Adaqlï from Khïzïr-eli" means, apparently, the part of the Khïzïr-eli, who lived in the region Adaq, that is, near Lake Sarïqamïsh (cf. below, note 174).

[157] The date is not given by Abu'l-Ghazi, and it is erroneous; see note 142 above.

[158] Cf. Abu'l-Ghazi, I, 211–212, II, 225–228.

[159] The text has Q.ch.n.d. This is the well-known city of Qūchān, on which see Bartol'd, *Geography*, 91; C.E. Bosworth, "Ḳūčān," in: EI², V, 311–312 (where the Uzbek raids, as well as the grant of Quchan later by Shah Tahmasb as an appanage to Aghishi Sultan are not mentioned). Bartol'd noticed the transcription given in *Ḥudūd al-'ālam*: Khūjān. The text of Munis here is based on Abu'l-Ghazi, who gives the name of the city as Kh.j.nd. (so in Desmaisons' edition, I, 211, 229); Desmaisons read "Khodjend" (II, 226, 246) and in the second case added a note that it should not be confused with Khojend in Mavarannahr. Apparently the pronunciation "Quchand" or "Qochand" was common in Khorasan: a map of Turkmenistan published in Turkmen in Ashkhabad in 1993 gives the name as "Gochand".

[160] The number 9 was a favorite number among the Turks and Mongols, and it was customary to give presents in groups of 9, so that the word *toquz* "nine" itself acquired the meaning of "present"; see Doerfer TME, II, 624–629 (No. 976); A. Schimmel, *The mystery of numbers*, New York – Oxford, 1993, pp. 164–172.

[161] The marriage of Shah Tahmasb with a Khorezmian princess seems not to be mentioned in any Safavid source, but it is mentioned (without giving any names) by Khurshah ibn Qubad al-Husayni, an ambassador of Nizam-Shah of Ahmadnagar, who was at the court of Tahmasb in 952–954/1545–1547 and describes as an eyewitness, under 953/1546, the arrival at shah's court in Maragha of "princes of Khorezm with [their] sister, whom they presented to his majesty the shah" (*pādishāhzādahā-yi Khwārazm bā-hamshīra-i ki nadhr-i ḥażrat-i shāh-i 'ālam-panāh karda būdand*); these princes were included among the "great amirs" (*umarā-yi 'izām*), while their sister was taken by the shah as a wife. This embassy and marriage, therefore, must have taken place not during the reign of Buchugha, but much later. See *Tārīkh-i Ilchī-i Nïzām-Shāh*, MS British Museum Or. 153, f. 62a (the date appears on f. 61a); Dickson, appendices, p. X; on Aghishi (Aghish) Sultan cf. Bartol'd, *Svedeniia*, 77, note 11.

[162] According to Safavid sources, Buchugha reigned for five years and died in 935/1529–30 (see *Tārīkh-i jahān-ārā*, 209; cf. Dickson, appendices, p. X).

[163] Cf. Abu'l-Ghazi, I, 213–223, II, 228–239.

[164] Kat (Kāth)—the ancient capital of Khorezm, on the right bank of the Amu-Darya, which had lost its importance to Gurganj (later Urgench) already at the end of the 10th century A.D.; in the first half of the 14th century A.D. it was described as a small settlement. A new town of the same name was built by Anusha Khan on the left bank of the Amu-Darya (see p. 48 and note 275). The ruins of the ancient Kat were near the 19th-century settlement Shaykh 'Abbas Vali (now Beruni;

see p. 260 and note 769). See W. Barthold, "Kāth," in: EI, II, 818–819; C.E. Bosworth, "Kāth," in: EI², IV, 753–754; Guliamov, *Oroshenie*, 111, 146–148.

[165] On the rebellion in Astarabad and the expedition of ʿUmar Ghazi Sultan see *ʿĀlam-ārā*, I, 106; transl., I, 176; it occurred in 944/1537–38. Detailed discussion: Dickson, 373–384; Reid, 38–41.

[166] Nesa, Abivard, and Durun, in the northern foothills of the Kopet-Dagh, were captured by the Khorezmian Uzbeks in the early 16th century, possibly in the mid-1520s (see Dickson, appendix, pp. XIII–XIV). On medieval Nesa (near the modern village Bagir, 10 km west of Ashkhabad/Ashgabat) see M.E. Masson, "Gorodishcha Nisy v selenii Bagir i ikh izuchenie," in: *TIuTAKÈ*, I, 16–115. On medieval Durun see above, note 133. On Abivard, in the 19th century pronounced mostly Bavard (in the region called *Etek*, "Foothills", by the Turkmens; in Russian "Atek"; see note 181 below) see C.E. Bosworth, "Abīvard," in: EIr, I, 218–219.

[167] Baraq Khan, otherwise Nawruz Ahmad Khan, son of Söyünjik Khan, was an Abulkhayrid ruler of Tashkent in 940–959/1533–1552, and the supreme khan of the Uzbeks of Mavarannahr in 959–963/1552–1556.

[168] ʿUbaydallah Khan ruled in Bukhara as a supreme khan of the Uzbeks of Mavarannahr in 940–946/1533–1540.

[169] See a detailed analysis of the campaign of ʿUbaydallah Khan against Khorezm in Dickson, appendices, pp. XXXI–XL.

[170] According to Abu'l-Ghazi (I, 223, II, 239–240), all clans (*uruq*) of the Uzbeks were first counted and divided into four parts (*bölük*), and each of these parts was sent to a separate region of the Abulkhayrid possessions (Hisar, Samarqand, Tashkent, and, apparently, Bukhara). The deportation of all Khorezmian Uzbeks to Bukhara (and their subsequent quick return, see below) apparently indicates that they were still mainly nomadic at that time.

[171] This sentence is added in the margin in C. See Ḥasan Rūmlū, 376–379; *ʿĀlam-ārā*, I, 105; transl., I, 173; Abu'l-Ghazi does not give any date. The date 946 A.H. is obviously erroneous.

[172] Din Muhammad is frequently styled as "khan," although he was never the supreme khan of Khorezmian Uzbeks.

[173] Kurdush (also Kurdish and Kurtish) were wells in the Qara-qum, ab. 300 km southwest of (Old) Urgench. See also Kurtish-Ata (note 989 below).

[174] Abu'l-Ghazi (I, 225, II, 241) has "Adaqlï of Khïzïr-eli." The Adaqlï were, apparently, the part of the Khïzïr-eli tribe which lived in the region of Adaq (see above, note 156). Hasan Rumlu (378) replaces Adaqlï with Yaqa Turkmens and ʿAli-eli; *ʿĀlam-ārā* mentions only Yaqa Turkmens.

[175] ʿAbd al-ʿAziz Sultan, son of ʿUbaydallah Khan, ruled Bukhara in 946–957/1540–1550, after the death of his father; he was never a khan.

[176] An obvious "folkloric" number, which is repeated after Abu'l-Ghazi.

[177] Tive-Boyun, or Deve-Boyun ("camel's neck"; on modern maps Tüyamuyun, Тюямуюн), is a common name of the Pitnak bend of the Amu-Darya, but more often it is given to one particular part of this bend, the narrows upstream of Pitnak; see Stetkevich, 23–24.

[178] Kerdenkhast (medieval Kardarankhas) was 3 *farsakh*s (ab. 20 km) west of Hazarasp, on the road to Khiva; see Guliamov, *Oroshenie*, 127, 142.

[179] Hasan Rumlu gives the same list of the amirs of Bukhara, omitting only Pirim Oghlan.

[180] Cf. the discussion of the name in Dickson, appendices, pp. XLI–XLII. Dickson surmises that it may be a corruption of Qaʿlkhān, or Qaghilghay ("heir-apparent").

[181] Derregez (or Dergez), a district in northeastern Khorasan, with its center in the town of the same name, was later, since the time of Shah ʿAbbas the Great, one of Kurdish principalities in Khorasan (see on it "Darragaz (Dargaz)," in: EIr, VII, 60–61). Etek (in Russian literature usually Atek; lit. "skirt") was the name given

to the narrow strip of cultivated land along the northern foothills of the Kopet-Dagh. In the second half of the 19th century this name was given to the eastern part of this area, while the central and western parts were called Akhal; it is not clear when such a distinction began to be made. Cf. Bartol'd, *Svedeniia*, 76, note 5; idem, "Atek," in: EI², I, 735.

[182] The account of raiding Khorasan and building a fortress in Etek seems not to be found in other sources. Qakhlan-qal'a is mentioned later, in the account of a campaign of Muhammad Rahim Khan in Khorasan (see p. 413). The ruins of a *qal'a* "Kogne-Kaklan" (i.e., Kuhna Qakhlan, "Old Qakhlan") are mentioned by Tairov (II, 86); the ruins were near a small village "Kaklan" inhabited by "Turks" and Kurds, between Artïq and Lutfabad (see also *ibid.*, 92); see also Kuz'min-Korovaev, 84, 86 ("Koklan").

[183] The figure is not given by Abu'l-Ghazi.

[184] Cf. Abu'l-Ghazi, I, 229–233, II, 245–250.

[185] Abu'l-Ghazi does not give the duration of the reign and the age of Aqatay. The dates can be calculated based on Munis' data on the duration of the reign of Aqatay (eight years and seven months) and that of his successor, Yunus (five months ending with his flight to Qazvin, where he arrived on 11 Rajab 964/10 May 1557; see p. 35). It follows that Aqatay Khan reigned from 956/1549 to 964/1556.

[186] Actually Yunus was not proclaimed a khan.

[187] The Manghïts mentioned here are the Manghït *ulus* (known in Russia as Noghays), in the western Dasht-i Qïpchaq.

[188] The fortress Tok (now the ruins Tok-qal'a) was in the upper delta of the Amu-Darya, 10–12 km northwest of modern Nukus; see Stetkevich, 106; Girshfel'd – Galkin, I, 53–54; Guliamov, *Oroshenie*, 33, 131, 192. On excavation of its ancient necropolis see A.V. Gudkova, *Tok-kala*, Tashkent, 1964.

[189] Abu'l-Ghazi (I, 232, II, 249) mentions that Salman was an *arbāb* of the Sarts. According to Abu'l-Ghazi, it was Yunus Khan, and not his son Qasim, who ordered to kill Aqatay Khan in the house of Salman Arbab, and the death was caused by driving a stake into his intestines through the anus, not by strangulation.

[190] Baghabad is 10 km southeast of modern Ashkhabad (Ashgabat).

[191] The account of the flight of Yunus Khan to Bukhara and his arrival, together with Pahlavan-Quli Sultan, in Qazvin is taken (including the chronogram) from Hasan Rumlu, 514. The mention of the chronogram is omitted in MS E. The date borrowed from Hasan Rumlu obviously contradicts the one given by Munis himself.

[192] Cf. Abu'l-Ghazi, I, 234–236, II, 251–253.

[193] *Küren* (from Mong. *küriyen*)—originally, an encampment of a pastoral community (see Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyĭ stroĭ*, index), but, more specifically, an encampment in the form of a circle, protected along its perimeter by carts ("Wagenburg"); see Doerfer TME, I, 477–480 (No. 341). Cf. also Ivanov, "Udel'nye zemli," 34.

[194] Cf. Abu'l-Ghazi, I, 254–273, II, 271–294.

[195] According to Abu'l-Ghazi (I, 236, II, 253), this happened in 965 A.H., before the beginning of the Year of the Horse—that is, in January 1558; at that time Hajim Khan was 39 years old.

[196] On 'Ali Sultan see Abu'l-Ghazi, I, 243–248, II, 260–266.

[197] This is a misunderstanding of the text of Abu'l-Ghazi (I, 243, II, 261), which says "Jurjan, whose capital is called Kabud-Jame."

[198] Hasan Rumlu and *'Ālam-ārā* have "Qiyā-oghlï."

[199] According to Hasan Rumlu and *'Ālam-ārā* (cf. note 200), the troops were sent against the Turkmens, and 'Ali Sultan came from Khorezm only later, to help the Turkmens.

[200] Both Hasan Rumlu and *'Ālam-ārā* mention that Abā (so they spell the name) was from the tribe Okhlu, which belonged to the Yaqa Turkmens. In Munis' time the tribe Okhlu (or Oqlu/Oqlï) seemed not have existed any more, and Munis

identified it with the tribe Göklen, with which Okhlu had been closely associated. It is possible that the disappearance of this tribe was due to the military campaigns of Faridun Khan, Persian governor of Astarabad in the first quarter of the 17th century (see *ʿĀlam-ārā*, II, 967; transl., II, 1188–1189; these campaigns are described in detail in *Futūḥāt-i Farīdūniyya*, see Bregel – Storey, II, 871–873, No. 733). Cf. Abu'l-Ghazi, *Shajara-i tarākima*, text, 31, 61, transl., 51, 68; Bregel, "Etnicheskaia karta," 18.

[201] The description of this campaign greatly abridges the account of Abu'l-Ghazi (I, 244–246, II, 261–263), but adds some details (especially the names of the Qïzïlbash commanders) from Hasan Rumlu, 514–518. The account in *ʿĀlam-ārā* (I, 105–109; transl., I, 179–181) is based on Hasan Rumlu, but also adds some details; it seems not to have been used by Munis.

[202] The chronogram is given by Abu'l-Ghazi (I, 247). In Desmaison's edition it says *Dah kam az qātil-i Qïzïlbāsh ast* ("10 less from 'the killer of the Qïzïlbashes'"); with such a spelling the numerical meaning of the words *qātil-i Qïzïlbāsh* would be 971, and after the subtraction of 10 (*dah kam*) the result will be 961, which is obviously wrong. The text of Munis spells *Qïzïlbāsh* in C, and *Qïzïlbāsh* in E, and replaces *dah* with *hay* (with numerical meaning of 15); in the first case, it will give 966, in the second—976, which is the date given by Abu'l-Ghazi. Hasan Rumlu (551) places the death of ʿAli Sultan under the obituaries for 973 A.H. (*ʿĀlam-ārā*, I, 110, transl., I, 181, repeats this date), but the redaction of the chronogram, which Munis gives for this version of the date (*Yak kam* etc.) would give either 980 (for C) or 990 (for E). In his translation (Abu'l-Ghazi, II, 264) Desmaisons gives the last words of the chronogram as "moins deux, le tueur des Qïzïl-Bâch," in which case the text should have *dū* instead of *dah*.

[203] Abu'l-Ghazi (I, 248, II, 265–266) says that Sanjar Sultan was insane (*dīvāna*), and Qul-Muhammad Biy ruled in his name, making an appearance of receiving orders from Sanjar.

[204] There were two heights in Khorezm named Quba-tagh, one in the Amu-Darya delta, and another 10 km southwest of Manghït. Apparently, the second one is intended here.

[205] On the first expedition of ʿAbdallah Khan cf. Abu'l-Ghazi, I, 256–257, II, 273–274.

[206] Cf. on the annexation of Merv by ʿAbdallah Khan in Abu'l-Ghazi, I, 258, II, 276; it is mentioned here that ʿAbdallah Khan also deported all the Uzbeks of Merv to Bukhara.

[207] "Saghanj" is corrupted Sagharj, northwest of Samarqand, near Ishtikhan (Aq-su—now Aq-Darya, one of the two branches of the Zarafshan); see Bartol'd, *Turkestan*, 181, note 2.

[208] For a detailed description of the conquest of Khorezm by ʿAbdallah Khan and the killing of the princes (the place name is Sagharj, not Saghanj) see Abu'l-Ghazi, I, 257–265, II, 274–283. See also *ʿĀlam-ārā*, I, 464, 468; transl., II, 637, 642. Cf. also Bartol'd, "K istorii Khorezma v XVI v.," 258–259 (from account in *Bahr al-asrār* of Mahmud b. Vali).

[209] See *ʿĀlam-ārā*, I, 468, transl., II, 642 (here no allowance is mentioned).

[210] On the term *irävül* see Doerfer TME, I, 533 (No. 394).

[211] On Charjuy (modern Charjow) see W. Barthold, "Čārdjūi," in: EI, II, 828; Masson, *Srednevekovye torgovye puti*, 129–142 (a survey of information on the city in various sources, historical data), 142–162 (archeological data).

[212] The city of Khanqah (in Russian corrupted transcription—Khanki) received its name, apparently, from a Sufi hostel (*khānqāh*) built for the followers of Sayyid Ata (cf. Man'kovskaia – Bulatova, 134, where this *khānqāh* is described as a "mosque" and is mentioned that an inscription on the wooden gates of this mosque gives the date "of the founding of the city of Khanki" as 758/1357). Guliamov (*Oroshenie*,

144) identifies it with Safardiz of Arab geographers. Some inhabitants of Khanqah still claim that they are descendants of Sayyid Ata (see Snesarev, *Relikty*, 289). In the first half of the 19th century, according to former Russian captives in Khiva, the town was surrounded by a dilapidated wall and had 350 houses (Helmersen, 17; "Svedeniia," 114–115). Danilevskiĭ (111) mentions that in his time (1842) there were few houses in town, which had a population of Sarts and Uzbeks (to judge from the fact that all the governors of Khanqah mentioned in Khivan sources were *bay*s, that is, Sarts, this group must have been predominant there). For a description of the town in 1873 see Syrovatskiĭ, 141–142. In 1924 the town had the population of 3270 (*Materialy po raĭonirovaniiu*, 40).

[213] On the third expedition of ʿAbdallah Khan against Khorezm cf. Abu'l-Ghazi, I, 269–271, II, 288–290. On the conquest of Khorezm by ʿAbdallah Khan cf. Burton, 74–75.

[214] This statement is not found in Abu'l-Ghazi (see I, 273, II, 294).

[215] Cf. Abu'l-Ghazi, I, 273–287, II, 294–308.

[216] Abu'l-Ghazi does not give such a characteristic.

[217] This was the raid of the Yayiq Cossacks under ataman Nechaĭ. Further details see Abu'l-Ghazi, I, 273–275, II, 294–296; Rychkov, *Topografiia*, II, 73–75; Veselovskiĭ, *Ocherk*, 127–129; Bartol'd, *Istoriia izucheniia*, 369.

[218] Khoja-köl is a lake and a locality on the right bank of the Amu-Darya, 8 km east of Qïpchaq and 4 km northwest from Shaykh-Jalil mountains (cf. Stetkevich, 34).

[219] Burlï (or Burlï-taw) is a flat limestone height ab. 37 km southeast of Qongrat, on the Qushqana-taw plain, in the central part of the Amu-Darya delta; a lake of the same name was next to it. See Butakov, "Del'ta," 135; Kaul'bars, 141, 151–154; Stetkevich, 129–131; Girshfel'd—Galkin, I, 54.

[220] On this raid cf. Abu'l-Ghazi, I, 275, II, 296. The text of Abu'l-Ghazi gives "Burichi" or "Burlïchï."

[221] This statement is added by Munis to the account of Abu'l-Ghazi, and it is an obvious anachronism: the Qalmaqs (Qalmïqs) appeared in the western regions of Dasht-i Qïpchaq only in the early 17th century.

[222] Cf. Abu'l-Ghazi, I, 275, II, 296. Khusraw Shah was brought from Mavarannahr, according to Abu'l-Ghazi.

[223] Cf. Abu'l-Ghazi, I, 275–276, II, 297. Instead of "Bayash Mirza," the text of Abu'l-Ghazi has "Sash Mirza," which, most probably, is a corrupt reading. Abu'l-Ghazi gives this account under the heading *Ikinjï Qazaq kiygäni*, which Desmaisons translates "Second arrivée des Qazaqs." However, no arrival of the Qazaqs is mentioned here or before. The account says: *ʿArab Muhammad Khan Khivaqdïn bardï. Khalq khangha keldi, Qazaqgha barmadïlar* ("ʿArab Muhammad Khan went from Khiva. The people came to the khan, [they] did not go to the Qazaq"). The word "Qazaq" is used here, apparently, in the meaning "pretender to the throne"; on it cf. Bartol'd, *Ulugbek*, 36; idem, "Mir Ali-Shir," 217, 222; W. Barthold – G. Hazai, "Ḳazaḳ," in: EI², IV, 848; Doerfer TME, III, 462–468 (No. 1479).

[224] This statement is found only in Munis. On the madrasa of ʿArab Muhammad Khan see Guliamov, *Pamiatniki*, 23 (Guliamov mentions that it was built in 1616, according to a *vaqf-nāma* preserved at the museum of Khiva, without giving the Hijri date); Man'kovskaia – Bulatova, 118–119 and pl. 17 (the authors claim that only wooden columns and ceilings, whose fragments are preserved in the museum of Khiva, remained from the original building, while the existing one was built in 1838, under Allah-Quli Khan).

[225] On Avghan (or Afghan) Sultan in Russia see Khokhlov, 418–419; Veselovskiĭ, *Ocherk*, 131–132.

[226] The verse ascribed to Nizami is cited, apparently, from RṢ, VI, 772 (on the occasion of the killing of Ulugh Bek), where it is said to be in *Qiṣṣa-i Shīrūye*; however, it is not found in the story of Shiruye in *Khusraw va Shīrīn* by Nizami.

[227] Cf. Abu'l-Ghazi, I, 288–291, II, 309–312.

[228] On the flight of Isfandiyar to Iran and the assistance given him by Shah ʿAbbas see *ʿĀlam-ārā*, II, 977, transl., II, 1198–1199. *ʿĀlam-ārā* says that the shah ordered the chieftains of the Sainkhani tribes (i.e. Turkmens) as well as the governor of Astarabad and "the amirs of that region," to help Isfandiyar. Abu'l-Ghazi mentions only the help received from three Turkmen tribes: Teke, Sarïq, and Yomut.

[229] Abu'l-Ghazi (I, 292, II, 312) gives also the cyclic year of the accession, the Year of the Pig (which began in February 1623). He gives the duration of the reign of Isfandiyar as 16 years; the same figure was originally in *Firdaws al-iqbāl*, but replaced with 17 in the autograph (see *FI Text ed.*, 131, note 4). The chronogram quoted by Munis himself gives the year of death as 1051 A.H. (1641/42 A.D.).

[230] Nadr Muhammad Khan, the Janid, reigned in Bukhara in 1051–1055/1642–1645.

[231] ʿAzizan (pl. from *ʿazīz* "beloved") was a nickname of many Central Asian Sufi shaykhs; the origin of this nickname is not known. A.A. Semenov claims that it was used especially by the *ishan*s from Kermine (see *Tadhkira-i Muqīm-khānī*, transl., 279, note 450), but it was also applied to many others.

[232] *Khalīfa* in Islamic mysticism had several meanings; here it is used in the most common one: a disciple of a Sufi shaykh "who is granted permission by his spiritual master to initiate novices and to guide them on the mystical path" (F. de Jong, "Khalīfa (iii) In Islamic mysticism," in: EI², IV, 950).

[233] On the Sufi term *fanā'* see F. Rahman, "Baḳā' wa-fanā'," in: EI², I, 951.

[234] The account of the Sufi affiliation and qualities of Isfandiyar Khan is not found in Abu'l-Ghazi. It is most probably based on *Tadhkira-i Ṭāhir Īshān* (or *Silsila-i Khojagān-i Naqshbandīya*) by Muhammad Tahir Khorezmi written in 1157/1744; see MS of the Institute of Oriental Studies, the Academy of Sciences of Uzbekistan, No. 855/I (SVR, III, No. 2694), ff. 308b–310b. Muhammad Tahir calls Isfandiyar Khan "Hazrat Qutb al-Awliya va's-Salatin Shaykh Isfandiyar Muhammad Bahadur Khan"; the chronogram of Munis is a slightly changed version of the chronogram given by Muhammad Tahir (f. 308b; cf. f. 310b). But Munis never cites the work of Muhammad Tahir.

[235] Cf. Abu'l-Ghazi, I, 291–334, II, 312–357.

[236] Munis repeats the words of Abu'l-Ghazi (I, 291, II, 312) not noticing that the Year of the Hare corresponds to the Hijri year from Ramazan 1011 to Shavval 1012 (February 1603–February 1604). The discrepancy was noticed by Veselovskiĭ (*Ocherk*, 129, note 1; Veselovskiĭ assumes that cyclic year began on March 10). The sign of Leo, or the month of Asad (in the Khorezmian calendar) corresponds to July; 30 August should be the sign of Virgo (Sunbule), or the beginning of the month of Mīzān (Libra).

[237] Abu'l-Ghazi (I, 295, II, 315–316) does not mention the name of the soldier here, nor does he mention Umbay anywhere else.

[238] Imam-Quli Khan, the Janid, reigned in Bukhara in 1020–1051/1612–1642.

[239] Khivanik (or Kheykanik, which was the original form, so also Abu'l-Ghazi) is the name of the major canal in the southern part of the Khanate of Khiva, which in the 19th century was known mostly as Pahlavan-yap, from the name of the patron saint of Khiva, Pahlavan Mahmud (see on him below, note 334). On this canal see Danilevskiĭ, 80; Basiner, 183–184; Kaul'bars, 366–368; Guliamov, *Oroshenie*, 91, 128–129; Snesarev, *Legendy*, 234 (giving a legend on the origin of the canal: the saint, walking from the Amu to Khiva, drew a line on the ground with his cane, and this line at once became a canal, which followed the saint's route).

[240] Ishim (in Qazaq pronunciation Esim), son of Shighay Khan, was the supreme khan of the Qazaqs from 1007/1598 to 1022/1613–14, when he was replaced by Tursun Khan; the latter was killed in a battle with Ishim Khan near Tashkent (cf. Abu'l-Ghazi, I, 306, II, 329). According to Mahmud b. Vali, Ishim Khan died at

the very beginning of 1038/September–October 1628; he was buried near the mausoleum of Ahmad Yasavi (see Levshin, *Opisanie*, II, 57–62; Kliashtornyĭ – Sultanov, 296–303). On Ishim Khan and Tursun Khan see also Vel'iaminov-Zernov, *Issledovanie*, II, 370–379.

[241] The name Aral was given to the delta of the Amu-Darya, from the Turkic *aral* "island", because the branches of the Amu-Darya delta divide this area into numerous "islands"; the term as the name of this region appears for the first time in Abu'l-Ghazi. See Bartol'd, *Svedeniia*, 89; W. Barthold, "Aral Sea," in: EI, I, 419–420; B. Spuler, "Aral," in: EI², I, 606–608; Guliamov, *Oroshenie*, 196.

[242] Munis follows the account of Abu'l-Ghazi, which glosses over the real causes of Abu'l-Ghazi's exile to Iran. In fact, in 1038/1629 Abu'l-Ghazi and Isfandiyar made a joint raid into Northern Khorasan and captured Nesa and Durun, but then suffered defeat and had to flee to Khorezm; after that Isfandiyar sent Abu'l-Ghazi to Iran with an embassy, but actually as a hostage, to restore good relations with the shah. Shah Safi sent him to Isfahan, where he was kept in the fortress of Tabarek. See *Khulāṣat as-siyar*, 38–41; *Dhayl-i ʿĀlam-ārā*, 19–25; MITT, II, 102–106; Bartol'd, *Ocherk*, 608–609 (with a reference to *Khuld-i barīn*); OITN, 221–223; cf. also Burton, 172.

[243] Mehin was 24 km southeast of Durun ("ruins of Mehinsu" on modern topographic maps).

[244] Abu'l-Ghazi (I, 316, II, 338) does not mention this ransom.

[245] Abu'l-Ghazi (I, 316, II, 338) says that he returned to his homeland in 1052 A.H., in the Year of the Snake. The Year of the Snake began in February 1641, and it corresponds to Zu'l-Qaʿda 1050–Zu'l-Qaʿda 1051 A.H. Isfandiyar died, according to Abu'l-Ghazi (ibid.), six months after Abu'l-Ghazi's return, in the Year of the Horse; the Year of the Horse began in February 1642/Zu'l-Qaʿda 1051. Cyclic years should probably be preferred.

[246] This is the date given by Abu'l-Ghazi, who also mentions that it was one year after the death of Isfandiyar Khan. The Year of the Sheep began in February 1643, which was Zu'l-Hijja 1052 A.H.

[247] Gandumkan (pronounced Gendumyan or Gendimyan) is 2 km east of Khiva; cf. on it below, note 550. It was the place where the treaty between the khan of Khiva and Russia was signed in 1873, after the Russian conquest of the khanate.

[248] ʿAbd al-ʿAziz Khan, from the Janid dynasty, ruled in Bukhara in 1055–1092/1645–1681.

[249] Abu'l-Ghazi (I, 316–319, II, 338–342) gives a detailed account of his war with the governors sent by Nadr Muhammad Khan. This account ends the main part of *Shajara-i Turk* written by Abu'l-Ghazi himself; it was continued, as the text says, by his son Anusha Khan (Abu'l-Ghazi, I, 319–320, II, 343), but the continuation was actually written, by order of Anusha, by a certain Mahmud b. Mulla Muhammad Zaman Urganji (see SVR, I, 71, No. 167). The battle at Tash-Küprük described by Abu'l-Ghazi did not give him the final victory over Qasim Sultan (as is clear from the text of Abu'l-Ghazi himself), and the Bukharans withdrew from Khorezm only after the accession of ʿAbd al-ʿAziz Khan. On the relations of Khorezm with Bukhara after the death of Isfandiyar Khan and the brief Bukharan rule see Burton, 217–218, 223, 232.

[250] Munis seems to be the only source which gives the account of the administrative reforms of Abu'l-Ghazi. The offices mentioned by Munis existed in Khiva until the Russian conquest; the officeholders were called *ʿamaldār*s or *aqsaqal*s. A.L. Kun, in his description of the administration of the khanate based on information that he gathered in 1873, mentions also many other officials (see his "Ocherk istorii zaseleniia Khivinskogo khanstva s drevnikh vremen, sostav ego sovremennogo naseleniia, administratsiia i goroda khanstva," MS of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, Arkhiv vostokovedov,

fond 33, No. 2/585 V, ff. 36a–43a), but he does not distinguish between state and court officials. According to Kun (ibid., f. 36b), those who were sitting in khan's presence were called *urunishin aqsaqali*. The first five posts mentioned by Munis belonged to the Islamic establishment. The shaykh al-islam was nominally the head of this establishment, although his exact functions in Khiva are not known. The existence of two shaykh al-islams simultaneously seems not to have been recorded in the 19th century, and such a practice was not known in Bukhara and Qoqand (on the rather low status of shaykh al-islam in Bukhara under the Manghïts see Semenov, *Ocherk*, 30–31). A qazi, judge, seems to be appointed in each town that was the seat of a provincial governor (*ḥākim*), and at least some towns had two qazis, but it is not known who among them were the members of the khan's council. Similarly, each major town had a *ra'īs* (the same post as *muḥtasib* elsewhere and in Central Asia earlier), or two of them simultaneosly; his functions included the supervision of the markets (in particular, the correctness of weights and measures used by merchants and craftsmen) and the performance by Muslims of their religious duties; it seems from the text of Munis that only one particular *ra'īs* from the descendants of Sayyid Ata was a member of the khan's council. The *mutavallī* was an administrator of *vaqf* property; again, Munis does not specify who among the numerous *mutavallī*s in Khorezm sat in the khan's council. On the office of *naqīb* see the detailed discussion by D. DeWeese, "The descendants of Sayyid Ata and the rank of *naqīb* in Central Asia," in: *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. 115/4, 1995, pp. 612–634. The *atalïq* in Khiva was originally a guardian and counsellor of the khan and of princes who ruled in their appanages (as was the case also elsewhere in Central Asia); but already in the 18th century each Uzbek tribe had its *atalïq*, who was the senior chieftain of the tribe. The title *inaq*, which initially had the meaning of "close friend, confidant," was in Khorezm (and, probably, only in Khorezm) also a title of Uzbek tribal chieftains, but, until the 19th century, secondary in importance after the *atalïq*. It was, apparently, after the elevation of Eltüzer Inaq to the rank of a khan that *inaq* became the highest title for the Uzbek nobility in Khorezm, which is confirmed by the cases of promotion from the rank of *atalïq* to that of *inaq* mentioned by Agahi (see p. 519). The four *atalïq*s and the four *inaq*s, who were the members of the khan's council, were the representatives of their respective *tüpe*s. On *atalïq* see further Yu. Bregel, "Ataliḳ," in: EI², Suppl., fasc. 1–2, pp. 96–98; on *inaq* see idem, "Inaḳ," *ibid.*, fasc. 5–6, pp. 419–420. On the four chief *mīrāb*s see above, Introduction, p. XVIII. *Biy* was a common title of a tribal chieftain among the Uzbeks, Qazaqs, Qïrghïz, and Qaraqalpaqs (as seen on p. 88, Munis ascribes its introduction to Özbek Khan); the *biy*'s rank was below those of *atalïq* and *inaq*. The four biys in the khan's council represented the four *tüpe* of the Uzbeks, similar to the four *atalïq*s and the four *inaq*s. Although *biy* is a variant form of the old-Turkic *bäg* and the later *bek* (see Doerfer TME, II, 377–379 (No. 818)), it acquired a meaning different from that of *bek*, in particular in Khorezm, where *bek* was associated not with a rank or office, but with the status of a member of the tribal nobility (see above, note 19, on the term *beklik*). The *parvānachī*, generally in Central Asia and Iran, was an official in charge of transmitting the decrees of a ruler to the chancery; however, the instances in which this title is mentioned by Munis do not indicate any participation of this official in Khiva in the central administration. *Arbāb* was a title of the leaders of Sarts—the old sedentary population of Khorezm; *aqa* (or *agha*) was also a title of Sart officials, probably higher than *arbāb*. The *mehter* was the head of the civil administration of the khanate (which, however, did not preclude his occasional participation in military campaigns), and he was always appointed from among the Sarts; it seems that at least since the time of Muhammad Amin Inaq, the *mehter* was called "the grand vizier." The *qoshbegi* was appointed from among the Uzbek nobility; he was considered a senior *amīr* and was in charge primarily of military affairs. Later

in the 19th century the administration of the entire country was divided between the *mehter* and the *qoshbegi*, the first being in charge of the southern part of the khanate, inhabited mainly by Sarts, and the second—in charge of the northern half, inhabited mainly by Uzbeks, Turkmens, and Qaraqalpaqs. See the detailed discussion of the titles and posts of *aqa, arbāb, mehter*, and *qoshbegi* in Bregel, "The Sarts," 125–138; on the origin and pronunciation of the title *qoshbegi* (versus *qushbegi*) see *ibid.*, 125–126, note 31, and Yu. Bregel, "Ḳosh-begi," in: EI², V, 273–274. There is no information about the Chaghatay *inaq*s; some groups called Chaghatay still remained in Khorezm in the 19th century, as an account of Munis (see p. 49) and the toponymy of Khorezm show, but the Chaghatay *inaq*s were already not mentioned at that time. The custom, according to which *mehter* and *qoshbegi* had to stand during the meeting of the khan's council, was by the 19th century certainly abandoned. The members of the khan's council were called "the great amirs" (*umarā-yi ʿiẓām*); it is not clear, however, whether the Sart officials (*aqa* and *arbāb*) were included in this category.

The actual role of the khan's council under Abu'l-Ghazi and his successors is not known. Under the Qongrat dynasty, beginning with Eltüzer Khan, it was only a consultative body. In the 18th century it was probably more important; Blankennagel' (95) says that 'Avaz Inaq could not do anything without his council. This must have changed since Eltüzer Khan. According to Murav'ev (II, 63–65), under Muhammad Rahim Khan "the ancient custom to take counsel with the tribal chieftains has become only a matter of honor and is observed by the khan in order not to antagonize his tribesmen. These chieftains come to Khiva and are seated strictly according to their seniority; but they do not participate in the affairs and know nothing . . . The council convenes every week on Fridays . . . The khan is usually present himself during these meetings. Before the deliberations, the khan's servants bring large plates of pilav, and after everyone is full, they begin discussion. The khan listens attentively to everyone's opinion, but, if someone has a misfortune of having an opinion contrary to that of the khan, he scolds his counsellor and sometimes even drives him out of the meeting."

[251] Khoja-eli (lit. "people of the khojas") inhabited the town of Khoja-eli and its environs; they belonged to the social group *khoja*, the origin of which is not quite clear. In Central Asia the term *khoja* is often considered as a synonym of the term *sayyid*, designating a person who traces his origin to Muhammad or one of the first four caliphs. According to another version, only the sayyids traced their origin to Muhammad, while the khojas were the descendants of the first four caliphs; however, documentary sources show that these two terms were interchangeable. Moreover, they did not always have such a meaning: in some places of Central Asia the term *khoja* referred to the members of communities that claimed to be descendants of prominent Sufi shaykhs. Kun ("Ot Khivy do Kungrada," 218) mentions that the khojas, who were the descendants of Sayyid Ata, formed the entire population of Khoja-eli. As the account of Munis shows, these khojas were incorporated into the Uzbek political structure as the equivalent of an Uzbek tribe. According to the accounts of former Russian captives in Khiva in the first half of the 19th century, the khanate had 1,500 families of khojas, who lived mainly near Khoja-eli; they were engaged in agriculture, commerce, and crafts, did not pay taxes, did not serve in the army, and did not work on "digging the khan's canals" ("Svedeniia," 144). On the town see Danilevskiĭ, 114; Kun, "Ot Khivy do Kungrada," 217–218; Lobysevich, 58; Guliamov, *Oroshenie*, 211.

[252] Darghan (in modern works and on maps usually Dargan-Ata) is 25 km south of Sadvar, on the left bank of the Amu-Darya. Ruins of medieval Darghan-Ata are 4.5 km southeast of the present settlement and 3–4 km from the bank of the river. The Darghan-Ata mausoleum, dated presumably to the 14th century A.D., was initially ascribed to Mizrab Shah Khorezmi, a legendary supporter of Abu Muslim;

a tomb ascribed to Abu Muslim was in the same area. For detailed descriptions, with photos and maps, see M.E. Masson, "Dargan-Atinskaia starina," in: *Pamiati Mikhaila Stepanovicha Andreeva: Sbornik statei po istorii i filologii narodov Sredneĭ Azii*, Stalinabad, 1960 (Trudy AN Tadzhikskoĭ SSR, vol. 120), pp. 107–124; idem, *Srednevekovye torgovye puti*, 217–232. See also: Stetkevich, 18; Kalmykov, 69–71; Bartol'd, *K istorii oroshenïia*, 164; Guliamov, *Oroshenie*, 117, 140–141; Snesarev, *Khorezmskie legendy*, 101–106.

[253] The division of all Uzbek tribes of Khorezm (the list of Munis includes also non-Uzbeks: Khoja-eli, the Turkmen ʿAli-eli, as well as "the descendants of the Prophet") into four *tüpe*, ascribed by Munis to Abu'l-Ghazi, may have actually existed much earlier; see Bregel, "Tribal tradition," 389 and note 133. The redistribution of land in Khorezm between various tribes was probably caused by the disintegration of the Manghït ulus in western Dasht-i Qïpchaq and the migration of the Manghïts and Qongrats to Khorezm by the middle of the 17th century; see *ibid.*, pp. 389–390. The same four *tüpe* were mentioned by Murav'ev (II, 36) as four main clans of Uzbeks in Khiva (without mentioning the term *tüpe* itself): "Kiiat-Konrad," "Uĭgur-Naĭman," "Kangly-Kipchak," "Nëkius-Mangut".

[254] In the account of the reign of Isfandiyar Khan (see p. 41), Munis mentions that already at that time the people of Urgench abandoned the city because of the lack of water and built a fortress on the bank of the Amu-Darya, opposite Tok. It should follow, then, that Abu'l-Ghazi resettled them from this new place. The old city of Urgench seems to have remained abandoned until the 19th century (cf. above, note 124).

[255] In the description of the Khanate of Khiva compiled in 1803 by P.E. Velichko, Urgench is mentioned as a city with a mud wall, two gates, and a moat (Velichko, 119). According to other testimonies of former Russian captives in Khiva of the early 19th century, Urgench had about 500 houses and a city wall (Helmersen, 14; the wall is mentioned also by Murav'ev, II, 32); however, according to other accounts of the same period, the city wall had already totally collapsed ("Svedeniia," 114). According to Danilevskiĭ (109), the rectangular wall that had surrounded the city some time ago was in ruins in 1842, and only the corner towers and two partly collapsed stone gates remained; the city had 300 houses, 15 mosques and 2 madrasas, and 320 shops; the population was about 2,000 and consisted of Sarts and very few Uzbeks. See other descriptions: Basiner, 197 (same as Danilevskiĭ); Kun, "Kul'tura," 249–250. In 1924 the city had 1363 households and the population of 6,167 (*Materialy po raĭonirovaniiu*, 40). The inhabitants of the city were always predominantly Sarts, and therefore the governor (*ḥākim*) of Urgench, as the Khivan chronicles and documents show, was always a person with the title *bay*, i.e. one of Sart merchants, similar to the city of Khanqah (cf. Bregel, "The Sarts," 126–127). In Russian literature the city of Urgench was called sometimes "New Urgench" (to distinguish from Kunia (Kuhna, Köhne) Urgench), but there was no such local usage.

[256] *Sardār* was the usual title of a military commander among the Turkmens; see on its meaning Bregel, *Khorezmskie turkmeny*, 132–133.

[257] These are in fact names of two different places in southern Turkmenia, Bami and Beurma. Beurma (Turkm. Börme) is 50 km northwest of Ashkhabad (Ashgabat); Bami (Turkm. Bamï) is 12 km northwest of Beurma. Cf. Tairov, I, 245, 249.

[258] The *Shajara-i Türk* (Abu'l-Ghazi, I, 322, II, 345) gives only the cyclic year—the Year of the Mouse, which corresponds to 1058/1648.

[259] Rustam, or Rustam-i Dastan (i.e. Rustam, son of Dastan), is the principal hero of the *Shāh-nāma* and a model of a great warrior; see J.T.P. de Bruijn, "Rustam," in: EI², VIII, 636–637.

[260] The *Shajara-i Türk* does not mention Umbay Inaq.

[261] Bayrach is a clan of the Sarïq tribe.

[262] On the wars of Abu'l-Ghazi with the Turkmens see OITN, 228–233. In the

Shajara-i Tarākima (text, 6, transl., 36) Abu'l-Ghazi boasts that, in the course of these wars, he caused 20,000 people to perish, "both guilty and not guilty."

[263] Munis omits the account of the *Shajara-i Türk* (Abu'l-Ghazi, I, 325, II, 348) on Abu'l-Ghazi's expedition against the Turkmens of the Yemreli and Sarïq tribes, which took place in the Year of the Snake (began in February 1653/Rabi' II 1063; Desmaisons gives an erroneous correspondence: 1062/1652); the campaign against the Qalmaqs, according to the *Shajara-i Türk*, took place "the same year." The Year of the Dragon was 1652 A.D.

[264] Cf. Abu'l-Ghazi, I, 327, II, 350: "Sakin" ribat (which may be an erroneous reading of the manuscripts by Desmaisons, or a clerical error in the manuscripts used in his text edition). Masson (*Srednevekovye torgovye puti*, 191) believes that it was Sengir-ribat, south of Ispaz on the Amu-Darya, which is obviously wrong.

[265] Qara-Köl is "Karakul'" of Russian maps.

[266] On the six expeditions against Bukhara see Abu'l-Ghazi, I, 327–334, II, 351–357. On the friendly relations of Abu'l-Ghazi with Bukhara at the beginning of his reign see Burton, 244; on his wars with Bukhara see *ibid.*, 270, 272–273.

[267] The continuator of Abu'l-Ghazi (I, 334, II, 357) states that Abu'l-Ghazi died in 1074 A.H., corresponding to the Year of the Hare, in the month of Ramazan, and that he reigned 23 years. The Year of the Hare began in February 1663 (Rajab 1073 A.H.) and ended in February 1664 (Rajab 1074 A.H.). This will make the duration of Abu'l-Ghazi's reign only 20 cyclic years or about 21 Hijri years.

[268] Jamshid—a hero of the *Shāh-nāma*, the forth king of Iran from the mythical dynasty of the Pishdadids.

[269] Sayyid Muhammad Inaq is also mentioned (below and in chapter IV) as Sayyid Inaq.

[270] 'Ali ar-Riza—the eighth imam of the Twelver Shi'a, whose mausoleum is the main Shi'ite shrine in Iran.

[271] According to some European sources, the raid (or raids) against Mashhad was undertaken jointly with the Bukharans (see Burton, 284–285). Safavid sources do not mention it at all.

[272] Sayyida-yi Bukhari is better known as Sayyida-yi Nasafi; see on him: A. Mirzoev, *Saĭido Nasafi i ego mesto v istorii tadzhikskoĭ literatury*, Stalinabad, 1955; J. Bečka in: J. Rypka, *History of Iranian literature*, Dordrecht, 1968, 509–510.

[273] *Khaṭīb*—a religious official, who addressed the worshippers in a Friday mosque with a sermon (*khuṭba*).

[274] Munis mentions only the first campaign of Anusha Khan against Bukhara that took place in 1092/1681. They were followed by three more campaigns in the reign of Subhan-Quli Khan in Bukhara (1092–1114/1681–1702). For a detailed description of these campaigns see Salakhetdinova, "Pokhody" (based on *Dastūr al-mulūk* of Samandar Tirmidhi and *Muḥīṭ at-tavārīkh* of Muhammad Amin). See also Burton, 331–336, with additional details. In 1096/1685 Anusha Khan had silver coins with his name struck, most probably in Samarqand (they are described in a yet unpublished article by B.D. Kochnev "Monety khivinskogo khana Anusha-Mukhammada (XVII v.)").

[275] The new Kat is ab. 25 km west-northwest of Urgench. The earliest mention of this new Kat was probably by the brothers Pazukhin, Russian ambassadors, who passed there in 1669; the Pazukhins found very few people in the town, because in summer they nomadized in the steppe (see *Nakaz*, 37–38). At the beginning of the 19th century it had a wall with one gate, and a moat (Velichko, 121). By the second quarter of the 19th century, the city walls were already in ruins (Helmersen, 26–27). Murav'ev (II, 32) mentions it as an "insignificant town" with the population of up to 1,500 (apparently an exaggeration). According to Danilevskiĭ (108), it stood on a small height and was surrounded by a rectangular wall, entirely in ruins, with just one gate from the east; it had about 50 houses and 40 shops, but nobody

lived in the town. Kun ("Kul'tura," 244–245) also mentioned that the town had 50 houses, most of which were abandoned, and 30 shops. Now it is an insignificant settlement. On archeological excavations at the site of the new Kat see M. Mambetullaev, "Gorodishche Kiat (levoberezhnyĭ) i Zarlykishan-bobo," in: *Arkheologicheskie issledovaniia v Karakalpakii*, Tashkent, 1981, 65–77.

[276] On the canal Yarmïsh see Danilevskiĭ, 83; Basiner, 184; Kaul'bars, 370–371; Guliamov, *Oroshenie*, 200–201. The Aq-köl mentioned in this account is apparently a lake indicated on the 1905 map 4 km east of Kat. Thana'i (ff. 76a–78a) says that the construction of the Yarmïsh canal was done, upon an order of the khan, by Mengli-Quli Atalïq, a Manghït; after the construction was finished, land on the both sides of the canal was distributed among people, and the first who received the land as a hereditary *milk* was Mengli-Quli Atalïq. When the canal was ready, Anusha Khan arranged a big feast, presented the atalïq with a gold-embroidered robe and a young horse and told him to rush the horse until it fell, so that the entire land up to that place would belong to the atalïq. The atalïq rushed the horse to the south from the canal, and it fell near Qosh-Küprük. On this land four large *kents* were built: Altun-qal'a, Qayalï, Mas'ud, and Astana. (Thana'i, who was a descendant of Mengli-Quli Atalïq, adds that his hereditary land in Altun-qal'a was bought by Qutlï Murad Inaq, who donated it as *vaqf* to the madrasa that the inaq had built.)

[277] Ambar (spelled *Anbār*) was ab. 15 km northwest of Shahabad (on the 1905 map the two names are combined: "Bazar Ambar-Manak"; Ambar-Manaq was a single village; modern topographic map shows Manak, 16 km northwest of Shahabad). See on it: Velichko, 121 ("Anbari," a little fortress with one gate); Helmersen, 21; Danilevskiĭ, 103; Basiner, 199; Abbott, I, 197 (an abandoned town "Umbarr"). According to Snesarev, the name Ambar is related to the cult of Ambar-ana, the wife of Hakim Ata (an ancient site ascribed to this cult is near the village Ambar-Manaq); see Snesarev, *Relikty*, 261 (on the cult in general—pp. 240–261). According to Yasavi hagiographical tradition, Ambar-ana was the wife of Hakim Ata and later wife of Zangi Ata; Yasavi sources of the late 19th century mention that she was buried in Tashkent (this information was provided to me by Devin DeWeese).

[278] In Khorezm the name of the town and the canal is pronounced Shavat (so also on the maps). In the 18th century and later Shahabad was considered one of the "five cities" (*Besh-Qal'a*) of Khorezm (see below, note 318). It was surrounded by a rectangular wall, which was mentioned as a good one in the early 19th century (Helmersen, 16; Velichko, 121, mentions a wall with one gate); according to other accounts of the same period, the walls were almost in ruins ("Svedeniia," 114–115). Danilevskiĭ (114) mentions that in 1842 it had a house with a garden belonging to the khan, one mosque, up to 100 shops and a small number of private houses; the walls were in ruins in many places (cf. also Basiner, 117, 201). For a description of the town in 1873 see Kun, "Kul'tura," 245–246, where it is mentioned that the town had two gates, from the north and from the south, 100 houses, four mosques, and one madrasa; in addition, there were 30 houses and 19 shops outside the city walls. Kun mentions that many houses were abandoned by their owners, who, in times of peace, lived outside town, closer to their fields.

[279] "To drink the water" of a canal is a usual expression meaning "to receive water for irrigation" from a canal. On the Shahabad canal see Helmersen, 7; Danilevskiĭ, 82; Basiner, 184; Kaul'bars, 369–370; Bartol'd, *K istorii orosheniia*, 178; Guliamov, *Oroshenie*, 105, 200–201 (Guliamov supposes that Anusha Khan did not build a new canal, but rather restored one that had existed earlier).

[280] In the description of the Khanate of Khiva compiled by P.E. Velichko in 1803, Gurlen is mentioned as a town with mud walls, with two gates, and a moat filled with water (Velichko, 118–119). Later Gurlen was described by the former Russian captives in Khiva as a town with its walls almost in ruins, surrounded by

numerous gardens, some of them very good; its population consisted of Uzbeks and freed Persian slaves (Helmersen, 18; "Svedeniia," 114–115); Murav'ev (II, 32) mentions that it had a large number of merchants. In 1842, according to Danilevskiĭ (104), it did not have a wall, it was densely built, had three main mosques and 60 shops, and its inhabitants were Sarts and mostly Uzbeks (same also in Basiner, 199). In 1873, according to Kun ("Kul'tura," 240–241), the town had, within the former walls, 300 houses, 200 shops, 6 mosques, and two schools; its population was formed by four Uzbek tribes, Nayman, Uyghur, Jalayir, and Nokuz, each of which was represented by 90 households, and, consequently, they were known as *Tört Toqsan* ("four nineties"). In 1924 the town had the population of 1142 (*Materialy po raĭonirovaniiu*, 41).

[281] The new Vazir is ab. 7 km north of Gurlen (so on modern topographic maps; cf. Guliamov, *Oroshenie*, 199: 12 km northwest of Gurlen). Thana'i (f. 78b) adds that the fortress built north of Gurlen is called Taza Vazir ("New Vazir").

[282] Chaghatay is ab. 5 km northwest of Shahabad (Shavat). See on it: Helmersen, 21; Danilevskiĭ, 104; Basiner, 199.

[283] The account of the *ḥajj* of Anusha Khan seems questionable. According to *Silsilat as-salāṭīn* and Muhammad Ya'qub, it took place already after the blinding and deposition of Anusha (see note 285). According to Thana'i (f. 79a), amir Sayyid Inaq accompanied Anusha in his pilgrimage and died six months after his return.

[284] Curiously, Munis does not mention here the conspiracy of some amirs against Anusha Khan and the blinding of the khan, which is mentioned in chapter IV (see p. 94) and confirmed by Bukharan historians (see the next note).

[285] The information about the events in Khorezm from the end of the reign of Anusha Khan to the beginning of the reign of Shir Ghazi Khan provided by Munis and other sources is fragmentary and often vague and contradictory. This is probably the most obscure period of the modern history of Khorezm. The regnal dates of the khans from Anusha to Shir Ghazi can be reconstructed (in some cases tentatively) as follows. (1) The circumstances of the death of **Anusha Khan** must have been quite different, contrary to the account of Munis in this chapter (cf. previous note): after his last, and unsuccessful, campaign against Bukhara he fell victim of a conspiracy of his own amirs, who blinded him (the same is mentioned by Munis in chapter IV). According to the *Muḥīṭ at-tavārīkh* (ff. 126b–127a), after his return from his last unsuccessful campaign against Bukhara, when he set out again for a new campaign and stopped at the station (*manzil*) "Ajūjāq" (which is certainly a corrupted Üch-Uchaq, a well-known starting point on the steppe route from Khorezm to Bukhara; cf. on it Burton, 339, note 45: "not traced"; Muhammad Ya'qub in his *Gulshan al-mulūk*, f. 131b/249b, gives correct name: Üch-Uchaq, but as the place where Anusha's son, Arang, died, cf. below), his "wise men" and inaqs deposed and blinded him and enthroned his son Khudaydad. The *Muḥīṭ at-tavārīkh* gives a chronogram for his death in which the date is coded in the words *Anūsha shudī kūr zi af'āl-i bad*; the sum of numerical meanings of these words gives the date 1097. The *Silsilat as-salāṭīn* (f. 303b) does not mention the date of Anusha's blinding, but gives the date of his last defeat by Subhan-Quli Khan: 9 Zu'l-Hijja 1096 (6 November 1685); cf. the dates in Salakhetdinova, "Pokhody," 131–132; *Dastūr al-mulūk*, facs., 239, transl., 133. Furthermore, the *Silsilat* says that Anusha went to Mecca *after* he had been blinded and died on his way back, in Tabriz (cf. Burton, 340; Muhammad Ya'qub, *Gulshan al-mulūk*, f. 130b/248b, also mentions that Anusha went to Mecca after being blinded). The *Silsilat as-salāṭīn* also says that his successor was Arang; the same is said in the *Tadhkira-i Muqīm-khānī*, transl., 147–148, which, in addition, mentions the day (5 Safar), but not the year of this event. Since the year provided by the chronogram in the *Muḥīṭ* corresponds well to the date in the *Silsilat*, we can conclude that the date of the overthrow and blinding of Anusha was 5 Safar 1097/31 December 1685. The blinding of Anusha (followed by the enthronement of Arang)

is mentioned also in the anonymous history of the Abulkhayrids and Janids (MS of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Tashkent, No. 112/I, f. 137a). (2) According to Munis and the *Muḥīṭ at-tavārīkh* (see above), Anusha's elder son, **Khudaydad**, succeeded Anusha, and Munis says that he reigned for two years. This is confirmed by other sources. We have a *tarkhān yarlïq* of Arang Muhammad Khan (preserved at the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of Uzbekistan, collection "Yarlïqlar," No. 6) dated end of the Year of the Hare, corresponding to 1099 A.H. The Year of the Hare was from February 1687 to February 1688, and the end of this year corresponds to Rabi' II 1099. This will mean that Arang Khan's accession took place sometime *before* Rabi' II 1099/March 1688. This leaves about two years for the reign of Khudaydad. The *Muḥīṭ at-tavārīkh* (f. 171a) says that Khudaydad was killed by the amirs, and after this feuds began in Khorezm. (3) We have, thus, the *terminus post quem* for the accession of **Arang Khan**. The accession is mentioned by Arang himself in a *yarlïq*, which he sent to Russia, to Peter the Great, and which was written in Rajab 1100/21 April—20 May 1689 (see MIUTT, 255). The *yarlïq* as such, however, is not an announcement of the accession and could have been written later, contrary to the assumption of the editors of MIUTT (see MIUTT, 399). In 1691 an ambassador of Arang, "Abreim Azhizov", came to Russia (Veselovskiĭ, "Priem," 85). There is no direct reference to the date of Arang's death. According to Muhammad Yusuf Munshi, he was poisoned by his amirs after his return from an unsuccessful campaign against Bukhara, and he was succeeded by Niyaz Ishik-aqabashi Qataghan, who was sent to rule Khorezm by Subhan-Quli Khan, according to the request of the people of Khorezm (*Tadhkira-i Muqīm-khānī*, transl., 153). Veselovskiĭ (*Ocherk*, 157) assumed that this happened "around" 1099/1687–88 (this work was written by Veselovskiĭ before his study of Central Asian embassies in Russia). Indeed, in the *Tadhkira-i Muqīm-khānī* this account is followed by an account of the events in Balkh in 1099/1687–88. However, this date of Arang's death contradicts documentary evidence mentioned above, as well as additional evidence according to which the accession of Shah Niyaz Khan (certainly identical with Niyaz Ishik-aqabashi) took place in 1110/1698 (see below, item 6). Munis could have been better informed about the circumstances of the death of Arang Khan and the subsequent events, so vividly described by him, although it looks suspicious that Munis does not mention at all his wars with Bukhara, which are attested in Bukharan sources (see Burton, 343–344, 351–353). But Munis provides circumstantial evidence allowing us to determine the date of the end of Arang's reign. He mentions that Jiyen Biy Yüz was sent as ambassador to the shah of Iran, Sultan Husayn, one month after the death of Arang and his replacement with an impostor, Arang's cousin. This embassy could not have been sent before 14 Zu'l-Hijja 1105/7 August 1694, the date of Sultan Husayn's accession, and, assuming that the news about Sultan Husayn's accession could reach Khiva at least about a month later, the embassy must have left sometime in Muharram-Safar 1106/August–September 1694. This means that Arang Khan reigned till the end (probably, Zu'l-Hijja) of 1105/August 1694. A much later date is given by the *Muḥīṭ at-tavārīkh*, f. 149b: 7 Rabi' I, in the Year of the Pig; the Year of the Pig was from February 1695, so that the date should be 7 Rabi' I 1107/15 October 1695 (cf. an incorrect conversion in Burton, 352); but this contradicts other data mentioned above and below. Another version of the death of Arang Khan is given by the *Tārīkh-i Qïpchāq-Khānī* (f. 283a), according to which Khorezmians taken prisoner when Arang Khan was defeated in a battle near Qara-Köl said that the khan had died from a wound at Üch-Uchaq. (4) For **Jochi Khan** Munis mentions only the duration of his reign (three years), but not the dates. The *Tārīkh-i Qïpchāq-Khānī* (f. 283a) mentions that the people of Khorezm enthroned a three-year-old son of "Aran Khan", "Chichaq", after the death of his father, and that he himself died of small-pox in 1106 A.H. (August 1694–August 1695; *ibid.*, f. 284a); this date con-

tradicts the date of the beginning of Jochi Khan's reign, which can be approximately determined on the basis of circumstantial evidence. (Muhammad Ya'qub, *Gulshan al-mulūk*, f. 131b/249b, says that "Aral" Khan was succeeded by his *two*-year-old son, whose name he does not mention.) According to Munis, Jochi Khan was preceded by the "false Arang"; two months after the latter had begun to rule, a rebellion started, which resulted in the killing of the impostor and the enthronement of Jochi Khan. This happened, apparently, in early 1106/August–September 1694. If the date of accession of his successor, Vali Khan, given by Munis (see the next item) is correct, Jochi Khan must have reigned from early 1106/August–September 1694 to late 1108/middle of 1697. (5) **Vali Khan** is mentioned only by Munis, according to whom his reign began in 1108/1696–97 and lasted one year and a half. The date of the end of his reign is determined by the beginning of the reign of his successor, Shah Niyaz Khan (see the next item), which is defined as Rabi' II 1110/October 1698; this would make the duration of his reign somewhat less than one year and a half. Instead of Jochi Khan and Vali Khan, two other khans were mentioned by Russian envoys Skibin and Troshin, who were in Khorezm in 1696 and reported that the son of Arang ("Aral khan") was succeeded by a certain Qabaqlï Khan; he was brought to Khiva by the people of Gurlen and Aral, but in 1696 Qabaqlï was killed in Khiva by the atalïqs, who in October 1696 brought from Aral "Kalmamet' khan" (Qul Muhammad or Khal Muhammad), who acknowledged the suzerainty of "Samalgun khan" (Subhan-Quli Khan?) of Bukhara (see *Dopolneniia k Aktam istoricheskim, sobrannye i izdannye Arkheograficheskoiu komissieiu*, vol. X, St. Petersburg, 1867, No. 13, p. 384; cf. Burton, 358, 567–568). This Russian report has no confirmation in other sources. (6) **Shah Niyaz Khan**, according to Munis, succeeded Vali Khan in 1110/1698–99. A more exact date is provided by other sources. According to the *Muḥīṭ at-tavārīkh* (ff. 170b–171b), after "all the Khorezmians", upon the death of Arang Khan, came to Subhan-Quli Khan with a request to appoint a ruler for Khorezm, he appointed Shah Niyaz *Sultan* to the "princedom (*tūragī*)" of Khorezm and sent him off on 28 Rabi' I 1109 (14 October 1697); the *Muḥīṭ* gives the text of the decree of appointment given to Shah Niyaz. However, the date given by the *Muḥīṭ* seems to be one year earlier than the date that follows from another, documentary, source: a *yarlïq* of the khan of Khiva "Iskhak-Aga-Shakh-Niiaz" announcing his accession, which was received in Russia in January 1699; it means that it was sent not later than in October 1698/Rabi' II 1110 (see MIUTT, 267–268). "Iskhak-Aga-Shakh-Niiaz" in the Russian translation made at that time (the original has not been preserved) is certainly a misreading of "Ishik-Agha Shah Niyaz" of the original (it is not clear, however, where the words "Iskhak-Aga" appear in the document; the translation itself gives the name as "Shaniias" and the name on the impression of the seal as "Shaniias-khan-Bogadyr'"). The *yarlïq* mentions that Shah Niyaz was sent as khan to Khiva by the decree of his uncle, Subhan-Quli Khan of Bukhara. This identifies Shah Niyaz Khan with Niyaz Ishik-aqabashi Qataghan mentioned by Muhammad Yusuf Munshi, but the latter did not have a clear idea about the chronology of his rule and dated his arrival in Khorezm ten years earlier. Munis heard the account according to which Shah Niyaz was "from common Uzbeks," but preferred a different version as more reliable (and was mistaken). The *Tārīkh-i Qipchāq-Khānī* (f. 284a) also mentions the appointment of "Shah Niyaz Sultan Qataghan" to rule in Khorezm. The assertion of Munis that Shah Niyaz was a son of Jochi Khan also contradicts the information of the *Muḥīṭ at-tavārīkh* that "Chuchaq" (= Jochi?) Khan was just 3 years old. The ambassador of Shah Niyaz, Dostek Bek Bahadur, who carried the above mentioned *yarlïq*, came to Russian territory on 28 December 1698 and to Astrakhan on 20 January 1699; he was allowed to proceed to Moscow in September 1699 and had an audience with Peter the Great on 3 June 1700 (see MIUTT, 416–417). On 30 June 1700 Peter the Great issued a decree granting Shah Niyaz

the status of a Russian subject (PSZ, IV, 63, No. 1802, III; MIUTT, 272–273). Munis does not know the duration of his reign. It seems to be indicated by documentary evidence; the documents, however, show a strange contradiction. According to the document published in MIUTT, 273–274 and 448–449, on 22 Shavval 1114/12 March 1703 the same Dostek Bek was sent again to Moscow by Shah Niyaz Khan; however, as mentioned in the chart given in MIUTT, 416–417, this ambassador was sent already at the beginning of 1702 (he came to Astrakhan on 5 February 1702) by *another* khan—"Arab-Mukhammed II," and, according to the report of the Astrakhan governors to Peter the Great, Dostek Bek informed them that a new khan, "Sein-Aran-Mamet'-khan," had ascended the throne in Khiva in October 1701 (MIUTT, 399). The only explanation for this discrepancy is a possible mistake of the publishers of MIUTT in reading the date of the letter of Dostek Bek (it is written in figures, not in words, in the original); the date should be corrected to 22 Shavval 1112/1 April 1701. Thus, Shah Niyaz must have reigned till Jumadi I 1113/October 1701. (7) The name of the successor of Shah Niyaz is given in Russian documents as "Aran-Mamet'-khan" (MIUTT, 274–275) and "Sein-Aran-Mamet'-khan" (MIUTT, 399). The same name is given in the decree of Peter the Great of May 1703 confirming the status of this khan as a Russian subject (PSZ, IV, 216–217, No. 1932; MIUTT, 276, note 1). Veselovskiĭ (*Ocherk*, 161) and the editors of MIUTT (276, 416) understand this name as ʿArab-Muhammad. However, it is unlikely that Russian (or, rather, Tatar) translators could have read *ʿArab* as "Aran"; it is much more likely that the name is Arang Muhammad. Thus, it was not "Arab-Muhammad II," as the editors of MIUTT (276) have it, but **Arang Muhammad II**. The date of the end of his reign is unknown (cf. below). (8) Instead of Arang (or Arang Muhammad) Khan, Munis gives the names of two khans who are not mentioned elsewhere: **Shah Bakht Khan**, son of Shah Niyaz Khan, and **Sayyid ʿAli Khan**. For the first of them he gives only the duration of his reign (one year); the second ascended the throne in 1115/1703–04 or 1116/1704–05, but was deposed after several days. Neither of these reigns can be confirmed by other sources. (9) **Musa Khan** is mentioned in the *Silsilat as-salāṭīn* (see below, note 299) as Muhammad Musa Sultan ibn ʿAvaz Ghazi Sultan, "from the princes of Khorezm," who was appointed by ʿUbaydallah Khan, the Janid, after his accession in 1114/1702, in response to the request of the amirs of Khorezm after the death of Shah Niyaz Khan. According to Munis, however, Musa Khan succeeded Sayyid ʿAli Khan; cf. also Burton, 360 and 568, with reference to the *Tārīkh-i Qipchaq-Khānī*, which gives an erroneous date; Burton gives also an incorrect transcription of the name—Mūsī (!). The mention of troops that ʿUbaydallah Khan gave to Muhammad Musa Sultan may be explained by the fact that Shah Niyaz Khan was succeeded first by another person (or persons), whom the amirs wanted to replace by Musa (Muhammad Musa) Sultan. Musa Khan is mentioned by the Russian ambassador Beneveni (60, 65, 67, 78), who heard in Bukhara in 1722 that Musa Khan had been killed (he does not mention the date of Musa's death). Beneveni also mentions the son of Musa Khan, Shah Timur Sultan (cf. on him above, p. 58), who was at that time 14 or 15 years old; this means that Musa Khan was still alive (and, presumably, reigning) in 1707 or 1708. As his successor Munis names Yadigar Khan; this determines the end of Musa's reign as Jumadi I 1124/June 1712 (see the next item). (10) **Yadigar Khan** was enthroned on 14 Jumadi I 1124/19 June 1712. This date is given in the letter sent by Yadigar Khan himself to Peter the Great and partly cited by Veselovskiĭ ("Priem," 89; I have a photocopy of this document preserved in the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences). According to Veselovskiĭ, his ambassador ʿAshur Bek (who carried the letter) explained about the khan's origin that he was a son of Anusha Khan. A Turkic work *Dāstān-i Amīr Tīmūr* by

Sayyid Muhammad Khoja b. Ja'far Khoja (see on it Hofman, vol. 4, p. 170) mentions him as Sayyid Yadigar Muhammad Khan of Khiva to whom the work was dedicated (see K.V. Zetterstéen, *Die arabischen, persischen und türkischen Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek zu Uppsala*, Upsala, 1930, No. 563). According to Munis, Yadigar Khan died at the end of 1125 A.H. (end of 1713); Bekovich-Cherkasskiĭ heard an account that Yadigar had been killed (see below, note 305). (11) As Yadigar's successor, Munis mentions **Shir Ghazi Khan**, but he says that the latter acceded to the throne in the middle of Ḥamal 1126 A.H. (March 1714). This leaves three or four months' gap between the death of Yadigar and the accession of Shir Ghazi. Ia.V. Khanykov ("Poiasnitel'naia zapiska," 272; cf. Veselovskiĭ, *Ocherk*, 161–162) cites documents, according to which in 1714 'Ashur Bek, an ambassador from the khan of Khiva **Hajji Muhammad Bahadur Khan**, arrived in St. Petersburg. But in March 1715 'Ashur Bek received a letter from Khiva, forwarded to him from Astrakhan, which informed him that Yadigar Khan had died and had been replaced by Arang (Khanykov, "Poiasnitel'naia zapiska," 273); this letter could have travelled a long time, but it still leaves a substantial discrepancy between the dates of Munis and those indicated by the documents. And in November 1715 the same 'Ashur Bek wrote to Russian authorities from Astrakhan that a khan had been killed in Khiva, that he had been replaced by a khan from the Qaraqalpaqs, but that the latter had died, and that the new khan was Shir Ghazi from Bukhara (Khanykov, "Poiasnitel'naia zapiska," 273–274; Veselovskiĭ, *Ocherk*, 163). It seems to follow from all this that there were two or three more khans between Yadigar and Shir Ghazi: Hajji Muhammad, Arang, and a Qaraqalpaq khan (possibly identical with the Ishim Sultan mentioned by Munis as a "Qaraqalpaq prince" raised as khan by the Aral Uzbeks during the *ḥajj* of Yadigar Khan). The period during which these two or three individuals were khans in Khiva remains unclear.

[286] In some Russian and Central Asian publications this name is read as "Ereng" and "Irnak". The reading "Arang" is confirmed by the spelling of Munis (initial long *a*, with *madda*). The same spelling is seen on the inscription on the madrasa of Muhammad Riza Bek, or Khojam-Berdi Biy (see below, note 292); the publishers of the inscription, nevertheless, transcribed the name as "Irnak."

[287] On the term *ärk* "citadel" see V.V. Bartol'd, "Persidskoe *ark* 'krepost', tsitadel'," in: V.V. Bartol'd, *Sochineniia*, VII, 413–416. In Bukhara, according to M.S. Andreev, *ärk* was a term for a castle situated within a city and on a considerable elevation, while a fortification whose walls were standing on the ground level or on a small elevation was called *qurghan*. Besides the citadel of Bukhara, only four other citadels in the Khanate of Bukhara were called *ärk*: those of Kitab, Yakkabagh, Kermine, and Hisar (see Andreev – Chekhovich, *Ark*, 17, note 1). In Khorezm this term seems to have been used only for the citadel of Khiva. See on it: Guliamov, *Pamiatniki*, 11–17; Bulatova – Notkin, 20–26; Man'kovskaia – Bulatova, 86–92; Man'kovskaia, 230–233 and pl. 56–73.

[288] To judge both from narrative and documentary sources, governors in the Khanate of Khiva were usually appointed as "governors with undivided authority" (*ḥākim bi'l-istiqlāl*) or "joint governors" (*ḥākim bi'l-ishtirāk*). In the first case, there was a single governor of a particular province; in the second case, two governors were appointed to the same province (it is not clear how their duties were divided). In the 19th century, Aral usually had two joint governors.

[289] The White Mosque (Aq Masjid) was supposedly built by Anusha Khan. But modern descriptions mention that only its foundation is contemporary with the bathhouse built by Anusha Khan, while the dates on the carved doors of the mosque are 1838 and 1842 (sic, without mentioning Hijri dates), so that the present building is presumed to have been built in the 19th century; see Guliamov, *Pamiatniki*, 23; Bulatova – Notkin, 52–54; Man'kovskaia – Bulatova, 145–148; Man'kovskaia,

238 and pl. 101–102. However, the mention of the White Mosque by Munis as, apparently, a building that existed in his own time shows that the dates on the doors do not give the dates of the construction of the mosque.

[290] *Qibla*—direction to Mecca; in Central Asia was also used as a synonym of "south".

[291] A *yarlïq* of Arang Khan written in 1100/1689 has an imprint of his seal, on which his name is written as "Sayyid Muhammad Arang Bahadur Khan, son of Sayyid Anusha Muhammad Khan" (see MIUTT, 255). It shows that both he and his father Anusha could claim the title of Sayyid, which could have been inherited only from a wife of Abu'l-Ghazi (because Abu'l-Ghazi himself did not have this title).

[292] For the purpose of the chronogram, the last line has a different meaning: "From the dust of his road the difference is the top of the seventh heaven," which means that from the sum of the numerical meaning of the letters forming the words *khāk-i rahash* 'the dust of his road' (which is 1126) one should subtract the sum of numerical meanings of the letters in the word *kayvān* (87) minus (*kam*) the numerical meaning of the letters *k* and *m* in *kam* (60); thus, the solution of the chronogram is 1126–27=1099. It follows, then, that the madrasa was built at the very beginning of the reign of Arang Khan (cf. note 285 on the dates of his reign). Opposite the White Mosque (Aq Masjid) in Khiva is the madrasa of Khojam-Berdi Biy, which is, apparently, identical with the madrasa built, according to Munis, by Khojam-Berdi's son, Muhammad Riza Bek, and known in Khiva as "Khurjum" madrasa. Guliamov (*Pamiatniki*, 24) gave the date of the construction as 1688, according to the inscription carved on the doors of the madrasa, but failed to give the Hijri date; later authors repeated the same date 1688. In 1988 a special article was published about this madrasa (A.R. Rakhmanov, B. Babadzhanov, "Medrese Khodzham-berdy biia (Khurdzhum) i ansambl' u vostochnykh vorot Ichan-kaly (Khiva)," in: *Arkhitektura i stroitel'stvo Uzbekistana*, 1988, No. 5, pp. 36–39, which shows that the inscription on the doors of the madrasa was carved much later, during the rule of Muhammad Amin Inaq, and, apparently, refers to repairs done at that time. The inscription mentioned by Guliamov is found on a marble slab above the doors, and it coincides with the chronogram cited by Munis. The article (p. 37) gives the Persian text of the chronogram, but, mysteriously, omits the last verse; a Russian translation is complete, but not quite correct.

[293] *Farsakh* (or *farsang*) as a measure of length in Iran and Central Asia is usually considered as equal to 6 km (see W. Hinz, "Farsakh," in: EI^2, II, 812–813). However, it could vary by regions and depending on road conditions (like the "heavy" and "light" *farsakh*s in Iran). In Central Asia in the 19th century *farsakh* was usually between 9 and 10 km, but it could be also longer or shorter; see Davidovich, *Materialy po metrologii*, 120.

[294] This Aq-Saray (apparently, west of Khiva, near Aq-yap; cf. note 560) is different from the better known Aq-Saray, 3 *farsakh*s northwest of Khiva, mentioned in the text below (p. 186; cf. note 638) as one of the main regions where the Yomuts settled.

[295] Badarhan (spelt *B.d.r.hān*) is, apparently, identical with Bederkhan of the modern topographic maps (a village ab. 2 km west of Khiva, indicated as "Batyr-khan" on the 1905 map and mentioned as *B.d.r.kān* in Khivan documents (see Ivanov, *Arkhiv*, 35).

[296] Shah Sultan Husayn ascended the throne on 14 Zu'l-Hijja 1105/7 August 1694.

[297] The word *fuqarā'* (pl. of Arabic *faqīr* "poor") was used in Central Asia in the meaning "the subjects", and, more specifically, "the commoners", i.e. the population paying taxes, as distinct from the privileged groups: the officials (*'amaldār*s), the military (*sipāhī*), and the members of the Islamic establishment (*'ulamā'*). In Bukhara, the *fuqarā'*, as sedentary, were also distinguished from the *īlāt*, the tribal popula-

tion; in Khorezm the term *īlāt* seems not to have been used. See Khanykov, *Opisanie*, 183; Grigor'ev, *O nekotorykh sobytiiakh*, 89; Semenov, *Ocherk pozemel'no-podatnogo i nalogovogo ustroĭstva*, 15, note 31; Ivanov, *Vosstanie*, 23, note 2. Sometimes, however, the word *fuqarā'* was also used in its literal meaning.

[298] *Kharāj* as a technical and legal term was used for the main land tax. However, in non-specialized literature it could be used for taxes in general, which is obviously the case here.

[299] The *Silsilat as-salāṭīn* (f. 323a) mentions Musa Khan in the chapter describing the accession of 'Ubaydallah Khan (the Janid, 1114/1702) and some events that immediately followed it, in the following way: "The amirs of Khorezm, after the death of Shah Niyaz Biy, who had been appointed by the [khan now] residing in paradise (i.e. Subhan-Quli Khan), submitted a petition seeking and requesting a [new] governor (*ḥākim*). The world-conquering khaqan accepted their supplication, appointed Muhammad Musa Sultan ibn 'Avaz Ghazi Sultan, who was from the princes (*tūrazādahā*) of Khorezm, to govern that country (*ba-salṭanat-i ānjā*), gave him troops (*asās-i khayl u ḥasham dāda*) and sent him off." Cf. above, note 285.

[300] No *tanga*s (silver coins) minted in Khorezm before Eltüzer Khan are known.

[301] Payment of the *jizya* (poll-tax; see Cl. Cahen, "Djizya," in: EI², II, 559–562) indicates that these inhabitants were Shi'ites (whom Central Asian jurists and theologians considered infidels).

[302] An account of the *ḥajj* performed by Yadigar is also contained in his own letter sent, apparently soon after his accession, to Peter the Great in Russia (see on it in note 285). The description of the pilgrimage, however, is quite different. He says that he first lived in the province (*vilāyat*) of Samarqand, which he left for India, where he lived for several years. From there he went to Mecca and Madina "by land and sea." After this he learned about the bad situation of his own country and throne (*ata yurtï vä takhtining 'ār u nāmūsï bashïmïzgha tüshdi*) and went there, with God's guidance. He came first to Turkey (*Rūm vilāyati*), where he was shown favor by the king of Rum (i.e. the sultan) and saw how this king was honored and venerated by the khans of all provinces subordinate to him. Then he went to the country (*yurt*) of Ayuka Khan, and the latter, properly obliging, gave him innumerable troops under the command of a prince (*töre*) named Dorji and eleven more princes. With this army he came to Khorezm and ascended the throne on 14 Jumadi I 1124 (19 June 1712). Thus, Yadigar went to Mecca *before* he became khan; whether he indeed saw the Ottoman sultan, as he seems to say, or instead saw the governor of Baghdad, as Munis says, remains unclear. The story of his skirmish with the Beduins told by Munis is certainly not true, because he could not have gone to Mecca from India with a large retinue. More important is the fact that he was able to establish himself on the throne of Khorezm with the military help of Ayuka Khan, the ruler of the Volga Kalmyks; the prince Dorji mentioned by him was probably the well known Dorji Nazar, on whom see M. Khodarkovsky, *Where two worlds met: The Russian state and the Kalmyk nomads, 1600–1771*, Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Press, 1992 (see index).

[303] Ishim Sultan was apparently one of the Qazaq Chingizids, who often ruled the Qaraqalpaqs (or certain parts of them). The Qaraqalpaqs themselves did not have "princes" (i.e. members of the Chingizid clan) among them.

[304] In 1714 an ambassador of Yadigar Khan to Peter the Great, 'Ashur Bek, asked for six small cannons for the war with the Qaraqalpaqs; this request was satisfied (see Veselovskiĭ, "Priem," 88). Apparently, by the time 'Ashur Bek submitted his request, Yadigar already had died.

[305] Bekovich-Cherkasskiĭ in his letter to Peter the Great of September 1/12, 1714 wrote (in a post-script): "The Khivan khan, from whom an ambassador has come to his majesty, was killed by the rebellious Khivans, and in his place they put another khan" (see *Russko-turkmenskie otnosheniia*, 25).

[306] The same Sayyid Muhammad Akhund is mentioned below in the text (p. 61) as the author of *Gulshan-i iqbāl*—a history of Shir Ghazi Khan.

[307] Munis refers to the death of Eltüzer in a battle with the army of Bukhara (see p. 229).

[308] The southern part of the Aral Sea would not freeze every winter, while its northern part was every winter covered with very firm ice (see Lobachevskiĭ, 8).

[309] Yangi-su mentioned here is, apparently, the same as Yangi-Darya (Zhanï-Darya).

[310] On Adaq see Bartol'd, *Svedeniia*, 67–69; idem, *K istorii orosheniia*, 175–176; idem, *Ocherk*, 596, note 76; Guliamov, *Oroshenie*, 173–174, 184; Tolstov, *Po sledam*, 312–314. Tolstov identified it with the ruins Aq-qa'la or Aqcha-qa'la, under the south-eastern chink of Üst-Yurt, Buten-tau, near the ancient western shore of Lake Sarïqamïsh, and surmised that in the 16th century it still existed under the name Yangishehr (Yangi-Shahr).

[311] The *uydachi* (more commonly in Central Asia—*udaychi*; from Mongol *e'üdächi*) was originally a court door-keeper, porter; see Doerfer TME, I, 196–197 (No. 74). In the Central Asian khanates it was a master of ceremonies; he carried a warder as a sign of his office (see on the *udaychi* in Bukhara: Andreev – Chekhovich, *Ark*, 34).

[312] On the raids of Shir Ghazi Khan in Khorasan see below, note 316.

[313] The Shaykh-Jalil mountains (in Russian literature usually corrupted to "Sheĭkh-Dzheli") are the westernmost part of the Sultan-Uvays mountains on the right bank of the Amu-Darya (in Russian literature and on maps often "Sultan-Uiz-dag"). The name is taken from that of Shaykh Jalil Baba, whose tomb is near the western foothills of the mountain, at the lake Khoja-köl. See Danilevskiĭ, 69–70; Kaul'bars, 30–33; Kun, "Kul'tura," 233, 236; Lobachevskiĭ, 9; Guliamov, *Oroshenie*, 22; Snesarev, *Khorezmskie legendy*, 105. Munis repeats here Khorezmian legends about gold and silver deposits in these mountains, which are not confirmed, but which were one of the reasons for Peter the Great to dispatch the expedition under Bekovich Cherkasskiĭ.

[314] Munis refers to the expedition of Alexander Bekovich Cherkasskiĭ, a Circassian prince in Russian service (whose original Muslim name was Dawlat-Girey), who was sent to the Khanate of Khiva by Peter the Great in 1716. The total number of troops given to Bekovich-Cherkasskiĭ was 6,655, of which about 3,000 reached Khorezm in June 1717. After an initial battle with the troops of Khiva, a truce was made, and Bekovich agreed to divide his troops into five parts in order to have them accomodated in different parts of the country; when it was done, the troops of Khiva immediately attacked and slaughtered almost all the Russians, including Bekovich himself. The identity of "Andrey Guburnat" is not known. There are numerous works on this expedition, which are listed in I.G. Bezgin, *Kniazia Bekovicha-Cherkasskogo ėkspeditsiia v Khivu i posol'stva flota poruchika Kozhina i Murzy Tevkeleva v Indiiu k velikomu Mogolu (1714–1717 gg.): Bibliograficheskaia monografiia*, St. Petersburg, 1891 (237 pp.). For a summary of events see Veselovskiĭ, *Ocherk*, 165–175; see also Bartol'd, *Istoriia izucheniia*, 393–394; idem, "Sobytiia," 402, note 10; *Russko-turkmenskie otnosheniia*, 46–52; E.A. Kniazhetskaia, *Sud'ba odnoĭ karty: O geografe A.B. Cherkasskom (Bekoviche)*, Moscow, 1964.

[315] There are several places in Khorasan named Chinaran; in this case, most probably, it is the town 24 km southeast of Bojnurd (see *Farhang-i jughrāfiyā'ī-i Īran*, IX, 117; Adamec, 126). Bardar is a village 30 km south of Ashkhabad (Ashgabat), on the Iranian side of the Turkmen-Iranian border, at the Bardar gorge, in the mountains of the same name (see *Farhang-i jughrāfiyā'ī-i Īrān*, IX, 52; Kuz'min-Korovaev, 64–65).

[316] Contemporary Iranian sources (Mahdi Khan and Muhammad Kazim) do not mention the early campaigns of Shir Ghazi Khan in Khorasan and his capture and pillage of Mashhad (nor do they mention Rustam 'Ali Khan and Sharif Khan). The earliest raid mentioned by Muhammad Kazim (facs., I, 45; ed. Riyahi, I, 23) is dated 1132/1719–20. In this year, he says, Shir Ghazi Khan, with about 20,000

Turkmens, raided Khorasan and came to Jam, where he was defeated in two battles and lost more than a half of his troops. However, in another place (facs., II, 284; ed. Riyahi, II, 627), describing the preparation of Ilbars Khan for a campaign against Khorasan (see p. 64 and note 355), Muhammad Kazim makes the khan address an assembly of Khorezmian chieftains telling them that in 1128 A.H. (1716) Shir Ghazi Khan raided Khorasan with an army of 80,000, pillaged the environs of Mashhad and captured countless booty and prisoners, so that the entire country of Khorezm, Aral, the Qazaqs, and the Qaraqalpaqs were full of prisoners from Khorasan; and Shir Ghazi intended to repeat such a raid, but was killed by his *ghulām*s. In their descriptions of the events that took place in Khorasan, apparently, in 1138/1726 (no exact date is given by either of these authors), they mention that, after the fame of the military exploits of Nadir spread everywhere, Shir Ghazi stopped the raids and sent Khorezmian merchants to Mashhad and other places in Khorasan for trade. One such group, on its return trip, was plundered in Chahchaha (modern Chaacha). Shir Ghazi sent his envoys to Nadir, accompanied by 500 *altïn-jïlaw* (*az ghulāmān-i āltīn-jïlaw*; see on the term below, note 381); they found Nadir besieging the fortress of Qozghan, near Abivard (ed. of Riyahi gives a wrong reading "Qurghan"; same in MITT, II, 126–127). Nadir presented the envoys with precious robes and jewels, returned all the property that was plundered by the people of Chahchaha, and sent the envoys, with numerous gifts and a friendly letter, to Khorezm. See *Tārīkh-i jahāngushāy-i Nādirī*, 70–71; Muhammad Kazim, facs., I, 85, 87; ed. Riyahi, I, 53, 55 (Mahdi Khan says that the 500 *altïn-jïlaw* were sent by Shir Ghazi Khan to help Nadir; cf. also Lockhart, 24).

[317] Shah Timur's base was, apparently, in the "town" mentioned by Gladyshev and Muravin as "Shakhtemir" (Gladyshev – Muravin, 590), which, according to B.V. Andrianov ("Ak-dzhagyz," 572), was approximately on the site of modern Chimbai, on the Kegeyli canal.

[318] Besh-Qal'a "Five Cities" was the name that appears in the sources from the early 18th century (see Beneveni, 67: *khivinskie piat' gorodkov*), as was noticed by Bartol'd (*K istorii orosheniia*, 178). 'Abd al-Karim Bukhari (text, 92–93, transl., 202, 204) includes among the five cities Hazarasp, Khanqah, Urgench, Kat, and Shahabad, and adds that "other cities" are Khiva and "Gulran" (i.e. Gurlen). Murav'ev (II, 106) does not mention the term, but lists five cities with city walls: Khiva, Urgench, Shavat (Shahabad), Kat, and Gurlen. Contrary to the opinion of Bartol'd and the editors of MITT, II (334, note 2), the text of Munis here and elsewhere (for instance, p. 137) clearly shows that the term Besh-Qal'a was applied not to the entire Khanate of Khiva, but only to its southern part (as distinct from Aral).

[319] Qara-Tal is on the left bank of the Amu-Darya, 4 km east of Vazir.

[320] Baghlan is ab. 6 km southeast of Gurlen (on the 1905 map and on the modern topographic maps—Bagalan).

[321] The location of Uyghur in the 18th century is not clear; cf. below, notes 710 and 770.

[322] Besh-Arïq is a locality in the western environs of Hazarasp. Shat is in the region of Yangi-Arïq (see Ivanov, *Arkhiv*, 42 and 40, note 9).

[323] In 19th-century Khiva the epithets *ṣāḥib-i a'zam dastūr-i mukarram* were usually applied to the official with the title *mehter*. On Yarïm Divan and the *mehter*s in the Khanate of Khiva see Bregel, "The Sarts," 129–134.

[324] Qahraman (pronounced Qaraman, see Ivanov, *Arkhiv*, 45) is ab. 9 km west of Urgench.

[325] On the wars between Shir Ghazi Khan and Shah Timur Sultan see also the *Tārīkh-i Abu'l-Fayż Khān*, transl., 66; Beneveni (see index).

[326] Aq-Yaqïsh (in Qazaq and Qaraqalpaq – Aq-Zhagïs), lit. "White Crossing", is in the eastern part of the Amu-Darya delta in the Tawqara region, on the Kök-Üzäk branch of the Amu-Darya; see Andrianov, "Ak-dzhagyz"; Guliamov, *Oroshenie*, 204; Kamalov, "O pamiatnykh mestakh," 57. On one occasion (see p. 400) Munis

mentions "Aq-Yaqïsh-Darya", which is probably identical with the respective part of the Kök-Üzäk.

[327] This account apparently shows that Shahabad had city walls at that time.

[328] This is the first instance when Munis mentions Qongrat as a settlement. On the town see below, note 504.

[329] Yangi-Arïq is ab. 18 km east of Khiva; see on it: Danilevskiĭ, 118 ("Ianarik"); Guliamov, *Oroshenie*, 192 (on the canal); Ivanov, *Arkhiv*, 40 (wrong distance from Khiva is given).

[330] Tama is 6 km southeast of Khanqah; Qulan is northwest of Gurlen (see below, note 828). Aq-qal'a was apparently in Aral, but its exact location could not be established.

[331] On the military role of the *naqīb* see the article of D. DeWeese quoted above, note 250.

[332] The sum of numerical meanings of letters forming the words *Dād az ghulāmān* is 1139 (corresponding to 1726/27 A.D.). If the month (December) given by Munis is correct, Shir Ghazi Khan must have been killed in December 1726/Rabi' II–Jumadi I 1139, which was the Year of the Horse, and not the Year of the Sheep, as Munis says. According to another version, contained in the article by G.F. Miller "Izvestie o pesochnom zolote" and based on the accounts of Russian captives, who fled from Khiva soon after this event (as quoted by Veselovskiĭ, *Ocherk*, 179–181), in 1728 Russian and Persian slaves, having decided to kill Shir Ghazi Khan, requested help from the khan of Aral. After the murder of the khan, the Uzbeks attacked the Russians, 80 of whom ensconced themselves on a "tower" and defended it for two weeks; finally they had to surrender because of the lack of food, but were promised that their lives would be spared, because they argued that it was not they, but two Persian eunuchs who had killed the khan. Two days later the khan of Aral came to Khiva, but, having learned that the Russians had surrendered, turned back. The beginning of 1728 was the end of the Year of the Sheep, but it does not correspond to either the month (December) or the Hijri year (1139) mentioned by Munis.

[333] According to Danilevskiĭ (118), Shaykh-Arïq ("Shikharyk") was 35 verst (i.e. 37 km) east of Khiva. But it belonged to the region of Hazarasp (cf. Ivanov, *Arkhiv*, index), so that the distance must have been greater. Settlement under this name is not found on the 1905 map and on modern topographic maps. A canal under this name was also in the region of Pitnak.

[334] On Pahlavan Mahmud, a 13–14th century wrestler (*pahlavān*), poet, and patron-saint of Khiva, see A. Piemontese, "La leggenda del santo-lottatore Pahlavān Maḥmūd Xᵛārezmi "Puryā-ye Vali" (m. 722/1322)," in: *Annali, Istituto universitario orientale di Napoli*, vol. 15, 1965, pp. 167–213. On his mausoleum see Guliamov, *Pamiatniki*, 24–29; Bulatova – Notkin, 33–40; Man'kovskaia – Bulatova, 166–173; see also photos in Man'kovskaia, Nos. 163–178. On the veneration of Pahlavan Mahmud in Khorezm see Snesarev, *Khorezmskie legendy*, 169–175.

[335] On the madrasa of Shir Ghazi Khan see Guliamov, *Pamiatniki*, 23–24; Man'kovskaia – Bulatova, 112–114.

[336] If Shir Ghazi Khan accessed the throne in April 1126/1714 (see above) and reigned 13 years, he must have died in 1139/1727, the Year of the Sheep—but not in December, as Munis says earlier.

[337] The *Gulshan-i iqbāl* mentioned by Munis has not come down to us, probably because it was indeed destroyed.

[338] Abu'l-Khayr, khan of the Junior Horde of the Qazaqs, reigned in 1717–1748. See on him Erofeeva, 104–110.

[339] According to a testimony of Russian captives in Khiva (communicated in a report of the governor of Samara, Urusov, in 1741), the khan of Khiva after Shir Ghazi was "Mamyr'," who was killed by his horse when he was riding to a mosque for prayer (see Veselovskiĭ, "Priem," 104); it was obviously the same Sarïgh Ayghïr.

[340] Bahadur Khan (Batïr in Qazaq pronunciation and, accordingly, in Russian sources) was a son-in-law of Abu'l-Khayr Khan and belonged to the branch of the Chingizids of the Junior Horde hostile to Abu'l-Khayr. Cf. on him *Kazakhsko-russkie otnosheniia v XVI–XVIII vekakh* (see index); Vel'iaminov-Zernov, *Izvestiia*, 13–14; Meĭer, 12; Erofeeva, 116.

[341] Aq-Shaykh (or Aq-Shikh Baba, as it is called in Khiva) is a tall structure in the citadel (*ärk*, now *Kuhna Ark* "Old Citadel") of Khiva. See on it Guliamov, *Pamiatniki*, 13–14; for photos showing its present condition see Man'kovskaia, pl. 67–69.

[342] The flight of Bahadur ("Batyr'") Khan from Khiva, because of his fear of being killed by the Khivans, was mentioned in the testimony of Russian captives in Khiva in 1741 (see note 339 above).

[343] 'Abd al-Karim Bukhari (text, 44, transl., 95) calls Ilbars a Qazaq of Chingizid origin.

[344] This "Sultan" is, most probably, a son of Bundash Mirza mentioned earlier (see p. 92).

[345] A son of Shah Timur Khan, 'Ubaydallah Sultan, was enthroned as a puppet khan in Bukhara by Muhammad Rahim Atalïq in 1160/1747 (after the death of 'Abd al-Mu'min Khan, son of Abu'l-Fayz Khan), but three years later he was killed (see *Tuhfat al-khānī*, f. 318b; *Tārīkh-i avā'il u avākhir*, f. 26b).

[346] The Year of the Hare *preceded* the Year of the Dragon; indeed, this raid is mentioned by Mahdi Khan under the events of 1147/1734–35. It seems that the account of this raid is borrowed by Munis from Mahdi Khan, but, contrary to his source, Munis ascribes the victory to the troops of Khiva.

[347] Mane is a region northwest of Bojnurd, in the Atrek valley and to the north of it; Aladagh is the name of the mountains south of Bojnurd; Semelqan is a region south of Mane, divided from the latter by the Docheng mountains (see *Farhang-i jughrāfiyā'ī-i Īrān*, IX, 222, 378).

[348] *Ghāzī* was the term used for those who participated in a raid against the infidels (*ghazw*); therefore the troops fighting the Qïzïlbashes (who were considered infidels by the Central Asian Sunnites) were commonly referred to as the *ghāzī*s.

[349] The text of this paragraph in the autograph of Munis is written in the margin, with a mark "From Nādir-nāma"—that is, the account is borrowed from Mahdi Khan; Munis misunderstood the place-name Semelqan and wrote "Balqan". Cf. *Tārīkh-i jahāngushāy-i Nādirī*, 322–323.

[350] Achamaylï is one of four main subdivisions ("clans") of the tribe Qongrat; the other three are Kök-Üzäk, Balghalï, and Qanjighalï. See Zadykhina, "Uzbeki," 338.

[351] The location of Oq-Boyrï, Qoychi-qayir and Üch-Üzäk could not be established; apparently, all three were in the delta area. *Qayir* means "sand-bar", "shallow water", "spit", and in Central Asia, especially, land in river valleys subjected to seasonal flooding; see Murzaev, 241.

[352] Abu'l-Fayz Khan, from the Janid dynasty, ruled 1121–1160/1711–1747; Hakim Atalïq (Muhammad Hakim Atalïq), a Manghït, was an all-powerful minister under Abu'l-Fayz.

[353] Cf. *Tārīkh-i jahāngushāy-i Nādirī*, 296; Muhammad Kazim, facs., II, 243–244; ed. Riyahi, II, 596–597. Muhammad Kazim says that Ilbars Khan set out for Bukhara with 60,000 troops of Uzbeks, Qaraqalpaqs, Qazaqs, Russians and Alans (!), and he intended to capture Bukhara while there were no troops there and Abu'l-Fayz Khan was presumably in the hands of the Qïzïlbashes. Therefore Abu'l-Fayz Khan hastily returned to Bukhara. When Ilbars Khan learned about it and thought that the Qïzïlbash army was also coming to Bukhara, he was seized by fear and went back to Khorezm.

[354] The Year of the Sheep was from February 1739 to February 1740. The date given by Munis is wrong: Mahdi Khan mentions that Riza-Quli Mirza informed

Nadir Shah about this raid of Ilbars Khan in Rajab 1151/October–November 1738 (*Tārīkh-i jahāngushāy-i Nādirī*, 432–433).

[355] Cf. on this campaign of Ilbars Khan *Tārīkh-i jahāngushāy-i Nādirī*, 337. It seems that the passage in the *Firdaws al-iqbāl* is borrowed from Mahdi Khan (the latter adds, however, that many Uzbeks were killed during this campaign). Muhammad Kazim (facs., II, 283–295; ed. Riyahi, II, 626–634) gives a much more detailed account. He describes in many colorful details the preparation of Ilbars Khan for this campaign (this part of his account, however, is hardly reliable; it apparently goes back to stories that originated in Khorezm: Muhammad Kazim even quotes the opening sentence of the khan's speech in somewhat corrupted Turkic). According to Muhammad Kazim, Muhammad Amin Mehter learned from Khorezmian merchants about the situation in Khorasan and reported to Ilbars Khan that this province was without an army and without a commander. The khan became eager for conquest and summoned all the elders and commanders of "Panj Qal'a-i Khorezm," of all its provinces and the tribes of the Qazaqs, the Aralians, the Teke, the Yomut, the Sarïq, the Ersarï, and other tribes of the Uzbeks and the Turkmens. When they all assembled, he addressed them and reminded them about the raid of Shir Ghazi Khan with 80,000 troops on Khorasan in 1128 A.H., which brought plenty of booty and prisoners [cf. note 316 above]; and now that all the provinces of Khorezm, up to the limits of the Qazaq, Aral, and Qaraqalpaq, belonged to Ilbars, and the tribes of Teke, Yomut, Ersarï, and Sarïq, and all the Turkmens and Uzbeks were in his service, he decided to set out with an army of 100,000 for the conquest of Mashhad, so that he would conquer Iran like the Khorezmshahs and would become the ruler of that country. The assembled chieftains, atalïqs, inaqs, qoshbegis, parvanachis and others received these words with enthusiasm, and soon the 100,000-strong army was gathered; when Ilbars Khan saw it, he became so vainglorious that he said that after the conquest of Iran he was going to conquer India and to defeat Nadir Shah there. He set out from Khiva on the last day of Sha'ban (1151/12 December 1738; cf. the date given by Mahdi Khan, above, note 354). When Nadir Shah was informed about it in India, he sent his son Riza-Quli Mirza to protect Khorasan; the latter went to Herat, from which he proceded to Sarakhs. Persian scouts saw the approaching Khorezmian troops near Tezhen, and Riza-Quli Mirza, who had only 8 or 9,000 troops with him, decided to go to Abivard and to wait there for the arrival of troops from Mashhad and other places. (Muhammad Kazim mentions at this point that Riza-Quli Mirza, speaking to his commanders, said that the troops of Khorezm were far inferior to those of Mavarannahr in their knowledge of the art of war.) Ilbars Khan in the meantime arrived at Tezhen and stayed there for several days and, after consultations with his "chieftains, atalïqs, inaqs, and toqsabas," decided to divide his troops in three parts, of which one had to go against Sabzavar and Nishapur, the second one against Sarakhs, Zurabad, Jam and Langar, and he himself had to go against Mashhad. Bek-Durdï Bahadur Teke and Quvvat Vekil Teke, who were assigned to go to Zurabad, Jam and Langar, wanted instead to go, with their troops, to Sabzavar and Nishapur. This angered the commanders of the Qaraqalpaqs and Aralians, who were assigned to raid Sabzavar and Nishapur, and Ilbars Khan stopped the quarrel between the two groups only with great difficulty. At the time of this dispute, several people from Aral came and informed their commander that Toqtamïsh Khan Qazaq, with 120,000 troops, horsemen and infantry, intended to raid their country. As a result, 30 or 40,000 Aralians and Qaraqalpaqs, who were already irritated, left at midnight, without consulting Ilbars Khan, and went to Khorezm. Then the Uzbeks from the tribes of Nayman, Qongrat, Qïyat, Durmen, Manghït, Keneges, Uyghur, and others, whose places of habitation were adjacent to the tribes of the Qaraqalpaqs and the Aralians, became worried that the Aralians, while passing through their territory, might start plundering their homes and families, and

they also left for Khorezm. A group of Khorezmian troops, with about 3,000 Uzbeks, Aralians, and Salors, which was sent by Ilbars Khan from Tezhen to raid the region of Nesa, Durun, and Abivard, attacked the fortress Kereng, near Qakhlan, but they were defeated by its defenders, lost 50 or 60 men and fled towards Khorezm, while several of them came to the camp of Ilbars Khan. When his troops learned of these defeats, they all, from high to low, went to Khorezm. And when Ilbars Khan saw this situation, he had no choice but to return to Khorezm, "with his eyes shedding blood and his heart broken."

[356] In the description of Nadir Shah's campaign against Khorezm, all dates are apparently borrowed from Mahdi Khan (see his account: *Tārīkh-i jahāngushāy-i Nādirī*, 453–460).

[357] According to ʿAbd al-Karim Bukhari (text, 46–47, transl., 101), when Nadir Shah was still near Bukhara, he sent to Ilbars Khan, upon the request of Abu'l-Fayz Khan, an ambassador, to whom two Juybari shaykhs were attached; the ambassadors carried a letter from Nadir Shah demanding submission. Ilbars Khan, having read the letter, ordered to kill all three ambassadors (*ibid.*, text, 48, transl., 104). Cf. *Tārīkh-i jahāngushā-yi Nādirī*, 457. A description of the campaign of Nadir Shah is found also in the memoirs of ʿAbd al-Karim Kashmiri (text, ff. 52a–55b; transl., 57–68), who accompanied the army of Nadir; but his account seems not to be always reliable (e.g., he says that Nadir Shah besieged Ilbars Khan in Khiva, instead of Khanqah). Cf. Lockhart, *Nadir Shah*, 190–195.

[358] Sultan-Saray is the name of a plateau (*qïr*) in the region of Pitnak (24 verst (25 km) southeast of the town, according to Girshfel'd – Galkin (I, 59), or 18 verst (19 km) from the town, according to Stetkevich) and the salt lake (Tuzlaq or Tuzgan) found on it. The plateau and the lake were also called Sultan Sanjar Mazi, the name of the Seljukid sultan who, according to a local legend, tried to dam the Amu-Darya near this place (the legend curiously combines Sultan Sanjar and Törebek Khanïm as contemporaries). The lake was the source of table salt for the entire khanate. Danilevskiĭ, who was the first European author to mention it (p. 79), was of much lower opinion on the quality of salt: according to him, it was of poor quality and blackish color. The most detailed description, including the legend, is found in Girshfel'd – Galkin, I, 59–62; see also: Stetkevich, 19; Lobachevskiĭ, 11.

[359] Pitnak is at the southern limit of Khorezm; it is divided from the rest of the country by Tash-saqa hills, and it is sometimes considered a separate oasis (see Guliamov, *Oroshenie*, 142). In the first half of the 19th century it had about 100 houses and no wall (Helmersen, 17); according to Danilevskiĭ (109), Allah-Quli Khan ordered a wall built in 1842, before his campaign against Bukhara, but the work was stopped at the very beginning.

[360] According to Mahdi Khan (*Tārīkh-i jahāngushāy-i Nādirī*, 457–458) and ʿAbd al-Karim Bukhari (text, 49, transl., 105–106), the khan and his amirs were executed in revenge for the killing of the ambassadors of Nadir Shah; ʿAbd al-Karim adds that their execution was demanded by the heirs of the murdered khojas of Juybar. Fraser (*Narrative*, appendix B, part II, 60) heard an account according to which Ilbars and the others were executed by being buried alive ("and having taken him [Ilbars] and his two brothers prisoners, he put them to death, by burying them, with a number of others, with their heads in the earth"). The same version was heard by Blankennagel in Khiva in 1794 (see Blankennagel', 89: when Nadir Shah defeated Ilbars Khan, he ordered him buried alive, together with more than 30 of his chief officials); see also Veselovskiĭ, *Ocherk*, 188. This is probably confirmed by the account of Muhammad Kazim (facs., II, 567; ed. Riyahi, II, 814): *va dar ān sar-zamīn ba-khāk sipardand*, although these words may simply mean that the executed men were buried in the same place. According to Thomson and Hogg, who witnessed the conquest of Khiva by Nadir Shah (but not the execution of Ilbars Khan), Nadir Shah "ordered the executioners to cut the throat of the Khan and

about thirty of his chief attendants" (Hanway, II, pt. IV, 206). Yet another version of the death of Ilbars Khan is given by Khoja ʿAbd al-Karim Kashmiri (text, f. 55a; transl., 67), according to whom he was "secretly strangled," while "his wife, children and other relations were made prisoners" (Khoja ʿAbd al-Karim does not mention the execution of the Khivan nobles, but, instead, describes the execution of Persian soldiers who started looting in the city of Khiva). The wife of Ilbars Khan was taken, with her six sons, to Iran and kept in Mashhad, and in 1751 she returned to her elder son, Dost ʿAli, one of the important sultans of the Junior Horde; she became wife of Nur ʿAli Khan the same year (see Vel'iaminov-Zernov, *Izvestiia*, I, 144, note).

[361] *Sarkūb*—a tower (of wood, earth, and other materials) erected during the siege of a city, overlooking the wall; on top of a *sarkūb* troops with firearms could be placed.

[362] Cf. the account of two eyewitnesses, the English merchants George Thomson and Reynold Hogg, who were in Khiva during the siege; see Hanway, II, 396; Veselovskiĭ, *Ocherk*, 195 (contrary to what is said by Veselovskiĭ, Thomson and Hogg do not mention the destruction of the city). Elsewhere (see p. 145) Munis mentions that in 1200/1785–86 Muhammad Amin Inaq had the city wall (*qurghan*) of Khiva rebuilt, after it had remained in ruins since the invasion of Nadir Shah. The story of the capture of Khiva is told somewhat differently by Muhammad Kazim (facs., II, 569–570; ed. Riyahi, II, 816); see below, note 368. On the terms for different kinds of firearms see below, note 383.

[363] Dost Muhammad Arbab is identical with the Dosïm Arbab mentioned earlier (Dosïm and Dostum are usual contracted forms of the name Dost Muhammad). It is quite possible that he is also identical with Dostum Bay mentioned by Beneveni as a "favorite" of Shir Ghazi Khan (see Beneveni, index).

[364] These figures are borrowed from Mahdi Khan. Muhammad Kazim (facs., II, 581; ed. Riyahi, II, 825) says that the number of slaves, men and women, was 30,000. In another place, describing the punitive expedition of the *sipahsālār* ʿAli-Quli Khan against the Turkmens of Khorezm in 1158/1745, Muhammad Kazim (facs., III, 170–171; ed. Riyahi, III, 975) mentions that it became known that at that time many more slaves still remained in Khorezm among the Uzbeks, the Qaraqalpaqs, and the Qazaqs—those who were born from Uzbek fathers and Persian ("Khorasani") mothers. Within 40 days about five or six thousand of these people were brought to Khiva, and Muhammad Kazim took part in registering them. Those among them who already had families and property, and who numbered about 2,000, were let go, and the rest were sent to Khivaqabad (= Khiveabad) and partly to Aq-tepe (in ed. of Riyahi—an erroneous reading "Aq-bishe") near Meruchak. For a description of the ruins of Khiveabad see Kuz'min-Korovaev, 96–97. The account of Persian slaves in Khiva and the construction of Khiveabad given by ʿAbd al-Karim Kashmiri (text, ff. 53b–54a; transl., 63–64) differs substantially. According to him, the total number of the liberated Persian slaves was 7,000 (he claims that he knew the exact figure because he personally supervised the distribution of money to them, 10 Indian rupees to each, ordered by Nadir Shah); from among them, however, some returned halfway, others died in the desert, and those who reached Khorasan "had to regret it". But at the same time Nadir Shah ordered 7,000 men and women of Khorezm seized and sent as prisoners to Khorasan, so that they would learn the value of freedom and the hardships of captivity. Khivaqabad was erected for them, and it was so called because the majority of them were from Khivaq (Khiva); it was built by Nadir Shah's Indian architects upon the model of Shahjahanabad (Dehli), but only one quarter of its size (idem, text, f. 57b; transl., 72). A well-designed, regular plan of Khiveabad is confirmed by Kuz'min-Korovaev (see above); but the story of 7,000 Khorezmians sent there as prisoners is not corroborated by other sources.

[365] In his account of the events of the 1770s (see p. 119) Munis mentions that at that time 1 *bātman* of Khiva was equal to 3 1/2 *bātmans* of Tabriz. The *bātman*, or *mann*, of Tabriz was at that time about 3 kg, which makes the *bātman* of Khiva 10.5 kg. This would make a *kharvār* of 52,500 kg—an impossible figure. E.A. Davidovich (*Materialy po metrologii*, 106) calculates a *kharvār* of Khiva as 170–175 kg. As to the *bātman* of Khiva, for the middle of the 18th century she calculates two values: 7.371 kg and 3.788 kg (*ibid.*, 86); even if the lower of these two figures is assumed, a *kharvār* could be only 50, and not 5,000 *bātman*. Cf. the data of Lobachevskiĭ (83), according to whom the Khivan donkeys, which are tall and strong, can "easily carry" a 5–6 pud load (i.e. 80–96 kg), while some can carry even up to 7 pud (102 kg).

[366] Vali Muhammad, son of Jani Muhammad Khan, was the second khan of the Janid dynasty in Bukhara, reigning 1014–1020/1606–1612. Tahir Khan could not be the son of this Vali Muhammad; but no other Vali Muhammad Khan in Bukhara is known. Mahdi Khan (*Tārīkh-i jahāngushāy-i Nādirī*, 458) calls Tahir Khan a "grandson of Muhammad Khan, a Chingizid."

[367] Munis does not mention that before Nadir Shah captured the city of Khiva, the inhabitants had enthroned there Abu'l-Khayr, the khan of the Qazaq Junior Horde. The events connected with this brief episode were related by the Russian officers Gladyshev and Muravin, who were sent to Abu'l-Khayr by Russian authorities for reconnoitering the area in the lower course of the Syr-Darya, where a town could be built for the khan. Gladyshev and Muravin found the khan in Aral, where he had been invited in the meantime by the Aral Uzbeks, in September or early October 1740. On 2 November (Julian calendar, i.e. 13 November of Gregorian calendar) they came to the khan in Aral, and the next day they accompanied the khan to Khiva, where he was invited by the elders in order to defend the city from Nadir Shah. Abu'l-Khayr went to Khiva with his son, Nur ʿAli Sultan, and about 3,000 men, mostly Qazaqs and Qaraqalpaqs, but also some Aral Uzbeks (Gladyshev – Muravin, 528; cf. Veselovskiĭ, *Ocherk*, 191, who says that Abu'l-Khayr came to Khiva with only a small escort), on 4/15 November; on 6/17 or 7/18 November Abu'l-Khayr was already proclaimed khan in Khiva (Gladyshev – Muravin, 529–530, 593). On 8/19 November Muravin was sent by Abu'l-Khayr with a letter to Nadir Shah, who received Muravin on 9/20 November near Khanqah and gave him a letter to Abu'l-Khayr; the letter demanded that the khan should come to the shah and promised to install him as a khan in Khiva. On 10/21 November Muravin returned to Khiva with this letter, but the same day the men of Abu'l-Khayr intercepted a letter from the Uzbeks and Sarts of Khanqah to the Uzbeks and Sarts of Khiva, advising them not to let Abu'l-Khayr leave the city until the arrival of Nadir Shah. Therefore on 11/22 November Abu'l-Khayr, having taken the Russian officers with him, fled from Khiva and the next day arrived in Qongrat, in Aral (Gladyshev – Muravin, 533–534). There Nur ʿAli Sultan was elected as khan by the Aral Uzbeks. Cf. *Tārīkh-i jahāngushāy-i Nādirī*, 458 (Russian transl.: MITT, II, 146). For a detailed discussion of this episode see Veselovskiĭ, *Ocherk*, 190–194; C. Poujol, "Le géodésiste russe et le chah de la Perse: Khiva, 1740," in: *Moyen Orient et Océan indien, XVIe–XIXe s.*, vol. 1, 1984, pp. 86–100.

[368] On the conquest of Khorezm by Nadir Shah see also: *Tārīkh-i jahāngushāy-i Nādirī*, 453–460 (Russian transl.: MITT, II, 142–145); *Tuḥfat al-khānī*, ff. 50b–51b (Russian epitome, from a different MS: MITT, II, 145, note 1); Veselovskiĭ, *Ocherk*, 187–192. The most detailed account is given by Muhammad Kazim (facs., II, 549–572, 581–582; ed. Riyahi, II, 802–821, 825–828; Russian epitome, omitting many important details: MITT, II, 159–162). According to him, when Ilbars Khan went to confront Nadir Shah, he left in Khiva 40,000 (!) foot soldiers under the command of Dostum Bek Mirab, ʿAbd ar-Rahman Bek Qoshbegi and other Uzbek chieftains. After Nadir Shah besieged the city for two or three days, the inhabitants

sent to him a delegation with a petition in which they offered submission and asked for pardon. The petition was accepted, and after the deputies returned, Dostum Mirab and other chieftains came to Nadir Shah with apologies and brought presents, together with the keys to Ilbars Khan's treasury. Nadir showed them his favor and ordered his officials to seize the treasury and all the property of Ilbars Khan. After the conquest of Khorezm, Nadir Shah summoned all the chieftains of *Panj Qal'a-i Khwārizm* (i.e., Besh-Qal'a) and told them: "Let me know if there is anyone among you who is able to govern this country, so that I make him the ruler." They all said: "The rule of this country from the time of Chingiz Khan to the present day has belonged to the Chingizid dynasty. And whatever your august designs are, please confirm that we, [your] slaves, follow this practice." Then Nadir Shah appointed a man known as Tahir Mirza (sic!), who was from the Chingizid dynasty, whose ancestors, "from generation to generation," lived and were born in the province of Herat and who accompanied Nadir Shah in this campaign. Nadir exalted this mirza the same day with a royal robe and the "aigrette of governance (*jīqa-i farmānravāyī*)," put him on the throne, and gave him authority over the entire country of Khorezm. And he ordered that all Khorezmian amirs and nobles, accompanied by some Persian dignitaries, should go to the city of Khiva to enthrone the khan. But when the khan went to Khiva, the same day all the Uzbek leaders started a rebellion, and Tahir Khan went back to the shah's headquarters. When this news reached Nadir Shah, he was enraged and ordered the commander of his artillery to bombard and destroy the city and to ensure that "those dogs be captured and killed." In accordance with this order, the bombardment began. When the Uzbek chieftains witnessed this, those of them who were the instigators of this sedition in the city, together with those who were outside the city, at the court of Nadir Shah, came with apologies and implored the shah to forgive their crimes. Nadir Shah agreed to pardon them and sent Tahir Khan again to Khiva, accompanied by the nobles of Khorezm, saying: "Let the reign that I am bestowing on Tahir Khan remain with him until his death." The khan sat on the throne and, in the manner of the Chingizid kings, began to dispense favors and salaries and to rule the country.

At that time a group of Manghït chieftains was sent to Aral and the Qaraqalpaqs in order to obtain the submission of the tribes of those regions. The chieftains of these tribes came with numerous presents and were exalted with robes of honor. By order of Nadir Shah, collectors (*muḥaṣṣil*) were dispatched to the Aralians and the Qaraqalpaqs, so that, within ten days, each of these tribes supplied 6,000 soldiers to serve in the shah's army; and 12,000 soldiers were taken from the Khorezmian Uzbeks. After having taken these soldiers and settled the affairs of that country, and transferred the rule in Khorezm to Tahir Khan, Nadir Shah went back to Khorasan on the last day of Ramazan 1153 A.H. (19 December 1740). Tahir Khan, with the chieftains and *inaq*s of Khorezm, escorted Nadir Shah to the vicinity of Pitnak. There the shah gave them instructions about the administration of the country and dismissed them, and they returned to Khiva.

[369] After the death of Abu'l-Khayr Khan in 1748, Nur 'Ali became the khan of the Junior Horde (he was deposed by the Russian government in 1786 and died in Ufa in 1790). See on him Erofeeva, 79, 114–116.

[370] On these events cf. *Tārīkh-i jahāngushāy-i Nādirī*, 470, 479–480; Veselovskiĭ, *Ocherk*, pp. 198–203. According to Mahdi Khan (*Tārīkh-i jahāngushāy-i Nādirī*, 470), Nadir Shah ordered Nasrallah Mirza to go to Khorezm by Nawruz of 1155, i.e. 21 March 1742; he says also (*ibid.*, 480) that Nasrallah Mirza returned to Mashhad from Merv on 22 Jumadi II 1155 A.H. (24 August 1742). This means, apparently, that the overthrow of Tahir Khan took place at the end of 1154–beginning of 1155 (beginning of 1742). The most detailed account is given by Muhammad Kazim (facs., II, 636–642; ed. Riyahi, II, 862–866). According to him, the events were as follows. After Tahir Khan had ruled for three months, enmity developed between

him, on the one side, and Yarïm Divan and Kuchuk Mirab, on the other, and these chieftains sought refuge in Aral. Instigated by the Salor Turkmens, Tahir Khan also treated the Aral Uzbeks badly. The latter complained about the oppression of Tahir Khan to Nur ʿAli Khan, and they also sent letters to Sayyid ʿAli Manghït, who lived near Gurlen, asking him to bring Nur ʿAli Khan (to Khorezm) in order to put an end to the tyranny of Tahir Khan. After that Sayyid ʿAli Bek, who had very close ties with Artuq [Inaq] of Aral [this was obviously Sayyid ʿAli Biy, brother of Artuq]—the most influential leader of Aral who ruled 80,000 families [!] of that people—went to Artuq with copious presents and requested help from him. Artuq and Sayyid ʿAli went to Nur ʿAli Khan, who was the ruler of all Aralians and Qaraqalpaqs, and brought him letters from all the Uzbek chieftains of Khorezm asking him to come there and offering submission.

Nur ʿAli Khan agreed and went to Khorezm with 60,000 troops [!] of Aral. He came to New Urgench, but the inhabitants of the city did not let him in, fearing the wrath of Nadir Shah. After the khan waited in front of the city for two days, he and Artuq received letters from the city elders saying that they themselves were weak and powerless, but as soon as the khan would take Khiva, they would submit to him. Nur ʿAli Khan accepted this and went to Khiva. In two or three days the chieftains of Khiva surrendered the city to Nur ʿAli Khan. When Tahir Khan learned about the perfidy of the people there, he went to the citadel and ensconced himself there, and he repeatedly sent letters to Nasrallah Mirza (son of Nadir Shah and the governor of Khorasan and Turkestan, who resided in Mashhad). Nasrallah Mirza did not find it prudent to go to Khorezm without his father's sanction, and he reported about the situation to Nadir Shah. The latter was at that time in Daghestan, and therefore it took some time for the petition of Tahir Khan to reach him. Nadir Shah ordered Nasrallah Mirza to go with 30,000 troops of Khorasan, with artllery, to Merv, and from there to Khorezm in order to suppress the rebels of Aral and Khorezm. Having received the shah's order, Nasrallah Mirza finished the necessary preparations within six months and went to Merv.

In the meantime, Tahir Khan waited in the citadel of Khiva for help from Khorasan, but the people of Aral were attacking every day, and his situation became difficult; many of his people were killed by bullets, and only 30 or 40 men remained who continued fighting valiantly. After this state of affairs lasted for 40 days, Tahir Khan and the rest of the besieged were close to death because of the lack of food. Finally, they hung shrouds on their necks [the usual symbol of surrender], opened the gates of the citadel and surrendered to Nur ʿAli Khan. By order of Nur ʿAli Khan, in 1155 A.H. (1742 A.D.) Tahir Khan was killed in revenge for the death of Ilbars Khan, and Nur ʿAli Khan mounted the throne of Khorezm himself.

Six months later a severe famine spread in the country, so that one grain of wheat would be sold for 10 *mithqāl*s of gold. When the troops of Aral saw this situation, their chieftains came to Nur ʿAli Khan, he abandoned his post, and they all went to Aral. But Artuq [Inaq], being in alliance with the chieftains of the Uzbeks and the Salors, delayed his departure and began administering the affairs of the country. After two or three months, when the famine was over, he went to his tribe and family. Two days after he returned to his tribe, several messengers came to him from the Uzbeks of Khiva informing him that, by order of the shah, 30,000 troops had come to the province of Merv intending to take revenge for the murder of Tahir Khan and to massacre the people of Khorezm. Having heard this news, Artuq came to Khiva, took with him several trusted Uzbek chieftains and numerous gifts, and went to Merv. There Artuq Inaq asked Nasrallah Mirza for pardon, and he complained about the calamities that befell Khorezm and requested that one of the servants (*ghulām*) of Nasrallah Mirza be sent to rule Khorezm.

Persian commanders under Nasrallah Mirza advised him to report about the situation to Nadir Shah. He sent couriers to the shah's court and himself stayed in

Merv. After Nadir Shah received this message, he decided that it would be to the advantage of his empire to make Abu'l-Ghazi Khan, son of Ilbars Khan, the khan of Khorezm. Therefore he decided that Abu'l-Ghazi Khan should be sent from Mashhad to Merv, and from there be sent to Khorezm with Artuq Inaq. And the post of grand vizier, "which in the dialect and idiom of Turan is called *ataliq* and *inaq*," was to be given to Artuq Inaq. When Nasrallah Mirza received this order, he gave Abu'l-Ghazi Khan a royal robe and king's aigrette (*jīqa*), three horses with jewel-encrusted trappings, 100 *ghulāms* with gilded belts, 300 camels, 300 mules, and 7 strings of horses carrying everything needed for a royal court, and in the same year [i.e. 1155/1742] sent him to Khorezm, accompanied by Artuq Inaq. At that time Abu'l-Ghazi Khan was 14 years old. When he arrived in Khorezm, all the people of that country, great and small, came out to meet him; they took the prince in, and on that day all the people remembered Ilbars Khan, and there was a great deal of lamentation for him. Having mounted the throne, Abu'l-Ghazi put in order the affairs of the country, which became more prosperous than before.

[371] According to Muhammad Kazim (see the previous note), Nur ʿAli Khan abandoned Khorezm himself, before the arrival of Abu'l-Ghazi Khan.

[372] The term *qurghan* (as well as its equivalent, *qalʿa*) could mean "fortress", but also "town", and "city wall".

[373] Fath ʿAli Khan was a brother-in-law, not nephew, of Nadir Shah (so according to Lockhart, *Nadir Shah*—see index). Both Mahdi Khan and Muhammad Kazim say that Nadir Shah sent to Khorezm his nephew ʿAli-Quli Khan ibn Ibrahim Khan (see note 375). The origin of Munis' mistake is not clear.

[374] This means, apparently, that Senger was in the northeastern outskirts of Khiva. According to P.P. Ivanov (*Arkhiv*, 37), it was 1.5–2 km north of the city wall.

[375] Mahdi Khan mentions the events in Khorezm during the reign of Abu'l-Ghazi Khan only briefly (*Tārīkh-i jahāngushāy-i Nādirī*, 509, 523), while Muhammad Kazim (facs., III, 94–100, 155–173; ed. Riyahi, III, 933–936, 966–976; partial Russian transl.: MITT, II, 168–172, 176–181) describes them in great detail. According to Muhammad Kazim, after the accession of Abu'l-Ghazi the Yomuts, who had fled from Khorezm as a result of the punitive expedition of Nasrallah Mirza, returned to Khorezm and came to the regions of Aq-Saray and Old Urgench. After that, tensions and feuds began between the Yomuts and the Uzbek tribes of Khorezm. To control the Yomuts, Artuq Inaq brought 10 or 12 thousand foot soldiers (*piyāda mergen*) from Aral; after this the Yomuts expressed their submission, the situation stabilized, and Artuq sent the Aral soldiers back. However, the Yomuts began to instigate the khan against Artuq Inaq, as did especially the chieftains of the Salor tribe, who had long enjoyed a position of power and influence in Khorezm and had even been running all the affairs of the state; they became jealous and hostile toward Artuq Inaq and used every opportunity to incite the khan against him. Gradually, enmity toward the inaq in the khan's heart became so strong that he began to look for an opportunity to kill the inaq.

The khan had about 500 Qalmaq *ghulāms*, whom he inherited from his father and who were with him day and night. He promised special favors and rewards to those who would kill Artuq Inaq, and three or four of them agreed to shoot the inaq during khan's reception (*körünüsh-i khāṣṣ*). The account of the murder of Artuq Inaq is told by Muhammad Kazim with a reference to the story he heard in Khorezm from two secretaries in the khan's chancery, Mirza Muhammad Amin and Mirza Kuchuk. According to this story, the khan was at that time 17 or 18 years old, and he was handsome; most of the time he would spend drinking wine with Artuq Inaq, and the latter, becoming drunk, would say indecent words, and when the khan, also becoming drunk, would fall asleep with his head on the inaq's lap, the inaq would cover his face with lascivious kisses, even though the khan would open his eyes and see it; then the khan would stand up and go to his cham-

bers. Once after such a night Artuq Inaq came to the audience hall in the morning, and the *ghulāms* killed him. The khan seized all his property, and all the servants of Artuq Inaq fled to Aral.

After this, feuds began in the country, and they continued for two or three months, especially between the Salors and the Yomuts, while the Uzbeks supported the Salors against the Yomuts. The Yomuts, having gathered in the region of Old Urgench, were raiding daily the regions of Khiva, Hazarasp, Khanqah, and New Urgench. And the people of Aral began raiding the regions of Manghït and Gurlen. The people of Khorezm, being in a desperate situation, reported about all these events to Nadir Shah. This news reached Nadir Shah when he was near Mosul, and he ordered several military commanders, with 6,000 troops, to go to Sūqyār, on the banks of the Amu-Darya [according to Masson, *Srednevekovye torgovye puti*, 216, Sūqyār must have been at the southern end of the Darghan-Ata *tughay*]. These commanders gathered in the region of Merv, and in 1158 A.H. (1745) went to Chaharju, spent there several days, and from there went to Sūqyār. [This date is wrong; in the manuscript of Muhammad Kazim there was a blank space left for the date, which was inserted later, probably by a different hand; the correct date should be 1156/1743. See Muhammad Kazim, facs., III, 99; ed. Riyahi, III, 936 and note 5; cf. below, note 377.] The Yomuts attacked them there, but were defeated. Nadir Shah received the report of his commanders from Sūqyār, when he was in Qasr-i Shirin, on his way from Baghdad; he dispatched his nephew, ʿAli-Quli Khan, to Merv in order to go from there to Sūqyār and Khorezm. When ʿAli-Quli Khan with his troops reached Deve-Boyunu, which is the border of Khorezm, a number of Khorezmian nobles, "well-wishers of Abu'l-Ghazi Khan," came to him, including Khuraz Inaq (brother of Artuq Inaq, who came there from the shah's court already before the arrival of ʿAli-Quli Khan), Baba Bek—the chieftain of the Salors, Muhammad Amin Mehter, ʿAbd ar-Rahman Bek Parvanachi, and others. They urged ʿAli-Quli Khan to march against the Yomuts without delay. In a battle near Aq-Saray the Yomuts were defeated and fled from Khorezm. After this ʿAli-Quli Khan came to Khiva and set up his camp in "Bāgh-i ʿĀlī," on the eastern side of the city, on Wednesday 1 Rabiʿ II 1158/3 May 1745 [the day of the week was Monday]. The ruler [i.e. the khan] of Khorezm, with the inaqs and atalïqs, came every day to ʿAli-Quli Khan's audience. ʿAli-Quli Khan learned about Persian slaves still remaining in Khorezm and ordered them set free [see on this above, note 364]. The chieftains ("khans and sultans") of Aral and of the Qaraqalpaqs and Qazaqs came to ʿAli-Quli Khan with gifts, offered their submission and implored him not to commit their people to plunder and massacre for the murder of Tahir Khan. A decree pardoning them was issued. The chieftains, in accordance with the demand of ʿAli-Quli Khan, supplied 12,000 soldiers, remained for several days at his court, and returned to their provinces.

Four months later these soldiers were sent, accompanied by some Qïzïlbash commanders, to the court of the shah. After ʿAli-Quli Khan stayed in Khorezm for seven months, he received an order from Nadir Shah to return to Khorasan, leaving the same "governor" (*vālī*, i.e. Abu'l-Ghazi Khan) as its ruler. In accordance with the order, ʿAli-Quli Khan entrusted the rule of Khorezm to the khan, made Khuraz Bek, brother of Artuq Inaq, an *atalïq* of that country, and on 22 Shavval 1158/17 November 1745 went to Charjuy. [Cf. on the dates above.]

[376] Chilpuq, or Chilpïq, also mentioned in various Russian sources as Chalpuk, Chalpyk, and Chalpak (the pronunciation of the first vowel is indicated by the spelling in the text of Munis: Chīlpūq), is a hill at the north-western edge of the Shaykh-Jalil mountains, with the ruins of a fortress on it (supposedly of pre-Islamic time). See Danilevskiĭ, 69; Kun, "Kul'tura," 233–235; Kaul'bars, 32; Rossikova, 648–649; Guliamov, *Oroshenie*, 131. On the local legends connected with it see Vambery, *Sketches*, 135; Snesarev, *Relikty*, 30.

[377] The sequence and chronology of these events are confused by Munis. Artuq Inaq was killed already before the punitive expedition of ʿAli-Quli Khan to Khorezm in 1158/1745 (Nadir Shah learned about it when he was in Qasr-i Shirin, on his way from Iraq to Kurdistan, apparently at the end of 1156/1743), and it was ʿAli-Quli Khan, who installed Khuraz Bek as "atalïq of Khorezm" in place of his brother. See Muhammad Kazim, facs., III, 173; ed. Riyahi, III, 976; Lockhart, *Nadir Shah*, 240–241.

[378] Both the sequence of events and their chronology given by Munis contradict those in the account of Muhammad Kazim (see previous note). Khuraz Bek could not have gone to Nadir Shah in Iraq in either 1159/1746 (the Year of the Leopard) or 1160/1747 (the Year of the Hare), because the shah was not in Iraq after 1156/1743. More importantly, Muhammad Kazim participated in the expedition of ʿAli-Quli Khan to Khorezm himself, and his account should therefore be preferred. It is possible that Khuraz Bek killed Abu'l-Ghazi Khan, indeed, in the Year of the Hare—1160/1747, but it could have happened only *after* the murder of Nadir Shah on 10 Jumadi II/30 June 1747 (similar to the killing of Abu'l-Fayz Khan in Bukhara by Muhammad Rahim Atalïq, which took place immediately after the death of Nadir). If the duration of the reign of Abu'l-Ghazi Khan indicated by Munis (five and a half years) is correct, he must have reigned approximately till the end of 1160/1747. According to the testimony of the Khivan ambassador Isḥāq Mulla in Orenburg in 1761, Abu'l-Ghazi reigned only four years until he was killed by Khuraz Bek (see Veselovskiĭ, "Priem," 103); however, this contradicts the contemporary evidence mentioned above.

[379] *Armā* was a term used for the branches of a river and for major irrigational canals, as distinct from smaller canals called *yāp* (see Bartol'd, *K istorii oroshenïia*, 118; Guliamov, *Oroshenie*, 243); the distinction, however, was not always clear, so that the major canal bringing water to the southern regions of Khorezm, including the city of Khiva, was called both Pahlavan-arna and Pahlavan-yap. Atalïq-arna was also known later as Manghït-arna (see Guliamov, *Oroshenie*, 202–203).

[380] On Bahadur Khan see above, note 340. The name Ghayib always appears in Russian sources (in accordance with the Qazaq pronunciation) as "Kaip". On Kaip (Ghayib) Khan see *Materialy po istorii Kazakhskoĭ SSR*, index (under "Kaip Batyr khan uly"); Erofeeva, 85, 125–126.

[381] *Altun-jilaw*, or *altïn-jilaw* (lit. "[of] golden bridle") was a term for slave bodyguards in the service of the khans of Khiva. To judge from occasional references in Munis and other sources, *altun-jilaw* could be recruited from Qalmaq, Russian, and Persian slaves (Murav'ev, II, 61, explains this term, which he mentions as "Kizil Dzhilov," as "freed Persian slaves"; cf. the account of 500 Qalmaq *ghulāms* of Abu'l-Ghazi Khan by Muhammad Kazim, note 375 above) and could hold some positions at the court. Their role is the same as that of *ghulāms* elsewhere in Central Asia in post-Mongol times (the Russian merchant Rukavkin, who was in Khiva in 1753, heard that the khans rely on foreigners for their protection; see Russov, 380); the term *ghulām* seems not to have been used in this technical meaning in the Khanate of Khiva.

[382] It seems that the role of Ghayib Khan was more than nominal even while Khuraz Bek was alive; cf. Vel'iaminov-Zernov, *Izvestiia*, I, 133–136, 139–145, 149–151. See also, on the relations between Ghayib Khan and Nur ʿAli Khan (of the Junior Horde) in 1751–1753, Vel'iaminov-Zernov, *Izvestiia*, I, 153–158.

[383] This is the first mention by Munis of firearms in Khiva. Shoulder firearms were known in Central Asia at least since the early 16th century (see Togan, *Bugünkü Türkili*, pp. 117–118; Dickson, 123; Belenitskiĭ, "O poiavlenii"); Hasan Rumlu (516–517) mentions muskets (*tufang*) and musketeers (*tufangchiyān*) in the troops of ʿAli Sultan in 965/1557–58 (cf. p. 37). There were several terms used for handheld firearms in Central Asian sources of the 19th century, but it is not always pos-

sible to determine what the difference was (if any) between them; local sources do not give any description of different types of firearms, while European and Russian observers, who describe them, with a few exceptions, do not give the local terms. Munis mentions three terms: *multuq, tufang*, and *shamkhāl* (besides *zanbūrak* and *jazā'ir*, which were not hand-held firearms strictly speaking). Sometimes his text gives the impression that these terms were used for different types of firearms (see, for instance, p. 307), but *multuq* and *tufang* more often than not seem to be synonyms used simultaneously or interchangeably, according to the requirements of style. *Tufang* (also *tüfek*) was the early Ottoman term for musket (cf. Doerfer TME, II, 447 (No. 868); V.J. Parry, "Bārūd. IV," in: EI², I, 1061–1064; R.M. Savory, "Bārūd. V," in: EI², I, 1066–1068). In Khorezm, as in other Central Asian khanates, shoulder firearms, until the Russian conquest, were predominantly, if not almost exclusively, smooth-bore matchlock muskets (see Efremov, 27; Blankennagel', 95; Mir Izzatallah, 61; Abbott, I, 196; Ivanin, *Khiva*, 57; Khoroshkhin, "Kyzylkumskiĭ dnevnik," 23; "O tuzemnom oruzhii," 218). A secretary to the British legation in Persia, Thomson, who travelled to Khiva in 1841, mentioned that, according to the data provided by a Khivan official, the khan's property included "3000 stands of arms, chiefly muskets" (see Lady Sheil, 369; a lengthy excerpt from Thomson's journal is included in a note in Lady Sheil's book, pp. 359–369). However, at least since the end of the 1850s, Russian and European observers noticed among the troops of Khiva also hand-held firearms of other types—flintlocks, English double-barrel hunting rifles, etc. (see Shenurin, 137; Moser, 279); the distribution of flintlock rifles (*chaqmāqī multuq*) to the commanders of detachments of the *sarbāz* in 1275/1858 is registered in a document of the Khivan archive (see Ivanov, *Arkhiv*, 183). The shoulder firearm called *shamkhāl* must have been different from the *tufang* or *multuq* (see, for instance, p. 307); a Khivan document dated 1278–1280/1861–1863 clearly distinguishes between *shamkhāl* and *multuq* in a note saying that a craftsman (*ustā*) from Hazarasp was paid for two big *shamkhāl*s, one *jazā'ir* and one *multuq*, which he delivered to the treasury (see Ivanov, *Arkhiv*, 126–127; *Khiva davlat huzhzhatlari*, 79). The term *shamkhāl* was used, apparently, for heavy muskets, with especially long barrels, that could be shot only from the ground, with the use of a rest (usually two-prong or A-shaped). A clear identification of *shamkhāl* with this type of musket is provided by Valikhanov ("Vooruzhenie," 39), who says that among the Qazaqs "some sultans had Central Asian *shamgal*s, long and heavy rifles, which shoot at the distance of 700 steps"; a Persian officer, Isma'il Mir-Panja, who was in captivity in Khiva in 1269–1280/1853–1864, mentions that the army of Khiva included 600 *tufangchī-i shamkhālchī* and adds that the *shamkhāl*s have long barrels and two-pronged rests (Isma'il Mir-Panja, 111). P.P. Ivanov translates *shamkhāl* as "fal'konet" (see his *Arkhiv*, index, and MITT, II, index), that is, falconet—the same as a heavy musket. The origin and etymology of this term are not clear. The only other case when this word was used, known to me, is as the title of the ruler of the Qazi-Qumukh (or Qumuq) in Tarku, Daghestan (cf. W. Barthold, "Daghestan," in: EI, I, 889; W. Barthold – D.K. Kermani, "Ḳumuḳ," in: EI², V, 382). Curiously, S.V. Grancsay, in his article "A gun from the Caucasus" (*Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Arts*, vol. XXX/9, 1930, pp. 173–174) describes a shoulder firearm dated, according to him, about 1825, whose barrel, according to the opinion of an expert in Leningrad, was made in Daghestan, probably in Kubachi; the inscription on its top strap says: "Owner Aba Muslim Khan, Shamkhal"; Grancsay adds: "Shamkhal being the name of a town in Daghestan." No such town exists, and the inscription gives either the title of the owner, or (less likely) the name of the gun. One can probably surmise that heavy muskets made in Daghestan first became popular in Iran, where they became known by the title of the ruler of Daghestan, and from Iran penetrated into Central Asia; there is nothing further to support such hypothesis, however. Special detachments of *shamkhālchī*s (apparently distinct from *multuqchi* or *tufangbāz*,

simply "riflemen" or "musketeers") existed in Khiva already in the early 19th century, as the text of Munis shows; documents of the Khivan archive show that, at least in the 1860s, the *shamkhālchī*s were divided, like the rest of the troops, into mounted (*atlī*) and infantry (*piyāda*): see Ivanov, *Arkhiv*, 192 (cf. Adamec, 417, where the term *shamkhālchī*s is explained as "mounted matchlockmen"). But even if the *shamkhāl*s were carried by horsemen, they could not use them from horseback, but only from the ground. *Jazā'ir* ("*jazail*'") was explained by a Russian author in 1872 as a "heavy fort gun, or falconet, very long and of large caliber (1–2 inch), with a rather heavy stock" ("O tuzemnom oruzhii," 218); that it was different from both the *shamkhāl* (heavier?) and the *multuq* is shown by the note in the Khivan document mentioned above. (It could have been, however, that the term *jazā'il* was used in Central Asia for the same type of shoulder firearm that was known under this name in Afghanistan and India: a gun with a so-called Afghan stock, curving sharply downwards and terminating in a wide flat butt; see North, 21.) The *zanbūrak* (pronounced *zamburak*) was a light swivel gun mounted on a camel. There is no specific mention of the use of *zanbūrak*s mounted on camels in the army of Khiva, but there is such evidence about the army of Bukhara (see Valikhanov, "Iz zamechaniĭ," 307), and their use in Khiva could hardly have been different. Both *zanbūrak*s and *jazā'ir*s were used with special efficiency in the army of Nadir Shah (cf. Lockhart, 88, 138, 267), and, probably, were introduced into Central Asia by him.

Hand-held firearms were both brought to Central Asia from other countries and made locally. Russia prohibited the export of firearms to Central Asia, but Russian-made guns could occasionally have been smuggled to the khanates. More accessible sources of supply were probably Iran, Afghanistan, and India, although information on such trade is not available so far, with one exception (cf. "O tuzemnom oruzhii," 218, where the export of matchlock barrels from India is mentioned). Russian captives in the Khanate of Khiva testified in the early 1840s that the Khivans were making "rifles" themselves: there were at that time two gunsmiths, who were especially renowned, one in New Urgench, another in Hazarasp ("Svedeniia," 135). A Khivan document of 1285–1289/1868–1872 has a list of 17 gunsmiths (*multuqsāz*; see Ivanov, *Arkhiv*, 194). At the end of the 19th century smoothbore muskets were still made from old barrels and scrap iron in the Hazarasp region; they were heavy and of crude workmanship (Girshfel'd – Galkin, II, 190). Hazarasp was also the place where most gunpowder was made (Kileveĭn, 100).

[384] The account of Munis can be supplemented on the basis of the evidence provided by two Russian officials, Iakov Guliaev and Petr Chuchalov, who traveled with a caravan from Orenburg to Khiva at the end of 1753. They wrote in their report (dated 9 March 1754, i.e. 20 March of Gregorian calendar) that on 17/28 December, when they passed Shahabad ("Shabat"), two of the khan's officials came to seal the bales of the caravan, and shortly after this a dastarkhanchi of the khan came running and told them that Kaip Khan had just killed "Kurazbek" (who had himself intended to kill the khan) and, therefore, the caravan had to go quickly to Khiva (see "K istorii," 70). Thus, Khuraz Bek was killed on 3 Rabiʿ I 1167/29 December 1753; the cyclic year given by Munis is correct, while the Hijri year is wrong. Thana'i (f. 110b) claims that Nadir Shah had told Khuraz Bek that he should not make Ghayib a khan, because he would repay evil for his good, but Khuraz Bek did not listen and was killed unjustly.

[385] According to the testimony of Guliaev and Chuchalov, relatives of Khuraz Bek, "Tulgabek" and "Kalmet-Nak" (Khal Muhammad Inaq?), brought "Iraleĭ saltan" (Er ʿAli Sultan, brother of Nur ʿAli Khan) to the town "Chak" (?) in order to replace Ghayib Khan, but these relatives of Khuraz Bek were mostly killed and their accomplices subdued ("K istorii," 78).

[386] Hatim-i Ta'i was an Arab poet of the second half of the 6th century A.D.,

proverbial in Arabic and Persian literature for his hospitality and generosity (see C. van Arendonk, "Ḥātim al-Ṭā'ī," in: EI^2, III, 274–275).

[387] Bekabad (in Khorezmian pronunciation—Begovat) is ab. 7 km west-southwest of Urgench. See Helmersen, 22; Danilevskiĭ, 115 (the first of two places with this name). Thana'i (ff. 90b–91a) adds on the building activity of Khuraz Bek that both the *kent* called Bekabad and the canal (*yap*) of the same name were constructed by him. And on the western side of the northern gates of the "old city" of Khiva (i.e. "Ichan-qal'a"), in the locality named Baghcha, Khuraz Bek had a tall Friday mosque built; both the community of Bekabad and its mosque were flourishing at the time of Thana'i (in the 1860s). On the western side of the mosque Khuraz Bek had a large reservoir made with a very clean water that came from the Sïrchalï-yap; there was no other reservoir like it in the city of Khiva, and many people were settled around this reservoir.

[388] Iakov Guliaev, who was received by Ghayib Khan on 6/17 February 1754, in his description of this reception mentions that the khan was sitting on a golden throne, in an attire proper to the khan, and had a golden crown on his head; his courtiers later told Guliaev that no ambassador had been received in such attire before ("K istorii," 77). The extraordinary pomp with which the khan apparently tried to surround himself (although the mention of a "golden crown" seems strange and was perhaps a result of a misunderstanding) should probably have stressed his new status. Cf. on the "crowns" in Central Asia below, notes 670 and 739.

[389] In December 1754 there arrived in Orenburg an envoy from Ghayib Khan, an Uzbek, who complained to Russian authorities about the greed and injustice of Ghayib Khan, described hardships suffered by the people because of him, and, on behalf of all the Uzbeks, asked help for deposing him (Levshin, *Opisanie*, II, 205; Veselovskiĭ, *Ocherk*, 229). The story of a money tax imposed by Ghayib Khan does not seem to be reliable. *Ṭillā* (lit. "gold") was the name of the gold coin in the Khanate of Khiva, but the first khan under whom the khanate began its own mint was Eltüzer (see note 1); until then Bukharan coins were current in Khorezm (which were usually called in Khorezm *ashrafī*; cf. below, note 524). The Russian merchant Rukavkin, who was in Khiva in 1753, wrote on Khivan coins the following: "The Khivan people do not make gold and silver [sic], but receive it from Persia and Bukhara. They are struck into coins in Khiva, but in the name of Bukharan, not Khivan, khans, according to their old laws" (Russov, 380); the veracity of this account is doubtful: it is almost certain that Rukavkin simply learned that Bukharan coins were current in Khiva. The 40,000 figure is, as usual, suspicious (cf. above, note 144), and a money tax was first introduced in Khiva, according to Munis himself, by Eltüzer Khan (see p. 184 and note 632); the total amount of *salghut* (monetary land tax) collected in the khanate in the middle of the 19th century was between 40 and 50,000 *ṭillā*. Nothing even remotely close to this could be imposed, let alone collected, in the 18th century. The account may just mean that Ghayib Khan was accused of imposing a burdensome money tax. Cf. the account of Muhammad Vafa Karminagi (below, note 395), according to which Ghayib Khan tried to collect money in order to pay his Qazaq troops.

[390] The post of *nā'ib* (which is not included among the titles of 32 members of the khan's council established by Abu'l-Ghazi Khan, cf. p. 45) is explained in the late descriptions of the Khanate of Khiva as that of the governors of the regions of Besh-Arïq and Qïyat-Qongrat; there were seven *nā'ib*s there, five in Besh-Arïq and two in Qïyat-Qongrat, according to the number of Uzbek clans in these respective regions (Girshfel'd—Galkin, II, 22–23). *Materialy po raŭonirovaniiu* (31) repeats this information, but explains further that the authority of the *nā'ib*s extended only to the members of their clans. Neither the origin of this system, nor the reason why it was limited only to the Uzbeks living in Besh-Arïq and Qïyat-Qongrat, are known.

The tribal affiliation of the *nā'ib*s most frequently mentioned by Munis was Nokuz, then Qongrat and Manghït.

[391] Ghayib Khan had requested help from his father Bahadur Khan several times, and already in 1748, threatened by the Turkmens and Aral Uzbeks, had asked his father to rescue him from Khiva (see Vel'iaminov-Zernov, *Izvestiia*, I, 133).

[392] This figure is correct, if we assume that Ghayib Khan reigned from 1160/1747 to 1171/1758. Cf. below, note 395, the account of Muhammad Vafa Karminagi on Ghayib Khan and his reign. Muhammad Vafa mentions that "all the warriors" of the Manghït tribe were killed by Ghayib Khan in 1171/1757–58, and his flight from Khorezm seems to have happened soon after this, to judge from the same account. Ghayib Khan died in 1789 (Viatkin M., *Ocherk*, 203; cf. Veselovskiĭ, *Ocherk*, 237—"around 1790").

[393] On Qarabay Sultan, son of Bahadur ("Batïr") Khan and brother of Ghayib Khan, see *Materialy po istorii Kazakhskoĭ SSR*, index (under "Mir-Sultan Karabaĭ Batyr khan uly"); Erofeeva, 116. Muhammad Vafa Karminagi claims that after Timur Ghazi Sultan was enthroned in Khorezm, 'Abdallah Khan (i.e. Qarabay Sultan) was seized, together with two sons of Ghayib Khan, and sent to Bukhara (see below, note 395).

[394] According to a letter brought to Russia by an ambassador of Timur Ghazi Khan, Isḥāq Mulla, in 1761, Timur Ghazi was a son of Muhammad Hajji Sultan and a brother of the khan of Bukhara, Abu'l-Ghazi (see Veselovskiĭ, "Priem," 103–104). Abu'l-Ghazi, a Janid (according to 'Abd al-'Azim Sami—a grandson of one of the daughters of Abu'l-Fayz Khan), was a puppet khan in Bukhara under Daniyal Biy Atalïq in 1171–1200/1758–1785 (possibly to 1203/1788–89; see E.A. Davidovich, *Istoriia monetnogo dela Sredneĭ Azii XVII–XVIII vv. (Zolotye i serebrianye monety Dzhanidov)*, Dushanbe, 1964, pp. 51–52; 'Abdal'aẓīm Sāmī, *Ta'rīkh-i salāṭīn-i Manghītīya (Istoriia mangytskikh gosudareĭ)*, ed. by L.M. Epifanova, Moscow, 1962, p. 50). According to Isḥāq Mulla, Timur Ghazi had been elected four years before the arrival of this ambassador in Orenburg, that is, in 1757.

[395] Muhammad Rahim, the first khan of the Manghït dynasty in Bukhara, began to rule in 1166/1753 and assumed the title of khan in 1170/1756. Some circumstances of Ghayib Khan's reign in Khiva and the events that followed his flight to his father, Bahadur Khan, and the role of Muhammad Rahim Khan, are described by Muhammad Vafa Karminagi in a chapter of his *Tuḥfat al-khānī* (ff. 283a–289a) entitled "An account of the events of Khorezm and the flight of Ghayib Khan towards the Dasht-i Qïpchaq, and his departure to the Qazaq *ulus*, and the appeal of the amirs of Khorezm, after they fought each other, to the royal court [of Muhammad Rahim Khan]." It generally confirms the account of Munis, but differs in some details, while adding some others. According to Muhammad Vafa, the Khorezmians made Ghayib their khan after the death of Nadir Shah. After Ghayib Khan had ruled in Khorezm for two or three years and saw that the nobles were obedient to him, he became conceited and arrogant. He destroyed Artuq Inaq, who tried to prevent him from committing unlawful acts, and he would appoint as governors those who would show their support to him. He abandoned, without any visible reason, the policy of good relations with Bukhara, which he pursued at the beginning of his reign, and set out on the path of enmity. He made a register of 6,000 experienced troops of Aral and Khorezm, and in 1171 A.H. (1757–58) he slaughtered all the warriors from the Manghït tribe because of their close relationship (*qarābat*) with the *ulus* of Muhammad Rahim Khan (of Bukhara). Those who escaped and came to Muhammad Rahim tried to persuade him to go to Khorezm with the army and to put an end to Ghayib Khan's "mutiny and rebellion" (i.e. oppression). At that time, however, an amazing thing happened that eliminated Ghayib Khan without the need to use force. The details of it were as follows. Ghayib Khan became aware of the complaints against him by those who fled to

Bukhara, and he sent messengers to his father, Bahadur Khan, urgently asking him to send some Qazaq troops to Khorezm. Bahadur Khan came quickly to Khorezm with 6,000 troops. Ghayib Khan met him, and they decided that a number of Qazaq troops would remain in Khorezm to serve Ghayib Khan. In order to pay these troops, Ghayib Khan demanded huge sums from the people of Khorezm, and he sent collectors to the towns and villages who tried to exact money from the people without any reason. Then the people of Gurlen, Urgench, Khanqah, and as far south as Hazarasp killed these collectors, rebelled, and gathered from all regions troops which then marched against Bahadur Khan and the Qazaqs. A major battle took place, in which the Qazaqs were utterly defeated and many of them killed; the Khorezmians captured numerous horses and sheep brought to the camp of Bahadur Khan by Qazaq merchants who intended to sell them in Khorezm in exchange for fabrics. Ghayib Khan, fearing the hostility of the Khorezmians and the help they might receive from Muhammad Rahim Khan, fled at dawn from Khiva with several men, joined his father and, having abandoned his family (which included his two sons and a brother), went to the Dasht-i Qïpchaq and the Qazaq *ulus*. The people of Khiva, in order to end the sedition in the country, proclaimed as khan ʿAbdallah Sultan, a brother of Ghayib Khan, and asked the people outside Khiva and the enemies of Ghayib Khan to support ʿAbdallah. But, since the Manghïts, the Qongrats, and other tribes detested Ghayib Khan, they killed another of his brothers, Böri Sultan, in Aral and avoided joining the Khivans. They sent a delegation, consisting of chieftains from each tribe, to Muhammad Rahim Khan with a petition explaining that, if the brother of Ghayib Khan remained on the throne of Khiva, the sultans of the Qazaq *ulus* would certainly come again to Khorezm and destroy their opponents. Therefore they asked Muhammad Rahim Khan to send troops to Khorezm promising that they would support these troops and provide them with guides, and that when they finished with the brother of Ghayib Khan and the people who enthroned him, they would submit the entire country of Khorezm to the authority of Muhammad Rahim Khan. The khan consulted with his amirs, who suggested that he find out also the opinion of the people of the city of Khiva and for this purpose invite a delegation from there under Khoja Naqib. The latter came and expressed their willingness to follow any order that might be issued by the khan. Thereafter the khan sent to Khiva a *yasavul* of his court, together with several envoys, who carried the khan's order that all the dignitaries and officials (*arbāb-i manāṣib va ahl-i ḥall u ʿaqd*) of Khorezm should come to the khan's court within 15 days, whereupon the khan would arrange a reconciliation. Upon receiving this order, all the amirs and the chieftains of all communities (*qawm*), numbering over 200, promptly came to the khan. On Thursday of the month of Shaʿban [the date is not given], the khan gave a pompous reception and a banquet for all of them, at which the great amirs and sayyids of Bukhara were also present. The members of the delegation were assigned pleasant accommodations and given numerous gifts. On Friday they attended the khan's prayer at the mosque of the *ärk* of Bukhara, which was followed by another banquet. On Saturday another feast was given by amir Daniyal Biy in a *chahārbāgh* outside of the city, at which were present the head of the sayyids, the chief qazi, the great amirs, and the military commanders, as well as the delegates of both Khorezmian parties who were admonished by the Bukharans to abandon their previous enmity and to come to a reconciliation. The Bukharans urged "the community of *Yurt Oghli*, who were the foundation and the grandees of Khiva and other towns" (*jamāʿa-i Yurt Oghli ki uṣūl va aʿyān-i Khīvaq va dīgar qilāʿ and*) to relinquish their support of Ghayib Khan and his brother, to unite with the Uzbek *ulus* and to establish as their khan one of the sons of the sultans who lived under the protection of the Bukharan court. When the Khorezmians heard these conditions set forth by Muhammad Rahim Khan as transmitted by his amirs and grandees, they accepted

them, and the agreement was concluded with a banquet arranged by Shahsuvar Toqsaba. On Monday Muhammad Rahim Khan gave a royal audience (*körünüsh-i ʿālī*), at which he granted Timur Ghazi Sultan a royal robe of honor and an aigrette with precious stones (*jīgha-i murassaʿ*) and "gave him a place among the khans of Khorezm," entrusting the affairs of that country to its amirs. After that ʿAvaz Biy Bukavul and Muhammad Amin Khoja Sadr, who were the retainers of Muhammad Rahim Khan, by his order accompanied the prince (*töre*) to Khorezm, where they put him on the khan's throne, and, having seized ʿAbdallah Sultan, together with two sons of Ghayib Khan and his court (*ordu*), brought them to Bukhara.

[396] Qarya-i Davud is ab. 15 km northeast of Khiva.

[397] The term *ḥazīra* (lit. "enclosure") in Central Asia was usually used for memorial complexes, which included a mosque, a mausoleum (or mausoleums), a cemetery, and possibly some other structures, all surrounded by a single wall (see L.Iu. Man'kovskaia, "Khazira—kompleksy Sredneĭ Azii," in: *Kul'turnye sviazi narodov Sredneĭ Azii i Kavkaza: Drevnost' i srednevekov'e*, Moscow, 1990, pp. 115–124). In Khorezm, however, this term was obviously used for walled-in estates in general.

[398] For a more detailed account of the events related to the career of Muhammad Amin Inaq see below, in chapter IV.

[399] The dasturkhanchi (*dastūrkhānchī*), or dastarkhanchi (*dastarkhʷānchī*), was a court official supervising the royal table (lit. the man who spreads the tablecloth, *dastūrkhān* or *dastarkhʷān*). It seems that in Khiva this post could be occupied by a slave (cf. p. 115, on a dasturkhanchi who was an *altun-jilaw*).

[400] On Rawnaq cf. V.A. Abdullaev, "Khorazmdagi XVIII asr ŭzbek adabiëtida mafkuraviĭ kurash," in: *Trudy Uzbekskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta*, new series, vol. 63, Samarkand, 1956, pp. 3–45 (no biographical information).

[401] According to Blankennagel' (96; based on the accounts of Russian captives in Khiva), at the time of his visit (1793) the khan would appear before the people three times a year, surrounded by those who actually rule; the rest of time he was locked in, under close guard. ʿAbd al-Karim Bukhari (text, 79, tr., 180) called the enthronement of khans in Khiva at that time *khān-bāzī* "playing at khans". In his description of the Khanate of Khiva compiled in Orenburg in 1803, P.E. Velichko writes the following: "The khan, elected from among the Uzbeks, is the main person in the government, but he does not enjoy any authority and respect. His usual residence is the castle Arik [i.e. *ärk*], where he spends all his life with very poor sustenance in a virtual confinement, being watched for everything he does; his entire authority consists of attaching a seal to the government documents, without which no decisions have force, especially in important matters, like in criminal cases requiring capital punishment. All decrees and regulations are issued in his name, although he does not know anything about them; for instance: a wealthy Sart, on a slightest suspicion, loses his life, with all his relatives, and their estate is taken to the khan's court; but the khan not only does not get anything for himself, but even does not know when it happens." (Velichko, 124.) Cf. also below, note 549.

[402] According to Erofeeva (127), this assertion of Munis is wrong, and Abu'l-Ghazi was in fact a son of Ghayib Khan; but she apparently confuses him with ʿAbd al-ʿAziz Khan (cf. p. 76 and note 415).

[403] Nur ʿAli Khan, son of Baraq Sultan of the Middle Horde, is not to be confused with Nur ʿAli Khan, son of Abu'l-Khayr Khan (of the Junior Horde), who was khan in Khiva briefly in 1742–1743 (see p. 66). Baraq Sultan killed Abu'l-Khayr Khan in 1748; see on him Erofeeva, 80, 116–118.

[404] This ʿArabkhana cannot be identical with the locality ʿArabkhana indicated on the 1905 map west of Kat and north of Shahabad. Cf. p. 99, where, in the description of events that took place near Khiva, "the salt marsh of ʿArabkhana, also called Mizan" is mentioned. Lake Mizan is indicated on the 1905 map at ab. 9 km east of Khiva.

[405] According to Ivanov (*Arkhiv*, 36), Qara-tüpe was between Khiva and Peshkanik, that is, only 2 or 3 km from Khiva to the south-southeast.

[406] This cryptic sentence refers to an event that is not mentioned by Munis elsewhere and remains unexplained. The Ahmad Shah mentioned here could only have been Ahmad Shah Durrani, the ruler of Afghanistan (1160–1187/1747–1773). However, nothing is known about any participation of Khorezmians in the affairs of Afghanistan at that time; they could hardly have been involved in the confrontation between Ahmad Shah and a Bukharan force in Afghan Turkestan in 1175/1761 or later, in Badakhshan, in 1182/1768, because during this period the Khorezmian Uzbeks seem to have maintained good relations with the ruler of Bukhara Daniyal Ataliq, to whom Muhammad Amin Inaq fled from the Yomuts in 1183/1770, hoping (in vain, as became clear only later) to receive help from him (see p. 110). In any case, the *Tārīkh-i Aḥmad-shāhī* does not mention Khorezmians at all (on the events of 1175–1182/1761–1768 in Afghan Turkestan and Badakhshan see vol. 2, ff. 514a–517a, 589a–590b, 597a, 601a; cf. also R.D. McChesney, *Waqf in Central Asia: Four hundred years in the history of a Muslim shrine, 1480–1889*, Princeton, 1991, pp. 221–227; McChesney erroneously mentions amir Shah Murad as a ruler of Bukhara contemporary with Ahmad Shah, on the authority of an Afghan work of the early 20th century; see p. 225). A possible answer to the question may be found in several Russian documents from the archives of the Russian foreign ministry published in the collection *Kazakhsko-russkie otnosheniia v XVI–XVIII vekakh*, 666–667, 670–671, and later in another collection, *Mezhdunarodnye otnosheniia v Tsentral'noĭ Azii XVII-XVIII vv.: Dokumenty i materialy*, vol. 2, Moscow, 1989, pp. 164–166, 174–187, 191–192 (Nos. 215, 219–224, 227). As these documents show, after the Chinese conquest of Jungharia and Eastern Turkestan in 1758–1759, there was a growing concern in Central Asia, especially among the Qazaqs of the Middle Horde and the Uzbek rulers in Ferghana, about an imminent Chinese offensive. They tried to seek support from Ahmad Shah (apparently, as the powerful Muslim ruler closest to them), and in 1762 Ahmad Shah sent an embassy to the emperor Ch'ien-lung protesting against the Chinese occupation of Islamic lands and demanding that the Chinese retreat from Eastern Turkestan (the arrival of this embassy is confirmed by Chinese sources, see *Mezhdunarodnye otnosheniia v Tsentral'noĭ Azii*, 165–166). The embassy did not bring any results, and some exchange of letters on this subject took place between Ahmad Shah and several Qazaq khans and sultans, as well as Irdana Bek of Qoqand. A Russian interpreter, Matveĭ Arapov, who in August 1764 traveled to sultan Ablay of the Middle Horde of the Qazaqs, reported that the Afghan shah, after the failure of his embassy to China, intended to fight China in order to liberate the Muslims, and asked other Muslim peoples to help him. Ahmad Shah received firm pledges to this effect from, among others, the ruler of Qoqand, "Ardiania" (Irdana) Bek; Irdana Bek sent a letter on this subject to Ablay, demanding help also from him, which Ablay promised (Arapov was able to get a copy of this letter). Arapov added that Ahmad Shah, however, had not begun his military campaign yet, but had only sent on the way to China a numerous army, which was busy digging wells and canals (!) in desert areas, in preparation for the future campaign; but Ahmad Shah could not begin this campaign before the next spring, because he was busy fighting the people of "Siak" (i.e. Sikh) near India, whom, it was said, he had already defeated; and then he would carry out his plan. Arapov said that this information was based on accounts which he heard "from good and reliable" Qazaq chieftains. (See *Kazakhsko-russkie otnosheniia v XVI–XVIII vekakh*, 666–667.) Another document (*Mezhdunarodnye otnosheniia v Tsentral'noĭ Azii*, 179–182), a letter from Nur ʿAli Khan of the Junior Horde to Russian authorities in July 1764, told about a messenger who had come to Nur ʿAli Khan from Abu'l-Muhammad Khan of the Middle Horde; Abu'l-Muhammad let him know that he had received an ambassador from Ahmad Shah, who had announced that Ahmad Shah had already

set out with an army of 40 *lak*s (a *lak* is 100,000; thus, the army was 4 million strong!) and 20,000 elephants, and that its advance guard of 90,000 had already arrived in Qoqand; Ahmad Shah also requested (according to Abu'l-Muhammad Khan) that Nur 'Ali Khan supply his troops with horses and sheep. The same accounts, as well as some additional ones, of similar character, are given by Vel'iaminov-Zernov (*Izvestiia*, I, 206–227), who also used documents from the Russian foreign ministry archives. Vel'iaminov-Zernov gives the following story. After the Chinese claimed their suzerainty over the Qazaqs of the Middle Horde and over other Central Asian lands, Abu'l-Muhammad Khan, Ablay Sultan, the Tashkentians, Kashgarians, Yarkandians, and Khojandians sent a petition to Ahmad Shah asking him to protect the Muslims from the infidels. This petition was carried by two sons of former beks of Kashgar and Yarkand; they received (or asked for?) 30 *lak*s of troops (p. 212; that is, 3 million) from Ahmad Shah, and in the spring of 1763 returned with 33 *san*s (each *san* had 10,000) of the Afghans and a decree of Ahmad Shah appointing them beks in Kashgar and Yarkand and deposing the Chinese appointees. This decree was carried out, and the new beks began to govern. Ahmad Shah sent simultaneously one of his viziers to the emperor of China warning him to stay away from Kashgar, Yarkand and other Muslim countries; if he would not comply, Ahmad Shah demanded that the emperor should choose a place for battle and wait for the arrival of his army, which, in the strength of 33 *san*s, had already set out and was ordered to wait for the return of the envoys in the country of "Arziania Bek" (Irdana), between Tashkent and Qoqand (pp. 212–213). Elsewhere (p. 206) Vel'iaminov-Zernov says (apparently on the basis of the same sources) that in 1763 "33 *san*s of the Afghan troops of Ahmad Shah, with artillery, stood between Tashkent and Kokan and waited for the return of 40 envoys sent by Ahmad Shah to China." Vel'iaminov-Zernov mentions, furthermore (pp. 214–215), on the basis of the report of the acting governor of Orenburg, that in 1763 Ahmad Shah intended to go with an army against Bukhara, and then against India, when envoys from the cities of "Little Bukharia" came to him with a complaint against the Chinese, so that he rushed to help his co-religionists. Fazil Biy, from Khojand, wrote to Abu'l-Muhammad Khan of the Middle Horde urging him to fight together with the Afghans against the Chinese (p. 223). In early 1764 doubts developed about Ahmad Shah's intentions (p. 223), and, to investigate the situation, the interpreter Matveĭ Arapov was sent in May 1764 to Ablay Sultan; Vel'iaminov-Zernov refers to his report about Ahmad Shah's fighting with the people of "Siak", while his troops were digging wells and canals "on the road to China" and preparing provisions for future campaign (p. 227; cf. *Mezhdunarodnye otnosheniia v Tsentral'noĭ Azii*, 184–187). Levshin (*Opisanie*, II, 237–238) repeats briefly (on the basis of the same sources) the information on the strong army of Ahmad Shah that was sent against China and stopped between Tashkent and Qoqand, while "zealous Muslims from everywhere joined their defenders and were persuading everyone, by words and letters, to hurry to them as reinforcements." The same information was mentioned by Valikhanov in his notes on the history of the Khanate of Qoqand (Ch.Ch. Valikhanov, "Zapiska o Kokanskom khanstve," in: Ch.Ch. Valikhanov, *Sobranie sochineniĭ v piati tomakh*, [2nd ed.], vol. 3, Alma-Ata, 1985, pp. 323–324). There is no doubt that all these stories were based on rumors, with typical wild exaggerations and wishful thinking (some merchants from Khojand, for instance, claimed that Ahmad Shah had ten times more forces than China), that were spread in the steppes of Central Asia in the mid-1760s, after the Chinese conquest of Jungharia, and Vel'iaminov-Zernov did not show much of a critical approach by simply repeating them without comment. A modern work (B.P. Gurevich, *Mezhdunarodnye otnosheniia v Tsentral'noĭ Azii v XVII—pervoĭ polovine XIX v.*, 2nd ed., Moscow, 1983, pp. 180–190) utilizes the same documents and tries to give a coherent account of the relations between China, Russia, the Qazaqs, the Central Asian states, and Afghanistan in

the 1760s, but fails to evaluate the veracity of the accounts of the military moves of Ahmad Shah.

However, if the 4,000 men mentioned by Munis did go, indeed, "to help Ahmad Shah," it should show that appeals from (or in the name of) Ahmad Shah were not only issued, but also found some response. But in this case a number of questions still remain unanswered: (1) when did these men go to Ahmad Shah? (it seems that it could have happened in 1763, when the rumors of Ahmad Shah's campaign against China were spreading in Central Asia); (2) where had they been until 1768, when they returned to Khorezm?; (3) what was their actual number? (numbers derived from 40 are especially suspicious, cf. above, note 144): 4,000, or anything on that order, was too large figure for Khorezm at that time.

The mysterious sentence of Munis was noticed by Böri Ahmedov (see B.A. Akhmedov, *Istoriko-geograficheskaia literatura Sredneĭ Azii XVI–XVIII vv.* (*Pis'mennye pamiatniki*), Tashkent, 1985, p. 125), who assumed that the Khivans, apparently, helped Ahmad Shah in his war with the Sikhs. The Khorezmian Uzbeks had an experience of military service outside of their country under Nadir Shah (see above, p. 65), but in that case they were forced to serve by a foreign conqueror. It is extremely unlikely that they would have volunteered for a war far beyond the region of their immediate interest.

[407] The statement about Er ʿAli is both an anachronism and exaggeration. The khan of the Junior Horde from 1749 to 1786 was Er ʿAli's elder brother, Nur ʿAli. Er ʿAli was officially elected as khan, under Russian patronage, in 1791 and died in 1794; he never enjoyed the power and prestige ascribed to him by Munis. See on him Erofeeva, 85, 126–127.

[408] Nawkhast was 7.5 km southwest of Khanqah (indicated on the 1905 map, but not on modern topographic maps). See Danilevskiĭ, 117; Ivanov, *Arkhiv*, 42–43.

[409] The epic fight of the two personages of the *Shāh-nāma*, Rustam (see above, note 259) and Isfandiyar (son of the mythical king of Iran, Gushtasb) is a common literary metaphor for a great battle.

[410] On the term *fuqarā'* in Central Asia see above, note 297. Here this term was clearly used in its direct meaning ('the poor').

[411] For a more detailed account on this famine, see chapter IV (pp. 109–110).

[412] Munis made a mistake in the name of Bölekey Khan's father: it was Er ʿAli Khan, a younger brother of Nur ʿAli Khan (see on him Erofeeva, 126–127). Below (see p. 389) Munis himself mentions that Bölekey was son of Er ʿAli. On Bölekey Khan see Erofeeva, 84, 124.

[413] Bilqis—the name by which the Queen of Sheba is known in Islamic literature (see E. Ullendorff, "Bilḳīs," in: EI², I, 1219–1220); it was used as an epithet of a noble woman.

[414] On the mausoleum of Sayyid ʿAla' ad-Din (d. 702/1303), the oldest mausoleum preserved in Khiva, see Guliamov, *Pamiatniki*, 17–21; Man'kovskaia – Bulatova, 149–151; Bulatova – Notkin, 30–32; photos also Man'kovskaia, Nos. 159–161.

[415] ʿAbd al-ʿAziz Khan, son of Ghayib Khan, who ruled Khiva until 1756 (see pp. 68–69) and then was elected khan by the Qazaqs of that part of the Junior Horde (branch Alim-ulï) whose main pasture lands were in the lower basin of the Sïr-Darya, was himself elected khan by the tribe Shektï (Chekli in Khivan sources) and died in 1815; see Viatkin M., "Politicheskiĭ krizis," 34 (where he is erroneously called "Abul-Gaziz," following some Russian sources of the late 18th and early 19th centuries, which, in turn, reflect Qazaq folk pronunciation; see also *Materialy po istorii Kazakhskoĭ SSR*, index, under "Abul-Gaziz Kaip khan uly," where other forms are also given; see Viatkin M., *Ocherk*, 203, 222, which gives the correct form of the name). Erofeeva, 127, mentions him under the name Abu'l-Ghazi.

[416] Qawruq-Tam (Qāwrūq-Tām in the text), apparently pronounced Quruq-Tam (so on the maps; see also Ivanov, *Arkhiv*, 41), is 3 km southeast of Yangi-Arïq.

Astana is 16 km east of Khiva and 4 km southwest of Yangi-Arïq (see on it: Helmersen, 23; Danilevskiĭ, 115; Guliamov, *Oroshenie*, 85); the place was known for the mausoleum of Shaykh Mukhtar (see p. 323 and note 852).

[417] *Bekzāda*, lit. "son of bek", means a member of a family of tribal nobility who is not appointed to any post (cf. above, note 19, on the term *beklik*).

[418] The "Qalpaq princes" (or khans) mentioned here, as well as in some other sources, were Chingizids from among the Qazaqs, who occasionally ruled certain parts of the Qaraqalpaqs (cf. above, note 303).

[419] Qosh-Küprük (pronounced Qosh-Kupïr; so also on the maps) is 15 km north of Khiva, on the Ghaziabad (Gazavat) canal. According to former Russian captives in Khiva (see Helmersen, 22), its population consisted of Persians (that is, former Persian slaves); however, according to Danilevskiĭ (106), in 1842 its inhabitants were Uzbeks and a few Sarts, and the village had 40 houses and 15 shops.

[420] Amir Daniyal is amir Daniyal Biy Atalïq, the second Manghït ruler of Bukhara (1172–1199/1758–1785).

[421] Baghat is 16 km east of Yangi-Arïq (cf. Danilevskiĭ, 104, where it is erroneously stated that Baghat is 47 verst northwest of Khiva, instead of northeast).

[422] These events are described in more detail in chapter 4; see pp. 134–142.

[423] ʿAbdu Karim Bek is called here "the martyr prince," because he was killed in the battle with the army of Bukhara in 1221/1806, see p. 230.

[424] Dobun Bayan, according to Rashid ad-Din and the *Secret History*, was the husband of Alanqoa, the mythical female progenitor of the Nirun branch of the Mongols (see JT, I/2, 9–11; SH, §§ 9–10). The same is repeated by Abu'l-Ghazi (I, 60, II, 64)—the source of Munis for the section of chapter III dealing with the history of the Chingizids—and by Munis himself in chapter III (see p. 14). The discrepancy probably points to the fact that Munis used some other source for chapter IV.

[425] Qongrat (the original Mongol form of the name: Qonggïrat < Onggïrat) was one of the most important Mongol tribes at the time of Chingiz Khan. On its early history see JT, I/1, text, 387–416; transl., 160–166; Pelliot – Hambis, 407–409. On the form of the name appearing in various sources and its possible explanation see *ibid.*, 402–406; Pelliot, *Horde d'Or*, 29, 91. I use here only the late Turkic form of the name.

[425] This is, apparently, a corrupted Tūla (Tūghla in JT, I/2, 10), i.e. the river Tola, a right tributary of the Orkhon. Cf. Pelliot – Hambis, 261–262.

[427] Qaljiday Khan, as well as the subsequent rulers preceding Dey Noyan (see below), are not mentioned in any other known source.

[428] Balghalï is one of main subdivisions of the Uzbek tribe Qongrat. It exists to this day; see Zadykhina, "Uzbeki," 338. According to an Uzbek oral tradition recorded by modern ethnographers, the khans of the Qongrat dynasty belonged to the clan of Balghalï (*ibid.*, 337).

[429] Burqut appears in the list of the 92 Uzbek tribes compiled in the 16th to 19th centuries; see Sultanov, "Opyt," 167, 170, 171, 174. It was also recorded in Central Asia (as a comparatively small tribe) after the Russian conquest; see Aristov, "Zametki," 423–424.

[430] Kürleüt (Kürläwüt) is mentioned by Rashid ad-Din (JT, I/1, text, 216–220; transl., 117–118) as a tribe closely related to the Qongrat, but he mentions neither its eponym Kürley nor his father Qawchin. One of the clans of the Kürläwüt, according to Rashid ad-Din, was called Oymāqūt (JT, I/1, text, 220; transl., 118; cf. Pelliot – Hambis, 216). This ethnonym (in the form Oymaut or Oymawut) still appears in the traditional list of the 92 Uzbek tribes of the 16th to 19th centuries; see Sultanov, "Opyt," 166, 171. A clan by this name is known at present among the Qazaqs, the Qaraqalpaqs, and the Qïrghïz; see *ibid.*, 169; Pelliot—Hambis, 216.

[431] Tümene Khan was the great-great-grandfather of Chingiz Khan. The name in this form was borrowed by Munis from Mirkh^{w}and rather than from Abu'l-Ghazi

(cf. *FI Text ed.*, 85; RṢ, V, 26; Abu'l-Ghazi, I, 64–66). Rashid ad-Din gives the name in the form Tumbina (JT, I/2, 27–32; the same SH, § 47; cf. Pelliot – Hambis, p. 64).

[432] On Qabul Khan see JT, I/2, 32–36. The account of Munis in chapter III is borrowed from Mirkh^{w}and (see RṢ, V, 28–29) with some abridgements; Abu'l-Ghazi (I, 66–67, II, 70–71) gives it in a different version. Rashid ad-Din mentions the wife of Qabul Khan from the tribe of Qongrat who was the mother of his six sons, but her name is given as Qoa Kuluku (JT, I/2, 40), and the name of her younger brother as Sayin Tegin (JT, I/2, 40–41). Mirkh^{w}and (RṢ, V, 30) mentions only that Qabul's wife was from the tribe Qongrat, and Abu'l-Ghazi does not mention her at all. Sharaf ad-Din Yazdi (*Ẓafar-nāma*, f. 25b) gives the name of the wife of Qabul Khan from the tribe of Qongrat as Qarā Q.rīq and says that she was the mother of three sons.

[433] The name Qïyat for the sons of Qabul Khan (which does not appear in RṢ, V, 30) is borrowed by Munis from Abu'l-Ghazi (I, 66–67, II, 71), whose account goes back to Rashid ad-Din (see JT, I/1, text, 365–366; transl., 155; I/2, 32). On the name, see Pelliot – Hambis, 117–118, 121–122. On relations between the Qïyat and the Qongrat see above, note 107.

[434] Qara-Müren ("Black River") is the Mongol name for the Yellow River (Hwang-ho); see Bretschneider, *Researches*, 185.

[435] This is a corrupted form of the name of the first son of Qabul Khan given by Rashid ad-Din as Ökin Barqāq (see JT, I/2, 32; cf. SH, § 48); the same is also given in RṢ (V, 30); Abu'l-Ghazi (I, 66) gives Ökin Bārghāq.

[436] Khanbalïgh is the Turkic name for Pekin; see P. Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, vol. I, Paris, 1959, pp. 140–143; W. Barthold, "Khānbalïḳ," in: EI, II, 964 (EI^{2}, II, 1020).

[437] Toqu Chingsang does not appear either in Rashid ad-Din or in any other known source used by Munis. A minister of Altan Khan who is called only by his title Chingsang is mentioned by Rashid ad-Din in the early history of Chingiz Khan (JT, I/2, 92, 93, 108; cf. Pelliot – Hambis, 193), but this has no connection with the story of the plundering of Khanbalïgh.

[438] Dey Noyan, father-in-law of Chingiz Khan and ruler of the Qongrat tribe, is repeatedly mentioned by Rashid ad-Din (JT, I/1, text, 394; transl., 162; I/2, 68, 117, 271; II, 65, 80 = ed. Blochet, 2, 87, 153); in JT, I/2, 117, he is called Dey Sechen, and in this form his name appears in SH, § 61. For a detailed discussion of him, see Pelliot – Hambis, 408–409, 411–414. The name of his father is apparently not mentioned in other sources. Mirkh^{w}and and Abu'l-Ghazi do not mention Dey Noyan.

[439] In the autograph of Munis, this sentence is added in the margin. According to Rashid ad-Din, Darïtay was a brother of Dey Noyan (see JT, I/1, text, 394; transl., 162; I/2, 271; II, 88 = ed. Blochet, 153).

[440] Yesügey Bahadur was the father of Chingiz Khan.

[441] This name appears in JT in several places in the spelling Qaṭā (I/1, text, 394; transl., 162), Qatāy (I/2, 271, and probably I/1, text, 394; transl., 163) and Q.?ā (II, 88, note 1; cf. ed. Blochet, 154, who emends Q.tā). Abu'l-Ghazi (I, 149, II, 157) gives Qabā (cf. the same in JT, II, ed. Blochet, 154 *c*). He was a son of Darïtay, and not of Dey Noyan. Three other sons of Darïtay mentioned by Rashid ad-Din were Būyūr (? MSS give various forms, also Būbūr, Būqūr, etc.; JT, I/1, text, 394; transl., 162; I/2, 271), Tegūder, and Jūyqūr (so JT, I/1, text, 395; transl., 162) or Sungqūr (also Shungqūr etc., JT, I/2, 271).

[442] Terk Amal is Terge Emel of Rashid ad-Din and the Secret History; see JT, I/1, text, 393 (false reading Qaraqe; cf. the variants given in note 18); transl., 161; I/2, 126; SH, § 27, 176. On the man, see Pelliot – Hambis, 407–409. Terge Emel joined Chingiz Khan with the part of the Qongrat under his leadership, but later,

having refused to marry a daughter of Chingiz Khan because of her ugliness and thereby offending her father, he was executed by Chingiz Khan. Terge Emel not only lived in a region (near the lake Buir Nor) different from that in which Dey Noyan lived (in the northeasternmost parts of the Mongolian lands), but also belonged to a different tribal subdivision (see Pelliot – Hambis, 409).

[443] Taghachar (according to Pelliot, this, and not Toghachar, is the correct pronunciation; see Pelliot – Hambis, 178–179) appears in Rashid ad-Din sometimes with the title *bahādur* (see JT, I/2, 177, 209, 220, 255), once with the title *noyan* (*ibid.*, 254), and sometimes without any title (*ibid.*, 163, 190, 214, 217). His nickname was Dalan-Turqaq or Dalan-Turqaqtu (JT, I/1, text, 397–398; transl., 163; I/2, 163). According to Juvayni and Nasavi, he was the son-in-law of Chingiz Khan and accordingly was called Güregen (see Juvayni, transl. Boyle, I, 174). Neither these nor any other sources mention his father or descendants.

[444] The name of the daughter of Dey Noyan who became the chief wife of Chingiz Khan was Börte Fujin. About her, see JT, I/2, 68–69; B. Vladimirtsov, *Gengis-khan*, transl. by M. Carsow, Paris, 1948 (index).

[445] Munis does not use the term *amīr-i lashkar* to refer to "the commander of the army" in the later sections of the *Firdaws al-iqbāl*. Probably it comes from his source (either written or oral).

[446] According to Rashid ad-Din, the names of the two daughters of Qatā (?) Noyan who became the wives of Chaghatay were Yesülün Khatun and Türken Khatun (JT, II, 88 = ed. Blochet, 154).

[447] *Aqcha* is apparently used in the meaning of "coin" (or "small coin") and not as a name of any specific monetary unit.

[448] See this episode in JT, I/2, 126–127. The text of Munis, however, goes back apparently to Abu'l-Ghazi (I, 78, II, 85), who also gives the name of the river as Qūlā. Mirkh^{w}and mentions only the Qongrats, but not the name of their ruler (RṢ, V, 40).

[449] The known sources say nothing about any connection between Terge Emel and Taghachar and nothing about a prominent role of the latter under Chingiz Khan.

[450] On the campaign against Qodu the Merkit, see JT, I/2, 177–178, where the date is given as 612/1215–16. The account of Munis probably goes back to Abu'l-Ghazi (I, 91–92, II, 99–100), where the date is 613/1216–17 (the same date is also found in RṢ, V, 60, but Mirkh^{w}and's account is much more detailed and follows Rashid ad-Din more closely). On Qodu, see Pelliot – Hambis, 284–287.

[451] In the autograph of Munis the reference to Banakati and the *Rawżat aṣ-ṣafā'* is added in the margin.

[452] See RṢ, V, 96; *Tārīkh-i Banākatī*, 267–268 (there is, however, no date in this edition). The source of Mirkh^{w}and and Banakati was Rashid ad-Din (JT, I/2, 209 sqq.), but the latter claims that Taghachar was killed in the region of Ghur by mountaineers (*ibid.*, 220). According to Sharaf ad-Din (*Ẓafar-nāma*, f. 51b) and Juvayni (tr. Boyle, I, 174–175), Taghachar was killed at the walls of Nishapur; in RṢ, V, 96 the same story of Taghachar's death from an arrow shot from the city wall is connected with Herat (Banakati does not mention at all the death of Taghachar). However, the destruction of Herat by Elchigitey Noyan was caused not by the alleged killing of Taghachar near its wall, but by the revolt of the city population; see RṢ, V, 122–123 (apparently based on the work of Sayfi al-Haravi, see Sayf ibn Muḥammad ibn Ya'qúb al-Harawí, *The Ta'ríkh Náma-i-Harát*, ed. by M.Z. aṣ-Ṣiddíqí, Calcutta, 1944, pp. 76–80; borrowed from Mirkh^{w}and by Abu'l-Ghazi, I, 128–129, II, 137–138). Munis seems to have combined all these stories into one. About Elchigitey (correct form: Eljigidey) Noyan, see also P. Pelliot, *Les Mongols et la Papauté*, [offprint 1924–1928], pp. [116], [171].

[453] The date of the death of Terge-Emel seems not to be found in other sources.

[454] The name of the son-in-law of Chingiz Khan who was married to Tumalun (<Tömölün, or Temülün, see Pelliot, *Horde d'Or*, 84; Pelliot—Hambis, 9) appears in Rashid ad-Din in various forms: Shinggu, Shingu, or Shiku Güregen (JT, I/1, text, 396; transl., 162; I/2, 273), Jigu Güregen (JT, I/1, text, 401; transl., 164; I/2, 168; II, 108 = ed. Blochet, 215) and Güregen Güregen (JT, I/2, 70, 72); Jigu is certainly Chigu Güregen of the Secret History, § 202. That the "Güregen Güregen" who figures in JT in the account of the wives and children of Chingiz Khan must be identical with Shingu/Shiku/Jigu Güregen who figures in the historical accounts of Chingiz Khan's reign and in the account of the Mongol tribes seems to follow from the fact that this Güregen Güregen appears also as the husband of Tumalun. J.A. Boyle (Juvayni, tr. Boyle, I, 174–175, note 11) supposed that he had been a different person and tried to identify him with Toghachar (Taghachar) (see notes 443 and 452 above). This, however, seems to contradict Rashid ad-Din, who states that Tumalun's husband Güregen Güregen was "a son of the ruler of the Qongrat," and this description fits only Shingu/Jigu, who was a son of Elchi Noyan, the ruler of the Qongrats (see note 457 below) and the grandson of Dey Noyan (see note 438 above). The name Tinim Güregen comes apparently from Banakati, to whom Munis directly refers in this connection. The published text of Banakati, however, gives this name in an apparently corrupted form as "B.m Güregen" (*Tārīkh-i Banākatī*, 364; cf. Bregel, "Tribal tradition," 379, on the probable palaeographic origin of this corruption). In any case, "Tinim" (= Chigu) Güregen has nothing to do with "Terk Amal" (Terge Emel) who was inserted by Munis (or by his source) into the line of Dey Noyan.

[455] On the title *noyan* (also *noyin*) see Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyĭ stroĭ*, 104–106; Pelliot – Hambis, 178; Doerfer TME, I, 526–529 (No. 389). *Amīr al-umarā'* refers to the chief amir, commander-in-chief of the army.

[456] This account of Tinim Güregen seems to be completely fictional, except probably the last sentence about his conversion; cf. the next note. No such details, either about Shingu/Jigu Güregen or about any other Mongol *noyan*, are found in the known written sources.

[457] Musa Güregen, a Qongrat, is mentioned by Rashid ad-Din in four places. He is said to be a brother of Hülegü's wives Mertey Khatun and Qutuy Khatun (JT, I/1, text, 399; transl., 163; III, text, 16, 19, 97, transl., 20, 66); his wife was Hülegü's daughter Taraqay or Toqay (JT, III, text, 16, 19, transl., 20), and he had a daughter Tudaku Khatun who was the wife of Ahmad Tegüder (JT, III, text, 66, 67, transl., 100, 101). Rashid ad-Din says twice that he was a son of a daughter of Chingiz Khan, but the name of this daughter is missing in the manuscripts. The account of Munis allows us to suppose that this daughter was Tumalun (Tömölün): she was the only known daughter of Chingiz Khan whose husband was a Qongrat (Shingu/Chigu/Jigu Güregen, see note 454 above), namely the Tinim Güregen of Munis, the father of Musa Güregen. Rashid ad-Din mentions that the original name of Musa Güregen was Togha Timur, but a learned man (*adīb*) who was his teacher gave him the name Musa (JT, III, text, 16, transl., 20). This story probably confirms Munis' statement that Musa's father Tinim Güregen became a Muslim by the end of his life. The only circumstance which casts some doubts on the identification of the Musa Güregen of Munis with Rashid ad-Din's Musa Güregen is that the latter seems to be connected (at least by family ties) with the *ulus* of Hülegü.

[458] Many details told about the famous Noqay by Munis are found in other sources, but there is no confirmation of a number of others, especially the central one, i.e., his alleged Qongrat origin. According to all other sources, Noqay was a great-grandson of Jochi: his father was Tatar, and his grandfather Bowal (<Bool), the seventh son of Jochi (on the name, see Pelliot, *Horde d'Or*, 52–54). On Noqay Noyan see JT, II, 75, 82–87, 105 = ed. Blochet, 122, 139, 141–152, 203–204; N.I.

Veselovskiĭ, "Khan iz temnikov Zolotoĭ ordy Nogaĭ i ego vremia," in: *Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences de Russie*, VIIIe série, Classe historico-philoloqique, vol. XIII/6, 1922 (sep. pag.); Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde*, 64–77 and index; A.N. Nasonov, *Mongoly i Rus'* (*istoriia tatarskoĭ politiki na Rusi*), Moscow – Leningrad, 1940, pp. 69–78; G. Vernadsky, *The Mongols and Russia*, New Haven, 1953, pp. 163–165, 173–189.

[459] On Noqay being wounded in battle cf. also p. 22.

[460] The land of Bulghar is Bulgaria in the Balkans, which was indeed included in the *ulus* of Noqay. But the name of Noqay's son Aghaday, who allegedly governed the country, is not found anywhere else.

[461] About Saray as the capital of the Golden Horde, see W. Barthold in EI, III, 483 (also Bartol'd, *Sochineniia*, III, pp. 483–484, with additional references); Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde*, 266–268; G.A. Fedorov-Davydov, *Obshchestvennyĭ stroĭ Zolotoĭ Ordy*, Moscow, 1973, pp. 78–89; T.T. Allsen, "Saray," in: EI[2], IX, 41–44 (with additional bibliography); Egorov, *Istoricheskaia geografiia*, 112–117.

[462] "Sayin Khan" refers to Batu.

[463] Cf. JT, II, transl. Boyle, 126: "When . . . Toqta . . . was firmly established as absolute ruler upon the throne of Jochi, he repeatedly sent ambassadors to Noqai and, encouraging him with fair promises, summoned him to his presence, but Noqai refused to come."

[464] According to Rashid ad-Din, Saljiday Güregen was a Qongrat, one of the descendants of Dey Noyan or Darïtay, and his *yurt* was near Khorezm (see JT, I/1, text, 395; transl., 162; II, 73, 84, 104, 202 = ed. Blochet, 111, 145, 146, 203, 204, 568). His son was said to be of the Uyghur faith (i.e., a Buddhist; see JT, II, 84 = ed. Blochet, 145). On the origin of his wife Kelmish (or Beklemish) Aqa, Rashid ad-Din provides contradictory reports: in the section on the children of Jochi she is mentioned as a sister of Mengu Qa'an and of Mengu Timur's wife Öljeytü Khatun, and Toqtay (= Toqtaghu) is mentioned as her nephew (JT, II, ed. Blochet, 111; transl. Boyle, 109; the Russian translation gives a corrupted version, see JT, II, 73); in other places she is said to be a daughter of Qutuqtu, who was a son of Toluy (JT, II, 104, 202 = ed. Blochet, 203, 568; transl. Boyle, 160, 312; cf. JT, I/1, text, 395; transl., 162).

[465] There are various spellings of this name in the MSS of Rashid ad-Din: Q.bāq, Q.nāq, Q.yān (see JT, II, 84 = ed. Blochet, 145; cf. transl. Boyle, 126: Qïyāq); see also Pelliot, *Horde d'Or*, 74, note 3.

[466] None of the other sources mentions that Noqay took his daughter by force from his son-in-law.

[467] On Bulghar, see note 460. Qazan had never belonged to the *ulus* of Noqay.

[468] Neither the Manghït Sonqor Mirza nor the whole story of his treachery and the killing of Aghaday Bahadur are found in any other source. Among the amirs who abandoned Noqay for Toqtay *before* the war between them, Rashid ad-Din mentions a certain Sanghuy or Sanquy (JT, II, 85 = ed. Blochet, 146); probably one should read Sonqor. Saljiday Güregen was not killed in the battle (which apparently took place in 699/1299; see Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde*, 76, note 63; cf. Pelliot, *Horde d'Or*, 73, note 2), but died two years later, in 701/1301–02 (see JT, II, 104 = ed. Blochet, 203).

[469] On the *tugh* (standard) see below, note 622.

[470] This date is incorrect; see note 468. According to all other sources, Noqay was captured by a Russian soldier of Toqtaghu (Toqtay) Khan (hence the name "Urus" of this soldier in FI), who either wounded Noqay fatally, the latter dying en route to Toqtay (so JT, II, 86 = ed. Blochet, 150), or killed him and brought his head to Toqtay (see Tiesenhausen, I, 113–114, 122–123, 159).

[471] According to all contemporary sources, Noqay had three sons: Jöge, Tüge, and Toray (see the detailed discussion in Pelliot, *Horde d'Or*, 79–83). Aghaday is not mentioned anywhere else.

[472] Hajji-Tarkhan is Astrakhan on the Volga, which did not yet exist at the time of Jochi; it was founded, apparently, later in the 13th century, although the date is not known (see Egorov, *Istoricheskaia geografiia*, 119). On the town in the 14th century, see *The Travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa . . .*, transl. by H.A.R. Gibb, vol. II, Cambridge, 1962 (Works issued by the Hakluyt Society, 2nd ser., No. CXVII), pp. 496–497; Safargaliev, 81–82.

[473] On the value of a *balïsh*, see Bartol'd, *Turkestan*, 463, note 3, and the references given there; Juvayni, tr. Boyle, I, 23, note 14.

[474] This Esen Bugha (Buqa), not known from other sources, is not to be confused with Esen Buqa Güregen, son of Noqay Güregen (or Noqay Yarghuchi, also different from Noqay Noyan), who was in Iran; see Pelliot, *Horde d'Or*, 82–83; JT, III, text, 12–13, 254, 288, 328, transl., 18, 144, 161, 184. The honorific *chechen* has the same meaning as *sechen* ("sage"); see Pelliot—Hambis, 413–414.

[475] Sayyid Ahmad, known as Sayyid Ata, was one of the most popular Sufi shaykhs of the Yasavi lineage in Khorezm. He was the second *khalīfa* of Zangi Ata (or Zangi Baba), who was himself a *khalīfa* of Hakim Ata (Sulayman Baqïrghani), the pupil of Ahmad Yasavi. It is said that Sayyid Ata was a contemporary of Shaykh ʿAli Ramitani who is said to have died in 721/1321. Sayyid Ata became a keeper of the tomb (*mujāvur*) of Hakim Ata and was buried near this saint in Baqïrghan. See the texts cited by K.G. Zaleman, "Legenda pro Khakim-Ata," in: *Bulletin de l'Académie Imp. des Sciences de St.-Pétersbourg*, V[e] série, IX/2, 1898, pp. 106, 120–121, 139, 140–141. Of all known sources only the anonymous *Shajarat al-Atrāk* contains a story of Özbek Khan's conversion to Islam due to the Shaykhs Zangi Ata and Sayyid Ata; this allegedly happened in the eighth year of Özbek's reign, in 720/1320 (see Tiesenhausen, II, text, 266; transl., 206). The *Shajarat al-Atrāk*, said to be an abridgement of a historical work of Ulugh Bek (see Bartol'd, *Turkestan*, 101, 105–106; idem, *Ulugbek*, 141–142; Storey—Bregel, II, 777, No. 665), was apparently written in the 16th century under the Abulkhayrids. The author of the *Shajarat al-Atrāk* states in his story of the conversion of Özbek Khan that the event is described in greater detail in the biography (*maqāmāt*) of Sayyid Ata; this biography has not come down to us. It is difficult to say whether Munis used this unknown biography or the *Shajarat al-Atrāk* (or, possibly, the *Manāqib al-akhyār* by Muhammad Qasim Rizvan; cf. Storey, I, 987, No. 1315—described as *Maqāmāt-i Sayyid Atā'ī*), or yet some other unknown source containing the same story. According to contemporary sources, Özbek Khan embraced Islam at his accession in 712/1313. For a detailed discussion of Özbek Khan and the stories of his conversion see DeWeese, *Islamization*, 90–158 (on an 18th-century story of Özbek's conversion see pp. 371–375); on Sayyid Ata see also DeWeese, "Atā'īya."

[476] This explanation of why the title *noyan* was replaced by *biy* seems not to be found elsewhere.

[477] *Takbīr*—the pronouncing of the formula *Allāhu akbar* "God is greatest".

[478] Baqïrghan, 22 km north of Qongrat, is the place where the tombs of Hakim Ata and Sayyid Ata are situated. On this locality see Bartol'd, *Turkestan*, 204–205; idem, *Svedeniia*, 51; idem, *K istorii oroshеniia*, 177; Guliamov, *Oroshenie*, 246. About the origin of the name Baqïrghan, according to the *Ḥakīm Ata kitābi*, see Vel'iaminov-Zernov, *Issledovanie*, II, 127.

[479] *Pīr*—a spiritual guide of a Sufi (in this meaning a synonym of *shaykh* and *murshid*).

[480] On Shaykh ʿAbbas Vali and his mausoleum see below, note 769.

[481] Naghday (or Nughday? also Nangïday) appears in some of the Timurid sources. Muʿin ad-Din Natanzi says that he was famous in the land of the Uzbeks for his stoutness, that he perished in the disturbances of the time of Keldibek Khan (766/1364–65, see Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde*, 112), and that his son Husayn Sufi was the ruler of Khorezm (see Tiesenhausen, II, text, 234, 238, transl., 129, 133,

155 note 2). According to Nizam ad-Din Shami (*Ẓafar-nāma*, ed. by F. Tauer, I, Prague, 1937, p. 67), the amir Nangday (or Nangïday) was the father of Yusuf Sufi (who ruled Khorezm after Husayn Sufi) and Aq Sufi; the latter was married to a daughter of Özbek Khan. Sharaf ad-Din Yazdi repeats this evidence, adding the name of Aq Sufi's wife (*Ẓafar-nāma*, f. 148b), and says elsewhere that Nangaday (or Tangaday) belonged to the Qongrat tribe (f. 146a). Thus, according to these sources, Nangïday (Naghday) was the ancestor of the dynasty known in the modern historical literature as that of Sufis, because almost all of its members had this characteristic title (cf. B.I. Vaĭnberg, "K istorii kungratskikh Sufi," in: *Polevye issledovaniia Khorezmskoĭ ėkspeditsii v 1957 godu*, Moscow, 1960 (Materialy Khorezmskoĭ ėkspeditsii, vol. 4), pp. 104–114). The information about Naghday given by Munis is not found elsewhere; it has been epitomized by A.Z.V. Togan in his article "Hârizm," 251. Thana'i (f. 101b) adds on the mausoleum of Naghday that Sayyid Muhammad Khan (1271–1281/1856–1864) ordered a tall building built anew upon the tomb of Naghday (simultaneously with erecting a new mosque and a mausoleum of Shaykh 'Abbas Vali) and endowed *vaqf*s to support them. On Naghday Biy see also DeWeese, *Islamization*, 102, note 75.

[482] None of the descendants of Naghday mentioned by Munis, from Harun Mirza down to Menglish Bahadur, appears in any other known source.

[483] On this campaign see p. 24.

[484] The clan Ish-Quli exists to this day in the subdivision Balghalï; see Zadykhina, "Uzbeki," 338.

[485] This appears to be an anachronism. The Qalmaqs (Junghars) did not penetrate into the western part of Dasht-i Qïpchaq in the 15th century, and their first known raid occured in 861/1457, after the date of the death of Menglish Bahadur mentioned by Munis.

[486] Musa Biy appears in Abu'l-Ghazi (I, 189–190, II, 201–202), where the account of him is quite different: Musa Biy (in the heading, Musa Bek) is called a Manghït (his father is not mentioned), while the affiliation of Qojash Mirza is not indicated; nor are the Qalmaqs mentioned. But the story of the negotiations between Musa Biy and Burge Sultan and the following enthronement of Yadigar Khan is borrowed by Munis almost literally from Abu'l-Ghazi; the story of the subsequent raid against Qojash Mirza is told by Abu'l-Ghazi in greater detail, but again nothing is said about defeating and subduing the Manghïts.

[487] For a detailed account of the killing of Burge Sultan by Shïbani Khan see Abu'l-Ghazi, I, 191–193, II, 204–206.

[488] In the history of Ilbars Khan (see p. 28) Munis (following Abu'l-Ghazi) mentions only that Yangi-Shahr and Tersek were given by Ilbars to his brother Balbars and to "one of his *nökers*."

[489] On 'Ali Sultan (son of Avanesh Khan), see Abu'l-Ghazi, I, 243–248, II, 260–266.

[490] This story goes back to the *Ẓafar-nāma* by Sharaf ad-Din Yazdi (f. 245a; cf. Bartol'd, *Ulugbek*, 51), which could have been used by Munis either directly or through the *Rawżat aṣ-ṣafā'* (see RṢ, VI, 216–217).

[491] This episode is related in greater detail by Abu'l-Ghazi (I, 322–323, II, 345–346), but without mentioning Umbay Inaq.

[492] Sayyid Inaq is also called Sayyid Muhammad Inaq in chapter III (see p. **142**).

[493] The title *chura-aghasï* (*chuhra-aghasï*) was otherwise not recorded in the Khanate of Khiva. However, at least one instance is known when this title (as a purely honorary distinction) was granted by the khan to a Turkmen chieftain in 1262/1865–66 (see Bregel, *Khorezmskie turkmeny*, 340). In 19th-century Bukhara it was one of the low ranks in the official hierarchy, see Semenov, *Ocherk*, 60.

[494] The story of the conspiracy of amirs and the blinding of Anusha Khan is not mentioned in chapter III, in the section on Anusha (see p. 49).

[495] This is the only instance when the term *atabek* is used by Munis; it is actually synonymous with *atalïq*.

[496] Maʿn-i Zaʾida, a military commander and governor of the late Umayyads and early Abbasids, was also famous for his extreme generosity (see H. Kennedy, "Maʿn b. Zāʾida," in: EI², VI, 345). On Hatim-i Taʾi see above, note 386.

[497] In chapter III Munis says that Shirdalï Biy was killed in the Year of the Snake (began in February 1737), without giving a Hijri date (see p. 63).

[498] *Ṭavāf* is the ceremony of circumambulation of Kaʿba on the last day of the pilgrimage to Mecca (*ḥajj*). Zamzam—a well in Mecca, beside the Kaʿba.

[499] Thanaʾi (f. 105a–b) tells the story of the meeting between Khuraz Bek and Muhammad Amin Bek quite differently. After Muhammad Amin Bek told who he was, Khuraz Bek said to him: "You appear to be from a noble dynasty (*khānadān-i aṣīl*). Whatever happened [between us and] your father was the result of the exigencies of time and the words of tale-tellers and slanderers. What has passed has passed; do not have bad feelings, but come to the *ärk*, and I will give you a horse, a robe of honor, and a post (*manṣab*), and will promote you, because you are [our] companion (*sharīk*) in governing this *yurt*: when it leaves you, it passes to me, and when it leaves me, it passes to you. Everything done by unmanly, malicious people is by Divine decree." And Khuraz Bek gave him 100 *ṭillā-yi Maʿṣūmī* (i.e. golden coins of Shah Murad – "Amīr-i Maʿṣūm"—of Bukhara, an obvious anachronism), while the amirs wept because of his fairness, and he left. Both versions, the first one given by Munis and the other one given by Thanaʾi, are clearly legendary, but come from two opposing traditions: a Qongrat tradition in the account of Munis, and a Manghït tradition in the account of Thanaʾi (who was a descendant of the Manghït Mengli-Quli Atalïq, a contemporary of Anusha Khan).

[500] On ʿArabkhana and Mizan see above, note 404.

[501] Ängärik, 1 km south of Khiva (on modern topographic map Ėngaryk), later became known as the site of one of the khans' summer houses ("gardens"). According to Kalmykov (49), in 1873 local people still would show, opposite this garden, a huge elm-tree under which the tent of Nadir Shah had been pitched. The Russian mission stayed there in 1842 (see Danilevskiĭ, 114; cf. a detailed, and not very favorable, description by Basiner, 118–120).

[502] Orta-quyu, or Orta-quduq, an important group of wells on the route from Khorezm to Akhal, is at ab. 200 km southwest of the borders of the cultivated land in Khorezm; see on these wells *Materialy dlia opisaniia khivinskogo pokhoda*, fasc. 9, clmn. 54–61; Lessar, "Peski Kara-kum," 114.

[503] Qara-Mazï is ab. 7 km east of Urgench and ab. 7 km northwest of Khanqah, on the canal of the same name. In the early 19th century it had 200 houses and was inhabited by Uzbeks, Sarts, and freed Persian slaves (Helmersen, 18).

[504] Qongrat is mentioned by Munis as a town (or, in any case, as a settlement) for the first time under 1133/1720–21, in the description of the events of the reign of Shir Ghazi Khan (see p. 60); it is not clear whether it was in the same place as it was in the 19th century (this is the assumption of Guliamov, *Oroshenie*, 204). The town was visited by the Russian envoys Gladyshev and Muravin in 1740, when they were coming back from Khiva; according to the testimony of Gladyshev, the inhabitants of the town lived in tents (Gladyshev – Muravin, 533–534). It seems that in the late 18th and early 19th century, when it was the center of an independent Aral region, it was still not really a city, but rather a large walled-in area, which served as the place of residence of the ruler and a refuge for the nomadic Uzbek population of Aral during Aral's wars with Khiva. It was mentioned in a description of the Khanate of Khiva compiled by P.E. Velichko in 1803 (on the basis of information gathered by the Russian administration in Orenburg) in the following way: "Konrat . . . is the chief place in their encampments, surrounded by a rampart of earth, up to 20 verst in circumference; this rampart is up to 2 arshin

[1.4 m] high, with several entrances, which are barricaded, when needed, with turnpikes ("*rogatki*") and carts; into this circle thay gather, with their families, in winter" (Velichko, 115). This character of Qongrat is clearly referred to by Munis himself in his account about the demolishion of the city wall after its conquest by Muhammad Rahim Khan in 1811: "the wall . . . encompassed a space that could accomodate as many as 20 thousand tents" (see p. 377). Such fortifications were built in the Amu-Darya delta also much later: according to Butakov ("Del'ta," 134), during the Turkmen raids in 1859, the Qaraqalpaqs built several rectangular mud fortifications, in which they put their tents almost next to one another; the largest one accommodated up to 1,000 tents. No descriptions of Qongrat from the period of Aral's independence have come down to us. Its wall was destroyed in 1811 by Muhammad Rahim Khan after he conquered it (see p. 377); Guliamov (216) erroneously says that "the city was razed to the ground." Former Russian captives in Khiva related in the mid-1820s that the city wall had been destroyed by water, and the town abandoned by its inhabitants (Helmersen, 15–16), which is probably not true. In 1842 Danilevskiĭ (106–107) described it as a town on the left bank of the canal Khan-yap, which had a house and a garden belonging to the khan, houses of the governor and his two assistants, 7 mosques, 315 shops, and several small private houses; it had no wall. Danilevskiĭ mentions also a "broad earth wall" of rectangular shape from three sides between the right bank of the Khan-yap and the Amu-Darya, while the fourth side was formed by the river; these walls were "the fortifications of the former Qongrat"; a similar description is given by Basiner, 161–162. In 1863 Vambery (*Sketches*, 138–139) passed the ruins of the old Qongrat on his way to the then existing town (which he does not describe). In 1858 Butakov ("Del'ta," 131) described Qongrat as a "fortified town" that had a population of 6–8 thousand, with the khan's "palace" and governor's residence, one main mosque, a large caravanseray and very busy bazaar, and winding, muddy, narrow, and stinking streets with rather primitive houses (cf. also Kileveĭn, 98). Butakov certainly overestimated the population of Qongrat. In 1873 the Russians found the town almost entirely empty; the city wall and part of the houses, which had been destroyed in 1858 during a war (i.e. shortly after Butakov's visit, during a rebellion against Khiva) were not restored, and the khan's palace was in total decay (Lobysevich, 51). By the early 20th century Qongrat had just 68 households (Girshfel'd – Galkin, II, 132–133).

[505] This Manghït was, apparently, identical with Manghït-qal'a, which was in the Amu-Darya delta; on its location see Guliamov, *Oroshenie*, 207. It should be distinguished from the later town of Manghït, on which see below, note 579.

[506] Kenjek is probably identical with Kajik ("Kadzhik") of modern topographic maps, ab. 3 km northeast of Shahabad.

[507] Muz-Kumgan (pronounced Buzgumen, so also on the maps) is ab. 8 km west of Ghaziabad (Gazavat).

[508] Safcha (pronounced Sapcha, so also on the maps) is ab. 10 km northeast of Khiva.

[509] Afrasiyab—a legendary king of the Turanians, according to Iranian epic tradition, and a personage of the *Shāh-nāma*. On Rustam, another personage of the *Shāh-nāma*, see above, note 259.

[510] The Chandur-Qïyat bridge was probably just east of Shahabad, where several bridges on the Shahabad canal are indicated on modern topographic maps.

[511] Isma'il Ata—apparently a tomb ascribed to one of spiritual successors of Ahmad Yasavi (14th century A.D.); its location has not been established.

[512] *Qadamgāh* is the place, where a saint "set his foot," i.e. either rested or lived for a short time. Such places are often venerated similarly to the burial sites of saints, and sometimes shrines are erected there.

[513] For descriptions of Khivan boats, *kimä*, see "Svedeniia," 138–139; Ivanin,

Khiva, 50; Stetkevich, 44–47; Girshfel'd – Galkin, I, 110–111 and appendix II, 9–11; Syrovatskiĭ, 143–144; Snesarev, *Relikty*, 246–248; Sazonova, *Traditsionnoe khoziaĭstvo*, 83–89 (very detailed, with illustrations).

[514] Eljik is on the right bank of the Amu-Darya, 60 km downstream from Farab.

[515] The "great (*ulugh*) *atalïq*" was clearly the *atalïq* of the khan, and he was from the khan's own tribe, the Qongrat. As the text of Munis shows, Shah Niyaz Atalïq would express the common opinion of the nobility, and, in particular, would often interfere in order to stop fighting, when the khan intended to pursue it, or otherwise to assuage khan's anger; on such occasions the khan would always accept the advice of Shah Niyaz Atalïq. Thana'i claims (ff. 140a–142a) that both Eltüzer Khan and Muhammad Rahim Khan did not decide the affairs of the state without the advice of Shah Niyaz Atalïq, because the latter was the most devout among their close relatives; they had common ancestors and were "like one man," sharing their good and bad fortune.

[516] Üsti (now in Turkmen – Ostï) is on the right bank of the Amu-Darya, 35 km northwest (downstream) from Farab. On the archeological site Üsti-qal'a see Burkhanov, 23–25.

[517] Dadkhah (*dādkh^{w}āh*, pronounced *dadkho*) was the title of a high official in the Khanate of Bukhara (not used in Khorezm). The original duties of this official were to bring petitions to the khan and to hand out the khan's answers (see Semenov, "Bukharskiĭ traktat," 148). Under the Manghïts, it was one of the high ranks in the administrative hierarchy of the khanate (sixth from the top; see Semenov, "Ocherk," 61).

[518] On the Khïzïr-eli tribe in the region of Charjuy see Ia.R. Vinnikov, "Rodoplemennoĭ i ėtnicheskiĭ sostav naseleniia Chardzhouskoĭ oblasti Turkmenskoĭ SSR i ego rasselenie," in: *Trudy Instituta istorii, arkheologii i ėtnografii Akademii nauk Turkmenskoĭ SSR*, vol. VI, Ashkhabad, 1962, pp. 71–75.

[519] *Yasavulbashi*—the chief of the *yasavul*s, officials for errands at the court (see below, note 640). The *yasavulbashi* in Bukhara under the Manghïts was subordinate to the qoshbegi and (under the last amirs) had a staff of almost 100 *yasavul*s (Andreev – Chekhovich, *Ark*, 78–79. On the *yasavulbashi* in Khiva see below, note 1026.

[520] *Kent* is a Turkic word (a loan-word from Soghdian) originally meaning "village", "small settlement", later also "town". In Khorezm it was applied in the meaning of "village", but it has to be remembered that there were no "villages" properly speaking (in the sense of compact rural settlements) in most of Khorezm, and a *kent* consisted of a number of more or less scattered households, each located close to its fields, united by a common irrigation system. The population of a *kent* formed a rural community called a *qawm*.

[521] Janik Shaykh (pronounced "Chanashik") is ab. 6 km southeast of Kuyuk-Tam (i.e., northeast of Khiva); see Ivanov, *Arkhiv*, 39.

[522] Bazergan (Bazergan *tughay*) is on the right bank of the Amu-Darya, north-east of Pitnak; see Lobysevich, 182; Kaul'bars, 15–16. *Tughay* is a term used in Central Asia for forests growing in the river valleys; the *tughay*s in the Amu-Darya valley are dense thickets consisting mainly of several varieties of poplars.

[523] Gulbanbagh (pronounced Gulambag; so also on the maps) is 8 km east of Khiva.

[524] *Ashrafi* was a common name for the Bukharan gold coin (*ṭillā*), which was current also in Khorezm until the introduction of its own mint in Khiva by Eltüzer Khan.

[525] *Sarāparda* (from *sarāy-parda*, lit. "palace-curtain") was a screen separating the royal precinct from the rest of the camp; see on it Andrews, "Manzil" (2), 456; idem, "The tents," 145–146.

[526] ʿAbd al-Karim Bukhari (text, 79, transl., 179) mentions the flight of Muhammad

Amin Inaq to Bukhara, but he claims that Daniyal Biy helped him, and that Muhammad Amin came to Khorezm and took possession of the kingdom; after that, while Daniyal Biy was alive, Muhammad Amin had respect for him, and there was peace and concord between them.

[527] Saray-i Tash—here apparently a caravanseray in the city quarter (*gudhar*) of Bukhara called Mir Ibrahim (see Sukhareva, *Kvartal'naia obshchina*, 219–220). A madrasa in the neighboring *gudhar* Khoja Kalan was known under the same name (*ibid.*).

[528] Pir-Nawkhast (pronounced Pirnakhas, so also on the maps) is 5 km east of Khiva.

[529] Two places named Buldïmsaz (or Buldumsaz) were known in Khorezm; in the 19th century both were ruins of settlements ("fortresses") on hills, abandoned by the inhabitants. The first is located 11.5 km southeast of Porsï (Porsu), the second—25 km west-northwest of Old Urgench. It is the first one that is mentioned by Munis here and elsewhere. See on it: Helmersen, 25; Danilevskiĭ, 104; Guliamov, *Oroshenie*, 144–145. (At present the town of Porsu, later Kalinin, has been renamed to Boldumsaz.) The location of Qaravul could not be established.

[530] Buryachi (in local pronunciation Buyrachi) is ab. 9 km east of Shahabad (Shavat). The location of Durmen is probably indicated on modern topographic maps by "Tazedurmen," ab. 4 km east of Buyrachi.

[531] One-fifth of the booty (*khums*; in Central Asia usually called *ghān*) was the share of booty due to the commander of the raid (cf. F. Løkkegaard, "Ghanīma," in: EI², II, 1005–1006 and idem, "Fay'," in: EI², II, 869–870). In Central Asia it was the share of booty due to the ruler, as confirmed by a gloss to the word *ghān* in the autograph of Munis (see *FI Text ed.*, 878, note 1), in Munis' handwriting, saying: "The explanation of the word: *ghān* is an equivalent of *khums*; that is, money due to the ruler (*pādishāhlïqgha*) from the booty obtained from enemies and rebels is called *ghān*." As can be seen from the *Firdaws al-iqbāl*, the khan received this share from the booty brought by all major military campaigns, but probably not from minor raids. The same share was sometimes given to the military commander, although more often he would receive double the share of the ordinary soldier.

[532] The original meaning of the word *mergen* (of Mongol origin) is "archer"; but in addition to this, it assumed the meaning of "marksman", and in the 19th century Central Asia also "rifleman".

[533] The identity of the saint named Abdal Baba could not be established.

[534] The localities Megejik-Köl and Köche-Küprük (obviously, between Urgench and the Pahlavan-yap) are not found on the maps.

[535] Peshkanik is ab. 3 km south-southeast of Khiva.

[536] Niyaz Parvanachi became worried by news of the Yomut raid towards Hazarasp, because Hazarasp was the *yurt* of his tribe (Qanglï).

[537] The exact location of Pisteli (somewhere east of Khiva) could not be established.

[538] Bavard is a variant spelling (and pronunciation) of the name Abivard, on which see above, note 166.

[539] Cf. on such numbers above, note 144. Cf. the story of the fight of Din Muhammad Khan with the army of Bukhara above, p. 117.

[540] Lake Kerdenkhast (Nokuz) was, apparently, in the same area where the village of this name was situated (see above, note 178).

[541] The location of Qum-Yasqa (apparently in the vicinity of Khiva) could not be established.

[542] The Ata gate was the western gate of the inner city of Khiva (Ichan-qal'a); see Guliamov, *Pamiatniki*, 7.

[543] According to 'Abd al-Karim Bukhari (text, 78, transl., 178), Fazil Bek, who was a very clever, perspicacious and learned man, enjoyed great influence under his father, Muhammad Amin Inaq, and brother, 'Avaz Inaq, both of whom would do nothing without consulting him.

[544] *Yarmaq*—"money", "coin", "small coin", often—silver or copper coin, but not a term for a specific monetary unit; cf. Clauson, 969; Doerfer TME, IV, 160 (No. 1854).

[545] On the Khivan *bātman* cf. above, note 365.

[546] *Qānūn*—stringed musical instrument consisting of trapeziform horizontal box with 25 to 60 strings played by plucking.

[547] The battle of Uhud between the Meccans and the Muslims of Madina under Muhammad, in which the Muslims were defeated, took place in 3/625.

[548] Village "Qarga" is indicated on the topographic maps at 9.5 km south of Qïlïchbay and 31 km west of Gurlen.

[549] A death sentence could be passed only by the khan, although it was already a pure formality; cf. on the status of the khans above, note 401.

[550] Below (see p. 420) Agahi mentions that the foundation of the *ḥawlī* of Gandumkan was laid by Muhammad Rahim Khan on 19 Rajab 1230/7 July 1814. It may mean that Muhammad Rahim Khan built a new building on the site of the already existing *ḥawlī*.

[551] Here Munis apparently means by the "fortress" the citadel of Hazarasp.

[552] Bek Pulad Atalïq Uyghur played a prominent role under Muhammad Amin Inaq and ʿAvaz Inaq. In the description of the Khanate of Khiva compiled in 1803 in Orenburg by P.E. Velichko it is mentioned that the members of ʿAvaz Inaq's council were a "kushbegi," a "mitar" from among the Sarts, and "Atalyk Ungurskiĭ" (clearly, Bek Pulad Atalïq), who is the commander of the military, due to his valor and the inaq's confidence (Velichko, 125). On his fate see below, pp. 184–185 and note 636.

[553] Nayman is indicated on the 1905 map as a village ab. 20 km west-northwest of Hazarasp and ab. 11 km south of Khanqah. On modern topographic maps it apparently corresponds to an insignificant settlement under this name ab. 12 km south of Khanqah.

[554] Durghadik (on modern topographic maps, according to the local pronunciation, "Duvadïq"; on the 1905 map—"Durvadyk") is ab. 5 km southwest of Khanqah.

[555] The village "Massud" is indicated on the 1905 map between Nayman and Hazarasp, ab. 6 km east-southeast of Nayman; it is not found on modern topographic maps.

[556] ʿAbdallah Sultan—apparently one of the Qazaq Chingizids who occasionally ruled parts of the Qaraqalpaqs; cf. above, note 303.

[557] Qataghan is ab. 16 km west of Urgench and ab. 18 km north of Khiva.

[558] Rafanik is in the southern environs of Khiva, on the Sïrchalï canal; in the 19th century it was famous for the khan's summer house and garden. See Girshfel'd – Galkin, II, 130; Guliamov, *Pamiatniki*, 37; Man'kovskaia – Bulatova, 97 and ill. 39 (p. 50).

[559] The inner city of Khiva (Ichan-qalʿa) has four gates: Baghcha Darvaza (north), Ata Darvaza (west), Pahlavan Darvaza (east), and Dash Darvaza (south); see Guliamov, *Pamiatniki*, 7–8. It is not clear whether "the New gates" indicate another gate, which had existed before the siege of Khiva by Nadir Shah, or whether it is identical with one of the aforementioned four. The reference to the towers and walls of Khiva in 1185/1772 contradicts the words of Munis in his account of the death of Muhammad Amin Inaq (see p. 145) to the effect that the wall of Khiva remained "in utter ruin" after the invasion of Nadir Shah until its restoration by Muhammad Amin Inaq in 1200/1785–86.

[560] The canal Aq-yap was in the vicinity of Khiva, northwest of the city, with a settlement of the same name 4 km west of Khiva (see Ivanov, *Arkhiv*, 34).

[561] Chingiz-qïr is about 10 km northwest of Pitnak, on the left bank of the Amu-Darya.

[562] This expression goes back to a *ḥadīth* ("Islam overcomes, and is not overcome"), which means that Islam should prevail in mixed marriages (see J. Friedman

in *Asian and African Studies* (Haifa), vol. 7, 1971, p. 161, note 13). Munis uses it in a slightly changed form and in an entirely different context.

[563] The use of metaphors from the game of chess by Munis is probably explained by the popularity of this game in Khorezm, on which see Murav'ev, I, 129; Muhammad Rahim Khan was said to be a good chess player (*ibid.*, II, 56; Fraser, *Narrative*, Appendix, [63]).

[564] Apparently, ʿAbd ar-Rahman Sultan was one of the Qazaq Chingizids who ruled the Qaraqalpaqs (or a part of them); on the "Qaraqalpaq princes" see above, note 303.

[565] Qarabayli was branching off the Amu-Darya ab. 65 verst (69 km) below the Kök-Üzäk (so according to Butakov, "Del'ta," 135; according to Danilevskiĭ, 74 – 40 verst (42.5 km); see also Basiner, 180; Kaul'bars, 469).

[566] This passage shows that the Teke received land on condition of military service.

[567] On Rawnaq cf. note 400 above.

[568] Mitan is not indicated on available maps.

[569] Qulab is ab. 3 km west of Khoja-eli.

[570] Yumri is a locality 14 km east-southeast of Manghït, near the heights of the same name (on modern maps—in Qazaq pronunciation, "Dzhumurtau"; cf. Kaul'bars, 33: "Dzhumyr or Dzhumry-tau"; see also Helmersen, 15: a small place on the Amu-Darya, near which there is a hill of the same name).

[571] Tash-qalʿa was a community ab. 8 km east-southeast of Gurlen (indicated on the 1905 map, but not found on modern topographic maps).

[572] The community of Alaja is ab. 10 km northeast of Khiva and 6 km south of Khanqah; it was known for its tobacco growing (see Helmersen, 16).

[573] In the 19th century the Qara-Choqa (Choni-Sheref) branch of the Yomuts lived in the area between the Gürgen and the Balkhan mountains, while the Bayram-Shalï branch lived in Khorezm. The words of Munis here show that at the time of Muhammad Amin Inaq both branches of the Yomuts came to Khorezm. Cf. p. 186.

[574] Ala-Buluk—a community ab. 7 km south-southeast of Urgench; cf. Helmersen, 27 ("Alabulak" or "Kent"). In another place (see p. 171) Munis calls Ala-Buluk a "tribe" or "clan" (*urugh*).

[575] The location of Shaghallar and Qatïgh-köl could not be established.

[576] *Davāzdah rukh* "twelve knights" or "twelve combats", an episode in the *Shāh-nāma* on a battle between Iranians under the command of Gudarz and Turanians under the command of Piran; see Dj. Khaleghi-Motlagh, "Davāzdah rok," in: EIr, VII, 135–136 (with further references).

[577] The Russian captive Filipp Efremov, who was in Bukharan service, participated in the campaign of Badal Divanbegi. Efremov was with the detachment of 1,500 men under the command of "Badal Bek"; they passed Pitnak and Hazarasp and came to "Bagatkala", where they had a fight with the Khivan Yomuts. After this Badal Bek sent Efremov to Bukhara with a letter to the atalïq (Daniyal) asking for reinforcements. Efremov did not witness the rest of this campaign, because he fled from Bukhara (see Efremov, 19; Veselovskiĭ, *Ocherk*, 232–233).

[578] The Irdar road is often mentioned as the main road from Aral to Bukhara, as well as the road from Orenburg to Bukhara. Below Munis mentions also "Irdar mountain" (p. 220) and Irdar as a *place* (the same mountain?) on the Irdar road (p. 296). Yet in another place (p. 341) Munis describes a plateau (*qïr*) which stretches from Börichi-senger (on which see note 758), i.e. Bel-tau heights, in the west to as far east as Ming-Bulaq (see note 698) and Irdar in the east. Finally, in the description of the Khivan raid against the Russian caravan under Tsiolkovskiĭ (p. 534) Agahi mentions that the troops going eastward from Khorezm passed Ming-Bulaq and then reached the Irdar road. All this shows that the Irdar road went from Russia to Bukhara somewhere east or northeast of Ming-Bulaq, probably crossing

the Bukan-tau mountains. Further confirmation that the Irdar road went in this direction is found in the account by the Russian officer A.P. Khoroshkhin of his travels in the Qïzïl-qum in 1872 ("Kyzylkumskiĭ dnevnik," in: idem, *Sbornik stateĭ, kasaiushchikhsia do Turkestanskogo kraia*, St. Petersburg, 1876, pp. 411, 417): he mentions that the main caravan road from Bukhara to Kazalinsk passes near the Tamdï springs (ab. 130 km east-southeast of Ming-Bulaq) and, further to northwest, it passes the Irlir mountain and the Kullar well. A Soviet map of the 1:1,000,000 scale shows the mountain "Irlir" at the northwestern end of the Bukan-tau mountains, ab. 50–60 km northeast of Ming-Bulaq. It is the highest point of the Bukan-tau range (764 m), and it must be a noticeable natural feature in this area. It is possible that "Irlir" is a corrupted form of "Irdar." The same map shows a place "Kulkuduk," ab. 10 km west of Irlir; this Kulkuduk may be identical with the Kullar well. The assumption of P.P. Ivanov (MITT, II, 372, note 2) that the Irdar mountain was on the way from Khiva to the river Emba should be rejected.

[579] Since then this town became known as Manghït; see on it Helmersen, 19; Danilevskiĭ, 108; Basiner, 201. The canal Atalïq-arna was later usually called Manghït-arna or just Arna.

[580] The Qur'anic quotation "And take counsel with them in the affair" is one of the two most frequently cited by Munis (the second one is "Every soul shall taste of death"). The old steppe idea that the ruler had to consult the tribal chieftains in the affairs of government was still adhered to in Khorezm, and it must have been valued by Munis as a member of tribal aristocracy. Cf. the advice to his heir, ʿAvaz Inaq, put by Munis in the mouth of Muhammad Amin Inaq (p. 146).

[581] On the madrasa of Muhammad Amin Inaq see Man'kovskaia – Bulatova, 114 and photo on p. 117 (the construction is dated here 1785 A.D., but the reason for this date is not indicated); Man'kovskaia, 239–240.

[582] On the mausoleum of Sayyid ʿAla ad-Din Khoja see above, note 414.

[583] As Munis himself says earlier (p. 45), vizier "is now called *mehter*."

[584] On the post of *dīvānbegi* in general and in the Khanate of Khiva in particular see Yu. Bregel, "Dīwān-begi," in: EI^2, Suppl. 3–4, 227–228.

[585] On this episode cf. Bregel, "The Sarts," 136–137. According to A. Shepelev (*Ocherk voennykh i diplomaticheskikh snosheniĭ Rossii s Sredneiu Azieiu*, Tashkent, 1879 (Materialy dlia istorii Khivinskogo pokhoda 1873 goda, fasc. 1), clmn. 38), when the Russian envoy Blankennagel' left Khiva in March 1794, two years after the affair of ʿAbd ar-Rahman Mehter, he was accompanied by an ambassador of the khan of Khiva, Abu'l-Ghazi, "Ĕĭvaz-Mukhamed-biĭ." Having submitted the khan's letter, the ambassador, like one of his predecessors who was in Russia in 1754 [cf. above, note 389], submitted also a verbal request, complaining about the heavy oppression ("*igo*"), which his kinsmen, the Khivan Tajiks [!], suffered from the Uzbeks, and asking that Russia take them under her protection. The emperor Pavel I ordered the ambassador to be informed orally that, having been informed about the oppressed situation of the Sarts [!], he sympathized with them, but advised patience. The Khivan ambassador must have been a Sart himself (accordingly, his name must have been ʿAvaz Muhammad *Bay*, not *biy*), and his complaint was almost certainly the result of the execution of ʿAbd ar-Rahman Mehter and his family, although it may well be that some other prominent Sarts also suffered in connection with this execution. It would be interesting to know, whether it was the ambassador himself who equated the Sarts with the Tajiks or whether this identification belongs to Shepelev.

[586] Barmakids—a dynasty of viziers of the Abbasids, whose generosity became proverbial; see I. Abbas, "Barmakids," in: EIr, III, 806–809 (with further references).

[587] I.I. Notkin ("Novye dannye o pamiatnikakh arkhitektury Khivy," in: *Obshchestvennye nauki v Uzbekistane*, 1962, No. 5, pp. 55, 56) mentions that inscriptions on the Friday mosque of Khiva "built due to the efforts of the vizier Abd Rahman" give the date

of construction as 1203/1788–89 (he does not provide the text of the inscriptions). On Ism-i Mahmud Ata (pronounced in Khorezm as Ismamut Ata), a holy site, which includes a mosque, a khanqah, a cemetery, and the mausoleum mentioned by Munis, see Guliamov, *Oroshenie*, 86, 146. On the veneration of Ism-i Mahmud Ata (who was popular in the entire region south of Tashhawz) see Snesarev, *Khorezmskie legendy*, 51, 71–80 (description of the site: pp. 71–72); idem, *Relikty*, 269.

[588] According to accounts registered by Soviet ethnographers in 1948, Khoja Murad and Töre Murad belonged to the clan Balghalï, subdivision Sarsan, of the Qongrat tribe, while Muhammad Amin Inaq belonged to the subdivision Saghïr of the same clan (Andrianov, "Ėtnicheskaia territoriia," 69).

[589] In 1793 Fazil Bek was examined by the Russian physician Blankennagel, who was sent to Khiva to treat him for eye illness upon the request of ʿAvaz Inaq. Blankennagel found that Fazil Bek was already totally blind, and could not cure him (see Blankennagel', 87; Veselovskiĭ, *Ocherk*, 238–240). It is not clear how Fazil Bek could perform the mission mentioned by Munis even three years after Blankennagel's visit.

[590] The city wall of Khoja-eli was later destroyed by Eltüzer Khan (see p. 208), and the town remained without city walls. Danilevskiĭ, who was in Khiva in 1842, says that Khoja-eli had no walls (Danilevskiĭ, 114). The same was noticed by Kun in 1873 (Kun, "Ot Khivy do Kungrada," 217).

[591] Aq-qum is ab. 3.5 km north of (New) Vazir, near the bank of the Amu-Darya. To judge from the text of Munis, it often served as a place of gathering troops for military campaigns, especially against Qongrat.

[592] There is a village of Keneges, 12 km southwest of Urgench, and there was a village of Keneges (indicated on the 1905 map) ab. 9 km south of Khoja-eli; neither of them appears suitable for identification with the Keneges-qalʿa mentioned here (to judge from the route of the Khivan troops). Yangi-yap is the canal of this name west of (New) Vazir. On the village of Yangi-yap see Vambery, *Sketches*, 133: "an insignificant hamlet, surrounded by earth walls, and about one hour and a half distant from the river."

[593] Mizdahqan was an ancient city of Khorezm (ab. 7–8 km west of Khoja-eli) which in pre-Mongol times was almost equal with Gurganj in size (see Bartol'd, *Turkestan*, 206; idem, *K istorii orosheniia*, 167–168; Guliamov, *Oroshenie*, 126, 134, 136, 157). It has remained in ruins, probably, since the 15th century, and in the 19th century the name was often corrupted in Khorezm as "Manzilkhan." On the site of the city there are several mausoleums, including those of Mazlum Khan Sulu and Shamʿun Nabi, and a large cemetery. For descriptions of the ruins and archeological excavations see Iakubovskiĭ, "Gorodishche"; V.N. Iagodin, "K izucheniiu topografii i khronologii drevnego Mizdakhkana," in: *Istoriia, arkheologiia i ėtnografiia Sredneĭ Azii*, Moscow, 1968, pp. 189–197; G. Khozhaniiazov et al., "Arkheologicheskie issledovaniia v nekropole Mizdakhkan," in: *VKFAN*, 1989, No. 3, pp. 65–70; M.E. Turebekov, E. Bizhanov, "Raskopki gorodishcha Mizdakhkan," in: *Arkheologicheskie otkrytiia 1985*, Moscow, 1986, pp. 601–602; M. Turebekov, M.-Sh. Khdyrniiazov, "Izuchenie gorodishcha Mizdakhkan," in: *Arkheologicheskie otkrytiia 1986*, Moscow, 1988, p. 503; K. Iusupov, "Unikal'nyĭ pamiatnik arkhitektury srednevekovogo Mizdakhkana," in: *Arkheologiia Priaral'ia*, fasc. IV, Tashkent, 1990, pp. 166–177 (on the mausoleum Khalifa Rajab). On the mausoleum Mazlum Khan Sulu see esp. A. Nekrasov, "Nadpisi na nadgrobiiakh Mazlum-Sulu v Mizdakhkane," in: *Zapiski Kollegii vostokovedov AN SSSR*, vol. V, 1930, pp. 583–588 (includes a local Uzbek legend about the tomb). On Shamʿun Nabi see below, note 629.

[594] The exact location of Kuyuk-qalʿa could not be established. In another place (see p. 384) Munis mentions that it was "in the environs of the Sevgenli" canal, that is, near Khoja-eli.

[595] The canal Sallï was more commonly called Sevgenli, or Suvalli, Suali; see

below, note 627. The irrigational term *saqā* in Khorezm was used for the head of a canal, through which it received water from the river; see Guliamov, *Oroshenie*, 243.

[596] *Valī-niʿamī*—a corrupted form of *valī an-niʿam* or *valī-i niʿmat*, lit. "the lord of beneficence", "benefactor"; it was an honorific (or a "title"), which was used for some Central Asian rulers, including provincial governors with independent or semi-independent status, like the ruler of Shahrisabz in the 18th century. It is found in Russian literature in another corrupted form, "*val'iami.*"

[597] Nasir ad-Din Töre (often called also Din Nasir Bek) was a son of Shah Murad, the amir of Bukhara, and a brother of Amir Haydar. During the reign of his father he was a governor of Merv since 1211/1796–97. According to ʿAbd al-Karim Bukhari, after the accession of Amir Haydar, he became suspicious of his brother and fled to Iran. He lived in Mashhad from 1233/1817–18 to 1245/1829–30, when he left for Istanbul, and the next year went to Moscow (ʿAbd al-Karim Bukhari, text, 57, 63, 70; tr., 129, 144, 158–159; also Russian epitome in MITT, II, 196–202; Muʿin, ff. 30b, 36a–36b). According to Muhammad Yaʿqub (*Risāla*, f. 12a–b; *Gulshan al-mulūk*, ff. 144a–b/262a–b), Din Nasir Bek rebelled against his brother, Amir Haydar, and the amir sent troops against Merv, which destroyed the dam on the Murghab and left the city without water; and in 1221/1806–07 Ismaʿil Khan Tillayi, a sardar of Fath ʿAli Shah Qajar, came to Merv from Mashhad, deported the population to Iran, and brought Din Nasir to Mashhad. See also Grigor'ev, "O nekotorykh sobytiiakh," 8–11; V.A. Zhukovskiĭ, *Drevnosti Zakaspiĭskogo kraia: Razvaliny Starogo Merva*, St. Petersburg, 1894, pp. 90–91.

[598] Shah Murad, son of Daniyal Biy, of the Manghït dynasty, ruled in Bukhara in 1199–1215/1785–1800.

[599] Muhammad Yaʿqub in his *Risāla* (ff. 8b–9a) mentions the arrival of "prince Mahmud" in Bukhara, where, as he claims, he was received with honor; he was there for some time, and then went to Khorezm.

[600] Baba Khan was the given name of Fath ʿAli Shah Qajar under which he was mostly known in Central Asia (he assumed the name Fath ʿAli Shah at his accession in 1212/1797).

[601] *Yigach* is a Turkic equivalent of *farsakh*; see above, note 293.

[602] On the travel of prince Mahmud to Bukhara and Khiva cf. ʿAbd al-Karim Bukhari, text, 24–27, transl., 51–55. The account of ʿAbd al-Karim generally confirms that of Munis. Murav'ev (II, 51) erroneously says that Shah Mahmud came to Khorezm under Muhammad Rahim Khan.

[603] Bala Hisar—the citadel of Kabul.

[604] Shujaʿ al-Mulk was not killed by Mahmud, but fled to India.

[605] Shah Mahmud reigned in Kabul twice, in 1215–1218/1800–1803 and 1224–1235/1809–1818, and he ruled in Herat until his death in 1245/1829.

[606] The locality Basu (on modern topographic maps "Kunabosu") is 14 km east of Manghït, near the Amu-Darya (on the maps of both 1873 and 1905 the name of the canal there is given as "Boz-su"; cf. Basiner, 184–185: canal Basu).

[607] The Turkic term *qazu* (from the verb *qazmaq* "to dig"), meaning the works on maintenance and repair of irrigation systems, was used only in Khorezm, where these works were considered as a part of *bīgār*, a more general term used for various kinds of corvée, the duty of supplying workers without pay to the government; elsewhere in Central Asia all such works were called *bīgār* and *ḥashar* (see Yu. Bregel, "Bīgār, bīgārī," in: EIr, IV, 249–251). The *qazu* in Khorezm would usually begin with the dredging of the canal Pahlavan-yap, the main canal supplying water to the city of Khiva and the surrounding areas (cf. above, note 239), and this work would be supervised by high government officials, and sometimes by the ruler himself. See the descriptions of the *qazu*: "Svedeniia," 119–121; Helmersen, 9; Danilevskiĭ, 85–86; Girshfel'd – Galkin, II, 49–52; Kostenko, "Khivinskoe khanstvo," 373;

Guliamov, *Oroshenie*, 261–262; Sazonova, *Traditsionnoe khoziaĭstvo*, 21–23; Snesarev, *Relikty*, 310–311 (a ritual at the end of the *qazu*).

[608] Munis mentions Eltüzer as if he were already the khan; at that time he could have had only the title *bek*.

[609] ʿAbd al-Karim Bukhari (text, 80, transl., 181) says that ʿAvaz Biy Inaq was a great man, but a simpleton (*sāda lawḥ*): during his rule the grandees (*buzurgān*) divided the entire "country of Urgench" among themselves, and ʿAvaz Biy did not have power to resist them.

[610] Iram is a word in the Qurʾān (LXXXIX,6) that has become a subject of different interpretations. According to popular Muslim tradition, it was a city built near Aden by Shaddad as an imitation of paradise, and then, as a punishment for Shaddad's pride, it was destroyed by God (see W. Montgomery Watt, "Iram," in: EI², III, 1270). The location of the region of Khurram (apparently, somewhere in the vicinity of Khiva) could not be established.

[611] The word *ribāṭ* was used in literary texts as a synonym of the more common *ḥawlī*—a fortified country house, or estate, which could be quite large, but also of a modest size; they were common in Khorezm and along the middle course of the Amu-Darya. See on such houses: Sazonova, "K ėtnografii," 282–301; A.N. Zhilina, "Tipy traditsionnogo zhilishcha sel'skogo osedlogo zemledel'cheskogo naseleniia Sredneĭ Azii i Kazakhstana (XIX—nachalo XX vv.)," in: A.N. Zhilina, T.N. Tomina, *Narody Sredneĭ Azii: Traditsionnoe zhilishche narodov Sredneĭ Azii (XIX—nachalo XX vv. Osedlo-zemledel'cheskie raĭony)*, Moscow, 1993, pp. 64–71.

[612] The locality Yartï-qum was in the middle course of the Kök-Üzäk; the river Tengri-Yar was a right tributary of the Kök-Üzäk in its lower course (in the region of Tawqara). See Andrianov, "Ak-dzhagyz," 577–578 and maps on pp. 579 and 582.

[613] *Maḥram-bashi*—the chief of the court servants, *maḥram*s (on whom see above, note 8).

[614] On these types of firearms see above, note 383.

[615] The locality Mayli-chungul ("Maĭdzhingal") is indicated on the 1905 map between Gurlen and Ambar ("Ambar-Manak"). On modern topographic maps a village called "Maĭli-Dzhengel" is indicated in this area, ab. 11 km southwest of Gurlen. See on the village Helmersen, 21 (it was surrounded by a good wall; the only garden that one could see here belonged to the khan). *Chungul* in Turkic geographical nomenclature means "hollow", "depression" (see Murzaev, 620–621).

[616] According to ʿAbd al-Karim Bukhari (text, 80, transl., 182), after the death of ʿAvaz Inaq, "the people of the country" decided that the right to become inaq belonged to Qutlï Murad Bek (the elder son of ʿAvaz Inaq). But Qutlï Murad said that he "did not want to rule and preferred rather to be in the corner of prayer for his brothers," and he suggested that his brother Eltüzer should become inaq; since Eltüzer showed signs of rectitude and valor, all the people agreed.

[617] This statement seems to contradict the later account by Munis (see p. 201), according to which Eltüzer Khan had a new chancery, or audience-hall, built in 1804; if so, the elevation of Eltüzer to the rank of amir must have taken place in the old chancery.

[618] According to Central Asian custom, a newly appointed official would stick the rolled-up or folded diploma of his appointment into a fold of his turban and wear it this way for several (usually three) days. See Semenov, *Ocherk*, 61; Sukhareva, *Kvartal'naia obshchina*, 35.

[619] On the beat of kettle-drums at the accession of new monarch see above, note 4.

[620] On *bidʿat* (*bidʿa*) 'innovation', a belief or practice for which there is no precedent in the time of the Prophet (and usually considered harmful), see J. Robson, "Bidʿa," in: EI², I, 1199.

[621] In the 19th century *mithqāl* in Khorezm was equal to 4.53–4.55 g (see Davidovich, *Materialy po metrologii*, 94); thus, 4.5 kg of gold was used for the flag-staff, if we have to believe Munis.

[622] The story of a *tugh* with a flag-staff made of gold weighing 1,000 *mithqāl* (cf. Ottoman *altın çubuklu* bayraks mentioned by Ögel, 347) is confirmed by ʿAbd al-Karim Bukhari, who also mentions that this *tugh* was captured by the Bukharans when Eltüzer's army was defeated (see p. 228); see ʿAbd al-Karim, text, 74, 82, transl., 166, 185. *Tugh* was a term for a standard made of a yak's tail or a horse tail (the number of tails could be from one to nine), while *baydaq* (or *bayraq*) was a term for banner or flag made of fabric. However, the distinction seems to be not always made; a standard could also have a yak or horse tail at the top and a banner attached to the same flag-staff below (as in the description of Eltüzer's standard given by Munis; cf. also p. 303). In literary texts, the Turkic terms were often substituted with Persian and Arabic synonyms (Pers. *parcham*, Arab. *liwāʾ* and *ʿalam*), which further blurred the difference between the *tugh* and the *baydaq*. According to Meyendorff (272), in the army of Bukhara a *panṣād-bashi* (commander of a detachment of 500 soldiers) had a small banner called *baydaq*, while a *mingbashi* (commander of a 1000) had a large banner called *tugh*; this explanation seems dubious. On the standards and banners in Turkic tradition see Ögel; also Doerfer TME, II, 425 (No. 840: parčam), 618–622 (No. 969: tūġ).

[623] Allah Nazar Bahadur from the tribe Khoja-eli is mentioned elsewhere (p. 271) as belonging to the same tribe as the author (i.e. Munis).

[624] *Bajaqī*, or *bajaqlï*—a Dutch golden coin, ducat.

[625] Mirakan—a village southwest of Bukhara.

[626] "Asaf of the age" is a common epithet of a vizier, from Āṣāf b. Barakhyā, the alleged vizier of king Solomon.

[627] Sevgenli (mentioned also as Suanli, Suvalli, Suali, and Sallï) was a canal whose head was in the locality Takhiya-Tash. It passed through the city of Khoja-eli, which stood on both sides of the canal, and a little below flowed back to the Amu-Darya; therefore it was known also as "the canal of Khoja-eli." See on it: Danilevskiĭ, 84; Basiner, 187; Kaul'bars, 373; Guliamov, *Oroshenie*, 191–192.

[628] "Chinese-born" is a term for Qalmaqs.

[629] On the tomb of Sham'un Nabi and some beliefs and rituals connected with it see Iu.V. Knorozov, "Mazar Shamun-Nabi (Nekotorye perezhitki domusul'manskikh verovaniĭ u narodov Khorezmskogo oazisa)," in: *SÉ*, 1949, No. 2, pp. 86–97; *idem*, "Shamanskiĭ zikr v podzemel'e Mazlumkhan-sulu," in: *SÉ*, 1994, No. 6, pp. 91–96; Kh.A. Esbergenov, V.N. Iagodin, "Nekotorye itogi izucheniia mazara Shamun-nabi," in: *VKFAN*, 1966, No. 4, pp. 48–54; Snesarev, *Relikty*, 269.

[630] *Qara cherik*—auxiliary troops that were mobilized during military campaigns, mostly for building roads and bridges for the army, siege works, etc. See MITT, II, 367, note 1. On *qara cherik* in Bukhara cf. Viatkin, "Karshinskiĭ okrug," 15; Ivanov, *Vosstanie*, 41–42.

[631] On *bīgār* see Yu. Bregel, "Bīgār, Bīgārī," in: EIr, IV, 249–251; cf. above, note 607.

[632] This is the only known mention of the administrative reform carried out by Eltüzer Khan, but the nature of it is not quite clear. It seems that Munis refers to the system of granting the right to collect taxes from various regions to members of the dynasty and certain officials, in return for their service and loyalty to the khan, possibly something similar to the grants of *soyurghal*s and later *tankh*^{w}*āh* practiced in the Khanate of Bukhara (the term *tankh*^{w}*āh*, however, seems not to have been used in Khorezm). Apparently, the centralized system of taxation in Khorezm known from various descriptions of the khanate of the late 19th and early 20th century was established by Eltüzer Khan.

[633] Muhammad's *sunna* includes the deeds and utterances of Muhammad, as well

as his unspoken approval (which are transmitted in the *ḥadīth*s and must be followed by the faithful).

[634] The decree about wearing turbans did not survive Eltüzer Khan: all Russian and western travellers to Khorezm in the 19th century mention the sheepskin hat (*telpek* or *chugurma*) as the only headdress of the male population, beginning with the khan himself; turbans were sometimes worn only by the *'ulamā'*; cf. the words of Murav'ev (below, note 1147) that Muhammad Rahim Khan wore a white turban on his hat, like those of the sayyids.

[635] On the *altun-jilaw* see above, note 381. A person called "Bulbul Yüzbashi", at the head of a group of 12 Russians, is mentioned in a document of the Khivan archive dated 1247/1831 (see Ivanov, *Arkhiv*, 98). The latter was almost certainly identical with the Russian captive Vasiliĭ Lavrent'ev, nicknamed by the Khivans "Bulbul," whom Allah-Quli Khan, Muhammad Rahim Khan's son and successor, appointed as a commander of his artillery (see on him Dal', 12–13; cf. note 679); it is less likely that this "Bulbul" is identical with the Muhammad Amin Bulbul mentioned here by Munis. Cf. also MITT, II, 348, note 2.

[636] The story of the murder of Bek Pulad Atalïq is given differently by 'Abd al-Karim Bukhari (who could have heard it from the Uyghurs who escaped to Bukhara, as well as in Khiva itself during his visit there). According to him, the discord between Bek Pulad Atalïq and Eltüzer was initially caused by the objection of the atalïq against the assumption of the title of khan by Eltüzer; and the decision of the khan to kill the atalïq came, when the latter, in the khan's council, objected to Eltüzer's plan to start a war with Bukhara. See 'Abd al-Karim Bukhari, text, 81, 83, transl., 183–184, 186–187.

[637] Neither the etymology nor the explanation of the name Qara-Choqa given by Munis can be confirmed. The word *choqa* in Turkmen seems not to have been registered, and Turkmens did not wear black shawls; however, *choqa* may go back to Persian *chūkhā* 'a woollen cloak' (cf. Clauson, 414), and in that case it may perhaps refer to the robe made of camel wool by Turkmens and known as *chekmen*; but its color is brown or greenish-brown.

[638] Aq-Saray is 20 km northwest of Khiva, coinciding with the distance given by Munis.

[639] The word *akhal* as a term for "marshy places" does not exist in Turkmen. Vámbéry derived this word from *aq* "white" + *al* "scarlet" (H. Vámbéry, "Die geographische Nomenklatur Zentralasiens," in: *Petermanns geographische Mitteilungen*, vol. 37/11, 1891, p. 264), which is dubious.

[640] The *yasavul* was an official performing various special errands, especially passing the orders of the khan and high dignitaries to lower standing officials; in the Khanate of Khiva under the Russian protectorate *yasavul*s had mainly police functions. *Yasavul*s are very often mentioned together with *tovachi*s calling up the troops for a new military campaign. Cf. detailed discussion: Doerfer TME, IV, 166–172 (No. 1863).

[641] Kuyuk-Tam is ab. 10 km north of Khiva; according to Ivanov, *Arkhiv*, 39 (where the wrong distance from Khiva is given), the name is pronounced "Giuktam"; on modern maps—Kuktam.

[642] Uzbek-yap is indicated on the 1905 map at ab. 3 km southwest of Ghaziabad; canal Zaykash is ab. 1.5 km south of Uzbek-yap.

[643] Shaykh-qal'a (on modern maps—Shikh) is ab. 7 km south of Ghaziabad (Gazavat) and ab. 5 km southwest of Uzbek-yap. It is mentioned by Helmersen (23) as a village inhabited by Turkmen shaykhs who lived from agriculture and alms and were exempt from all taxes.

[644] *Kūtvāl* in Central Asia and Iran was a title of a garrison commander; see Doerfer TME, III, 618–621 (No. 1658). Such a post, however, was not attested in the Khanate of Khiva, though other persons with the same title are also mentioned by Munis.

[645] Yangi-yap is 8 km southwest of Ghaziabad (Gazavat); Bend-i Ramin is not indicated on available maps.

[646] Razi ad-Din ʿAli Lala (d. 642/1244), a disciple of Najm ad-Din Kubra who left Khorezm before the Mongol invasion, was buried in Gūrpān, a village in the vicinity of Isfarayin in Khorasan (see *Die Fawā'iḥ al-Ǧamāl wa-Fawātiḥ al-Ǧalāl des Naǧm ad-Dīn al-Kubrā: eine Darstellung mystischer Erfahrungen im Islam aus der Zeit um 1200 n Chr*, ed. and tr. by F. Meier, Wiesbaden, 1957, p. 41). The tomb mentioned by Munis was obviously one of many tombs in Khorezm ascribed to various holy men who were actually buried elsewhere.

[647] Mashrïq is a clan of the Sheref (Jafarbay) group of the Qara-Choqa branch of the Yomuts. It is the only clan of this branch which is found in Khorezm, while the rest of the Khorezmian Yomuts belong to the Bayram-Shalï branch; this is probably the reason why the Khorezmian chronicles often name the Mashrïqs separately from the Yomuts.

[648] The town of Ghaziabad (pronounced Gazavat, so also on the maps), on the canal of the same name, was built in the second half of the 17th century or in the early 18th century (before 1740, when it was mentioned by Russian travellers); see Bartol'd, *Svedeniia*, 89; idem, *K istorii orosheniia*, 179; Guliamov, *Oroshenie*, 201; on the Ghaziabad canal see also Danilevskiĭ, 82; Basiner, 184; Kaul'bars, 368–369; Guliamov, *Oroshenie*, 129–130. According to Danilevskiĭ (105), in 1842 it had a small number of houses, one mosque, and 25 shops; its inhabitants were Sarts. In 1873 the town was described by Syrovatskiĭ (139) and Kun ("Ot Khivy do Kungrada," 204–205). Kun says that the main part of the population are Uzbeks, who believe that they are the descendants of four Kalmyks who received this place as hereditary possession for their service to the khan, and this Uzbek clan is called *altyn-dzhiliau* (that is, they were the descendants of *altun-jilaw*, on whom see above, note 381); that another part of the population consisted of Persians, Qaraqalpaqs, and Tajiks; and that the town had up to 300 houses, three mosques, three schools, and 29 shops. Kun's information about the *altun-jilaw* in Ghaziabad differs from the testimony of former Russian captives in Khiva in the first half of the 19th century, according to which the inhabitants of Ghaziabad were freed Persians.

[649] Dawdan is one of the old beds of the Amu-Darya (see on it Kaul'bars, 374–384; Guliamov, *Oroshenie*, 71–73). Lake Aq-köl was ab. 15 km west of Tashhauz.

[650] Aq-qum is apparently identical with the Aq-qum sands, ab. 8 km southwest of Shahabad.

[651] On *küren* see above, note 193. The fact that the group of Khitays attacked by the Turkmens lived in a *küren* apparently shows that this group was not yet completely sedentary. Cf. also Ivanov, "Udel'nye zemli," p. 34.

[652] The canal Khïzïr-eli was, apparently, in the locality indicated on the 1905 map as "Khodreïli," between Gurlen and Vazir.

[653] A settlement under the name Chuqur-qum could not be located; the Chuqur-qum sands are between Shahabad, Ghaziabad (Gazavat) and Qosh-Küprük.

[654] Aybugur (or Aybugir) was a large lake along the eastern edge of the Üst-Yurt plateau (Ereng-qïr); see on it: Danilevskiĭ, 77–78; Kaul'bars, 398–400, 404–407 and index. It was also the name of the southeastern promontory of the Üst-Yurt (Aybugur-qïr).

[655] According to Bartol'd (*K istorii orosheniia*, 181), Sharqïrawq was the old riverbed south of Old Urgench. The only map on which Sharqïrawq is indicated under this name ("Charkrauk"), is the 2-mile scale map of 1889; the branch itself, but without name, appears also on the 1873 map attached to the book by Kaul'bars. As the text of Munis shows, Sharqïrawq was dry in his time. The waters of the Amu-Darya began to flow through this branch in 1834, after the river, as a result of heavy snows and rains, washed away its left bank, filled up the Lawdan canal and, through Sharqïrawq and other canals, reached the Daryalïq (see A.L. Troitskaia, "Zemel'no-vodnaia politika khivinskikh khanov 1850, 1857 gg. (Zagraditel'nye plotiny

na protoke Amu-Dar'i)," in: *Gosudarstvennaia Publichnaia biblioteka imeni M.E. Saltykova-Shchedrina: Sbornik II*, Leningrad, 1954, p. 77). See on the Sharqïrawq also: Basiner, 103, 179; Kun, "Ot Khivy do Kungrada," 212–213.

[656] Locality Qum-chungul is ab. 20 km northwest of Old Urgench.

[657] By "holy tombs" Munis means several mausoleums in Old Urgench, the most prominent of which is that of Najm ad-Din Kubra.

[658] The mausoleum of "Töre-Bakht Khanïm" mentioned by Munis is known now as the mausoleum of Törebek Khanïm (built in the 1360s); see M.E. Masson, "O datirovke tak nazyvaemogo mavzoleia Tiuria-Bek-Khanym v Kunia-Urgenche," in: *Izvestiia Akademii nauk Turkmenskoĭ SSR*, 1952, No. 4, pp. 86–87. Törebek Khanïm was the wife of Qutlugh Timur, a governor of Khorezm under Özbek Khan (of the Golden Horde); on local legends about her see G.P. Snesarev, "Tiuriabek-khanym," in: *Etnografiia i arkheologiia Sredneĭ Azii*, Moscow, 1979, pp. 159–163. Some works on Central Asian architecture claim that this mausoleum was actually built for the rulers of the dynasty of the Sufis (cf. note 481 above), but no supporting evidence is provided. Mausoleums are commonly called in Khorezm *gunbadh* (lit. 'dome') instead of the usual *mazār*.

[659] Nariman—one of the heroes of the *Shāh-nāma*, the great-grandfather of Rustam; "with a body like an elephant" (*pil-tan*) is his usual epithet.

[660] In folk legends connected with Abu Muslim (the leader of the anti-Umayyad uprising in Central Asia and Khorasan in the middle of the 2nd/8th century) a battle-axe appears as his special weapon. See I. Melikoff, *Le "porte-hache" du Khorasan dans la tradition épique turco-iranienne*, Paris, 1962. Abu Muslim has been a popular figure in Khorezm, where legends about his activity there were wide-spread; see Snesarev, *Khorezmskie legendy*, 104–105.

[661] As a term for "station" (i.e. day's march) Munis uses either the Turkic *köch* (esp. in the Turko-Persian expression *köch ba-köch* "from station to station") or the Arabic *manzil*, although the latter term was often used in the meaning of "camp", "encampment" (cf. "Manzil," in: EI², VI, 454–457). In Central Asia the length of a day's march could be quite different under different circumstances. According to Lobachevskiĭ (84), the speed of a camel was up to 3 verst (3.2 km) per hour, and the average daily march was 40 verst (42.5 km). However, the same author gave the distances of some day's marches through the Qara-qum desert as 60, 65, 85, and even up to 118 verst (*ibid.*, 28); this could probably be the speed of small groups of horsemen, but not during major military campaigns, when troops were accompanied by large trains carrying provisions, water, ammunition, and other supplies (such as robes to award the soldiers who distinguished themselves in action). In such campaigns the troops usually moved slowly, hardly faster than the trade caravans. Nadir Shah's army in 1740 could march faster: Khoja ʿAbd al-Karim Kashmiri (text, f. 48a; transl., 52) mentions that the army of Nadir Shah covered the distance from Charjuy to Merv in four days, because it could not travel more than 11 *farsakh*s a day (that is, ab. 70 km!); but during the march from Charjuy to Khorezm, the army could make only 3 *farsakh*s (ab. 20 km) in 9 hours (*ibid.*, text, f. 51b; transl., 59). *Materialy dlia opisaniia khivinskogo pokhoda* (fasc. 9, clmn. 54) mentions that the *manzil* as a measure of distance could be "18, 20 and even 25 verst" (i.e. from 19 to 26.5 km). Sazonova (*Traditsionnoe khoziaĭstvo*, 82) mentions that a camel caravan would usually go at the speed of 3–3.5 km per hour, that is, ab. 30 km a day. According to Masson (*Srednevekovye torgovye puti*, 10), a Turkmen *manzil* could be 18–25 verst in inhabited areas, much more in the desert; practically, in the 19th century it was considered 20–22 verst (21–23 km).

[662] Munis uses here the word *dīvān-khāna* ("chancery") for the building, which elsewhere is referred to as *körünüsh-khāna* ("audience-hall").

[663] On *ayvān* "portico, veranda" see O. Grabar, "Ayvān," in: EIr, III, 153–155.

[664] Mani (215–276 A.D.), the founder of the dualist religion of Manichaeism, was known in Persian and Central Asian literature as an unsurpassed painter.

[665] *Shamsa* in Central Asia and Iran was a metal ball (golden or gilded) on top of the dome of a mosque. On its original meaning as part of the royal insignia see H. Halm, "Shamsa," in: EI², IX, 298–299.

[666] On the *körünüsh-khāna* erected by Muhammad Yusuf Mehter see Guliamov, *Pamiatniki*, 14–16; Man'kovskaia, 232 and pl. 61–66. The pompous description of Munis does not quite coincide with the observations of foreign travelers. Murav'ev (II, 64), who saw it in the reign of Muhammad Rahim Khan, describes it the following way: "The council [of the khan] convenes every week on Fridays, in a special building in one of the courtyards of khan's palace. This mud-walled structure is dirty, without floor or windows, there is no roof either, the ceiling is made of reeds, and it has a hole for light, through which also rain and snow come in and smoke, from the burning coal beside which the people present warm themselves, goes out; the dirty room for this meeting is called by the pompous name Gerniush Khana or place of secret discussion." Fraser remarks (on the basis of the accounts of Persian informants, cf. below, note 959): "Even the khan resides in such a tent [i.e. like those of the Turkmens], and his dewan khaneh, or hall of audience, is but another of larger dimensions, with a mat laid upon the earthen floor, upon which are spread a few plain white numuds [*namad*, felt], without any carpet or other ornament" (Fraser, [67]).

[667] The expression "took the crown of the caliphate from his head" is used metaphorically; on the "crown" cf. below, notes 670, 739.

[668] Cf. above, note 303, on the "Qaraqalpaq" khans.

[669] According to ʿAbd al-Karim Bukhari (text, 78, transl., 178), during his reign Eltüzer Khan, as distinct from his predecessors, disregarded the advice of Fazil Bek.

[670] By "plume (*otagha*) of sovereignty" Munis means the aigrette (called also *jīgha* or *jīqa*); it was made of precious stones, sometimes also with a plume, and was attached to the hat or the turban of the monarch. It had the same symbolic meaning as a crown, and in Bukhara such an aigrette was actually called "crown" (*tāj*; see Andreev – Chekhovich, *Ark*, 45, where it is also mentioned that the amir of Bukhara would wear the *tāj* only on specific occasions: during his "coronation," while going to public prayer during Qurban and Ramazan, and at his first entrance as amir into Shahrisabz). ʿAbd al-Karim Bukhari (text, 82, transl., 185) mentions that Eltüzer, after his accession, would put a *tāj* set with jewels on the right side of his head (that is, of his hat). See also below, note 739.

[671] As a sign of Eltüzer's arrogance, the Qoqandian historian Muhammad Hakim Khan (I, 240–241) gives the text engraved on his seal: *Khaṣmdīn ilamaghan ändishe, Eltüzer Khan shujaʿat-pīshe* "He who does not care about his foes—Eltüzer Khan, the valiant".

[672] ʿAbd al-Karim Bukhari (text, 80–81, transl., 182–183) tells the story of the enthronement of Eltüzer the following way: After ruling the khanate as an *inaq* for six months, Eltüzer invited his brother Qutlï Murad at night for deliberations and told him about his desire to become khan, to which Qutlï Murad agreed. The next day Eltüzer sent off the Qazaq khan to the Dasht-i Qïpchaq, having told him that another khan was coming. But he immediately started gathering troops, and in a short time assembled 10,000 Uzbek horsemen clad in armor; and then he gathered the *ʿulamā'* and the notables, such as the atalïqs, inaqs, and others, and announced to them that he had become khan himself and that they did not need a Qazaq khan any more. They all congratulated him and took an oath; the only dissenter was Bek Pulad Atalïq Uyghur (see on this above, note 636).

[673] It is not known what source was used by Munis for his conversion of dates to other eras; it could possibly have been a treatise on chronology (usually called *Bīst bāb dar taqvīm*) by ʿAbd al-ʿAli Birjandi (15th century), but there also existed other, later manuals on calendars. The conversions are correct, but they are based on the Hijra era of 16 July 622 (although the day of the week given by Munis corresponds to the astronomical Hijra era of 15 July 622). The "Rumi" era mentioned

by Munis is the Seleucid era (known also as *Tārīkh-i Iskandar*, "the era of Alexander", or *Tārīkh-i Ẕu'l-Qarnayn*) beginning in 312 B.C. (see on it: S.H. Taqizadeh, "Various eras and calendars used in countries of Islam," in: *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, vol. X, 1939–1942, pp. 124–130; W. Hartner, "Zamān," in: EI, IV, 1211).

[674] On Uvays al-Qarani (7th century A.D.) in Muslim hagiography see A.S. Hussaini, "Uways al-Qaranī and the Uwaysī Ṣūfīs," in: *Muslim World*, vol. 57, 1967, pp. 103–113; A. Yaşar, *Veysel Karanî ve Üveysîlik*, Istanbul, 1982; D. DeWeese, *An "Uvaysī" Sufi in Timurid Mawarannahr: Notes on hagiography and the taxonomy of sanctity in the religious history of Central Asia*, Bloomington, Indiana, 1993 (Papers on Inner Asia, No. 22). On the mausoleum see Kun, "Kul'tura," 239; Girshfel'd – Galkin, I, 44–52. For more details on the shrine of this saint (called "Sultan Vays" or "Sultan Bobo (Baba)"; the construction is popularly attributed to Allah-Quli Khan), the rituals performed there and the legends connected with the saint see Snesarev, *Khorezmskie legendy*, 80–101; idem, *Relikty*, 266–269, 293–294. On the Sultan-Uvays mountains, named after this shrine, cf. above, note 313.

[675] Former Russian captives in Khiva gave the following description of the preparations for a military campaign by the khan: "When the khan wants to undertake a campaign, it is announced in the bazaars usually several weeks or months ahead, in order that the soldiers who are assigned to it may make preparations and fatten their horses; and the time and place where the troops have to gather is announced. When the set time comes, the khan, or his brother, sets out with the troops that are found in the environs of Khiva, which consist mainly of Sarts, and with the artillery, while ordering the rest of the troops to follow in the same direction and catch up with him. Having set out for a campaign, the khan usually stops somewhere in the steppe and waits 10 or 15 days, until the troops gather." Soldiers had to come with their own weapons and on their own horses, bringing also a supply of provisions for the entire campaign. For this purpose every two or three soldiers would usually have one camel to share, to carry their supplies for about one and a half months or more; but soldiers who were poor carried their meager supplies on the same horse, which they rode, and, in case of lack of food, supplemented it by stealing, robbing, and catching and slaughtering animals on their way. (See "Svedeniia," 151–152.) The marching order of the Khivan army was described by the Russian captives in the following way: "When the army sets off, the horsemen take the camels in the middle. The khan rides at the head, followed by a small tent; a larger and more magnificent one follows in the middle. When the light tent is pitched, the entire army stops. The khan rests in the small tent, but later rides over to the large tent, while the small one he leaves to a yüzbashi. Sentries are not placed around the camp; horses remain tied up, but camels are allowed to graze. The cannons are placed around the tent of the khan, and in the morning they give the signal for marching with three shots." (Helmersen, 60.)

[676] The word *saqā* (cf. note 595 above) used by Munis with the name Kök shows that it was the head of a canal; to judge from the description of the route of the Khivan troops, it must have been located on the left bank of the Amu-Darya, upstream from the Lawdan. It should be distinguished, therefore, from the better known Kök, or Kök-Üzäk, which was a branch of the Amu-Darya that flowed away from the Amu-Darya to the right some 2 km downstream from the Khoja-eli (Sevgenli) canal; in its middle and lower course it was called Quvanch-Yarma. See on it: Danilevskiĭ, 74; Basiner, 180; Kaul'bars, 45, 47; Stetkevich, 83–91; Guliamov, *Oroshenie*, 194–195.

[677] On the Lawdan (or Lawzan) see Danilevskiĭ, 73–74; Basiner, 178–179; Kaul'bars, 398–407; Guliamov, *Oroshenie*, 218, 220.

[678] "The ant who brought a locust's leg to Solomon" is an allusion to a famous story, the earliest written record of which is found in *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* of Isḥāq b. Ibrahim Nishapuri (5th/12th century; see Storey – Bregel, I, 512, No. 368; ed. by

Habib Yaghma'i, Tehran, 1340 A.H.S./1961, pp. 290–291). According to this story, Solomon and his host come upon the land of ants, where they meet the king of the ants, who offers the king and his army hospitality; Solomon accepts the invitation, and the ant brings forth the leg of a locust on which Solomon and his host feast sumptuously, by God's blessing (*baraka*). The story is also mentioned by Qur'anic commentaries (to *sūra* XXVII "The Ant"); according to the Shi'ite commentator Abu'l-Futuh Razi (6th/13th century), the royal ant was a queen ant, was as big as a sheep, and had wings. (I am indebted to Mahmoud Omidsalar, who provided me with these references.)

[679] This is chronologically the first mention by Munis of cannons in the army of Khiva. However, cannons had been in Khiva much earlier: Beneveni (124) mentions that there were seven copper field cannons in Khiva that had been captured from Bekovich-Cherkasskiĭ, but they were without gun-carriages; the Khivans did not know how to use them and had the Russian captives fire them, but they did not know how to make cannon-balls, and used stone balls instead. Still a century later the number of cannons in Khiva was small and the quality was poor. Among the accounts of Russian and European observers, the earliest belong to the Russian envoy Murav'ev (1819–20) and the Russian slaves who were released or fled from Khiva from the 1820s through the early 1840s. According to Murav'ev (II, 110–111), the Khivans told him that their artillery had 30 cannons of various types, but Murav'ev himself saw only seven, and they were in great disorder, with gun-carriages and wheels broken (the same seven mentioned by Beneveni?); the khan began to cast cannons himself. The handling of the cannons was entrusted only to Russian captives. Murav'ev adds (112) that those who saw this artillery in action said that it was totally unsuccessful. The accounts of former Russian slaves published from the 1830s to the early 1840s refer mainly to the reign of Muhammad Rahim Khan's successor, Allah-Quli Khan (1240–1258/1825–1842); they give more information, although they differ somewhat in details. The earlier accounts, based primarily on the testimony of Kovyrzin, Russian captive who fled from Khiva in 1826, with some additions provided by Helmersen (see Helmersen, 59), say that the artillery of Khiva consisted of 15 cannons, all of them cast in Khorezm, with gun-carriages made by Russian slaves; the cannons, depending on their size, were pulled by 3 or 4 horses, but one was so big that it required 8 horses; Allah-Quli Khan had Russian gunmen, but Muhammad Rahim Khan did not trust the Russians (which contradicts the statement of Murav'ev, cf. above). In 1843 the accounts of former Russian slaves were summarized in "Svedeniia" (153–154) in the following way: "The cannons of the khan are not numerous. Near the khan's palace lie up to 20 cannons of small caliber: one can put a fist into the largest of them. But among them, according to the testimonies of captives, only six have carriages and are used in campaigns. These cannons are not cast well, they have blisters, and they do not shoot accurately, nor do they shoot at a great distance, not more than 100 or 150 sazhen [i.e., 210–315 m], because of the poor quality of gunpowder. They have begun casting cannonballs of cast iron, while before they would forge them of iron. Generally, they do not observe a strict proportion to the caliber of the cannon; [therefore], while shooting, they wrap up [the balls] with felts or rags and this way drive them down into the bore. Gunpowder is made by the Khivans themselves, who sell it in the bazaars; but it is very bad. However, as the captives claim, Khiva has our gunpowder as well. Three cannons have gun crews of four [Russian] captives each, and two or three have crews of Persian captives. The crews cannot perform well; they cannot hit the target at 100 sazhen. The present khan [Allah-Quli] sometimes has them practice for fun, but is mainly concerned that they shoot louder and faster, without caring about accuracy. During campaigns, cannons are drawn by 4, 5 and more horses, and the ammunition is carried in packs. In general, this artillery poses no danger for regular troops and is used by the Khivans rather for

frightening [their enemies]." According to the accounts of former Russian slaves published by Dal' in 1839, the Russian captive Vasiliĭ Lavrent'ev, nicknamed by the Khivans "Bil'-Bil'," was especially respected by Allah-Quli Khan. "Although he was a poor carpenter, the khan ordered him to make wheels for his cannons; when Lavrent'ev did the job successfully, the khan appointed him "court gunner" and charged him with the training of artillerists. Although the poor guy had hardly seen a cannon in Russia, he did not dare to say that he had never fired a cannon. The Khivan army went against Merv. Bil'-Bil' began the bombardment with his four cannons; the besieged answered with one cannon that stood on the wall, and as soon as it fired, the entire Khivan army, to the last man, took to flight. In the winter of 1837, one of Russian captives who served with the artillery was ordered to cast a huge copper cannon that cost the khan up to 3,000 roubles." (Dal', 12–13). "Now [i.e. at the end of the 1830s] the khan has more than a hundred Russians attached to his person, 54 of whom are artillerists. There are not more than 30 cannons of different calibers, but most of them are of no good, because they do not have gun-carriages" (*ibid.*, 15). Basiner, who was in Khiva in 1842, with the embassy of Colonel Danilevskiĭ, received information from a Russian named Sergeĭ, who had been a private in the Russian army, had fled from Russia to avoid punishment for theft, and had become the commander of the Khivan artillery. According to him, the khan had altogether 21 cannons, most of them totally unusable; only 4 could be taken for campaigns. Sergeĭ told Basiner that, when the Khivan and the Bukharan armies stood opposite one another on the banks of the Amu-Darya, the Khivan cannons fired from time to time, but their balls did not reach the enemy. (Basiner, 116–117, 126, 252.) Captain Abbott, who was in Khiva three years earlier, in 1839, mentioned in his account that near the gate to khan's palace "stood the artillery of Khaurism, consisting of about 22 brass field pieces of from 6 to 12 pound calibre, very indifferently mounted upon carriages having wooden axles" (Abbott, I, 79); Allah-Quli Khan himself told Abbott that he had 20 cannons (*ibid.*, 104). Thomson, who visited Khiva in 1841 (see on it above, note 383), received information from a Khivan official, according to which Khiva had 17 guns, 1 mortar, 17 *kharvar*s of gunpowder, and 1,000 stone cannon-balls (see Lady Sheil, p. 369). The number of cannons in the army of Khiva seems not to have increased significantly until the Russian conquest (Russian trophies in Khiva included 25 copper cannons of various calibers and 2 copper mortars; see *Materialy dlia opisaniia khivinskogo pokhoda*, fasc. 11, clmn. 16), despite the fact that new cannons were cast in the khanate under Sayyid Muhammad Khan, in the late 1850s, by a Russian fugitive artillery soldier (see Butakov, "Del'ta," 132). The authors of *Materialy dlia opisaniia khivinskogo pokhoda* (fasc. 8, clmn. 179, 180, 182; fasc. 3, clmn. 136–137) noticed in 1873 a fairly good laying, but poor aiming by the Khivan gunners.

[680] *Buljār* (from original Mongol) had three meanings: (1) a place assigned for a rendezvous of two armies, or military detachments; (2) a time assigned for such a rendezvous; (3) a section of a fortress assigned for a siege; the same term appears also in the form *murchāl* (or *murchal*). See Doerfer TME, I, 229–232 (No. 107).

[681] As seen from the description of the siege, the troops were divided between sections according to the division of Uzbek tribes into the four *tüpe*.

[682] In another place (see p. 281) Munis mentions that Mahipaz was between the Qazaq-Darya and the Aral Sea, i.e. in the north of the Amu-Darya delta. It is indicated on the 1905 map as the "Dry bed Maĭpas," branching off the Ulkun-Darya, in a northerly direction, to the Taldïq (Tallïq) bay. Shor-köl corresponds probably to the locality "Shor" indicated on the 1905 map near the middle course of the Qazaq-Darya.

[683] On the Nawruz of Khorezmshahs and other problems of Khorezmian chronology see Introduction, pp. XXXIX–XLV.

[684] Usually the Amu-Darya would freeze up to Pitnak (and somewhat above it)

in January, and the ice would remain from several days to one and a half months near Turtkul and up to two months near Nukus. Before and after this, for one or two weeks, there would be thin broken ice floating upon the water (see Lobachevskiĭ, 7).

[685] The Tash-guzar crossing on the Kök-Üzäk is, apparently, identical with the Tash-kechu crossing, which is mentioned several times later (see below, note 859). Turkic *kechu* has the same meaning as Persian *guzar* ("crossing").

[686] The resettlement of the Khoja-eli to Aq-Saray, apparently, did not survive Eltüzer Khan: under Muhammad Rahim Khan they are found again in their old place, with the center in the town of Khoja-eli (see above, note 251).

[687] On various meanings of the term *ulagh* (originally "relay horse") see Doerfer TME, II, 102–107 (No. 521). In the 19th-century Central Asia it usually meant "pack animal(s)", "army train".

[688] According to Muʿin (f. 30b), Shah Murad appointed his second son Din Nasir Bek governor of Merv in 1211/1796–97. The conflict between Din Nasir and his elder brother, Amir Haydar, is explained by Muhammad Yaʿqub (*Gulshan al-mulūk*, ff. 144a–b/262a–b; *Risāla*, f.12a) in the following way: In 1220/1805–06 Muhammad Amin Khoja Naqib, Baba Mirza b. Sultan Murad Biy Qoshbegi, and Kichkine Mirza, son of a daughter of Muhammad Rahim Khan (the Manghït), plotted treachery against the amir. The amir learned about it and executed these three men. Because of this, Din Nasir Bek feared the amir, started hostilities in the province of Merv, and sent 4,000 horsemen to raid Charjuy. It happened that Niyaz Bek Parvanachi had been sent previously with 10,000 horsemen to Charjuy, and they arrived in Charjuy one day (so *Gulshan*; two days in *Risāla*) earlier than the troops of Merv. When these arrived and began raiding, the troops of Bukhara attacked them from an ambush and defeated them; 2,000 (so *Gulshan*; 1,000 in *Risāla*) men were killed or captured, and the rest fled. Ten days later the parvanachi came from Charjuy to Merv, destroyed the dam of Merv (on the Murghab) and left the city without water. In 1221/1806–07 Din Nasir abandoned Merv and went, with his people, to Mashhad.

[689] On the Chumanay canal (actually, a branch of the Amu-Darya; in Qaraqalpaq pronunciation—Shumanay) see Danilevskiĭ, 74; Basiner, 179–180; Stetkevich, 161–165; Girshfel'd – Galkin, I, 167–170; Guliamov, *Oroshenie*, 215.

[690] This Qanglï (its location is probably indicated by the island Qanglï *tughay*, ab. 8 km south of Qongrat, on the 1873 map) should be distinguished from Qanglï in the area of the town Qïpchaq (cf. below, note 777).

[691] Holy sites called "Ghayib Ata" are found in many places in Khorezm. According to Snesarev (*Khorezmskie legendy*, 62), they are almost always anonymous, and this term refers to different personalities.

[692] *Sarūpā*, or *sarūpāy* (Persian, lit. "head and foot") was a present in the form of clothes that could be granted on various occasions, especially to an official at his appointment or as a reward for service. It could include an entire outfit, that is, a hat, a robe, and a pair of boots, but more often it was limited to just a robe. The term was an equivalent of the Arabic *khilʿa* "robe of honor" (see on it N.A. Stillman, "Khilʿa," in: EI², V, 6–7). In Khiva *sarūpā* were distributed to the troops after successful battles, which apparently means that a large wardrobe was included in the army train during military campaigns. In Bukhara in the reign of amir Haydar rewards to the troops in the form of clothes were rare (see Viatkin, "Karshinskiĭ okrug," 19). On *sarūpā* in Bukhara cf. also: O.A. Sukhareva, *K istorii gorodov Bukharskogo khanstva* (*Istoriko-etnograficheskie ocherki*), Tashkent, 1958, p. 101; Andreev – Chekovich, *Ark*, 97.

[693] It is not quite clear with whom this audience was held. Earlier Munis makes a distinction between Eltüzer and Muhammad Rahim, calling the first one "the late khan" and the second one "his majesty the khaqan"; in that case the audience must have been with Muhammad Rahim. However, it is somewhat strange that

Munis, being "an old servant" of Muhammad Rahim, makes special mention of an audience with him; a possible explanation could be that Munis did not participate in the campaign against Qongrat. Cf. Introduction, p. XXVI.

[694] On *tümen* as a territorial unit in Central Asia (since the time of the Chaghatay khanate) see Bartol'd, *Ulugbek*, 33–34; Semenov, "Bukharskiĭ traktat," 151–152. In Khorezm this term was not used for territorial units.

[695] Vardanzi (ancient Vardana, see Bartol'd, *Turkestan*, 165)—a village northwest of Ghizhduvan.

[696] According to ʿAbd al-Karim Bukhari (text, 72, transl., 161), after the troops of Eltüzer began raiding the environs of Bukhara, they captured more than 15,000 sheep and several thousand camels.

[697] Nur-Ata—mountains and region ab. 50 km north of Kermine.

[698] Ming-Bulaq is a locality in the Qïzïl-qum desert, ab. 190 km east-northeast of Shaykh ʿAbbas Vali and 55 km east of Üch-Quduq. According to Khoroshkhin ("Kyzylkumskiĭ dnevnik," 422) it was within 5-day's march from Shurakhan and had less than 20 wells, mostly with bad water.

[699] Qaqïshtuvan—a village 20 km northwest of Ramitan.

[700] Many villages in Central Asia had sentries (usually placed on small towers beyond the settlement itself), who were posted to warn the inhabitants about approaching raiders.

[701] Tarab—a village ab. 24 km west of Bukhara.

[702] Qïzïl-ribat was the name of a thicket (*tughay*) below Darghan-Ata (see Stetkevich, 19).

[703] Üch-Uchaq height is off the right bank of the Amu-Darya, ab. 7 km north (downstream) of Dahan-i Shir (see on it note 1103 below); it was at the beginning of the main steppe road from Khorezm to Bukhara. See on it: Stetkevich, 20–21; Lobysevich, 167, 169; Kaul'bars, 12–13; *Materialy dlia opisaniia khivinskogo pokhoda*, fasc. 8, clmn. 163, 165; Masson, *Srednevekovye torgovye puti*, 193 (under Se-paia).

[704] Bukharan sources do not mention the campaign under Rajab Biy Inaq, but they give the same number of troops (20,000) for the second expedition, under Niyaz Bek (see below).

[705] Munis and Agahi give several spellings of this name: Kūk.r.d.lī, Kūkārjīnlī, and Kūkārchīnlī; Stetkevich (17) gives the name as Kukertli; Masson (*Srednevekovye torgovye puti*, 214–215) mentions it as Gëgerdzhli, Gugerdzhli, and Gugurdzhli; modern maps give Gugurtli, Kukurtli, and Gugurtzhyly. Under this name there are thickets (*tughay*) both on the left and the right bank of the Amu-Darya: on the right bank ab. 20 km south (upstream) of Darghan-Ata, on the left bank ab. 25 km south of Darghan-Ata. In the south-western end of the left-bank *tughay* there are ruins of a medieval caravanseray (5 km west of it is a railway station, the name of which on the maps is given as Kiukiurtli!).

[706] Sayyid Muhammad Mahruy is not mentioned in the known sources on Sayyid Ata or his descendants; it appears to be a Khorezmian development, linked with the familial tradition preserved at the shrine of Sayyid Ata in Khanqah. The shrine of "Sayyid Mahruy" is mentioned, however, in the anonymous work *Khʷārazm taʿrīfī* (MS of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Tashkent, No. 7700, ff. 85a–94a), and in the memoirs of Abdulla Baltaev (*Khīvā esdālīklārī*, MS of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Tashkent, No. 11645, ff. 60b–62b). Baltaev's account says that in 1304/1887 the Amu's water rose higher than before and threatened the shrine of Sayyid Muhammad Mahruy, prompting Sayyid Muhammad Rahim Khan II to have the saint's bones moved from the riverbank the following year and brought to Khiva for re-burial on the western side of the *ʿimārat darvāzasi* of the outer wall of Khiva. (I am indebted for this information to Devin DeWeese.) The account of Baltaev is confirmed by Stetkevich (26, 29), who says that in spring 1887 the water of the Amu-Darya came very close to the much venerated tomb of the saint "Seid-

Magomed-Gireĭ"—in abbreviated form: "Seid Magruĭ", or "Seid Mireĭ"—so that, with the permission of the chief of the Amu-Darya district (otdel), the body of the saint was transferred to Khiva, and several days later half of the mausoleum collapsed into the river (after that the river changed its course again toward the west). Man'kovskaia and Bulatova describe a mausoleum of "Seid-Magrum-Dzhan" or "Seid-Makhruĭ-dzhan" in Khiva (Man'kovskaia – Bulatova, 174–176, ill. on p. 175), whose date of construction is given (obviously, erroneously) as 1884.

[707] Bazergan *tughay* is at the eastern edge of Khorezm, on the right bank of the Amu-Darya (see on it Lobysevich, 182; Kaul'bars, 15–16; *Materialy dlia opisaniia khivinskogo pokhoda*, fasc. 8, clmn. 175–176); the "Miskin-Seit" cemetery is indicated on the 1905 map near Aq-Qamïsh, ab. 20 km west of Bazergan.

[708] Some Bukharan sources (Mu'in, f. 35b; Muhammad Ya'qub, *Gulshan al-mulūk*, f. 144b/262b; idem, *Risāla*, f. 11b) give the number of Bukharan troops as 20,000 (the number given by Munis for the earlier expedition, under Rajab Inaq, not mentioned in these sources); 'Abd al-Karim Bukhari (text, 72, tr., 161) gives 30,000. All Bukharan sources give the title of Muhammad Niyaz Bek as Parvanachi.

[709] According to 'Abd al-Karim Bukhari (text, 72, transl., 163), when Eltüzer learned about the approaching army of Bukhara, he expressed great joy and assembled an army of 12,000 horsemen from the Teke, Yomut, Salor, Chowdur, Yemreli, Bozaji, Uzbek, Qongrat, Qanglï, Manghït, and others, and led them to the bank of the Amu-Darya.

[710] Yaman-Uyghur was, apparently, east of Khanqah, near the Amu-Darya (it is not indicated on the available maps). According to Helmersen (18), this was the place in which the Uyghurs were resettled after their rebellion was supressed about 1809 (see *ibid.*, 14–15). However, the account of Munis shows that the place had existed under this name (and certainly had been inhabited by the Uyghurs) already earlier. Another account of Munis (see p. 260) shows the locality Yaman-Uyghur and Lake Uyghur on the right bank of the Amu-Darya.

[711] On Kesik see Stetkevich, 31; Girshfel'd – Galkin, II, 101; Guliamov, *Oroshenie*, 111.

[712] Lebab—a name applied to the region in the middle course of the Amu-Darya, below and above Charjuy.

[713] Narazïm was on the right bank of the Amu-Darya, ab. 45 km upstream from Farab. It does not exist any more, having been destroyed by the river.

[714] *Mushrif*s in the Khanate of Khiva were officials managing the private estates of the khan and nobility.

[715] It is probably this Vali Atalïq whom 'Abd al-Karim Bukhari (text, 85, transl., 189) mentions as "Vali Tintek" ("Fool") in the following account: "Among the grandees (*rijālān*) of Eltüzer there was one named Vali Tintek, who was from the nobles of Shabad [i.e. Shahabad] and considered himself a Rustam-i Dastan. He boasted that soon his *tugh* would be pitched in the Registan of Bukhara. When he fled from the Bukharan troops in the battle, he was killed by a pistol shot; then his head was cut off, sent to Bukhara and displayed on the gallows in the Registan, in the place where he wanted to pitch his *tugh*; it remained on the gallows for one week."

[716] On the use of *tugh*s in battle cf. Ögel, 168, 173–180.

[717] The Chalïsh was one of the branches formed by the Amu-Darya in the area between Urgench and Shaykh 'Abbas Vali, parallel to the Kesik, another branch (see above, note 711).

[718] The Khorezmian *gaz* for land measurements was 106–107 cm (see Davidovich, *Materialy po metrologii*, 112).

[719] This battle is described by 'Abd al-Karim Bukhari (text, 73–74, tr., 163–166) in the following way: When the Khorezmian troops came to the river, some Bukharan troops crossed the river and went for one *manzil*, raiding villages on their way. But

before the entire Bukharan army could join them, Eltüzer Khan sent 2,000 Turkmens, who blocked their way. A son of Bukhari Dadkhah, and 500 horsemen with him, were taken prisoner. At that moment Eltüzer crossed the river with 4,000 horsemen and foot soldiers, and set up his camp (*senger*) on the road to Bukhara; the Bukharan prisoners were brought there. The Bukharan troops saw that their way back to Bukhara (other than that of the desert) was cut off by Eltüzer, and they decided to attack Eltüzer. They put to flight the *qaravul*s of Eltüzer, who came to his camp and tried to persuade him to cross back over the river, but he did not want to listen to this advice. Those who were fleeing from the Bukharans threw themselves into the river without listening to Eltüzer. Finally, seeing that the enemy was close, he boarded a boat, and many others who followed him threw themselves into the same boat. Eltüzer tried to chase them away with his sword, but did not succeed, and finally, the boat sank and Eltüzer drowned together with some of his retainers. Most of his troops drowned. Muhammad Rahim, Eltüzer's brother, threw himself into the river on horseback and escaped. Two brothers of Eltüzer, Hasan Murad Bek and Jan Murad Bek (sic), were killed, and the elder brother, Qutlï Murad Bek, was taken prisoner, together with up to 1,000 nobles (*buzurgān*). Eltüzer's treasury and standard (*tugh*) made of gold, as well as the tents of his camp, were all pillaged. In another place (text, 86, transl., 192) ʿAbd al-Karim Bukhari gives the total number of Khorezmian troops who perished in this battle as 2,000.

Muhammad Yaʿqub (*Gulshan al-mulūk*, f. 144a/262a; *Risāla*, f. 12a) gives far fewer details; he mentions that the total number of Khorezmian prisoners released together with Qutlugh Murad Biy was 400, and that the severed heads of the two brothers of Eltüzer were hung on the gates of Bukhara. Muʿin (ff. 35b–36a) mentions the battle only briefly. Muhammad Yaʿqub mentions also another Bukharan campaign that took place in 1220/1805–06, at the same time when Bukharan troops were fighting Din Nasir Bek in Merv; in this campaign the force of 20,000 Bukharan horsemen crossed the Amu-Darya and besieged Khanqah for one day, but went back, when they learned that ʿAlim Khan of Qoqand had attacked Ura-Tübe (*Risāla*, ff. 12a–b; same in *Gulshan al-mulūk*, f. 144b/262b; the account is dubious: it comes *after* the account of the defeat of Eltüzer, but it gives an earlier date, and it is not confirmed by other sources). The longest account of the war between Eltüzer Khan and Amir Haydar is found in the *Tārīkh-i Amīr Ḥaydar* (ff. 62a–69b), but it is full of fantastic details (thus, the Bukharans are assisted by the spirits *chiltan*; Bukharan troops captured the fortress Manghïshlaq, where Eltüzer kept his treasury) and, on the whole, is more a popular novel (*dāstān*; significantly, its chapters are called *dāstān*) than a historical work.

This war is also briefly mentioned by the Qoqandian historian Muhammad Hakim Khan in his *Muntakhab at-tavārīkh* (I, 240–241), where he mainly describes the drowning of Eltüzer in the Amu-Darya.

[720] *Shighāvul* (or *shiqāvul*) was an official in charge of receiving guests, especially ambassadors and foreign envoys. See "K istorii," 71, 77; Khokhlov, 394, 395; Khanykov, *Opisanie*, 83, 186. Bartol'd's explanation as "master of ceremonies" (see Bartol'd, "Tseremonial," 391, 396) is not quite correct; cf. *ibid.*, 392–393, 398 (master of ceremonies had the title *udaychi*). See Doerfer TME, I, 355–357 (No. 232).

[721] The word *Adaq* is used here, apparently, not as the name of the town near Lake Sarïqamïsh which existed in the 16th century and disappeared long before the time of Eltüzer Khan, but as a synonym of *ayaq* "lower reaches [of a river]".

[722] The story of Shïban's valor in a battle "near Moscow" is obviously a legend generated in Shïbanid circles and aimed at asserting the special rights of the Shïbanids within the ulus of Jochi.

[723] As the text of Munis shows, the term "Turan" was used as a synonym of "Mavarannahr" or "Bukhara," thus excluding Khorezm.

[724] Sam-i Nariman (i.e. Sam, son of Nariman) is a legendary ruler of Sistan and

a hero of the *Shāh-nāma* (see J.T.P. de Bruijn, "Sām," in: EI², VIII, 1011–1012); Rustam-i Dastan (see above, note 259) was a grandson of Sam.

[725] Cf. on the physical prowess of Muhammad Rahim Khan below, note 1147.

[726] On coats of mail in Khorezm see below, note 801.

[727] This episode is mentioned also by ʿAbd al-Karim Bukhari (text, 86, transl., 192–193), who says that when, during this battle, Muhammad Rahim Khan encountered Mahmud Khoja, son of ʿAbd al-Hayy Khoja-i Bukhari, he struck the khoja with his sword and cut off one of his ears, his nose, and half of his face (sic). ʿAbd al-Karim's work was finished in 1233/1818 (see Storey – Bregel, II, 1155), but it is extremely unlikely that it could have reached Khiva during the lifetime of Munis.

[728] According to Murav'ev, Khojash Mahram was a son of a Persian from Astarabad, Allah-Verdi At-Chapar, who had been captured at a young age and brought to Khorezm, where he became Sunnite and married. Khojash Mahram did great service to the khan in a battle during the war with Bukhara, became khan's favorite, and soon was placed in charge of the customs. Having become the khan's confidant, he promoted his father and brothers and surrounded himself with the people from the "Kizil Dzhilov" (*qïzïl-jilaw*), i.e. freed Persian slaves. The khan granted him many lands and canals, he himself bought more, and became to be considered (at the time of Murav'ev's visit) the third among the most important and rich people of the khanate. Murav'ev describes him as a person of mean character; he was about 40 years old at the time of Murav'ev's visit (1819), had an intelligent face and a long black beard; he was handsome and spoke smoothly and even pleasantly (Murav'ev, I, 93–95, II, 61–63). In the description of the events of 1237/1822 (see p. 509), Agahi calls Khojash Mahram "the head of the retainers and the chief *maḥram*." In a number of later Russian and western works, "Khojash Mahram" was erroneously believed to be the title of an official in Khiva. Abbott saw Khojash Mahram in Khiva in 1839 (see Abbott, I, 81: "Next and above me sat the Khojeh Mhirahm, a handsome old man, who having been an instrument of the last khan's degraded pleasures, retains considerable influence at Court, and is considered a man of talent.") In 1841, at the time of Nikiforov's embassy to Khiva, Khojash Mahram was the governor of Tashhawz. Nikiforov said that he was about 60 years old; he did not participate directly in state affairs, but enjoyed the great respect of the khan and of the whole of Khiva in general and was favorably inclined towards the Russians (see Zalesov, "Posol'stvo Nikiforova," 65). See also p. 359 and note 896.

[729] Cf. Saʿdi, *Būstān*, ed. Muhammad ʿAli Furughi, Tehran, 1316 A.H.S./1937, p. 61.

[730] Cf. RṢ, IV, 421–422 (Saʿdi's verse is an anachronism added by Munis; Saʿdi had just been born before the Mongol invasion). On the battle see Bartol'd, *Turkestan*, 513.

[731] The term *beklik* indicated not actually a "rank" (*rutbe*), but only a social status; see above, note 19.

[732] Muhammad Murad Bek later rebelled against Muhammad Rahim Khan and was executed (see p. 255). On Muhammad Yusuf Mehter (often mentioned as Yusuf Mehter) see Murav'ev, II, 59–60. Murav'ev describes him as the first vizier, whom the khan trusted more than others; in 1819 he was a man of more than 50 years old, of stern disposition and distrustful. He was a Sart by origin, and since the time of his rise the Sarts gained access to the khan. See also Bregel, "The Sarts," 135.

[733] Munis repeatedly refers to the army of Bukhara as the "Tajik army," which certainly had a connotation of contempt (cf. Bartol'd, *Ulugbek*, 47). The use of the epithet "Tajik" (although the army of Bukhara was predominantly Uzbek) can be explained by the fact that Bukhara was perceived as a country of Iranian (Tajik) culture.

[734] The Qoqandian historian Muhammad Hakim Khan says in his *Muntakhab*

at-tavārīkh that, after the defeat and death of Eltüzer Khan, "the people of Urgench" went to offer their submission to the amirs of Bukhara, and the same day the "five cities of Urgench" (*panj qalʿa-i Urganj*, i.e. Besh-Qalʿa) read the *khuṭba* in the name of Amir Haydar. And the amirs of Bukhara wanted to enter the country of Urgench, but at that time ʿAlim Khan (of Qoqand) attacked and conquered Ura-Tübe, and Amir Haydar sent an order to his amirs in Khorezm to return immediately. When the people of Urgench learned about the departure of the Bukharans, they made Eltüzer's brother a new khan (see Muhammad Hakim Khan, 241). The advance of the Bukharan army is mentioned by Muhammad Yaʿqub, who says that the Bukharan force of 20,000 horsemen besieged Khanqah, but left the next day, having received the news about the attack of ʿAlim Khan on Ura-Tübe; Muhammad Yaʿqub, however, mentions the siege of Khanqah as having happened in 1220/1805, *before* the defeat of Eltüzer Khan, as a separate campaign (see Muhammad Yaʿub, *Gulshan al-mulūk*, f. 144b/262b; idem, *Risāla*, f. 12a–b); cf. above, note 719.

[735] Hadra is 10 km north of Khiva, on the road to Qosh-Küprük (Koshkupyr).

[736] *Mīrshab* was the head of police in Bukhara; see on this official Semenov, *Ocherk*, 48–52. In the Khanate of Khiva this post did not exist.

[737] In the version of events given by ʿAbd al-Karim Bukhari (text, 74, transl., 167), when the Khorezmian prisoners were brought to Bukhara, Amir Haydar showed kindness to them, gave robes of honor to Qutlï Murad Bek and to all the nobles, according to their ranks. Qutlï Murad pledged his allegiance to the amir, saying: "I am your dog and your slave, and I am subject to your order." After one week, Haydar released all of them, gave Qutlï Murad Bek the rank (*ʿamal*) of *inaq*, made him the governor (*ḥākim*) of Khiva, and let them go back.

[738] According to ʿAbd al-Karim Bukhari (text, 75, transl., 167–168), when Qutlï Murad Bek returned from his captivity in Bukhara and found that Muhammad Rahim was in the meantime raised as khan in Khiva, he agreed with this and said to his younger brother: "I gave an oath to the king of Bukhara, [but] I have no claims for governing; you shall be the khan, and I will be an inaq." The brothers agreed on this in secret. After that Qutlï Murad wrote to Amir Haydar: "Before I came, the subjects, the *ʿulamāʾ*, and the pillars of the state had raised as khan my brother, Muhammad Rahim; they paid no regard to me, and I had no choice but to agree to it." After that Amir Haydar did not interfere in the affairs of Khiva.

[739] The "crown of governance" (*ḥukūmat tājï* or *ḥukūmat afsarï*) was, actually, not a "crown" in the European sense, but an aigrette (see on it above, note 670). However, elsewhere (p. 277), in a poem describing how Muhammad Rahim Khan set out for a military campaign, Munis mentions a *jīgha* attached to the khan's golden crown; this may be typical poetic hyperbole, but a golden crown put on by Ghayib Khan in 1754 was mentioned by a Russian envoy received by this khan (see above, note 388). The golden crown of the khan of Khiva seems not to be mentioned anywhere else.

[740] Muhammad Riza Bek was one of the sons of Muhammad Amin Inaq; see p. 147.

[741] Apparently such a claim was based on the old steppe tradition according to which authority should pass to the eldest member of the clan.

[742] The locality of Qïyat-Qongrat is ab. 14 km southeast of Gurlen.

[743] According to the accounts of former Russian captives in Khiva, in the early 19th century the walls of Qïpchaq, on an elevation on the left bank of the Amu-Darya, were in ruins; the Uzbeks who lived in the town had no gardens and very little agriculture and lived mostly from fishing and running a ferry service on the Amu-Darya on their own boats (Helmersen, 19). In 1842, according to Danilevskiï (105), the town had 5 mosques, up to 70 shops, a small number of houses, and no wall (cf. also Basiner, 200). See also Vambery, *Sketches*, 135; Kun, "Kul'tura," 236; Stetkevich, 35.

[744] Here and elsewhere Munis grossly exaggerates the efficiency of Khivan firearms and the marksmanship of Khivan musketeers. Some contemporary observers did say that the Khivans "shoot slowly, having dismounted, but fairly accurately: they hit a man at the distance of 100 sazhen (210 m)" ("Svedeniia," 153); Murav'ev (II, 116) remarked that the Khivan rifles shot fairly accurately, when good powder was used, but that they were very inconvenient. Others had lower opinions: Blaramberg (114), describing Turkmen firearms (this description applies equally to the Khivans), says: "[they] are fairly good marksmen, but they shoot with such long preparations and so slowly that firearms in their hands lose their importance. In order to shoot, the rifleman first lies down, then aims for a long time, during which the fuse often goes out; finally, he hits the target only at the distance of some 60 or 80 steps." Basiner (87–88), describing the marksmanship of a member of the Khivan party that met the Russian expedition in 1842, says that the shooter slowly loaded his rifle, then, after several attempts, ignited the fuse and shot at a crow nearby, but unsuccessfully; each time the process of reloading and aiming was very slow. "I became convinced, with satisfaction," concludes Basiner, "that no living being, other than in his sleep, had to be afraid of this shooter."

[745] The entrance of reinforcements into Qïpchaq seems to contradict the account of the "tight siege" of this town by the army of Khiva, unless the reinforcements were sent by boats (since Qïpchaq stood on the bank of the Amu-Darya).

[746] On Dönmes Sardar, a Yomut, who was an enemy of Muhammad Amin Inaq, see pp. 111–112.

[747] On the *qïr* of Aybugur see above, note 654.

[748] The mausoleum of Akhund Baba was on the left bank of the Amu-Darya, ab. 8 km east of Urgench (mentioned by Vambery, *Sketches*, 128: "Akhun Baba, the tomb of a saint, with a few scattered havlis (farmsteads) near it, which is situated on the banks of the Oxus") and is indicated on the 1905 map as "Akhun-Bova".

[749] Varaghzan is ab. 9 km east-northeast of Khiva.

[750] This campaign of the Bukharan army is not mentioned in Bukharan sources; cf. note 708 above.

[751] Chat-qal'a was ab. 7 km northwest of Urgench, near the Shahabad canal (cf. modern Chat-qupïr); in 1873 Kun noticed that there were no permanent inhabitants in this small fortress (see Kun, "Kul'tura," 248).

[752] Fazil Bek was an uncle of 'Avaz Inaq, and Niyaz Muhammad Bek was the latter's brother (and an uncle of Muhammad Rahim Khan).

[753] On Alexander's rampart see below, note 826. Thana'i (f. 137a) writes that his father, Khuday-Berdi Bek Manghït, was an old servant of Muhammad Rahim Khan, while one of his cousins was in the service of Muhammad Murad Bek. When the khan's order was issued to plunder and destroy the *ḥawlī* of Muhammad Murad Bek, Khuday-Berdi Bek went to the khan and received his permission to take his cousin, with his property, from the *ḥawlī*. Thana'i's father went there and, with the help of Qïlïch Inaq (Khuday-Berdi Bek's uncle) and Qara Bahadur Mirab (another of his relatives), saved his cousin together with seven men and a slave girl.

[754] Cf. 'Abd al-Karim Bukhari (text, 87, transl., 193–194): Muhammad Rahim Khan's uncle, Muhammad Riza Bek, rebelled with the Uyghur tribe. He was captured and put to death. After a while, Muhammad Rahim invited 60 Uyghur notables allegedly in order to give them presents and to talk to them. When these men came to Khiva and entered the *ärk*, they all were seized and killed. According to Murav'ev (II, 41), Muhammad Rahim Khan treacherously captured his cousin, Muhammad Niyaz Bek, and had him killed in his presence, and executed his relatives and supporters, along with their relatives; Muhammad Rahim executed eleven of his brothers and cousins.

[755] Yangi-Darya (on modern maps Zhany-Darya, according to Qazaq pronunciation) was a left branch of the Syr-Darya (now dry).

[756] On the Aq-Yar (in Qaraqalpaq and Qazaq – Aq-Zhar) crossing (on the Quvanch-Yarma, i.e. Kök-Üzäk, in the Amu-Darya delta, ab. 35 km northeast of Nukus) see Kaul'bars, 49, 50–51.

[757] The canal Ishim (in Qaraqalpaq – Esim) begins in the lower course of the Kök-Üzäk and goes to the north, west of Tawqara. See Kaul'bars, 129–133, 476–477; Andrianov, "Ak-dzhagyz," 577; idem, "Ėtnicheskaia territoriia," 53 and map on p. 71.

[758] Börichi-senger, or Börichi-qïr (pronounced—apparently by the Qaraqalpaqs and Qazaqs – Böröshö, according to Kaul'bars) is the southern, elevated edge of the Bel-tau heights, northeast of Tawqara; see Kaul'bars, 80–82.

[759] Chertekli is possibly identical with the "Chertekte tomb" near the Yangi-Darya, mentioned by Kaul'bars (254, 257, 280).

[760] Muhammad Riza Qoshbegi is mentioned by Murav'ev (II, 60–61) in the following way: "The second vizier [after the first, Yusuf Mehter] is Medra Kush Begi, of the same Uzbek tribe as that of the khan. He is the representative of his tribesmen in all suits and requests, and he is respected by everybody. People say that he is very clever, firm, resolute, and kind-hearted, and, therefore, seems not to enjoy a great trust of Muhammad Rahim [. . .] He is obedient to the khan, but does not like him [. . .] He is a junior partner of the first vizier, but he is never entrusted with the administration of the khanate in the ruler's absence."

[761] These four officials, as well as Muhammad Yusuf Mehter, were Sarts; cf. Bregel, "The Sarts," 130.

[762] The title *panjāh-bāshi* ("commander of 50") seems not to be mentioned elsewhere in Khivan chronicles and documents; it was a common title in Bukhara.

[763] The royal parasol was a standard emblem carried in a royal procession; cf. Lambton, "Mawākib," 854. Humay (Humā) is a bird of prey (the bearded vulture) that was considered to be a good omen: its shadow falling on a person's head predicted his elevation to royalty (see Cl. Huart – H. Massé, "Humā," in: EI², III, 572).

[764] "Abu ʿAli" is probably Abu'l-Hasan ʿAli b. Ahmad Nasavi (393–493/1002–1100), the author of a book on falconry *Bāz-nāma* (ed. ʿAli Gharavi, Tehran, 1354 A.H.S./1975), if we assume that the *kunya* Abu'l-Hasan was confused with Abu ʿAli. But it may be a famous falconer during the Samanid rule ʿAli-i Kutāh, who is called by Nasavi in one place of his book (p. 90) "ʿAli-i Kutāh Bu ʿAli." (I am grateful to Mahmoud Omidsalar for this reference.)

[765] ʿAnqāʾ—a fabulous bird of Arab folklore, similar to the phoenix; see Ch. Pellat, "ʿAnḳāʾ," in: EI², I, 509.

[766] Definitions of terms for hunting birds given in various works can differ. According to *Birds*, 105, *charg* ("sharg") is derived from Indian *cherrug* and designates the saker falcon (scientific name Falco cherrug Gray); in Central Asia it was called *itälgü*, by Russians, *baloban* (which, however, is a Turkic word, *balaban*, of unclear origin); cf. Doerfer TME, I, 186–187 (No. 62) (*itälgü*), II, 255–256 (*bālābān*). *Shunqar* or *sunqar* (also *sonqur*) designates the Altai gyrfalcon (scientific name Falco gyrfalco altaicus); see *Birds*, 135–136; cf. Doerfer TME, III, 272–273 (No. 1273) (identified with Hierofalco gyrfalco). *Tūyghūn* designates the goshawk (also the Central Siberian great hawk, scientific name Accipiter gentilis schwedowi Menzbir, or Astur palumbarius schwedowi Menzbir; Russian *iastreb*); see *Birds*, 192 and note; cf. Doerfer TME, II, 657–658 (No. 1003) (*tuyqūn*). *Baḥrī* (in Central Asia also *baḥrīn*) designates the white checked peregrine falcon (scientific name Falco peregrinus leucogenys Brehm); see *Birds*, 89. The identification of *shāhbāz* ('royal falcon/hawk') is not clear; cf. H.Aʿlam, "Bāz," in: EIr, IV, 17. *Lāchīn* (otherwise *shāhīn*) designates the russet-headed or desert peregrine falcon (scientific name Falco peregrinus babylonicus); see *Birds*, 102–103; cf. Doerfer TME, IV, 11–14 (No. 1728). It may well be that Munis mentioned all these terms in order to impress the reader, while in fact not

all these birds were kept at the khan's court. On falconry in general in Iran (and, to some extent, in Central Asia), see Doerfer TME, III, 273–274, and especially H.Aʿlam, "Bāz," in: EIr, IV, 17–20, and H.Aʿlam, "Bāzdārī," *ibid.*, 53–58 (both with extensive bibliography and a more detailed discussion of various species of hunting birds, with Persian and Turkic terms for them); on falconry in Arab countries cf. F. Viré, "Bayzara," in: EI², I, 1152–1155. A brief description of a khan's hunt with birds in 1865 is given by Kaul'bars (574–575), who claims that there are no true falcons in Central Asia, but only *berkut*s (golden eagles) and some varieties of hawks. For accounts of falconry in Khorezm recorded by ethnographers in 1946–1948 see Zadykhina, "Uzbeki," 347–348.

[767] Sayyid-Quli Bay and ʿAvaz Muhammad Bay were joint governors of Urgench, and both were Sart merchants, to judge from their titles *bay*. It seems that, besides (New) Urgench, only the city of Khanqah used to have Sart governors, apparently, because the Sarts were the predominant inhabitants of these cities.

[768] Ear-rings were a symbol of slaves.

[769] Shaykh ʿAbbas Vali was a local saint (known as Shabbas Bobo), allegedly of the first years of Islam, whose tomb was situated on the site of Kath (Kat), the ancient capital of Khorezm; the saint was believed to be a provider of water to the fields (Snesarev, *Relikty*, 234). The settlement on this site became known by the same name, which in local pronunciation was contracted to Shabbas (rendered in Russian as Shabbaz); it was renamed in 1962 as Beruni. For a description of it in 1873 see Kun, "Kul'tura," 252. See also Snesarev, *Khorezmskie legendy*, 126 (by 1955 the tomb no longer existed), 129–130 (legends about the saint).

[770] Yaman-Uyghur and Lake Uyghur on the right bank of the Amu-Darya were probably in the area where the 1905 map shows a locality called Uyghur. Cf. another mention of Yaman-Uyghur above (note 710), on the left bank of the Amu-Darya.

[771] Baday is a large thicket (*tughay*) on the right bank of the Amu-Darya, north of (New) Vazir; no lake under this name is indicated in this region on available maps. It is possible that in the early 19th century a part of Baday *tughay* was covered by a lake known under the same name.

[772] The Quba-tagh (or Quba-taw) mentioned here was a height ab. 17 km. northeast of Qongrat; see on it Butakov, "Del'ta," 133; Kaul'bars, 141, 182–183. It should be distinguished from Quba-tagh (or Quba-taw) in the region of Manghït (cf. above, note 204).

[773] Sharqïrawq mentioned here was a branch of the Amu-Darya ab. 22 km south of Qongrat (see Kaul'bars, 158–160, 162–163: "Sarkrauk"); it should be distinguished from the canal of the same name, which connected the Lawdan with the Daryalïq (cf. above, note 655). At-kechu is not found on the available maps; it is probably identical with the At-Yolï crossing (cf. below, note 815).

[774] On *qarchighay* see Doerfer TME, I, 404–405 (No. 278).

[775] The mountain range near the *qadamgāh* of Sultan Uvays is called Sultan-Uvays-tagh; see above, note 313.

[776] *Qïsnaq* literally means "tight", "narrow". On this pass see Vambery, *Sketches*, 133–134; Kun, "Kul'tura," 235; Rossikova, 640–643; Guliamov, *Oroshenie*, 21, 131. In the text edition, *Qīnāq* should be corrected to *Qïsnāq*.

[777] Qanglï is ab. 10 km west-northwest of Qïpchaq, near the Amu-Darya.

[778] On the tomb of Shaykh Jalil (which, apparently, gave its name to the Shaykh-Jalil mountains) see above, note 313.

[779] Yïlan-qïr—an elevated plateau on the west bank of the Amu-Darya, northwest of Qïpchaq; see on it Vambery, *Sketches*, 136; Rossikova, 650–651 ("Dzhilan-Kyr"). It is probably identical with "Iliang-syr" height on the 1905 map, ab. 12 km west of Qïpchaq.

[780] According to cosmological ideas reflected in Islamic traditions, the earth rests

on the horns of a giant bull (see on it I.Iu. Krachkovskiĭ, *Izbrannye sochineniia*, vol. IV, Moscow – Leningrad, 1957, p. 50).

[781] On the office of *töshekchi* (from *töshek* "bed", "mattress", etc.) see Vambery, *Sketches*, 90: "Töshektshi, or bed maker, whose office it is to spread out at night the soft pieces of felt or the mattresses". Cf. Andreev – Chekhovich, *Ark*, 15, where *tushakkhona* is explained as "storage room" (*kladovaia*).

[782] "Manzilkhan" is a popular corruption (based on folk etymology) of the name Mizdakhkan (see note 593). On the tomb of Sham'un Nabi see above, note 629.

[783] The location of Qarïq-köl could not be established.

[784] Khan-kechu *tughay* was on the left bank of the Amu-Darya, opposite Beshtüpe (see note 835 below).

[785] The Qara-köl mentioned here is, most probably, the lake ab. 10 km west of Khoja-eli, indicated on the 1905 map (another lake of the same name indicated on this map is 32 km northwest of Khoja-eli).

[786] Mayli-Üzäk is mentioned by Danilevskiĭ (75) as one of the right branches of the Tallïq; on the 1905 map Mayli-Üzäk is indicated as a canal ab. 25 km west of Khoja-eli.

[787] *Yasaqchi* was, apparently, an officer with police functions (it was not a permanent post, but rather an *ad hoc* assignment). Cf. Doerfer TME, IV, 82 (No. 1790).

[788] Guliamov (*Oroshenie*, 154) identifies Kuh-i Ten with the ruins Topraq-qal'a, 12 km southwest of Qongrat, near the edge of the plateau Üst-Yurt (it appears on the 1905 map as "Kuten-kala" and on the 1873 map as "Kutum-kala").

[789] Yangi-qal'a was the name under which the city of Orenburg was known in Central Asia; it was built by the Russians (on the Yayiq/Ural river, not on the Atil, which is Volga) initially in 1735, then on its present site in 1742.

[790] The tents of the khan and the nobility were usually sent ahead and pitched in advance of their arrival at the place of planned encampment; this was called *pīsh-khāna*. Cf. Andrews, "Manzil (2)," 456.

[791] The location of Qara-Shafaq-qayir could not be established. On the term *qayir* see note 351 above.

[792] Allah Nazar Bajaqi is mentioned earlier (p. 179) as the head of a party of the Yemreli Turkmens who plundered a Bukharan caravan in 1218/1804.

[793] Keng-qayir was a locality on the right bank of the Amu-Darya, west of the Chortambay branch of the river.

[794] The term *shīr*, lit. "lion", was used in Central Asia for tigers and leopards. Lions were not found in Central Asia during the Islamic period; cf. M.E. Masson, "L'vy v sostave byloĭ fauny Iuzhnogo Turkmenistana i oblasteĭ k severu ot Amudar'i," in: *Izvestiia Akademii nauk Turkmenskoĭ SSR: Seriia obshchestvennykh nauk*, 1971, No. 2, pp. 45–52.

[795] The location of Qïran-qïr could not be established.

[796] The poem by Munis gives an idealized description of a literary gathering (*majlis*) at the court. On the institution of the *majlis* as it was continued by the Uzbek rulers after their conquest of the Timurid states see M.E. Subtelny, "Art and politics in early 16th century Central Asia," in: *Central Asiatic Journal*, vol. 27/1–2, 1983, pp. 139–144.

[797] The term *orda-bazar*, strictly speaking, referred to the market (tents and shops of merchants) accompanying the army and the royal headquarters, but it was used also for the royal encampment in general. Cf. Andrews, "Manzil (2)," 456.

[798] *Qosh* was used in the meaning of "encampment", as well as a group of nomads or troops moving (or camping) together; cf. the definition given by V.V. Grigor'ev (*O nekotorykh sobytiiakh*, 122, note 69): "any temporary accomodation in an empty place or on the move: separate tent, several tents together, or an entire encampment." Here *qoshlar u bungāhlar* as trellis tents of the troops are probably distin-

guished from *khayma u khargāh* as the more elaborate tents of the nobles. Cf. also Andrews, "The tents," 148.

[799] According to Guliamov (*Oroshenie*, 36, 194–195), Kirkirawk, or Öküz-Ketken (or Ukuz-Ketken), was the same canal (or a branch of the Amu-Darya) which was known as Kök-Üzäk. This, however, does not explain why Munis, mentioning Öküz-Ketken here and elsewhere (cf. p. 474), does not identify it as such. Moreover, in support of his identification Guliamov (*Oroshenie*, 36, note 77) refers to the *Firdaws al-iqbāl*, which, however, does not contain the words cited by Guliamov.

[800] On the term *harāvul* "advance-guard" see Doerfer TME, I, 532–535 (No. 394).

[801] The full body armor described by Munis must have been rather an exception in Khiva at that time, and it was probably worn only by the khan (however, even in this case it may be just an idealized description). But coats of mail were rather common. According to Helmersen (59), officers in the army of Khiva wore coats of mail supplied by the khan, who used to obtain them from Persia. In 1873, during the Russian conquest of Khiva, a party of Khivan horsemen which attacked the advance guard of the Russian troops under General Verevkin near Qongrat consisted mainly of men wearing chain mail (Lobysevich, 52). Cf. also p. 307.

[802] *Kirawka* is clothing worn *under* the coat of mail or armor; this is possibly a slip of the pen by Munis.

[803] On the "crown" of the khan cf. above, notes 670 and 739.

[804] Ja'far is Ja'far Barmaki, from the famous family of viziers under Harun ar-Rashid (see above, note 586), who was the director of the caliphal mint and struck gold coins, which, according to popular tradition, were of pure gold. His name appeared on the gold dinars (R.E. Darley-Doran, "Sikka," in EI^2, IX, 593). Expression *zar-i Ja'farī* in Persian means pure gold (see *Lughat-nāma-i Dihkhudā*, new ed., vol. 8, p. 11275).

[805] The runners (*shāṭir*) in ceremonial processions usually had bells attached to their belts.

[806] To judge from the descriptions of various battles by Munis, the army of Khiva observed the traditional battle array (*yasal*), the most detailed description of which is on p. 512. It goes back mainly to the Mongols (with some innovations introduced by Timur). Ideally, the troops drawn up for a battle were divided into a *qaravul* (advance-guard; a corresponding Persian expression, *muqaddima-i sipāh*, is also used), *juvānghār* and *barānghār* (left and right wings; Munis sometimes spells *būrānghār* and frequently uses the corresponding Arabic words, *maysara* and *maymana*), and *qol* (center, also *qalbgāh*; sometimes divided into *sol* [*qol*] and *ong* [*qol*], left and right wing). Not all these parts are mentioned in the description of each particular battle, and sometimes there is an impression that *sol qol* and *ong qol* are used as synonyms of *juvānghār* and *barānghār* (however, in some cases a distinction is clearly made, cf. p. 305). The battle order mentioned by Munis is close to the battle order that existed under the Timurids and the Safavids. In scholarly literature the best discussion of *yasal* (from the Hsiung-nu to the Safavids), with illustrative drawings, is found in Doerfer TME, IV, 82–92 (No. 1791). Russian and European observers of the 19th century usually could not discern any particular order in which Central Asian troops were fighting, and described them as unorganized crowds.

[807] The Qazaq-Darya branched off the Ulkun-Darya to the right and flowed in a northeasterly direction to the Aral Sea; see Danilevskiĭ, 75; Kaul'bars, 470, 472, 476, 481–482; cf. Andrianov, "Ėtnicheskaia territoriia," map on p. 72.

[808] Qushkhana is an elevation, with a cemetery on it, on the right bank of the Amu-Darya, ab. 9 km south of modern Nukus, opposite Takhiya-Tash; cf. Stetkevich, 38; Kaul'bars, 30, 32.

[809] Lake Qosh-köl was ab. 5 km east of modern Nukus.

[810] According to information obtained in Bukhara at the end of 1809 or in early

1810 by the Russian officer Subkhankulov (see on him below, note 1049), in 1809 Töre Murad Sufi complained to Mir Haydar about the Qaraqalpaq Aydost and the khan of Khiva, and asked to send him 10,000 troops, but the amir sent him only 400 men (Valikhanov, "Iz zamechaniĭ," 306). Bukharan sources do not mention the support provided by Amir Haydar to Töre Murad Sufi.

[811] The known documents from the Khanate of Khiva of the 19th century, as well as narrative sources for the same period, do not contain information on the meaning of the term *ṣadr*. No officials with this title are mentioned, and it is most probable that it was just an honorary rank given to some members of Islamic establishment (*ʿulamāʾ*), similar to the practice which existed in the Khanate of Bukhara under the Manghïts (on the latter see Semenov, *Ocherk*, 61). It is interesting, however, that such a rank could be granted to a person who certainly did not belong to the Islamic establishment, and whose claim to the status of a sufi was even called into question.

[812] The location of Jabat-köl could not be established.

[813] According to Guliamov (*Oroshenie*, 215), the Chumanay and the Changlï-Basu branched off the Amu-Darya (in a northwesterly direction) ab. 40 km downstream from Khoja-eli.

[814] Munis means that the Chumanay and Changlï-Basu were skirting a promontory of the Üst-Yurt.

[815] According to Guliamov (*Oroshenie*, 215), the At-Yolï crossing was a crossing on the Amu-Darya, 10 km south of Qongrat. However, the text of the *Firdaws al-iqbāl* gives a different picture: (1) Troops were sent from Qongrat over the At-Yolï crossing to conquer Gurlen (p. 314); they could not have crossed the Amu-Darya for this purpose. (2) The Chowdurs, having decided to abandon Töre Murad Sufi and to leave Aral, crossed the At-Yolï by boats and rafts and went to Aybugur (p. 327); thus, the At-Yolï was between Qongrat and Aybugur, that is, west or southwest of Qongrat. (3) Khivan troops were sent down the Chumanay (i.e., west of the Amu-Darya) to the At-Yolï crossing (p. 357). (4) A party of Turkmens going from the Qara-qum to Qongrat, after crossing the desert stopped at the *southern* side of the At-Yolï crossing, close to Üst-Yurt, and troops sent to pursue them from Qongrat crossed the At-Yolï and went to the Qara-qum (pp. 366–367). (5) Muhammad Riza Qoshbegi crossed the At-Yolï by boats on his way from Khiva to Qongrat (p. 361); he must have travelled on the western side of the Amu-Darya. (6) The khan, during his hunting expedition, went from the region of Old Vazir and Qïzïl-Yïlghun, crossed the At-Yolï and, going along the bank of the Tallïq, came to the tomb of Hakim Ata (p. 423). (7) During another hunting expedition, the khan went from the Aybugur *qïr* (i.e. southeastern Üst-Yurt) to Qongrat and had to cross the At-Yolï on his way (p. 474). All this makes it clear that the At-Yolï crossing was not on the Amu-Darya. On the other hand, there is evidence that At-Yolï was the name of a *lake*: (1) A lake under the name "At-Yul" 5 verst from Qongrat, near the mountain "Irnäk" (i.e. Ereng-qïr), was mentioned in the 1820s by a former Russian captive in Khiva, Kovyrzin (see Helmersen, 4). (2) Vámbéry (*Sketches*, 145–146) tells the following about his travel in the region of Qongrat in 1863: "Leaving the gate of the town [Qongrat] behind us, we rode across the well cultivated district of Kungrat, keeping always a north-westerly direction, and then crossing a barren tract of country, came to a large stagnant water, called *Atyolu*, which is marked out as a first stage, and is 7 farsakh [ab. 45–50 km] long. A bridge leads over a narrow part of it, and here the road diverges in two parts, the one of which skirts a low mountain, called Kazak Orge, and, crossing the great plateau of Ustyurt, goes to Orenburg; the other leads to Köhne Urgendj." (3) The 1905 map shows a locality (an overgrown lake) named "At-kitken-kul'" whose northern end is 10 km west-southwest of Qongrat and which stretches southward for about 25 km; west of it is a locality "Kyzyl-dzhangyl" which borders the Üst-Yurt plateau. "Kyzyl-

dzhangyl" is certainly Qïzïl-Yïlghun of Munis, which allows us to identify "At-kitken-kul" with At-Yolï. Apparently, At-Yolï was the name both of the road going from Qongrat westward (and branching in two, to Orenburg and Old Urgench) and of the lake which the road crossed. And in all cases when the *Firdaws al-iqbāl* mentions the At-Yolï crossing, it is the crossing on the lake.

[816] According to Guliamov (*Oroshenie*, 215), Say-kechu was a crossing on the Amu-Darya 2 km south of At-Yolï, that is, 12 km south of Qongrat (cf., however, the previous note).

[817] Khorezmian *gaz* for land measurements was 106–107 cm (see above, note 718); the length of a roll, therefore, was 63–64 m, and its "thickness"—21–32 m. The latter figure is possible only if "thickness" is understood as circumference. Cf. Guliamov, *Oroshenie*, 259–260, with the reference to the same account of Munis.

[818] Cf. the descriptions of the Khorezmian technique of damming the canals with fascines: "Svedeniia," 107–108; Danilevskiĭ, 86–87; Girshfel'd – Galkin, I, 209, with illustration (the term mentioned for a fascine is *qara-bura*); Guliamov, *Oroshenie*, 259; Sazonova, *Traditsionnoe khoziaĭstvo*, 21. Cf. a similar technique used by the Turkmens in Merv in the 19th century: Tairov, II, 149.

[819] Yengichke was a small canal 6 km south of Qongrat (so according to Guliamov, *Oroshenie*, 215, note 83, who spells "Inichka"; on the 1873 map the name is spelled "Dzhenechka").

[820] Khorezmian *qarï* was about 149 cm (see Davidovich, *Materialy po metrologii*, 117–118), which would make the width of the Chumanay at the dam about 300 m.

[821] If the *gaz* was 106–107 cm (see note 718), the depth of the river would be about 53 m—certainly, an exaggeration.

[822] Some of the registers of troops have been preserved in the archives of the Khanate of Khiva (now in the Central Historical Archive of Uzbekistan), the earliest dated 1241/1825; see Ivanov, *Arkhiv*, 186–197; Bregel, *Khorezmskie turkmeny*, 272–275.

[823] Abdal was one of the five main subdivisions (or "clans") of the Chowdur tribe, together with Qara-Chowdur (sometimes called simply Chowdur), Bozachi, Burunjïq, and Igdir. Sometimes these five groups are mentioned as separate tribes; the Chowdurs (Javuldur) and Igdirs appear in the lists of the 24 Oghuz tribes preserved by Mahmud al-Kashghari and Rashid ad-Din. But in the Khanate of Khiva in the 19th century these five groups were considered as parts of a single tribe, the Chowdur, as is clearly seen from the documents of the archives of the khans of Khiva; see, in particular, a document dated 1241/1825 in Bregel, *Khorezmskie turkmeny*, 273–275.

[824] Assuming the metric equivalents given above (see notes 817 and 820), the width was about 32 m and the depth 8.9 m.

[825] As this and a later account (see p. 423) show, Chowdur-qalʿa was situated south of the At-Yolï lake, in the region of Qïzïl-Yïlghun (cf. note 815 above).

[826] The "wall of Gog and Magog" (*Yājūj va Mājūj*), according to Qurʾān (XVIII,92–93, XXI,96) was built for protection against the peoples dwelling in the north-east of the ancient world and to shut them up until the last days; in Iran and Central Asia it was also called "the Rampart of Alexander" (*Sadd-i Iskandar*); see A.J. Wensinck, "Yādjūdj wa-Mādjūdj," in: EI, IV, 1142 (with extensive bibliography). The expressions "the wall of Gog and Magog" or "the Rampart of Alexander" were common metaphors for a very strong and durable wall.

[827] Since the term *khāṣṣa*, or *khāṣṣa-i sharīfa*, was applied in the Khanate of Khiva to the lands and other immovable property owned by the khan (i.e. royal domain), the terms *dīvān* and *dīvān-i sharīf* applied, apparently, to the office which administered these lands.

[828] Khitay (on modern topographic maps "Ktaĭ") and Qulan are ab. 21 km northwest of Gurlen, halfway between Gurlen and Manghït; cf. Danilevskiĭ, 105.

[829] Badal Yüzbashi was promoted to this rank only after the battle, as Munis himself says below.

[830] Murav'ev (II, 55) even claims that Muhammad Rahim Khan would usually spend most of his time hunting in the steppe, together with his favorites.

[831] Tallïq (Taldïq in Qazaq) was the westernmost branch of the Amu-Darya; it branched off the main bed of the river to the left 7 km below Qongrat (see on it: Danilevskiĭ, 75; Shenurin, 148; Butakov, "Del'ta," 130–131; Stetkevich, 152–157; Kaul'bars, 196–204; Girshfel'd – Galkin, I, 160–166). Here Munis apparently calls Tallïq the region at the mouth of the river, near the Aral Sea.

[832] The Qubash road is situated by Andrianov as stretching from the middle course of the Yangi-Darya (Zhanï-Dar'ia) to the eastern end of the Sultan-Uvays mountains (see Andrianov, "Ak-dzhagyz," map on p. 582); Andrianov does not mention the basis for this localization. The text of Munis elsewhere (see p. 336) probably shows that the Qubash road, coming from Qazalï (see p. 394), passed near the region of Tawqara and skirted the cultivated lands on the right bank of the Amu-Darya. The Kökche road seems to have been farther east in the Qïzïl-qum; it was probably passing near the Kökche height in the Qïzïl-qum, 65 km northeast of Shaykh ʿAbbas Vali.

[833] It is not known how long this prohibition remained; it possibly did not survive Muhammad Rahim Khan himself.

[834] There were several places in Khiva for executions. According to Kostenko ("Gorod Khiva," 325), one such place was between the khan's palace and the madrasa, opposite the entry to the palace gate; it was a square pit 14 feet deep, where execution by cutting the throat would be carried out; execution by hanging would take place on the bazaar square near the Hazarasp gate; execution by cutting the throat and by hanging was done also on the northern side of the citadel, where the building of the slave market was located. Basiner (131) also mentions the northeastern corner of the citadel as a place for execution on the gallows and at the stake (see Basiner, 131, 151–152, 248–249).

[835] Besh-tüpe is the name of the northwestern end of the Shaykh-Jalil mountains, which consists of five low conical heights, with a cemetery on them, ab. 5 km from the right bank of the Amu-Darya; see Helmersen, 25; Danilevskiĭ, 69; Kun, "Kul'tura," 233; Rossikova, 652–653 (a related legend).

[836] On *pīsh-khāna* see above, note 790.

[837] Qïrq is one of relatively small Uzbek tribes.

[838] On the traditional battle order (*yasal*) see above, note 806.

[839] Hanging one's saber around the neck is a symbol of submission.

[840] On Hakim Ata (13th century A.D.), one of the spiritual successors of Ahmad Yasavi, see K.G. Zaleman, "Legenda pro Khakim-Atà," in: *Izvestiia Imp. Akademii nauk*, ser. V, vol. IX, 1898, pp. 105–150; V.V. Bartol'd, "K voprosu o rodine Khakim-Ata," in: Bartol'd, *Sochineniia*, vol. II/2, p. 361; G. Alpay, "Ḥakīm Ata," in: EI², III, 76; D. DeWeese, "Atāʾīya order," in: EIr, II, 904–905.

[841] On Sayyid Ata see above, note 475. The tombs of Hakim Ata and Sayyid Ata are situated 22 km north of Qongrat, in the locality that was known as Baqïrghan.

[842] According to Guliamov (*Oroshenie*, 151–152), ruins known as Boghra Khan are 17 km north of Qongrat, near lake Machan-köl (see note 900); Guliamov identifies them with Madminiya of Arab geographers.

[843] The word *yïghïn* in the meaning "soldier" is found in many Khivan texts of the 19th century; it is not recorded in this meaning in any dictionary known to me.

[844] *Ṣufa* (pronounced *supa*) is a platform (of wood or mud) at the entrance to private houses or public buildings.

[845] The location of Cheyjuvit-qalʿa (the reading of the name is uncertain) could not be established.

[846] Sakhtiyan is ab. 2.5 km southeast of Gurlen.

[847] It is not clear whether the slaves who served in the special slave detachments (*qullar dastasi*) of the Khivan troops are identical with *altun-jilaw* (on whom see above, note 381).

[848] The name "Abdal" was often applied in Central Asia to Gypsies. It was also applied to the language used by the members of the corporation of actors and musicians (which is here hardly the case); on this language see A.L. Troitskaia, "Abdoltili—argo tsekha artistov i muzykantov Sredneĭ Azii," in: *Sovetskoe vostokovedenie*, vol. V, 1948, pp. 251–274. The origin of the groups named Abdal and found in various parts of the Islamic world, from Turkey to Eastern Turkestan, is not clear (they may also be of various origins); for the most recent discussion see A. Tietze, "Die Abdal – Reste eines verschwundenen Volkes?", in *Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher*, Neue Folge, vol. 10, Wiesbaden, 1991, pp. 71–84.

[849] Uyshun—one of the small Uzbek tribes in Khorezm.

[850] *Fātiḥa* is the first chapter (*sūra*) of the Qurʾān; in Central Asia the word is commonly used in the meaning of "benediction."

[851] Aq-Masjid is 9 km south of Yangi-Arïq, at the southern edge of the cultivated land. It is not clear what ancient "city of Khorezm" Munis refers to; usually this name was applied to Gurganj, the pre-Mongol capital of Khorezm, while there had been no such city on the site of the 19th-century Aq-Masjid.

[852] On the mausoleum of Shaykh Mukhtar in Astana (the region of Aq-Masjid) see Guliamov, *Oroshenie*, 85 (gives the date 686/1287, not mentioning where the date is found); Man'kovskaia – Bulatova, 151–154 and ill. 143–144 on p. 152. On the cult of the shaykh at the mausoleum see Snesarev, *Relikty*, 301–303.

[853] "Prince Vali" – Muhammad Vali Mirza, the fourth son of Fath ʿAli Shah and the governor of Khorasan; see on him Bamdad, IV, 26–33.

[854] On the circumstances of the departure of Din Nasir Töre to Mashhad, according to Bukharan sources, cf. above, note 688.

[855] The "lower reaches" of Kuruk (or Lower Kuruk) probably means the lower reaches of a canal irrigating the lands of a community of the same name, as well as the corresponding part of this community.

[856] The oasis of Khorezm was surrounded by numerous lakes formed by drainage canals (*zahkash*, or *zaykash*).

[857] For a detailed description of the wells in southern Khorezm and the adjoining sands see Lessar, "Peski Kara-kum," 88–92; Sazonova, *Traditsionnoe khoziaĭstvo*, 66–68. The well Shor-quyï, or Shor-quduq, is at the distance of 190 km south of Darghan-Ata and 135 km north of Merv (Bayram-ʿAli).

[858] A well named Ojarlï is indicated on a modern map of the 1:1,000,000 scale at a distance of 80 km south of Darghan-Ata and ab. 235 km north of Merv. Another well of the same name appears on a topographical map of the 1:200,000 scale at a distance of 42 km northeast of Bayram-Ali; this could well be the one mentioned by Munis.

[859] On the location of Tash-kechu crossing (in the middle course of the Kök-Üzäk) see Andrianov, "Ak-dzhagyz," 580, note 1, and map on p. 579.

[860] On Sultan Timur Khan cf. Erofeeva, 89, 133 ("Temir").

[861] On ʿAbd al-ʿAziz Khan see p. 76 and note 415.

[862] On the Shaykh-Jalil mountains see above, note 313.

[863] Mirza Masiha served as a secretary (*munshī*); his *qaṣīda* and *tārīkh* on the conquest of Qongrat are quoted by Munis (see pp. 380–381). He was the translator into Chaghatay of *Maʿārij an-nubuvva* by Muʿin ad-Din Farahi (see Storey – Bregel, I, 565, No. 424).

[864] Arïq-Balïq is a small salt lake 12 km north-northwest of Besh-tüpe.

[865] According to the accounts of former Russian captives in Khiva, a census was

taken in the khanate every six or seven years for the purpose of taxation. The qoshbegi would tour the khanate and summon district elders and mullas in each locality, who would testify under oath about the number of households in their districts and their property status. The qoshbegi would check their testimony, record it, and divide the households by categories, and in accordance with this taxes were collected. (See "Svedeniia," 147.) The extant documents of the archives of Khiva include a number of tax registers of this sort, but from a later period (see Ivanov, *Arkhiv*, 65–96). There have also been preserved two registers, which seem to be just the records of population censuses conducted in the middle of the 19th century for some other purpose (*ibid.*, 32–50).

[866] The anecdote about Tamghach Khan (a Qarakhanid) and a thief goes back to *Javāmiᶜ ar-riwāyāt wa-lavāmiᶜ al-ḥikāyāt* of ʿAwfī; cf. M. Nizamu'd-Din, *Introduction to the Jawámi'u'l-Ḥikáyát wa Lawámi'u'r-Riwáyát of Sadídu'd-Din Muḥammad al-ʿAwfí*, London, 1929 (Gibb Memorial Series New Series, VIII), p. 160.

[867] Neither the saint named Qochqar Ata nor his tomb are mentioned in available literature on Khorezm, although there are many shrines called by this name in other regions of Central Asia. The name Qochqar Ata possibly indicates that it was a patron of sheep-breeders.

[868] The tomb of Murad Shaykh is situated southeast of Aq-Yaqïsh, on the right bank of the Kök-Üzäk. On this shaykh (who lived in the first half of the 18th century) and his tomb see A. Allamuratov, "Unikal'nyĭ pamiatnik," in: *VKFAN*, 1986, No. 4, pp. 57–63.

[869] The "Sea of Tawqara" (or Dawqara) was a lake formed by the floods of the Amu-Darya in the north-eastern part of its delta, as well as the name given to the entire plain that at different times was completely or partially covered by the water of this lake. See on it Danilevskiĭ, 78–79; Kaul'bars, 76–95; Stetkevich, 64–71; Andrianov, "Ak-dzhagyz," 575–576; Guliamov, *Oroshenie*, 193–194. A theory (rather far-fetched) tracing the origin of the name to the ancient Tokharians was offered by S.P. Tolstov (see his "Oguzy, pechenegi, more Daukara (Zametki po istoricheskoĭ ėtnonimike vostochnogo Priaral'ia)," in: *SÉ*, 1950, No. 4, pp. 49–54).

[870] Teng-Yar-bashi is probably the same as Tengri-Yar-bashi mentioned on p. 483, which must have been the source of the Tengri-Yar (see note 612), the right tributary of the Kök-Üzäk in its lower course (on which see above, note 676).

[871] The location of Keng-Yantaq could not be determined.

[872] Cf. RṢ, VII, 296.

[873] *Tughay* Qara-Ayghïr is ab. 20 km north (downstream) of Darghan-Ata; cf. Stetkevich, 20.

[874] According to Guliamov (*Oroshenie*, 191), this minaret ("Khast-Minar") was north of Gurlen.

[875] According to Abu'l-Ghazi, the change of flow of the Amu-Darya occured 30 years before his birth. Cf. Bartol'd, *K istorii orosheniia*, 176 (it is not known whether this date is based on an arbitrary calculation or on a source independent from Abu'l-Ghazi).

[876] The Quvang-su is more commonly known as the Quvan-Darya; see on it Kaul'bars, index.

[877] The assertion of Munis that Adaq and Yangi-Shahr were in his time under the Aral Sea apparently shows that at that time the location of these cities (which had not existed already in the 17th century) was no longer known. Cf. note 310 above on the identification of Adaq by Tolstov.

[878] A *barmaq* (the same as *angusht*) was about 2.2 cm (see Davidovich, *Materialy po metrologii*, 110, 109), and a *qarish* (the same as *vajab*)—about 22–23 cm (see A.K. Pisarchik, "Mery dliny, upotrebliavshiesia ferganskimi masterami-stroiteliami," in: *Material'maia kul'tura Tadzhikistana*, vol. 1, Dushanbe, 1968, p. 239). Thus, the thickness of the ice was about 9–11 cm.

[879] On the Qarabayli see above, note 565.

[880] The linear *tanab* in Khorezm was about 64 m (see Davidovich, *Materialy po metrologii*, 128).

[881] The location of Qara-Buqa thicket could not be established.

[882] On Shir Ghazi Sultan (later appointed by Muhammad Rahim Khan as khan of the Qazaqs on the Syr-Darya) see below, note 1034.

[883] Janket (Jankent) is medieval Yangikent; see Bartol'd, *Turkestan*, 235; idem, *Svedeniia*, 56; idem, *K istorii orosheniia*, 228, 230–231 (reference to this account of Munis); R.N. Chabrov, "Iz istorii izucheniia razvalin drevnego goroda Dzhankenta," in: *Trudy Sredneaziatskogo gos. universiteta*, n.s., vol. CXI (Istoricheskie nauki, vol. 25), Tashkent, 1957, pp. 187–192.

[884] Chuchqa-Bash is mentioned by Butakov ("Del'ta," 130) as a mountain near the Kök branch of the Amu-Darya (i.e. Kök-Üzäk); on its eastern edge there was a Khivan fortress called "Qurghancha."

[885] Quba-tagh mentioned here is a height northeast of Qongrat (see note 772).

[886] It is not clear what this old city wall of Qongrat was. *Kuhna qal'a* can also mean "old city"; this would imply that there was an earlier site of the town, of which, however, nothing is known.

[887] Murav'ev mentions that Eltüzer Khan took a wife from among the sayyids, contrary to existing custom, and that Muhammad Rahim Khan took her as wife after the death of Eltüzer, and then took two more wives of the same origin (Murav'ev, II, 38, 42). The marriage of Eltüzer Khan is mentioned by ʿAbd al-Karim Bukhari (text, 83–84, transl., 187), who tells the following story: Eltüzer Khan thought: "I am from a tribe of Uzbeks. My ancestors were not sovereign rulers. I will find a way to make my sons noble and heirs of the kingdom, so that rule remains with them." He wanted to marry a daughter of Akhta Khoja (cf. text, 80, transl., 181: Akhund Khoja), who was a sayyid residing in Urgench. When the latter learned about it, he wanted to arrange hastily a marriage of his daughter to his nephew. This became known to Eltüzer, and he sent several men to take the daughter of the sayyid voluntarily or by force; they took her to Khiva, and the wedding was performed without the consent of the sayyid. The sayyid was very depressed and prayed day and night for one week for the overthrow of Eltüzer.

Since the name and the residence of the father-in-law of Muhammad Rahim Khan are different from those mentioned by ʿAbd al-Karim, he could have been the father of one of his other two wives of sayyid origin.

[888] On the role of the traditional wrestling (*kurash*) in the life of Khorezm see Snesarev, *Khorezmskie legendy*, 174–175. For a description of the feast of circumcision (*toy*) in Khorezm see Snesarev, "K voprosu," 256–273; also Snesarev, *Relikty*, 98–99.

[889] "Golden gourd" (*altïn qabaq* or *altun qabaq*) was a shooting contest popular in Central Asia and Iran, in which horsemen would shoot from a bow at a target made of a yellow gourd attached to a mast. Instead of a gourd, a round metal (gold or silver) plate could be used; in the 19th and 20th centuries in Central Asia shooting with a bow was often replaced with shooting from a rifle, and a coin or even a button was sometimes used as a target, but the name of the contest remained the same. See Vel'iaminov-Zernov, *Issledovanie*, II, 298–301 (from *Sharaf-nāma-i Shāhī*, with additional references in note 42); Andreev, *Tadzhiki*, I, 172–173; Snesarev, "K voprosu," 270; idem, *Relikty*, 99; Doerfer TME, III, 412–414 (No. 1419; with additional references). For a description of the *altïn qabaq* as practiced by the Qïpchaq Mamluks in Egypt in the 13th century see Hassanein Rabie, "The training of the Mamlūk fāris," in: *War, technology and society in the Middle East*, ed. by V.J. Parry and M.E. Yapp, London, 1975, pp. 160–161 and pl. VI.

[890] On the Qulum-Hajji canal cf. Guliamov, *Oroshenie*, 202.

[891] Tumarlï was a canal west of Qongrat, in the region of At-Yolï (cf. above, note 815); on modern topographic maps it appears as Tamarly.

[892] A *qalandar-khāna* was a convent, or a shelter, for wandering dervishes (*qalandar*s), which would also often serve as a shelter for beggars and travellers. On *qalandar*s

in general see T. Yazıcı, "Ḳalandar," and "Ḳalandariyya," in: EI², IV, 472–474; on *qalandar*s in Central Asia see A.L. Troitskaia, "Iz proshlogo kalandarov i maddakhov v Uzbekistane," in: *Domusul'manskie verovaniia i obriady v Sredneĭ Azii*, Moscow, 1975, pp. 191–199.

[893] On the 1905 map, lake "Tumar-kul'" is indicated ab. 14 km west of Qongrat and immediately north of "At-kitken-kul'", i.e. At-Yolï (cf. above, note 815).

[894] Thana'i (ff. 144a–145a) gives, with a reference to "reliable people," a different version of the story how Muhammad Rahim Khan sought the support of holy men for his fourth campaign against Töre Murad Sufi. He relates that before the beginning of the campaign the khan sent Tahir Khoja, with a purse filled with gold, to his *pīr* Tayyib Ishan asking for support and assistance from the ishan's miraculous powers (*karāmat*). When Tahir Khoja submitted these alms and supplication to Tayyib Ishan, the latter accepted them, but said: "We do not need gold: it is [an expression of] faith (*iʿtiqād*) that is needed. But a condition for [such] faith is the following: we will present (*pīshkash qilurmiz*) the head of Töre Sufi, but a *tarkhān yarlïq* should be granted to our Sufis." He did not take the gold but ordered that Tahir Khoja should take it himself and use it for the construction of the mausoleum of Shaykh ʿAbdallah Narinjani and a well next to it. Tahir Khoja came to the khan and reported about the promise of Tayyib Ishan. Muhammad Rahim Khan was very glad and ordered Tahir Khoja to build the mausoleum of Shaykh ʿAbdallah Narinjani requested by Tayyib Ishan. (On this mausoleum see below, note 1141.) Tahir Khoja fulfilled this task and promised a *yarlïq* to the Sufis of Tayyib Ishan. In one or two days after Muhammad Rahim Khan besieged Qongrat and started bombarding it with cannons and swivel-guns, the men of Töre Sufi cut off his head and presented it to the khan, and the latter went back victoriously. Thus the miracle performed by Tayyib Ishan became clear, and the khan granted him, with his descendants and dependents, the royal *tarkhān yarlïq*; that was the first such *yarlïq* granted by the khan.

[895] The phenomenon described by Munis must have been "the Great Comet of 1811." Devin DeWeese kindly offered the following comments on this subject:

"Comet 1811 I Flaugergues was discovered on March 25, 1811, observed till June 10, when it was lost in the glare of the sun, and recovered around August 20. It was then observed until January 11, 1812, and was again recovered and observed from late July to mid-August of 1812. The Great Comet of 1811 reached perihelion on September 12, 1811, and was at its brightest from then until late October. Ordinarily, comets attract the attention of casual observers only when they reach 3rd magnitude or brighter; the 1811 comet appeared brighter, already 2nd magnitude, in mid-August, and remained at magnitude 3 or brighter until mid-November, 1811. The 1811 comet was widely observed and was particularly noted for its peculiar form: it was noteworthy in that no actual nucleus was visible (a nuclear disk was seen rather than a stellar nucleus), and that its tail seemed to be separated from the head of the comet by a dark interval. The comet tail was double, with its two branches giving a fan-like shape to the tail as a whole.

The orbit determined for the 1811 comet gave a perihelion distance of about 1 AU (= earth-sun distance); its period is "over 1000 years," meaning it has not been observed before or since. Its path during the time of greatest brilliance (mid-August to mid-November, 1811) took the comet through the constellations of Leo Minor, Ursa Major, Canes Venatici, Bootes, and Hercules. It would thus have been a prominent object in the northern sky, and would have been not quite circumpolar from the latitude of Khiva. It would have appeared just south of the "Big Dipper" throughout September, crossing its "handle" (the tail of the Bear) at the end of September. Its northerly position explains Munis' description of the double appearance of the comet each night; *ṭulūʿ* and *ṭāliʿ* must here refer to "appearance" rather than "rise," since the comet could not "rise" twice in one day. Rather, it "appeared"

at the beginning of the night, i.e. in the northwestern part of the sky where Ursa Major is seen in the autumn during the evening, and set below the northern horizon after "two or three hours"; then it rose again in the northeast at dawn.

The date given by Munis for the appearance of the comet corresponds to August 16; his description corresponds very well with other observations, since the comet appeared in the north for "two months" before beginning its "rise" to the south. The comet did not reach the celestial equator, however, till early January, 1812, and the "five months" referred to must include the entire time of the comet's appearance (i.e. from mid-August). See F.W.A. Argelander, *Untersuchungen über die Bahn der grossen Cometen vom Jahre 1811*, Königsberg, 1823; J.G. Galle, *Verzeichniss der Elemente der bisher berechneten Cometenbahnen nebst Anmerkungen und Literatur-Nachweisen*, Leipzig, 1894, pp. 34, 184–185; H. Mucke, *Helle Kometen—86 bis + 1950; Ephemeriden und Kurzbeschreibungen*, Astronomisches Büro Wien, 1972, pp. 64–65; B.G. Marsden, *Catalogue of cometary orbits*, 4th ed., Central Bureau for Astronomical Telegrams/Minor Planet Center, 1982, p. 11."

[896] On Allah Nazar cf. above, note 728. Murav'ev gives his name as "At Chapar Allaverdi". According to him, At-Chapar ("mounted messenger") was a nickname given by the khan to "Allaverdi" after the khan took him into his service; Murav'ev says that At-Chapar was actually employed as a messenger (Murav'ev, II, 61). Upon Murav'ev's arrival in Khorezm, he was detained in Il-Geldi, the estate of At-Chapar's son, Khojash Mahram (see on him note 728 above), for 48 days. Besides Khojash Mahram, Murav'ev mentions two other sons of At-Chapar, Sayyid Nazar (who served under his brother at the customs), and Ya'qub (Murav'ev, I, 94–97, 102).

[897] *Jarīb* in Central Asia was used as a synonym of *ṭanāb*; the *ṭanāb* in Khorezm was between 4037 and 4097 sq.m (see Davidovich, *Materialy po metrologii*, 122, 128).

[898] A clan named Sultan is not found in the available lists of clans of the Qongrats.

[899] Qulan-Qarabagh is 16 km southeast of Khanqah.

[900] Machan-köl was a lake ab. 15 km (now, of a smaller size, ab. 20 km) north of Qongrat; see Guliamov, *Oroshenie*, 216.

[901] Pistols (*ṭabāncha*) were rather rare in Central Asia before the Russian conquest, and they were highly valued. Thomson, who travelled to Khiva in 1841 and was received by Allah-Quli Khan, mentions that, during this reception (in the khan's tent), the khan, who was sitting on a small carpet, had in front of him "a small battle-axe, a mace, a broad-bladed dagger, a double-barrelled pistol, and some other things" (see Lady Sheil, 367). Similarly, a member of the Russian mission to Khiva in 1858 mentions that, during the reception of the mission, Sayyid Muhammad Khan had in front of him a dagger and a pistol (Kileveĭn, 102). Cf. also above, note 715, the account of 'Abd al-Karim Bukhari, according to which a Khivan commander was killed in the battle with the Bukharans from a pistol. Originally the term *ṭabāncha* (or *ṭapāncha*) was used in Iran for a blunderbuss pistol (i.e. hand-gun with a bell-shaped muzzle), but in the 19th-century Central Asia it was used for a conventional pistol; see Elgood, *Firearms*, 126, where, however, a wrong spelling (*topancha*), and explanation ("clearly a corruption of the Farsi *tamancha*") are given (cf. Doerfer TME, III, 339–341 (No. 1342)).

[902] At-guzar is the same as At-Yolï crossing, as the account below shows (cf. note 815 above).

[903] In fact, Choni (also Aq-Atabay) and Sheref (also Jafarbay) are the names of two main branches of Qara-Choqa.

[904] To judge from the story below, Töre Murad Sufi probably lost his eyesight literally.

[905] According to Murav'ev (II, 43), whose account apparently is based on stories that he heard in Khiva, Muhammad Rahim Khan seized the retainers, wives, children, and all other relatives of Töre Murad Sufi and Khoja Murad Sufi and

executed them all; in his presence, bellies of pregnant women were ripped open and fetuses cut into pieces.

[906] Muhammad Riza Qoshbegi and Shah Niyaz Atalïq, being Qongrats, interceded on behalf of a Qongrat notable.

[907] Qaratay, son of Nur ʿAli Khan, went to Khiva at the end of 1810 and returned to the steppe in August 1813. See on him: Riazanov, 8–115; Viatkin M., *Ocherki*, 208–209, 212, 218–222; Erofeeva, 87, 130.

[908] Quban—apparently Quvang-Darya, a left branch of the Sïr-Darya (now dry); cf. above, note 876.

[909] *Manzil* as a measure of distance (daily march) could be different, depending on road conditions, the time of the year, etc.; see above, note 661.

[910] Apparently, the term *sipahdārlïq* denotes here the rank of amir.

[911] The notables of Aral were deported to other regions of Khorezm, of course, not in order to provide them places to "live in peace and tranquility," but to prevent their rebellions in the future.

[912] On the name Hubbi (resp. Hubbi-Quli and Hubbi Khoja) in Khorezm see Guliamov, *Oroshenie*, 30–32. Hubbi (or Sultan Hubbi, Hubbi Khoja), who was supposed to be a son of Hakim Ata, was a popular saint in Khorezm (see Snesarev, *Relikty*, 250–259).

[913] Saghcha well is 70 km south of Khiva, in the Qara-qum.

[914] The Sarïmay, one of the minor branches of the Amu-Darya in its delta, flowed northeast from lake Sarïmay-köl, southwest of Qushqana-taw heights; see Kaul'bars, 152; Stetkevich, 135; Girshfel'd – Galkin, I, 149–153.

[915] Munis refers to seven canonical methods of the reading of the Qur'ān, developed in the 2nd/8th century, of which the most authoritative were those of ʿĀṣim (d. 128/745) and Nāfiʿ (d. 169/785). See R. Paret, "Ḳirā'a," in: EI², V, 127–129.

[916] On the etymology and the historical usage of the term *tarkhān* see Clauson, 539–540; Doerfer TME, II, 460–474 (No. 879) (with further references). In the Khanate of Khiva, to judge from the available documents, the status of *tarkhān* meant only immunity from taxation and exemption from military service, and was granted to religious figures and especially to *sayyid*s and *khoja*s. For a published sample of a *tarkhān yarlïq* of Khiva see Vel'iaminov-Zernov, "Monety," 448–453 (a *yarlïq* of Allah-Quli Khan of 1826).

[917] The term *āl tamghā* ("red seal") was used in Mongol and post-Mongol states of Central Asia and Iran for the royal seal applied to the most important state documents; see Doerfer TME, II, 554–565 (No. 933). A *tamghā* was usually of square shape, and it could be impressed in red, gold, blue, and black color (cf. on the *tamghā*s in the Ulus of Jochi: M.A. Usmanov, *Zhalovannye akty Dzhuchieva ulusa XIV–XVI vv.*, Kazan, 1979, pp. 143–167). Such *tamghā*s from the Khanate of Khiva are not known, and no documents with the impressions of *tamghā*s have become known so far. As to the impressions of seal-rings (of various shapes: almond, round, oval, rectangular, etc.) on the known documents, they are all black.

[918] This was a daughter of Töre Murad. She was later executed by Muhammad Rahim Khan (see p. 421 and note 969).

[919] *Nithār* is "the showering of money, jewels and other valuables on occasions of rejoicing, such as a wedding, a circumcision, the accession of a ruler, the victorious return from a military campaign," etc. ("Nithār," in: EI², VIII, 64).

[920] On Khal-Ata in the Qïzïl-qum see Lobysevich, 123–126; *Materialy dlia opisaniia khivinskogo pokhoda*, fasc. 8, clmn. 76–77, 135.

[921] *Urāq* was the title in Bukhara (not used in Khiva) that was given to a sayyid; in the 18th century an *urāq* (or, at least, the *urāq-i kalān* "the great uraq") performed the duties of a *muḥtasib* among the sayyids in the army, but in the 19th century, according to Semenov, it was already only an honorary rank. See Semenov, "Bukharskiĭ traktat," 140–141; idem, *Ocherk*, 61.

[922] On Chilpuq (or Chilpïq) see above, note 376.

[923] On the importance of 9 as the number of gifts see above, note 160.

[924] Qazïlï (or Qazalï) is Kazalinsk of Russian maps.

[925] Qaqma-Süksavul and other places mentioned in the account of this raid of Muhammad Rahim Khan against the Qazaqs could not be exactly localized.

[926] In Turkic geographical terminology *qol* usually means "gully", "riverbed" (see Murzaev, 283); however, Budagov, II, 88, gives also the meaning "hills at the mountain slope contiguous with the steppe", which is confirmed by the words *baland qol* in the text of Munis.

[927] The terms *tümen* and *qoshun* are used here as synonyms, in the general meaning of "army division," irrespective of their size. Cf. Doerfer TME, I, 406–410 (No. 282 *qoshun*), II, 632–642 (No. 983 *tümän*).

[928] Orun-Bay-qalʿa was at the Yangi-Darya (Zhanï-Darya), ab. 225 km northeast of Aq-Yaqïsh (see the map in Andrianov, "Ak-dzhagyz," 582). On its ruins, now at the border of the Qaraqalpaq Autonomous Republic and the Qïzïl-Orda oblast' of Qazaqstan, see Kamalov, "O pamiatnykh mestakh," 58.

[929] Both *nafïr* and *karranāy* are brass trumpets, the first one relatively small, the second a very large one, which are played on ceremonial occasions and by military bands. The usual Central Asian pronunciation is *karnāy*, but Munis indicates the vocalization.

[930] The location of Zanghar-qum is probably indicated by the height "Zangartobe" on modern topographic map, ab. 20 km south of Yangi-Darya (Zhanï-Dar'ia) and 65 km southwest of Kzyl-Orda. There is, however, another height "Zangar," south of Quvan-Darya, 25 km southwest of Zhanakala and 200 km west of Kzyl-Orda.

[931] Kökche-qïr is, apparently, identical with the Kökche height 60 km north-northeast of Turtkul. The exact location of other places in the Qïzïl-qum desert mentioned in this account (Qashqaldaqlï-qaq, Maslahat-tepe, and Ghazna road) could not be established.

[932] The Chat-qalʿa crossing on the Amu-Darya is not mentioned in the available descriptions, including the most detailed description of the river crossings by Lobachevskiĭ (3–4). Perhaps it was identical with the Urgench crossing (opposite Shaykh ʿAbbas Vali). Cf. on Chat-qalʿa above, note 751.

[933] Tax collectors were sent, of course, to the Turkmens, but not to Persian governors.

[934] Former Russian captives in Khiva told Gens in Orenburg that all bridges in Khorezm were made of wood, with the exception of the "bridge of Khiva," in front of the northern gates of the city, which was built in 1815 (Helmersen, 10); Munis' date is five years earlier.

[935] Munis died at the end of 1244/in June 1829; see Introduction, p. XX.

[936] Rahim-Quli Töre was the son and future successor of Allah-Quli Khan.

[937] Sayyad (on modern maps Saiat, 10 km east of Khiva) was one of the khan's estates.

[938] The palace of Shirin (*Qaṣr-i Shīrīn*) in Persian Kurdistan was built by the Sasanian king Khusraw II Parviz (560–628 A.D.) for his wife Shirin, and it became popular in Persian and Turkic literature due to the love story of Shirin and the royal architect Farhad (see M. Streck – [J. Lassner], "Ḳaṣr-i Shīrīn," in: EI², IV, 730–731). The palace of Khavarnaq, near Najaf in Iraq, was built in the first half of the 5th century A.D. for Sasanian kings and was enlarged and used by the early ʿAbbasids. It was mentioned by pre-Islamic Arab poets as one of the "30 wonders of the world" (see L. Massignon, "al-Khawarnaḳ," in: EI², IV, 1133).

[939] *Nāsikh at-tavārīkh*, 252, says that in 1228/1813 Muhammad Rahim Khan was invited to Khorasan by the Kurdish khans Riza-Quli Khan Zaʿfaranlu, Najaf ʿAli Khan Shadillu, Begler Khan Chapushlu, and Saʿadat-Quli Khan Bughayirlu, who were opposing the governor of Khorasan, Muhammad Vali Mirza.

[940] Qara-köl is a lake ab. 4.75 km south of Khiva, at the edge of the sands; its "lower reaches" (i.e., southern end) were often the first station during the military campaigns against Bukhara or the Turkmens.

[941] Kesekli is a well 45 km. south of Khiva.

[942] Khan-quduq (or Khan-quyi) was a group of wells 21 km south of the Saghcha well. Lessar ("Peski Kara-kum," 120) mentions that they had been dug by order of Muhammad Amin Khan, but were later buried. As the text of Agahi shows, they had existed much earlier, but their disappearance is apparently confirmed by the modern map, which shows a well (or wells) Khan-quyi not at this place, but much farther south, ab. 110 km from Mirza-chirla.

[943] The Chirla (or Mirza-chirla) well, on the main route from Khorezm to Akhal and Tezhen, is 135 km south of the Saghcha well. *Chirla* is a type of well in sand deserts, at the edge of *taqïrs* (areas of desert with a hardened flat clay surface); see Murzaev, 617.

[944] Dastgird is a village ab. 5 km southeast of Derregez; it was the place of birth of Nadir Shah (see Lockhart, *Nadir Shah*, 18, 20).

[945] Bavard was a variant of the name Abivard (see above, note 166). Chungul may be not a place-name, but just a term for "hollow" (see note 615 above).

[946] Küren-qal'a (also Küren-qurghan) is ab. 3 km east of the railway station Artïk. Lutfabad is ab. 3 km south of Küren-qal'a (now on the Iranian side of the Turkmen-Iranian border). Lutfabad was called Babajik by the Turkmens; according to other information, Babajik, strictly speaking, was the name of the district in which the village Lutfabad was situated. See Kuz'min-Korovaev, 90, 93; Tairov, II, 52; Adamec, 446.

[947] Chilegan is "Shilgan" on modern topographic maps, 4 km southeast of Lutfabad.

[948] A clan of the Teke named Qarakhanlï seems not to be mentioned in available literature.

[949] Qozghan (on modern topographic maps "Kazgankala"), situated on the river of the same name, is 15 km west of Qahqaha (Kaakhka). The Qozghan river is known on Iranian territory as Rudbar-su. See Kuz'min-Korovaev, 84–85, 87–92; Tairov, II, 52.

[950] Hisar is ab. 4 km southeast of Mehinli (now on the Iranian side of the Turkmen-Iranian border). Khusraw-qal'a is 2 km southeast of Mehinli. On Hisar and Khusraw-qal'a see Tairov, II, 51–53; also Kuz'min-Korovaev, 92 ("Khassar").

[951] On Riza-Quli Khan Za'faranlu, son of Amir Guna Khan, the Kurdish *īlkhānī* of Quchan, see Bamdad, II, 25–28; Fraser, *Narrative*, appendix, [47]–[52] (and by Index, under "Eelkhaneh").

[952] Mir-qal'a is ab. 5 km west of Lutfabad. Darband (lit. "narrow pass") is the standard name of various gorges in northern Khorasan and it is usually combined with the name of a river, or a creek, which flows through the pass; without such a second name a proper identification of the gorge may be difficult.

[953] On Qakhlan-qal'a see p. 34 and note 182.

[954] On Safar-qal'a see Tairov, II, 86, 92; Kuz'min-Korovaev, 84, 85, 87.

[955] On Najaf 'Ali Khan Kurd Shadillu, the *īlkhānī* of Bojnurd, see Bamdad, IV, 329; Fraser, *Narrative*, 585–587 and appendix, [52]–[53].

[956] Bam was the center of the Bughayiri Turks in the district of Bam-Safiabad, northwestern Khorasan (see Adamec, 63; C.E. Yate, *Khurasan and Sistan*, Edinburgh – London, 1900, pp. 369–370); "a miserable little village," according to Fraser (*Narrative*, appendix, [45]), who mentions that its last ruler, Sa'adat-Quli Khan, was poisoned in Tehran (*ibid.*). It should be distinguished from a better known Bam in southeastern Iran.

[957] On Khal Nefes Atalïq, leader of the Teke in the region of Qïzïl-ribat (Qïzïl-Arvat), see Bregel, *Khorezmskie turkmeny*, 365.

[958] It is not clear who this Khuday-Berdi Bek was.

[959] This campaign of Muhammad Rahim Khan to Khorasan is mentioned by Murav'ev (II, 48–50), who says that, during their return through the desert, the army of Khiva lost almost all its horses. Fraser (*Narrative*, appendix, [62]–[63]), who erroneously dates the campaign two years later and believes that it was not the one mentioned by Murav'ev, gives a more detailed description of this campaign: "Mahomed Raheem Khan encouraged by the disturbed state of Khorasān, and disaffection of its chiefs to the reigning family, came across the desert with an army, and beleaguered a fort near Dereguz. The Koords assembled from all quarters to protect the general interest, and a force rendezvoused at Dereguz, to oppose the enemy; but the khan, who suffered on his passage through the desert, and who, disappointed in the hope he had formed of being joined by the chiefs of Koordistan, was somewhat anxious regarding his retreat, sent some of his chiefs to treat, and represented, that as both parties equally detested the Kadjers, it would be wiser for them both to join against the common foe, than to weaken each other that they might fall his prey. His representation had so far at least effect with the combined chiefs, that they desisted from their meditated attack; while Mahomed Raheem Khan, on his part, raised the siege; and Saadut Khan, of Baum, was dispatched with two hundred men, capitally armed and mounted, to attend the khan, and convince him of the friendly intentions of the Koordish lords. The khan received their envoy with high honours, presenting him with a khelut, but expressed his hope that the chiefs themselves would visit him: this they were unwilling to do; but they urged him to push on to Mushed, which they would assist him in capturing; and sent Beder Khan of Sooltaun Meydān with one hundred horsemen, to relieve Saadut Koolee Khan, and to act as guides. There was, however, a mutual distrust, which in all probability saved Mushed; for the Koordish chiefs not making their appearance, Mahomed Raheem Khan suspected their intentions, and instead of advancing, seized Beder Khan on the second day of his stay, and imprisoned him and his companions, taking possession, at the same time, of their horses and equipments; made a fruitless attempt upon the fort of Dereguz, and immediately after commenced his retreat to Khyvah, carrying along with him his prisoners. In this retreat the khan suffered severely, a great number of men, and even of camels, dying of thirst and of fatigue; and his conduct to his prisoners was far from generous; to Beder Khan, however, he showed some favour, because he was an excellent chess-player, and the khan constantly sent for him to play with him; but he says, that he was perpetually in fear of his life, from the uncertain and capricious temper of the chief." (Beder Khan was one of the main sources of Fraser's information on Khorezm, see *Narrative*, appendix, [59], note.)

[960] Bukharan historical works (*Gulshan al-mulūk*, *Tārīkh-i Amīr Ḥaydar*) do not mention the affair of ʿAbdallah Inaq.

[961] On Besh-Arïq see above, note 322.

[962] On the significance of kettle-drums see above, note 4.

[963] The term *aq öylük* or *aq öyli* among the Turkmens was used for special groups of unmarried young men, who lived separately from their relatives and had to protect their tribesmen from the enemy raiding (see S.P. Tolstov, "K istorii drevnetiurkskoĭ sotsial'noĭ terminologii," in: *Vestnik drevneĭ istorii*, 1938, No. 1, p. 75; G.N. Simakov, Iu.M. Botiakov, Iu.G. Smirnov, "Nekotorye itogi poezdki v Turkmeniiu i Kazakhstan v 1982 g.," in: *Polevye issledovaniia Instituta ėtnografii 1982*, Moscow, 1986, pp. 70–72); Botiakov, 139. In the Central Asian khanates of the 19th century this term was used for hostages, i.e. persons who were placed in the custody of another government as a sign of submission and a guarantee that the party that lost in the conflict would abide by the conditions of the treaty or would not rebel. The hostages, *aq öyli*, were taken from among prominent leaders and their relatives, were settled far from their homeland or their tribe, and sometimes even served in the army. See Bregel, *Khorezmskie turkmeny*, 360–361.

[964] Since then the town and province of Hazarasp were governed by a member of the royal family with the title of *inaq*, or *inaq-bek*.

[965] By "Kurdistan" Munis means the Kurdish tribal areas of Khorasan (Quchan, Bojnurd, Kelat, and Derregez).

[966] *Fūṭa*—a long piece of fabric used for turbans and waistbands.

[967] Cf. p. 124 and note 550, on a Gandumkan *ḥawlī* that existed already in the 18th century and was inherited by Muhammad Rahim Khan.

[968] On Sultan-Saray see above, note 358.

[969] ʿAbd al-Karim Bukhari (text, 90–91, transl., 200–201) gives the following explanation of this event. Muhammad Rahim Khan had a minister (*kahyā*) named Yar Muhammad, who was devoted to him and served him since his childhood. His house was next to the khan's palace. Once his relative came from Bukhara for a visit; he was a handsome young man. At that time the khan went for a campaign. When he returned, he heard from his wives that the guest of Yar Muhammad had been seen one night by the slaves of the harem of the daughter of Töre Murad Sufi (who was one of the khan's wives, cf. p. 388); according to another story, the khan was told that in his absence the daughter of Töre Murad had gone to the house of Yar Muhammad, and the latter had given her many gifts. The khan asked the daughter of Töre Murad: "When you went to the house of Yar Muhammad, what kind of respect did he show?" The daughter of Töre Murad, who was 14 years old, said: "He gave me such and such gifts." The khan told her to bring the gifts for him to see, which she did at once. The khan left, not saying a word. This was the night of 27 Ramazan. The khan did not make any further investigation, and at the time of the night prayer he ordered the family of Yar Muhammad Divanbegi arrested; he had the divanbegi himself, his guest, his wife, and his children, the total of thirty six, big and small, including babies, all seized. The women were put to death, and the daughter of Töre Murad was executed with her two female slaves. Yar Muhammad was subjected to torture, but they did not find any money, only debts. He was also executed. The entire family of Yar Muhammad was killed, and not a single member remained.

[970] Bederkend is 12 km southeast of Takhta. Helmersen (25) mentions it as abandoned by the inhabitants; cf. also Kalmykov, 67–68 (a fortress on an island, inside which only ruins were seen).

[971] Zamakhshar (pronouced Izmukhshir; on modern maps "Zmukshir") is ab. 23 km southwest of Tashhawz. For a description of medieval ruins there see Kalmykov, 63–65.

[972] According to information from former Russian captives in Khiva used by Helmersen (20), Tashhawz was built only in 1822 (i.e. 1237/38 A.H.); the text of Agahi shows that it had existed for at least eight years before that, but probably not yet as a town: under 1230/1815 (see p. 429) Agahi mentions that the khan, having come to Tashhawz, found a suitable place to build a town and ordered the construction begun. The name was derived from a pool (*hawz*), lined with stone, that belonged to the khan. According to Helmersen, the town had 300 houses and no walls (by the mid-1820s); it had five gardens, including that of the khan. A little later city walls are already mentioned ("Svedeniia," 114). Abbott (I, 198) saw Tashhawz in 1839 and described it as "a town, near which is a royal garden, and a mud fort of some size, of rectangular form . . . It is new, yet has already suffered from the weather." A fairly detailed description was given by Danilevskiĭ (110), who, apparently, visited the town himself. According to him, the town consisted of a small number of mud-walled houses, partly in ruins, on both sides of the Shahabad canal, and 180 shops near the bridge over the canal. Close to the shops, on the right side of the canal, was a rectangular fortification with towers at the corners and three gates; nobody lived in the fortress, and it had no military supplies or means of defense; the town had very few inhabitants, but its environs had a con-

siderable population, primarily Sarts. See also Basiner, 112–114, 201 (according to Basiner, 112, the fortress was built in 1835). In 1873 the town was visited by Kun, who also recorded accounts of the inhabitants about the building of the town by Allah-Quli Khan; the khan allegedly settled there in part Persian captives from Khorasan and in part "Khivan Tajiks" (i.e. Sarts?). According to Kun, the town consisted of a citadel with the khan's palace, and the town itself was surrounded by walls, which had 300 shops, one caravanseray, 6 mosques, 6 schools, one madrasa, and about 400 houses; there were no buildings outside the city walls; Tashhawz was considered among the strongest fortresses in the khanate, like Hazarasp (see Kun, "Ot Khivy do Kungrada," 207–208). In 1925 the town had 542 households and a population of 2521 (*Materialy po raŭonirovaniiu*, 50, 45).

[973] Qïzïl-Yïlghun is apparently indicated on the 1905 map as "Kyzyl-dzhangyl," between Üst-Yurt and "At-kitken-kul'" (i.e. west of At-Yolï).

[974] The location of Aq-chungul could not be established; apparently it was southwest of Qongrat.

[975] On the localization of At-Yolï cf. above, note 815.

[976] Khoja-Terki is, apparently, the same as "Chodscha Terek" mentioned by Helmersen (26), 6 km west of Khoja-eli, as a village abandonned by its inhabitants. The location mentioned by Helmersen must be wrong; the text of Agahi indicates, rather, a place much closer to Qongrat, possibly the one that appears on the 1873 map as the "garden Kos-Terek," ab. 5 km south of Yengichke.

[977] The location of Chal-Turangu could not be established.

[978] On the small "town" Porsï, ab. 30 km west of Manghït, see Danilevskiĭ, 79. In Soviet times it was renamed to Kalinin, now renamed to Boldumsaz.

[979] Salaq (or Salakh)—one of the four main subdivisions of the Bayram-Shalï branch of the Yomuts.

[980] On Qïzïl-ribat (pronounced Qïzïl-Arvat), east of medieval Farava, see Bartol'd, *K istorii orosheniia*, 129–130; Tairov, I, 272.

[981] The text is not quite clear here.

[982] Allah-Quli was khan when Agahi was writing this, but not at the time of the events described.

[983] On Baghlan-arna cf. Guliamov, *Oroshenie*, 217.

[984] On the Qïlïch-Niyaz-Bay-arna see Danilevskiĭ, 83; Basiner, 184; Kaul'bars, 371–372; Guliamov, *Oroshenie*, 217.

[985] On the route of this campaign through the Qara-qum desert cf. Samoĭlovich, *Khivinskie marshruty*, 454–455. Some of the wells are described by Lessar, "Peski Kara-kum," 114–115.

[986] Agahi probably has in mind one of the lakes that lie along the border of cultivated land, south of Bederkend. Cf. above, note 940 on Lake Qara-köl.

[987] According to information provided by the Yomut Kiyat Bek to Russian authorities in Tiflis in 1820, Sultan Khan was a countryman and companion of a "Khoja"; this "Khoja" came to the Caspian Turkmens from China ("the city of Chin"), became the leader of these Turkmens, defeated the Persian army once, but was killed in the second battle with the Persians; after this Sultan Khan, who had always accompanied the Khoja, assumed the leadership over the Turkmens (see *Russko-turkmenskie otnosheniia*, 220). The "Khoja" mentioned here is Yusuf Khoja Kashghari, accounts of whom are found in Persian sources (see *Nāsiḥ at-tavārīkh*, 227–231; MITT, II, 208–213). Yusuf Khoja, according to these sources, was a descendant of the khojas of Kashgar, who fled from Kashgar after its conquest by the Chinese; after some travels and adventures in Iraq, India, and Iran, he came to the Turkmens in the steppes of Gürgen and, having united under his leadership some Göklens and Yomuts, began to raid Astarabad province. In Ramazan 1228/September 1813 he was killed in a battle with Persian troops. Apparently, Sultan Khan assumed the leadership that year. In 1232/1817 Sultan Khan, with a group of Göklens, migrated

to Khorezm (see pp. 455–456). Murav'ev, who was in Khiva in 1819–1820, erroneously says that Sultan Khan fled from Turkmenia in 1813 (Murav'ev, II, 66). According to Murav'ev (I, 27, and note on p. 79), Sultan Khan knew the medicinal properties of some herbs, and therefore acquired the reputation of a magician (*jādūkār*); Murav'ev says also that Sultan Khan enjoyed the special favor and trust of Muhammad Rahim Khan (Murav'ev, II, 66). The last time Sultan Khan is mentioned in Khivan chronicles is in the description of a campaign of Allah-Quli Khan in Khorasan in 1244/1829, when Sultan Khan was still commanding a detachment of Göklens (see MITT, II, 455–457).

[988] The wells Bala-yi Shamʿ (on modern topographic maps—Baleĭshem) are 50 km south of Orta-quyï (Orta-quduq). In 1873 there were 18 wells there; see *Materialy dlia opisaniia khivinskogo pokhoda*, fasc. 9, clmn. 57–59 ("Bala-Ishem"); Lessar, "Peski Kara-kum," 114.

[989] The Kurtish wells were 24 km south of Bala-yi Shamʿ. The name "Kurtish-Ata" probably indicates that it was a place of burial of a holy man.

[990] The village Qoch (or Qoj), on the creek of the same name, is 20 km northwest of Bami (cf. Tairov, I, 70).

[991] On the creek and village of Archman (26 km northwest of Baharden) see Tairov, I, 223.

[992] Suncha-qalʿa is 12 km northwest of Baharden, on the creek Suncha (cf. Tairov, I, 163).

[993] Murcha-qalʿa is 3 km northwest of Baharden (see Tairov, I, 147). For a historical and ethnographic survey of Murcha-qalʿa and its inhabitants, the Turkmen tribe Murchali, see D.M. Ovezov, "Turkmeny murchali," in: *TIuTAKE*, IX, 1959, pp. 135–282.

[994] The location of Qarï-chirla and the Eshek-Siyan well could not be established.

[995] On the Garm-ab river, which provides water to the region of Gök-tepe, see Tairov, I, 17.

[996] Both MSS of *FI* used in the text edition have "S.n.d.cha"; it could have been either a clerical error, or a variant of the same name.

[997] Khoja-qalʿa is 30 km north of Qarrï-qalʿa (the "Kara-kala" of modern maps).

[998] Hisar-tagh (on modern topographic maps "Khasardag")—a mountain north of Qarrï-qalʿa, between Qarrï-qalʿa and Khoja-qalʿa.

[999] Ters-Aqar appears on modern topographic maps as "Tersakan," a right tributary of the Sumbar (and a settlement Tersakan at the confluence of the two, 30 km west of Qarrï-qalʿa). See on it Kuz'min-Korovaev, 31–32.

[1000] Yuvan-su is a right tributary of Sumbar, ab. 19 km east of Qarrï-qalʿa.

[1001] On Qarrï-qalʿa, on the Sumbar river, see Kuz'min-Korovaev, 28–31. The name has become now (on Russian and western maps) "Kara-kala," due to an erroneous Russian transcription. The name means 'Old Fortress,' and in Turkmen it is Garrï-gala (so also on Turkmen maps).

[1002] Qaplanlï gorge is 40 km southwest of Ters-Aqar ("Tersakan").

[1003] *Aq öy* "white tent" (or "white house") is a newly made felt tent, covered with white felts, while *qara öy* ("black tent") is the name of an old tent, in which the felts have darkened from weather and smoke. Having an *aq öy* was a symbol of well-being and status; an *aq öy* was also set up for a newly-wed couple. On Central Asian felt tents see P. Ivanov, "Øj—Kibitka (Po materialam otriada Turkmenkul'ta v ėtnologo-lingvisticheskoĭ ėkspeditsii Akademii Nauk SSSR)," in: *Turkmenovedenie*, 1930, No. 8–9, pp. 47–50; M.S. Mukanov, *Kazakhskaia iurta*, Alma-Ata, 1981; P.A. Andrews, "The white house of Khorasan," in: *Iran*, vol. XI, 1973, pp. 93–110; idem, "The tents"; idem, "The felt tents of Central Asia: The Turkish contribution to a tradition," in: *Ars Turcica: Akten des VI. Internationalen Kongresses für türkische Kunst. München vom 3. bis 7. September 1979*, vol. II: Text, Munich, 1979, pp. 403–418 (with further references).

[1004] Chinaran is 12 km south of Meravatepe in the middle course of the Atrek.
[1005] Qïzïlja gorge is southwest of Chinaran, in the Gökche-dagh mountains, ab. 26 km west of Chinaran and ab. 30 km south of Chat.
[1006] Qara-tüpe is 45 km southwest of Qïzïlja pass in the Gökche-dagh mountains.
[1007] This Derregez must be different from the center of the Kurdish principality Derregez in northeastern Khorasan (on which see above, note 181).
[1008] Peserek was a village in the Fenderesk district, southeast of Gunbad-i Qabus (see Adamec, 545). In 1822 it was visited by Fraser, who described it (giving its name as "Pisseruc") as a pleasant village, surrounded by a deep ditch "the banks of which were overgrown with brambles, and through which a stream of water had been turned, while a hedge of reeds matted together with creeping thorns, constructed in the inside, served to render the defence more perfect, and it was, indeed, impenetrable to cavalry" (Fraser, *Narrative*, 610).
[1009] Such an execution (to which usually spies and thieves caught during military campaigns were sentenced) is mentioned frequently in the Khivan chronicles. It is highly doubtful, however, that a man could be loaded like a cannon-ball into Khivan cannons, which were of small calibers. A more plausible explanation was given by Russian slaves in Khiva; according to their testimony, "sometimes the khan has those convicted of a crime shot from cannons: having tied them up to the muzzle of the cannon, they shoot with felt wads" ("Svedeniia," 154, note; same: Ivanin, *Khiva*, 58, note).
[1010] The Gökche gorge (in the Gökche-dagh mountains) is 33 km south of Chat.
[1011] Agahi made an error identifying Chat: this is a locality at the confluence of the Sumbar and the Atrek, while the Chandïr empties into the Sumbar some 48 km upstream from Chat.
[1012] There are two localities named Dana-Ata: one in the north-western foothills of the Küren-dagh, and another in the north-eastern foothills of the Big Balkhan. The second one is better known as a large medieval cemetery, with springs of the same name (see S.P. Poliakov, *Ėtnicheskaia istoriia Severo-Zapadnoĭ Turkmenii v srednie veka*, Moscow, 1973, pp. 74–76); however, the first one lies on the route from the Küren-dagh to Yasqa.
[1013] Yasqa is on the Uzboy, 75 km from Dana-Ata.
[1014] Qara-Tegelek is probably identical with the "Togalak" well of the modern maps, 43 km from Yasqa.
[1015] The Üch-Taghan sands are a wide stretch of sands extending in NW – SE direction; the Khivan troops crossed the southern end of them, 60 to 80 km east of Tegelek.
[1016] Chaghïllï is 25 km southwest of Ilyalï (Hilali), on the border of cultivated lands.
[1017] Murav'ev mentions this campaign (without giving its date, but, according to him, it immediately followed the campaign of 1228/1813) in the following words: "This campaign ended with the desired success. The clan of Teke was totally defeated, all its farmlands captured and annexed to the Khanate, and numerous prisoners and substantial booty were seized. The remaining Turkmens of this clan, together with their chieftain, Murad Sardar, hid themselves in forbidding and barren mountains; famine compelled them to buy bread from the victors for a high price, paying in addition a heavy custom duty to the khan of Khiva. This made a part of the Teke migrate to the Khanate of Khiva; Magmed Ragim receives them favourably, gives them land along canals and, generally, encourages them for this with various gifts" (Murav'ev, II, 50–51). Apparently in this account information on the campaign of 1231/1816 was lumped together with that on later campaigns (cf. pp. 459–469, 480). Fraser gives a short account on the same campaign, based on the words of his Persian informants: "Some two or three years after this event, when the king of Persia threatened the chiefs of Koordistan with destruction, these,

alarmed at the prospect, sent an envoy to Mahomed Raheem Khan, to solicit assistance, offering to do him homage, and to deliver into his hands the sovereignty of the country. That prince [. . .] received the envoy with distinction, invested him with a dress of honour, and assured him of every sort of assistance in his power to bestow. The king of Persia, however, having received notice of the intended coalition, and besides being extremely unwilling to draw such an enemy upon the country, having other strong inducements to wish for peace, entered into negociations with the Koords, and soon after evacuated the country. The chiefs having thus gained their object, and recovered from their alarm, were equally averse from bringing a power of such questionable character into Khorasān, and accordingly sent instructions to their envoy, to explain to Mahomed Raheem Khan what had occured, and on their part to declare their unwillingness uselessly to expose that prince to the expense and hazard of so uncertain an adventure, intreating him, therefore, to lay aside thoughts of at present invading Khorasān. Neither the message nor the explanation pleased the khan, who forthwith confined the envoy, and threatened the Koords themselves with vengeance. The chiefs, to appease him, and to procure the release of their envoy, thought to temporize, and assured the khan that they, wearied of the tyranny of the reigning family, desired nothing more earnestly than to transfer their allegiance to him; but urged the uncertain issue of such an attempt during the life-time of Futeh Allee Shah: that, however, the health of that monarch was bad, and there was little doubt he would, in no long time, be gathered to his fathers, when, in the troubles that would doubtless succeed, *he* might invade Khorasān, and assisted by them, might with ease, take possession of such portions as he should desire for himself, while they would do him homage as their sovereign. It is probable that this reasoning, enforced by a remembrance of former failures, had its effect upon the khan, for he complimented their envoy with a dress of honour, and dismissed him with presents." (Fraser, *Narrative*, appendix, [63]–[64].)

This campaign is described entirely differently in Persian sources. A short account of it is found in *Nāsikh at-tavārīkh*, 273–274 under the heading "The sedition of the ruler of Khorezm" (*fitna-i vālī-i Khorezm*). According to it, Muhammad Rahim Khan was invited to the region of Gürgen and Atrek by a Yomut named Qurban Qïlïch Khan, and he came to this region in order to make the Turkmens inhabiting it his subjects. The shah of Iran sent against him troops from Bistam, Astarabad, Semnan, and Damghan. Muhammad Rahim Khan, who came with 30,000 troops of Khorezmians and Turkmens, built a camp (*senger*) near Peserek. In the first day of fighting the Khorezmians could not withstand the attack of the Persian troops and retreated to their camp. In the battle next day the army of Khorezm was utterly defeated and lost many men killed and taken prisoner; Muhammad Rahim Khan fled, without turning back, as far as Khiva, and his camp and train became the booty of the Persian army. A shorter account of the same is found in *Tārīkh-i muntazam-i Nāṣirī*, III, 112. (Cf. the Russian translation: MITT, II, 219.) The return of Muhammad Rahim Khan to Khiva does not look like the flight mentioned by Persian authors, but even the account of Agahi does not give the impression that the campaign was successful: after an alleged victory, Muhammad Rahim Khan turns back without gaining anything.

[1018] Sadvar (Sadïvar), 25 km north of Darghan-Ata, existed as a town in the 11th–12th century. See Masson, *Srednevekovye torgovye puti*, 183, 239–245; N.N. Vakturskaia, "Raskopki srednevekovogo goroda Sadvar," in: *Arkheologicheskie otkrytiia 1973*, Moscow, 1974, pp. 448–449; idem, "Raskopki na gorodishche Sadvar," in: *Arkheologicheskie otkrytiia 1974*, Moscow, 1975, pp. 519–520; idem, "Novye dannye o gorodishche Sadvar," in: *Arkheologicheskie otkrytiia 1975*, Moscow, 1976, p. 542.

[1019] On Arang Ghazi Khan see the next note.

[1020] In April 1816 Arang Ghazi Sultan (whose name is known in Russian sources as "Arungazi" or "Aryngazi"—apparently, reflecting Qazaq pronunciation) was elected as khan by a group of Qazaq tribes, mainly Shektï, of the eastern part of the Junior Horde, in the lower reaches of the Sïr-Darya; he was at that time about 30 years old. A very energetic ruler, Arang Ghazi succeeded at first in stopping intertribal warfare and brigandage in his part of the steppe and enjoyed great influence in Junior Horde. He tried to resist the attempts of Muhammad Rahim Khan to extend the authority of Khiva over the Qazaqs, and, for this purpose, to obtain support from Russia (see Meĭer, 32–40; Riazanov, 92–97; Viatkin M., *Ocherki*, 222–225; Erofeeva, 131–132). This provoked first the raid mentioned here by Agahi and two more raids the same year, later followed by a major expedition under Muhammad Rahim Khan himself (see pp. 483–486).

[1021] Shor-Bulaq (or Sor-Bulaq, in Qazaq pronunciation) is a well in Qïzïl-qum, ab. 15 km north of Kulatau on the right bank of the Amu-Darya.

[1022] The location of Qosh-Bulaq could not be established.

[1023] Husayn Sardar was, probably, a Yemreli.

[1024] Dengiz-Qazghan and Söyünchi (both, apparently, wells in the central part of the Qara-qum) could not be located.

[1025] The Gökche mentioned here must have been different from the village of Gökche west of Ashkhabad (cf. below, note 1047).

[1026] It seems that by the end of the reign of Muhammad Rahim Khan the two *yasavulbashi*s acquired the role of military inspectors and commanders.

[1027] The promotion to the post of shaykh al-islam due to military exploits characterizes the atmosphere in the Khanate of Khiva, where military prowess was the most valued quality.

[1028] On the rewards and compensations given to soldiers in the Khivan army see Bregel, *Khorezmskie turkmeny*, 183.

[1029] The starting point of a march through the Qara-qum via Orta-quduq could have been on the western edge of Khorezm; possibly, the "water" was either one of the old beds of the Amu-Darya (Dawdan or Daryalïq) or one of the drainage (*zaykash*) lakes; cf. p. 411 and note 940 on the "lower reaches of Qara-köl" as a starting point of Khivan military campaigns.

[1030] The Qïzïl-taqïr well is ab. 60 km north-northwest of Qïzïl-ribat (Qïzïl-Arvat).

[1031] The region of As is ab. 12 km northwest of Hazarasp.

[1032] The location of Qaraja-köl could not be established.

[1033] "Prince Firuz" was Firuz ad-Din, brother of Shah Mahmud. The events mentioned here took place in 1232/1816 (see "Afghānistān," in: EI^2, I, 231).

[1034] Shir Ghazi Sultan was a son of Ghayib Khan (who reigned in Khiva in 1160–1171/1747–1757, see pp. 68–69) and brother of ʿAbd al-ʿAziz Khan, the ruler of the Qazaqs of the Junior Horde on the Sïr-Darya before Arang Ghazi (see above, note 1020). He had the rank of a major ("*sekund-maĭor*") in Russian service and had been an aide-de-camp of Count P. Zubov, a favorite of Catherine II (on his early career see Riazanov, 117; he should not be confused with Shir Ghazi Sultan, son of Aychuvaq Sultan and grandson of Abu'l-Khayr, who was approved by the Russian government as khan of the Junior Horde in 1812). He joined his nephew Arang Ghazi Sultan in 1816, but in 1818 quarreled with him and came to Khiva, where Muhammad Rahim Khan proclaimed him as khan of the Junior Horde. On his death see p. 480. See also Erofeeva, 91, 134 (Sergazy).

[1035] According to Erofeeva, 134, she was actually his granddaughter.

[1036] Aymaq (or Char-Aymaq) is a collective name of a group of tribes inhabiting western Afghanistan; they consist of Jamshidi, Hazara, Firuzkuhi, and Taymani. See A. Janata, "Aymāq," in: EIr, I, 136–137.

[1037] ʿAshiqabad is the present day Ashkhabad (Ashgabat), the capital of Turkmenistan;

in the early 19th century it was an insignificant village. Anau (on modern topographic maps Annau) is 10 km east of Ashkhabad; see on it: Kuz'min-Korovaev, 69–70; *Arkhitektura turkmenskogo narodnogo zhilishcha*, 14–19.

[1038] Gavurz is a village 30 km southeast of Ashkhabad ("Giaurs" on modern maps), on the creek of the same name; see Subotich, 28; Tairov, I, 14–15.

[1039] Mir-burji is the same as Mir-qal'a (see above, note 952).

[1040] The Kelte-Chinar gorge is, apparently, in the upper course of the Kelte-Chinar river, where it comes out of the Qïzïl-dagh mountains (on the Turkmen-Iranian border), ab. 28 km southeast of Ashkhabad (Ashgabat); the ruins of the Kelte-Chinar fortress are on the Iranian side of the border. On Bardar see above, note 315. The Hinduvar gorge is, apparently, near the mountain of the same name (on modern topographic map "Khendyvar"), ab. 11 km southwest of Ashkhabad and ab. 6 km southeast of Nesa.

[1041] Izghand gorge is, apparently, the place where the Izghand-su (on modern maps "Izgant") comes out of the mountains; Izghand-su is known now as the "Firiuzinka" river.

[1042] The name "Akhal-Ata" appears twice in the text of Agahi and it looks like the name of a specific holy site, which, however, seems not to be otherwise known.

[1043] A seal with aigrette (*jïghalï muhr*) was adopted by the khans of the Qongrat dynasty; it was pear-shaped, with an ornament on top resembling the plume of an aigrette (*jïgha*). It follows from the text of Agahi that the Kurdish khans of Khorasan had similar seals.

[1044] Churma-qal'a is 40 km southwest of Ashkhabad (Ashgabat), in Iran.

[1045] Earlier (see pp. 457–458) Agahi mentions that Karim-Berdi Atalïq was executed on 14 January 1818 along with seventeen of his children and dependents.

[1046] The distance between Khiva and the region of Mehin (where the khan's army was) by way of Orta-quduq is about 775 km. This road skirted the central part of the Qara-qum from the west and was much longer than the direct road through the desert via the Saghcha well; the latter, however, was practically impassable in summer, because of the lack of water (see Lessar, "Peski Kara-kum," 112–121). Nevertheless, to travel even this relatively easier road during June in nine days was an extraordinary feat, which deserved special notice by Agahi.

[1047] The Qara-su creek begins from a spring near the village Bagir (see Subotich, 21; Tairov, I, 175, 189); Gökche ("Geokcha" on modern maps) is 10 km west of Ashkhabad, on the Qara-su (see Tairov, I, 58).

[1048] Fraser mentions the expedition of 1233/1818 in the following words: "Some years ago, irritated against the tribe of Tuckeh Toorkomans, he (the khan) assembled an army, and crossing the desert, attacked and pursued them to the hills, where they received countenance and support from Reza Koolee Khan, and, I believe, from Nujjuff Allee Khan, of Boojnoord. In this expedition, the khan loaded a prodigious number of camels with water for the troops; but this precaution was insufficient to prevent great misery, and his loss in horses and camels was immense" (Fraser, *Narrative*, appendix, [64]).

[1049] "Mulla 'Abd an-Nasir Mingbashi" was a Russian officer (*poruchik*) mentioned in Russian sources as "Abdul Nasyr Subkhankulov," a Bashkir. According to S.V. Zhukovskiĭ (97–98), in 1818 Subkhankulov was sent to Khiva by the governor of Orenburg, Essen, with a letter concerning the complaint of two Russian merchants, whose caravan had been plundered by Khivan robbers. The *poruchik* was received in Khiva with extreme hostility and escaped execution only by having his head shaved and thus, allegedly, proving that he was a Muslim. The unfriendliness of the Khivans reached such a degree that the Khivan government sent a warning to Essen with Subkhankulov that henceforth any Russian envoy would be either executed or enslaved. Cf. also Veselovskiĭ, *Ocherk*, 284, note 1.

[1050] Tash-Ayaq (on the modern topographic map "Dash'iak", with the modern

name "Khasian") is ab. 3 km west-northwest of Khiva, north of Sïrchalï. Helmersen (16) mentions it as an old town, with 150 houses, and its walls in ruins.

[1051] The location of Qum-senger and Bala-Qoyghan-tüpe could not be established.

[1052] On Öküz-Ketken see above, note 799.

[1053] The Sharqïrawq mentioned here (as before, see note 773) was a branch of the Amu-Darya ab. 22 km south of Qongrat.

[1054] As is clear from the account, the party of Allash Biy included also Qaraqalpaqs.

[1055] Qïpchaq is the name of a creek and a village near Mehin, in Akhal (see Tairov, I, 120).

[1056] Sirab well is 85 km north of Merv; see Masson, *Srednevekovye torgovye puti*, 77–78, 82, 84.

[1057] Arang Ghazi was a nephew, and not a younger brother, of Shir Ghazi.

[1058] Arda Ghazi (or Ardu) was later, in the 1830s, a khan in a part of the Junior Horde; see Erofeeva, 93, 136–137.

[1059] According to the report of the Russian ambassador to Bukhara Negri (see below, note 1066), presents sent to Muhammad Rahim Khan consisted of 60 horses, 60 felts, and 7 hawks (see Riazanov, 123). On the role of the number 40 see above, note 144.

[1060] According to the Russian sources used by Riazanov, when Shir Ghazi, being appointed khan by Muhammad Rahim Khan, came to the steppe and demanded submission from the Qazaqs on the Sïr-Darya, the supporters of Arang Ghazi Khan decided to send his brother, Arda (or Ardu) Sultan, with an embassy to Khiva to explain that the Qazaqs wanted to live in peace with the khan of Khiva, but they already had their elected khan, Arang Ghazi, and therefore could not recognize another khan; this happened in October 1818. Muhammad Rahim Khan at first showed favor to the Qazaq envoys and gave them a decree confirming Arang Ghazi as khan; but then he received a report from Shir Ghazi Khan, who wrote that Arang Ghazi had captured and robbed the ambassadors he had sent with gifts to Khiva and asked to detain the envoys of Arang Ghazi. After the detention of Arda in Khiva, the governor of Orenburg, General Essen, sent a letter to Muhammad Rahim Khan requesting the release of Arda; however, Arda Sultan remained in Khiva as hostage until 1828. See Riazanov, 118–119, 123.

[1061] In the fall of 1819, Murav'ev, upon his arrival in Khiva, found there Shir Ghazi Khan, who died while Murav'ev was still there (see Murav'ev, II, 45, note *a*). According to M.P. Viatkin (who refers to information obtained by G. Gens), Shir Ghazi was poisoned, because he, as a former major in Russian service, was considered unreliable by Muhammad Rahim Khan (see Viatkin M., *Ocherki*, 225; *Materialy po istorii Kazakhskoĭ SSR*, 38, note 1).

[1062] On Sultan Timur Khan see p. 331 and note 860.

[1063] MS E has, instead of this sentence: "He arrived at the royal court." "Nikolai Nikolaich" is the Russian envoy Captain Nikolaï Nikolaevich Murav'ev, who was sent to Khiva by the Military Governor of Georgia, General Alekseĭ Petrovich Ermolov. He arrived in Khorezm on October 6 1819 (Julian calendar, i.e. October 18/29 Zu'l-Hijja 1234) and was detained in Il-Geldi, an estate of Khojash Mahram. On October 8/20 (= 2 Muharram 1235) he learned that the khan had just left for 12 days for a hunting expedition; on October 23/November 3 he learned about the return of the khan, on November 17/29 he came to Khiva, and on November 20/December 1 (14 Safar 1235) he was received by the khan. See Murav'ev, I, pp. I, V, 93–95, 98, 112, 122–123, 129–132).

[1064] Jan Ghazi Sultan (called *töre* by Agahi) was also known as Manan Bay; see Riazanov, 119; Erofeeva, 92, 141–142.

[1065] Agahi gives the date of the reception of Murav'ev by the khan one week earlier than in Murav'ev's account (see note 1063).

[1066] According to the report of Negri, a Russian ambassador to Bukhara in 1820, in November 1819 Muhammad Rahim Khan sent tax collectors to the khan Manan Bay (i.e. Jan Ghazi, see note 1064), newly installed by him, demanding a payment of 7,000 sheep as *zakāt*. Having learned about this, Arang Ghazi informed Manan Bay that he had collected from his subjects 3,000 sheep, and the Khivan collectors should come and receive them. Manan Bay sent the Khivan officials to Arang Ghazi, to the right bank of the Sïr-Darya, but here they were seized and sent to Russia. Manan Bay, having learned about this, fled to Khiva; Arang Ghazi pursued him, but could not catch him. See Meĭer, 36; Riazanov, 125; Viatkin M., *Ocherki*, 225.

[1067] Kichik Bursuq ("Malye Barsuki" of Russian maps) is the name of sands extending northward from the Aral Sea.

[1068] Ulugh Bursuq ("Bol'shie Barsuki" of Russian maps) is the name of sands (west of Kichik Bursuq) extending northward from the northwestern corner of the Aral Sea to Chelkar. This was, apparently, the area farthest north of Khorezm that was reached by the Khivan troops in their raids against the Qazaqs.

[1069] Muhammad Rahim Khan chose February as the time for his campaign apparently because it was the worst time for the Qazaq nomads: at that time their livestock usually suffered from the lack of fodder, and they became less mobile. The khan had 4,000 troops (according to other, probably exaggerated, accounts—from 7 to 10,000 troops). The campaign of Muhammad Rahim Khan against Arang Ghazi Khan in 1820 is described in the report of Negri, a Russian ambassador to Bukhara, who passed through the Qazaq steppes in the summer of 1820, shortly after this campaign. According to this report, during the Khivan raid numerous Qazaqs were killed, and some were taken prisoner; all their property was plundered. Nurum Sultan, brother of Arang Ghazi, was killed; the mother of Arang Ghazi and the wife of Nurum Sultan were taken prisoner; the third brother, Iskandar, was able to flee and escape. Arang Ghazi himself escaped by chance, when the Khivans passed some 4–5 verst from his encampment. According to the report submitted by Arang Gazi to the Russian authorities, 810 Qazaq encampments were plundered, 350 men were killed, 235 men and 1,035 women taken captives, and the Qazaqs lost plundered and slaughtered 5,158 camels, 7,085 horses, 3,682 cows, and 63,224 sheep. The devastation caused to the Qazaqs by the Khivan raid eroded the support of Arang Ghazi Sultan among his subjects, some of whom shortly afterwards recognized the authority of Khiva. (See Riazanov, 122–126; cf. Meĭer, 37.)

[1070] Repetek is 65 km southwest of Charjuy.

[1071] In the summer of 1820 Arang Ghazi Sultan provided a military escort to the Russian mission of Negri and used this opportunity to attack the encampments of Jan Ghazi (Manan Bay) Khan, killing his brother and capturing several women, including the wife of Jan Ghazi (see Meĭer, 38–39; Riazanov, 138; Viatkin M., *Ocherki*, 226). Apparently, Agahi mentions this incident.

[1072] Hilali (in local pronounciation Ilyalï, so also on the maps) was, according to Danilevskiĭ, "populated" under Allah-Quli Khan (see Danilevskiĭ, 104–105; in 1842 the town was said to have only 35 houses, between fields and orchards, as well as a house with a garden belonging to the khan; cf. Basiner, 105–106, with the description and drawing of the khan's garden), but the text of Munis shows that it had already existed earlier. According to Kun ("Ot Khivy do Kungrada," 210), the "citadel" in its central part was built by Muhammad Rahim Khan ("Magomed-Rakhim-Kuli-khan"), and the town had up to 160 houses in 1873. In 1924 the town had 205 households and a population of 1025 (*Materialy po raĭonirovaniiu*, 50).

[1073] P.P. Ivanov in a note to his translation of this passage (see MITT, II, 418, note 1) refers to the Mongol term *khara tugh* mentioned by Vladimirtsov (*Obshchestvennyĭ stroĭ*, 174, 182; cf. also p. 145), which symbolized a Mongol sovereign ruler, and surmises that in the text of Agahi the "blackheaded standard" is "an emblem of

supreme command." Ögel (251) claims that in Turkic state and folk tradition the "blackheaded banner" is not encountered, and that the expression *qarabashlï tugh* in the Qïrghïz epic "Manas" means "ill-omened banner." However, the term *qarabash tugh* is used by Agahi in his later chronicles as an emblem given by the khan of Khiva to a high military commander (see Agahi, *Zubdat at-tavārīkh*, MS E6 of the Institute of Oriental Studies, St. Petersburg, f. 421a: Sayyid Mahmud Töre was given a *qarabash tugh* and 1,000 *nökers* under his command and was thus exalted among his peers; *Jāmiʿ al-vāqiʿāt-i sulṭānī*, same MS, f. 485b: Dawlat Yar Bek b. Allash Biy was appointed as commander of Qaradashlï *nökers* and given a *qarabash tugh*).

[1074] The account of this incident by Muhammad Yaʿqub generally confirms the story told by Agahi; Muhammad Yaʿqub (who mentions that 600 Bukharans were killed in this battle) also places the blame for the confrontation on the governor of Charjuy, Ata Khan Mirakhur Qalmaq (see Muhammad Yaʿqub, *Gulshan al-mulūk*, ff. 145b–146a/263b–264a; *Risāla*, f. 13a–b). He gives, however, two different dates for this event (both erroneous): 1234 A.H. (*Gulshan al-mulūk*) and 1235 A.H. (*Risāla*). Muʿin (ff. 38a–39b) also places this event in 1235 A.H., in the middle of the month of Mīzān (early October, according to the Bukharan calendar).

[1075] Bukharan sources (the *Gulshan al-mulūk* and *Risāla* by Muhammad Yaʿqub, the *Tārīkh-i avāʾil u avākhir* by Muʿin) mention some of the most important events of the war between Khiva and Bukhara in 1236–1240/1821–1824, but in much less detail, and sometimes they give a different chronology and even sequence of these events. In general Bukharan sources confirm the accounts of Agahi and mention quite frankly the defeats and losses of the Bukharans.

[1076] See above, notes 1020, 1060, 1066.

[1077] The location of Altï-tüpe could not be determined.

[1078] *Panj-yak* ("one fifth") was the same as *ghān*, the share of booty due to the ruler (see above, note 531). In this passage, however, the arithmetic is strange, and the text implies that the *panj-yak* was collected twice.

[1079] This raid was also mentioned in the report of Negri (see Riazanov, 129).

[1080] On the Turkmen tribe Saqar see Ia.R. Vinnikov, "Poezdka k turkmenam-sakar," in: *SE*, 1959, No. 3, pp. 107–114; Iu.È. Bregel', "Plemia sakar v Khivinskom khanstve (po dokumentam arkhiva khivinskikh khanov i khronike Baiani," in: *Kratkie soobshcheniia Instituta vostokovedeniia AN SSSR*, XXXVIII, Moscow, 1960, pp. 59–68. The Saqar-qalʿa mentioned on p. 524 is 8 km southwest of Charjuy, apparently a center of the tribe Saqar.

[1081] Khoja-Kenefsi (pronounced Khoja-Kenepsi) is on the right bank of the Amu-Darya, ab. 5 km east of Eljik.

[1082] Qara-Hajji is, probably, identical with Qaraji, ab. 16 km west of Qara-Köl, at the western edge of the cultivated land. The Qandahar sands were, apparently, southwest of it, in an area that still has numerous salt marshes.

[1083] Qïz-qalʿa was a medieval fortress (now ruins) 14 km north of Qabaqlï (on which see below, note 1092), on a hill ab. 3 km from the river, on the right bank of the Amu-Darya, opposite Üch-Kersen; 5 km north of it is a height of the same name. See on it: Petrusevich, 249; Guliamov, *Oroshenie*, 160, 162; Pilipko, 90–96.

[1084] Muhammad Yaʿqub describes this episode somewhat differently in the *Gulshan al-mulūk* (ff. 146b–147a/264b–265a) and the *Risāla* (f. 14a). According to the *Gulshan al-mulūk*, Qurban Bek Toqsaba, who was with a garrison (*ilghār*) at Eljik, went with 200 men for reconnaissance. After they went for a while, they encountered 100 "Urgenjis," fought them and were defeated, and 100 of his men were killed. This happened in the winter of 1235 (sic!). According to the *Risāla*, Qurban Bek Toqsaba, who was with a garrison in Kharaj, went from there in the direction of Urgench assuming that he would not encounter many enemies there. In the locality Aq-ribat (cf. below, note 1088) they encountered 100 "brave men", fought them and were defeated; Qurban Bek Toqsaba and 70 of his men were killed, and the rest fled

and escaped with difficulty, despite the fact that the Bukharan party had 200 men. According to Muʿin (f. 41a), Qurban Bek Toqsaba, who was with a garrison at Eljik, went to raid Khorezm with 300 horsemen; in the locality of Aq-ribat the enemies came across them, defeated the Bukharans and killed 100 men, including Qurban Bek.

[1085] Apparently the same campaign is mentioned by Muhammad Yaʿqub in his *Risāla* (who dates it, however, to the summer of 1235 A.H.). According to him, at that time about 1,000 or more Khivan horsemen went through the desert to the northern region of the country (of Bukhara), pillaged the *qalʿa* of Migh, came as far as the *tümen* of Ghizhduvan, plundered it and left. Amir Haydar came pursuing them with his entire army, stopped himself at the edge of the desert and sent Rajab Biy Parvanachi Manghït with the army in pursuit. After Rajab Biy marched quickly for one night and one day, he overcame "the rebels" in the locality Kenderlik and fought them, but was defeated; about 500 prominent men were killed, and the rest fled (Muhammad Yaʿqub, *Risāla*, ff. 13b–14a). A shorter version appears in the *Gulshan al-mulūk* (f. 146b/264b), where Rajab Biy is not mentioned, and the number of Khivan troops is given as 2,000; the same figure of Bukharan losses (500) is mentioned here. Muʿin (f. 40a–b) places this event in the spring of 1236 A.H. (1821 A.D.). According to him, the Khivan troops passed Kām-i Mīgh, in the region of Kermine, pillaged it, and killed many people. Amir Haydar set out against them, went to the Qazaq steppe (Dasht-i Qazaq) in the north of the country of Bukhara, and sent forward Rajab Bek Parvanachi. The latter marched for two days, and in the locality of Kenderlik 2,000 hostile Qazaq horsemen confronted him, together with the "Urgenji" troops, who had about 900 men, as well as 500 camels carrying prisoners and booty. These troops, seeing that their way was blocked, attacked the Bukharans and killed some of them, while the rest fled; the "Urgenjis" pursued them for four *farsang*s and killed more than 1,000 soldiers, officers and nobles. The same campaign is mentioned by Muhammad Hakim Khan (I, 250–251), who says that, when Amir Haydar learned that the "Urgenjis" were raiding the district of Ghizhduvan, he appointed Rajab Divanbegi (sic) as commander and sent him against the troops of Khorezm. In a fight, the troops of Bukhara were defeated and fled; many were killed and some were taken prisoner. Rajab Bek's son Irdana Bek was taken prisoner, and Shukur Bek Biy Manghït was killed; Rajab Bek Divanbegi and some of the amirs of Bukhara escaped with great difficulty.

[1086] Yeke-Chïqïr is ab. 19 km southeast of Hazarasp, near the bank of the Amu-Darya, on the road to Pitnak (indicated on the modern topographic maps as ruins "Ikkichakyr").

[1087] Kech-Qïran is the name of the southern part of the Jigirbend *tughay* (on the latter see Stetkevich, 20); its northern part was known as Burlï (see Masson, *Srednevekovye torgovye puti*, 234).

[1088] Aq-ribat is 11–12 km northwest of Darghan on the way to Pitnak; see on it: Stetkevich, 19; Masson, *Srednevekovye torgovye puti*, 232–233; V.A. Lokhovich, "Raskopki karavan-saraia Ak-Rabat," in: *Arkheologicheskie otkrytiia 1973*, Moscow, 1974, pp. 506–507 (according to Lokhovich, the caravanseray functioned in the 12th–14th centuries, but was abandoned). Cf. on modern maps "Akrabat lake" in the same area.

[1089] *Chilla* (from Persian *chil* "forty") is a term of the folk calendar in Central Asia and Iran, which is applied to certain periods in winter and summer. The winter "great *chilla*," the coldest time of winter, begins on 21 December and lasts 40 days (see M. Omidsalar, "Čella: i. In Persian folklore," in: EIr, V, 123; M.R. Rakhimov, *Zemledelie tadzhikov basseĭna r. Khingou v dorevoliutsionnyĭ period (istoriko-ėtnograficheskiĭ ocherk)*, Stalinabad, 1957, pp. 152–153). As the dates given in the text show, in Khorezm the *chilla* was counted according to the Khorezmian folk calendar; that is, it began almost one month earlier (cf. Introduction, p. XLIII on Khorezmian Nawruz).

[1090] The Daya-Khatun (or Daya-Khatïn) *ribāṭ* was a ruined caravanseray on the left bank of the Amu-Darya, ab. 50 km upstream from Darghan-Ata. M.E. Masson identified it with the medieval Tahiriya; see Masson, *Srednevekovye torgovye puti*, 201–214; Pilipko, 80–89.

[1091] Qosh-qal'a is 5 km northwest of Qabaqlï; it consists of two fortresses, at a distance of ab. 1 km from one another (hence the name, lit. "twin fortress"); in local pronunciation it is "Qosha-qal'a," so also on modern maps. See on it Masson, *Srednevekovye torgovye puti*, 195–198.

[1092] The Qabaqlï thicket (*tughay*) on the Amu-Darya was in the 19th century the main station of Khivan troops in their campaigns in the direction of Merv and Charjuy; after the Russian conquest of Khiva in 1873, the amir of Bukhara established a small fortress here with a Bukharan garrison. See Masson, *Srednevekovye torgovye puti*, 193–195.

[1093] Isbaz (pronounced Ispas or Ispaz, so also on the maps) is the site of a medieval fortress and caravanseray ab. 38 km southeast (upstream) from Qabaqlï, on the left bank of the Amu-Darya; see Masson, *Srednevekovye torgovye puti*, 188–190.

[1094] According to Helmersen (11; based on the accounts of former Russian captives in Khiva), during military campaigns Khivan boats on the Amu-Darya were used to transport provisions for the army, and on each of them two ovens for baking bread were built. There were up to 1,000 such boats in the entire country, and the inhabitants had to supply all their boats for military campaigns. Cf. on *kimä* above, note 513.

[1095] Muhammad Ya'qub mentions briefly the same campaign, which took place, according to him, in the winter of 1235 A.H. (early 1820; the date is certainly wrong). Muhammad Rahim Khan went with an army to Charjuy along the left bank of the Amu-Darya and stopped at a place called Ūdāy; Amir Haydar came with his army along the right bank of the Amu-Darya and stopped at Kharaj. The two armies fired cannons at each other for ten days, but with no results, because the river was too wide. After this Muhammad Rahim Khan returned to Khorezm, and Amir Haydar—to Bukhara (Muhammad Ya'qub, *Gulshan al-mulūk*, f. 146a–b/264a–b). In the *Risāla* (f. 13b) this account is repeated, but the place where Muhammad Rahim Khan stopped is called Hasan Tat; Muhammad Rahim Khan is said to have realized that winter was coming and that it would be foolish to start fighting. Mu'in (f. 39b) gives the same account as the *Risāla*.

[1096] The *senger* of Nadir Shah was probably at the southern end of the Darghan-Ata *tughay* and was identical with Sūqyār (cf. above, note 375). See on it Masson, *Srednevekovye torgovye puti*, 215–217.

[1097] Üch-Kersen is the ruins of a fortress, ab. 13 km north (downstream) from Qabaqlï, on the left bank of the Amu-Darya, opposite Qïz-qal'a; see Masson, *Srednevekovye torgovye puti*, 198 (here also on the etymology of this name).

[1098] Burlï was the name of the northern part of the Jigirbend *tughay* (see above, note 1087).

[1099] On Farab see Bartol'd, *Turkestan*, 132; idem, *K istorii orosheniia*, 161–162; Masson, *Srednevekovye torgovye puti*, 163–181 (historical and archeological data, including local stories on Khivan raids on Farab). Agahi spells the name sometimes as Faryab.

[1100] The events at Merv are mentioned by Muhammad Ya'qub (*Gulshan al-mulūk*, ff. 144b–145a/262b–263a) the following way: After 1221/1806–07, when Din Nasir Bek went with his people to Mashhad, Merv remained empty for four years. Then Amir Haydar sent there 200 families under Yarlïqab Biy. These people remained there for ten years, until the tribes Khitay and Qïpchaq started a rebellion against the amir. At that time the Bukharan commander in Merv was Ayaz Biy. He did not receive any news from Bukhara, while the Turkmens and the "Urgenjis" were harassing his people, and he had no choice but to abandon Merv and to come

with his people to Bukhara. From that time until the time of the compilation of the *Gulshan al-mulūk*, which was 1242/1826–27, Merv had remained depopulated. The same information is repeated in the *Risāla* (f. 12b) and by Mu'in (f. 36a–b).

[1101] The purpose of sending a *tovachi* was apparently to collect troops.

[1102] Südük *tughay* is ab. 12 km upstream from Sadvar.

[1103] Dahan-i Shir ("Lion's Mouth"; in local pronunciation Danisher) is a place where the Amu-Darya flows through a narrow gorge, ab. 20 km upstream from Sadvar; the gorge is also known as Duldul-Atlaghan (see Stetkevich, 20–21; Masson, *Srednevekovye torgovye puti*, 236–239). Duldul-Atlaghan means "the jump of the Duldul"; the name comes from the local legends according to which the caliph 'Ali jumped here accross the river on his horse Duldul.

[1104] In *Tārīkh-i Amīr Ḥaydar* (23) this episode is mentioned quite differently: it was Muhammad Rahim Khan who sent his envoy to the chieftains of the Khitays in Yangi-Qurghan, proposing that they attack Amir Haydar from the direction of Samarqand, while he would capture Bukhara. See also Ivanov, *Vosstanie*, 68–69, 109.

[1105] Jigirbend was a medieval town listed among the cities of Khorezm in the 10th century A.D., on the left bank of the Amu-Darya; by the 1970s most of it had been washed away by the Amu-Darya. Nothing is known about the saint of this name who was allegedly buried there. The site is ab. 35 km north of Darghan-Ata and 30 km from Dahan-i Shir (Danisher). See on it: Bartol'd, *K istorii oroshenia*, 164; Guliamov, *Oroshenie*, 19; Masson, *Srednevekovye torgovye puti*, 233–235; O.A. Vishnevskaia, "Raskopki gorodishcha Dzhigerbent," in: *Arkheologicheskie otkrytiia 1974*, Moscow, 1975, pp. 522–523; *idem*, "Raskopki Dzhigerbenta," in: *Arkheologicheskie otkrytiia 1975*, Moscow, 1976, pp. 544–545.

[1106] On Ahmad-taqïr, between Kökerdeli and Darghan-Ata, see Stetkevich, 19.

[1107] On 'Ariz-qal'a, a small fortress on the left bank of the Amu-Darya, see Masson, *Srednevekovye torgovye puti*, 198 ("Arz-kala").

[1108] Dah-i Naw (pronounced Deynaw, "Deĭnau" on Russian maps) is 36 km northwest (downstream) from Charjuy.

[1109] On this episode Muhammad Ya'qub (*Gulshan al-mulūk*, f. 148b/266b) says the following: When Muhammad Rahim Khan came upstream from Charjuy, the amir did not set out against him himself, but sent his son, Mir 'Umar, along with Niyaz Bek Parvanachi and 6,000 horsemen. Mir 'Umar went along the right bank of the Amu-Darya and stopped at Farab. Muhammad Rahim Khan, with 500 troops, stopped on the bank of the river opposite Farab. One day the "Urgenjis" crossed the river on numerous boats, fired their muskets (*multuq*) and defeated Mir 'Umar, who fled and came to Qara-Köl. In the *Risāla* (f. 15b) Muhammad Ya'qub gives the number of Mir 'Umar's troops as 5–6,000 and says that Mir 'Umar fled after Muhammad Rahim Khan had put about 400 boats on the river and sent two parties across, one above and one below the Bukharans, and they all started bombarding the Bukharan troops (a similar but shorter account is found in Mu'in, ff. 42b–43a). Cf. on this campaign Ivanov, *Vosstanie*, 73–74 (based on the *Gulshan al-mulūk*) and 109–110 (translation from the *Tārīkh-i Amīr Ḥaydar*).

[1110] On Khoja-qal'a (18 km northwest of Charjuy) see Masson, *Srednevekovye torgovye puti*, 186.

[1111] The distance given by Agahi is an obvious mistake.

[1112] On Parvard see below, note 1125.

[1113] The two *yasavulbashi*s, who appear here for the first time along with military commanders, are mentioned here with the epithets "the pillars of the attendants and the cream of the servants".

[1114] The mention of "governors" of Charjuy probably means that there were two governors ruling jointly (cf. above, note 288, on this practice in Khorezm), although there seems to be no direct evidence of it.

[1115] Sunday noon comes after Sunday night because the day begins at sunset, according to the Muslim calendar.

[1116] The description of the battle at Farab is given also by Muhammad Ya'qub (*Gulshan al-mulūk*, ff. 148b–149b/266b-267b; *Risāla*, f. 16a–b) and Mu'in (ff. 42b–44a). The Bukharan authors explain the reluctance of Amir Haydar to engage his troops in a battle with Muhammad Rahim Khan by the fact that at the time when the Khivans came to Charjuy, the Bukharan army was fighting the Khitay and Qïpchaq rebels in Miyankal, and Haydar was able to confront Muhammad Rahim only with unfit auxiliary troops (*qil-quyruq*) hastily mobilized from among the poorer subjects. According to Bukharan sources, during the flight of the Khivan troops from Farab about 1,000 of them drowned (so the *Gulshan*; "most of them," according to the *Risāla*; about 2,000, according to Mu'in), and 54 (so the *Gulshan*; 55 according to Mu'in; "some" in the *Risāla*) were taken prisoner. The *Risāla* also mentions that the Bukharan troops captured many horses and weapons, including five camel-loads of muskets and *shamkhāls*. Thana'i (f. 172a–b) says that 180 (not 80, as Agahi has) distinguished Khorezmian warriors died during this debacle, and "countless" men perished whose names were unknown. He adds that he heard from his own father (who was in the battle) that it was like the Day of Judgement: everyone tried to save himself, and fathers and sons and elder and younger brothers did not help one another.

[1117] The locality Miskin-Ata is on the right bank of the Amu-Darya, ab. 23 km southwest (upstream) from Turtkul.

[1118] Meshekli is on the right bank of the Amu-Darya, opposite Sadvar, 25 km northwest of Tuya-Muyun (Deve-Boyun or Tive-Boyun). On the excavations of a medieval caravanseray that existed on this site see Iu.P. Manylov, M.M. Mambetullaev, N. Iu. Iusupov, "Gorodishche Meshekli—pamiatnik srednevekovogo Khorezma," in: *VKFAN*, 1990, No. 1, pp. 102–105.

[1119] Ichku-Yarï (or Ichke-Yar) is a crossing on the Amu-Darya; see on it: *Materialy dlia opisaniia khivinskogo pokhoda*, fasc. 8, clmn. 165–167; Lobysevich, 169–172; Kaul'bars, 13–15; Stetkevich, 15, 22. Cf. "Ichkidzhar" height on the right bank of the Amu-Darya on modern topographic maps, ab. 15 km southeast of Sadvar.

[1120] MS E has *barānghār va juvānghār*, instead of *ong qol va sol qol*; this shows that these two pairs of terms could be used as synonyms (cf. on the *yasal* above, note 806).

[1121] Aghar is 35 km southwest of Bukhara.

[1122] On Alexander's rampart see above, note 826.

[1123] Ramitan is 10 km north of Bukhara; see on it Bartol'd, *Turkestan*, 167–168.

[1124] On this campaign of Muhammad Rahim Khan cf. Ivanov, *Vosstanie*, 75, 110–111 (from the *Tārīkh-i Amīr Ḥaydar*). According to the *Tārīkh-i Amīr Ḥaydar*, the number of Bukharan prisoners deported to Khorezm in this campaign was 12,000 (see Ivanov, *Vosstanie*, 111). The same figure is mentioned by the Qoqandian historians Muhammad Hakim Khan (I, 250) and 'Avaz Muhammad (see MITT, II, 420, note 2); Muhammad Hakim Khan refers not to a specific campaign, but to the entire duration of the war between Khiva and Bukhara, while 'Avaz Muhammad gives this figure in connection with the campaign of 1236/1821. I. Ibragimov, who was in the Khanate of Khiva in 1873, learned that Muhammad Rahim Khan, on his return from the campaign to Bukhara "some 50 or 60 years ago," deported the Tajiks from Qaqïshtuvan and settled them near Ilyalï, in the village of Chandïr; their number was not more than 50 households (see Ibragimov, "Zametki," 135).

[1125] Qutnam is on the left bank of the Amu-Darya, near Karabekavul (now the ruins of Qutnam-qal'a, see Burkhanov, 58–59); Parvard (now in Turkmen "Pelvert") is 50 km southeast (upstream) from it.

[1126] Köshk Zuhra-i Tahir (or "Köshk-qal'a") is on the site of the medieval town Navidah, at the important crossing on the Amu-Darya, opposite Karabekavul; now it has been partly washed away by the river. See on it Burkhanov, 48–50.

[1127] Agahi's account about the efficiency of the Khivan artillery is grossly exaggerated.

[1128] Muhammad Ya'qub describes this campaign in his *Risāla* (f. 17b; the *Gulshan al-mulūk* does not mention it), but dates it, erroneously, to 1237 A.H. According to Muhammad Ya'qub, when Muhammad Rahim Khan came with his troops to the Charjuy crossing, Amir Haydar came there also, and their troops stood for three days on the opposite banks of the Amu-Darya, firing cannons at each other. Then Muhammad Rahim Khan went upstream and stopped at Tūghrīkī Durmen (?). Haydar did not know what to do, and asked everybody for advice. Some said that the amir should cross the river and attack Muhammad Rahim from behind; but some "wise people" warned the amir not to cross the river, because Muhammad Rahim had his boats prepared and could bring his entire army to the Bukharan side in one day, while Haydar would need more than ten days for such a crossing. Therefore Haydar continued to follow Muhammad Rahim along the opposite bank of the river, and in this fashion they moved for five or six marches (*köch*). At the place called "Köshk-i Tahir u Zuhra" the amir ordered the cannons to be fired at the enemy; in one hour the Bukharans fired 200 cannon-balls (*tīr*) and hit some horses, but failed to harm any soldiers. Then Muhammad Rahim Khan went up to Burdalïgh, where he turned back, and the two armies stopped again opposite one another. In this way they came to the Charjuy crossing, where the Khivans fired five or six shots in the direction of the Bukharans; the next day they left for their country. Mu'in (ff. 45b–46a) gives a similar account, but dates this campaign correctly to 1238 A.H. (the month of Tīr, i.e. June–July 1823). He adds that wherever the Khivans came they committed plunder and slaughter; Muhammad Rahim Khan had many boats, and every night his troops would cross the river by boat, kill people, and plunder their homes, and would cross back before Amir Haydar would learn about these raids.

[1129] Egri-Guzar is 3 km northwest of the modern city of Mary, in the western part of the Murghab oasis; cf. also the map in Subotich, after p. 72.

[1130] On the madrasa of Qutlugh Murad Inaq see Man'kovskaia – Bulatova, 114–116 (ill. on p. 116); Man'kovskaia, 240 and pl. 127–130; Bulatova – Notkin, 58–62 (all these publications give the date of construction as "1804–1812" (i.e. 1219–1227 A.H.), "according to the inscriptions on the carved doors" of the madrasa (the text of the inscriptions is not given). They give also a story told in Khiva that, according to a Khivan tradition, the body of a person who died outside of the walls of the inner city of Khiva (Ichan-qal'a) could not be brought into the inner city through the city gates. In order to bypass this rule, the wall of Ichan-qal'a near the eastern gates was pulled down, the body of Qutlugh Murad Inaq was brought in through the breach, and he was buried at the front side of the madrasa, under the floor of the entrance hall.

[1131] Narqïz is a ruin of a fortress on the right bank of the Amu-Darya, 55 km north of Eljik; cf. Petrusevich, 249.

[1132] The small Turkmen tribe Arabachi (cf. above, note 150) was closely connected with the Chowdurs, but was not usually considered as a clan of the Chowdurs.

[1133] On the locality Aq-Tash in Qïzïl-qum, ab. 20 km west of Khal-Ata, on the border between Khiva and Bukhara, where there was a well Aji-quduq, with saline water, see Lobysevich, 134; *Materialy dlia opisaniia khivinskogo pokhoda*, fasc. 8, clmn. 138, 141.

[1134] The route of this raid was, apparently, in the sands along the cultivated land in the middle course of the Amu-Darya; most of the localities mentioned below could not be identified.

[1135] The Khalaj road went, apparently, from Khalaj (on the left bank of the Amu-Darya, 35 km northwest of Kerki) to Andkhuy.

[1136] The only published study of water-cisterns (*sardāba*) in Central Asia is a pam-

phlet of M.E. Masson *Problema izucheniia tsistern-sardoba*, Tashkent, 1935 (Materialy Uzkomstarisa, fasc. 8), but it deals with the cisterns north of the Amu-Darya. He does mention, and indicate on the attached map, several cisterns west and south of Kerki, but none of them bears the name of ʿAbdallah Khan (the only *sardāba* of ʿAbdallah Khan mapped by Masson is north of Charshangu); Masson mentions (pp. 37–38) that the local population ascribes the construction of most of cisterns to ʿAbdallah Khan.

[1137] Tonguz-sïrt is 45 km southeast of Kerki.

[1138] Chash-Baba is ab. 30 km east of Tonguz-sïrt, on the left bank of the Amu-Darya, opposite Mukrï.

[1139] Probably this was done instead of the funeral banquet that should have been held upon the arrival of Qutlugh Murad Inaq's body in Khiva, when the khan was sick.

[1140] The Paykent mentioned by Agahi should be distinguished from the early medieval city of the same name, which was located ab. 40 km south-southwest of Bukhara and received its water from the Shahrud canal. The latter was in ruins already in the middle of the 12th century A.D. (see Bartol'd, *Turkestan*, 170; idem, *K istorii orosheniia*, 203). By the end of the 18th century the name Paykent began to be applied to a new oasis based on the water of the Qara-Köl-Darya and located to the east of the ancient Paykent. At the beginning of the 20th century already no traces of the new fortress Paykent mentioned by Agahi could be found. (I am indebted for this information to Aleksandr Naymark, an archeologist, who for a long time worked in the region of Bukhara, including the site of ancient Paykent.)

[1141] The tomb of ʿAbdallah Narinjani (Narinjan-Baba) is ab. 22 km north of Turtkul; see Guliamov, *Oroshenie*, 138–139; Snesarev, *Khorezmskie legendy*, 51.

[1142] The exact location of the Chapma and Qobu roads could not be established; it seems that they were east of the Irdar road (on which see above, note 578), and that the Qobu road was the easternmost. Unfortunately, Kaĭdalov's diary of his travel with a Russian caravan (see the next note) does not provide sufficient information about its route.

[1143] The Russian caravan was under the command of Colonel Tsiolkovskiĭ ("Serköske" of Agahi). The caravan left Orenburg on November 2/14 1824, crossed the Sïr-Darya on December 15/27, and was attacked by the Khivan troops at Beshtüpe (the exact location of which is unknown) on January 11/23 1825. The head of the Russian merchants who took part in the caravan was Evgraf Kaĭdalov, who published his diary of the expedition (*Karavan-zapiski, vo vremia pokhoda v Bukhariiu rossiĭskogo karavana, pod voinskim prikrytiem, v 1824 i 1825 godakh; vedennye nachal'nikom onogo karavana nad kupechestvom, Evgrafom Kaĭdalovym*, pt. 1–3, Moscow, 1827). The Russian military escort of the caravan had 625 men with 2 cannons; the losses of the Russian merchants were estimated at 547,600 roubles (see Meĭer, 43–44; Veselovskiĭ, *Ocherk*, 291–292; Zhukovskiĭ, 103–104, with additional references). On this episode see also Helmersen, 37–38, based on the accounts of former Russian captives in Khiva. According to these accounts, when the Russian caravan retreated, the Turkmens among the Khivan troops seized all the plundered goods from the Khivans and the Qaraqalpaqs. During a dispute that started because of this, the Turkmens cursed the khan; the latter, having heard about it, ordered ten Turkmen aqsaqals hanged. Thereupon 200 tents of Turkmens left for the Caspian shore, having destroyed, on their way, two bazaars in the environs of Tashhawz and plundered livestock there as well (ibid., pp. 30–31). In 1839, Muhammad Rahim Khan's son, Allah-Quli Khan, told Captain Abbott the following story about this caravan: "About twenty years ago, during the war of Khiva with Bokhara, Russia sent a rich caravan to Bokhara, escorted by two hundred regular infantry and two guns. Should this force join the Bokhara army, the reinforcement, owing to the discipline of the Russians, had been formidable to Khiva. Madreheem Khaun therefore sent

the commander a polite message, saying, that he could not suffer any troops or reinforcements to pass through his territories to his enemies, but that the road to Khiva, his own capital, was free to the Russians, who should receive protection and hospitality. The Russian commander refused the invitation, and endeavoured to force a passage through the Khaun, my father's, territory, thus flagranty violating the subsisting peace. Madreheem Khaun, of course, ordered that he should be opposed by the Toorcumun and Kuzzauk horse [sic], just after his passage, of the Sirr or Jaxartes. But the Russians, drawing up in a compact body, and stockading themselves, made a most desperate defence, so that after much loss, the Toorcumuns and Kuzzauks contented themselves with plundering the caravan. The Russians however retreated, losing many of their men, to their own frontier." (Abbott, I, 108–109).

[1144] Prince Kamran (Kamran Shah Durrani), son of Mahmud Shah, ruled Herat until 1258/1842, when he was deposed and murdered by his vizier, Yar Muhammad Khan; see M.E. Yapp, "Kāmrān Shāh Durrānī," in: EI², IV, 523–524.

[1145] Bukharan sources do not mention such a letter of Amir Haydar.

[1146] In fact, the last war between the khanates of Khiva and Bukhara was in 1258–1259/1842–1843 (see MITT, II, 474–494), and it began shortly after Agahi finished the *Firdaws al-iqbāl*.

[1147] Murav'ev, who saw Muhammad Rahim Khan at the end of 1819, characterizes him as follows: "Magmed Ragim is of gigantic stature (he is one sazhen tall [in another place (I, 132) Murav'ev mentions that, according to the accounts that he heard, a horse could not carry the khan for more than two hours]), has a robust frame and is of good health; his age is about fifty; he has a rather attractive appearance, which does not bear the marks of his savage deeds and character; he has rather regular features; his eyes are small, but fiery, and he has a piercing look; his beard is small and light brown. It is rather strange that he resembles his countrymen by his eyes only; otherwise his face is more Russian than Khivan; and his light brown beard adds to this dissimilarity, because the Uzbeks, without exception, are black-bearded. From his deeds described above one can see that he is endowed with quick perception, is ambitious, cruel to the point of atrocity, suspicious, power hungry, greedy, enterprizing, brave and unusually steadfast; we should add that during his drive for absolute power he was addicted to drinking and was fond of women; he would drink without measure and at that time would devise all the atrocious tortures for the innocent victims of his ambition. But now he has become more moderate and quieter, has limited his harem to seven wives, and has abandoned drinking altogether; instead of wine, he uses vinegar, and has prohibited strong drinks and tobacco to his subjects, under a penalty of all offenders having their mouths slit to their ears. [. . .] In comparison with his countrymen, Magmed Ragim is fairly learned; besides his mother tongue, he speaks Arabic and Persian and even reads and writes in these languages; he has also some knowledge of astrology and medicine. Magmed Ragim likes moderation and simplicity in everything; his dress consists of several quilted robes of Bukharan silk; he wears a turban or a white band on his hat (such bands are worn by the sayyids [. . .] the khan appropriated this dress and title, having married descendants of Magomed). [. . .] He sleeps very little and only in the daytime, while at night he is awake [. . .] He likes chess, knows the game perfectly and watches the players with pleasure, and for this purpose he often gathers to himself the children of his favorites; but he himself never participates in the game." (Murav'ev, II, 53–56.)

Fraser's information about Muhammad Rahim Khan was based mainly on the accounts of two Persians, Beder [= Badr] Khan and Mulla Murad 'Ali, who had been in captivity in Khiva: "The character of Mahomed Raheem Khan is variously represented: by some, he is stated to be a cruel, rapacious, and moody madman, without consistency or principle to regulate his conduct or restrain his intemperate

passions; that he is detested by his subjects, who would gladly exchange his tyrannical sway for the milder rule of any neighbouring sovereign. By others, he is called an excellent prince, possessed of a fine temper and good dispositions, strict, but just in his dealings, regulating his dominions in the best and most judicious manner, and beloved by all his subjects. It is not difficult to read in these different accounts the extremes of prejudice, resulting from sufferings inflicted in the one case, and favours conferred in the other; truth, as usual, probably lies between. Beder Khan affirmed, that the khan is a perfect madman, whose capricious temper is beyond all calculation; one day loading a person with favours, and the next day putting him to death without any adequate cause: so that man's life is unsafe and even valueless in his presence. He allowed him to possess personal bravery, but affirmed that he was totally deficient in conduct, or military skill, except in that of being personally a good sword and spears-man, and a good horseman; but that he now is so overgrown with fat, that he cannot get a horse fit to carry him [. . .] Beder Khan having gained favor in the sight of Mahomed Raheem Khan was left at liberty while resident in Khyvah, and thus had many opportunities for observation, of which, from his conversation, he appeared to have well availed himself; nevertheless, there can be little doubt that he was prejudiced against the khan by the violence and loss which he at first sustained, and that he judged and described his character harshly. Moollah Murād Allee, envoy from the Koordish lords, remained for nearly two years in Khyvah; part of that time he was confined, but during the greatest part he enjoyed freedom and consideration; so that he had not only good opportunities for acquiring information, but being a man of superior endowments was likely to use them well; he was less severe in his description of the khan, but in general confirmed Beder Khan's account of his inconsistency and violence of temper; he did not, he said, believe him to be so blood thirsty as was commonly reported; yet that no one could feel himself secure with him; for he appeared to be ignorant or careless of the most commonly received international laws; that the characters of stranger and of guest had with him lost their sanctity, and, as the situation of his country was such as made him easy as to consequences, the slightest suspicion was sufficient cause for imprisonment, captivity, or death, without either trial, examination, or appeal. I found that the merchants in general entertained more favorable opinions of this prince than others with whom I conversed; but even among them great diversity of sentiment prevailed." (Fraser, *Narrative*, appendix, [64]–[65].

INDICES

PREFACE

When using the indexes, the following should be kept in mind:

A. *All indexes.*

1. Numbers in roman type refer to the pages of the translation; numbers in italic refer to the note numbers (not page numbers).
2. Numbers with asterisks refer to the pages where the respective names appear only in footnotes.

B. *Personal names.*

1. The name of the same person often appears in the text with various degree of completeness: sometimes the personal name, the name of the father, the title, and the tribal affiliation are given; elsewhere the same person can be mentioned without either the name of his father, or the title, or the tribal affiliation, or without all of these. Very often it makes proper identification difficult, especially because there are numerous cases when different persons have identical names. Sometimes the identification could be made on the basis of circumstantial evidence provided in the text (for instance, the missing tribal affiliation of a person can be established from the tribal affiliation of his brother mentioned elsewhere). In all cases, the names are given in the index in the most complete form found in the text and/or derived from such a circumstantial evidence. Uncertain identification is added with a question mark.
2. If a person is mentioned on a certain page only as a father (or grandfather) of another person (the affiliation being indicated by words "ibn", "son of . . .", "grandson of . . ."), the respective page number appears in the index with the letter "g" (from "genealogy").
3. The words Amir, Hajji, Ishan, Mawlana, Mirza, Mulla, Sayyid, Shaykh are not considered as part of the name (with very few exceptions), even if the name in the text begins with such a word.
4. The names of the saints, whose tombs are mentioned in the text, appear in both the index of personal names and the index of geographical names.
5. Under the name "Munis" numbers with daggers (†) refer to the pages on which Munis is mentioned as "author", without his personal name.

C. *Geographical names.*

Corrupted forms of names found on the maps as well as in Russian and European sources (and mentioned in the notes) are given in quotation marks, with cross-references to correct forms.

D. *Ethnic names.*

Names of clans and tribes are followed, in parentheses, by the names of larger ethnic groups to which they belong.

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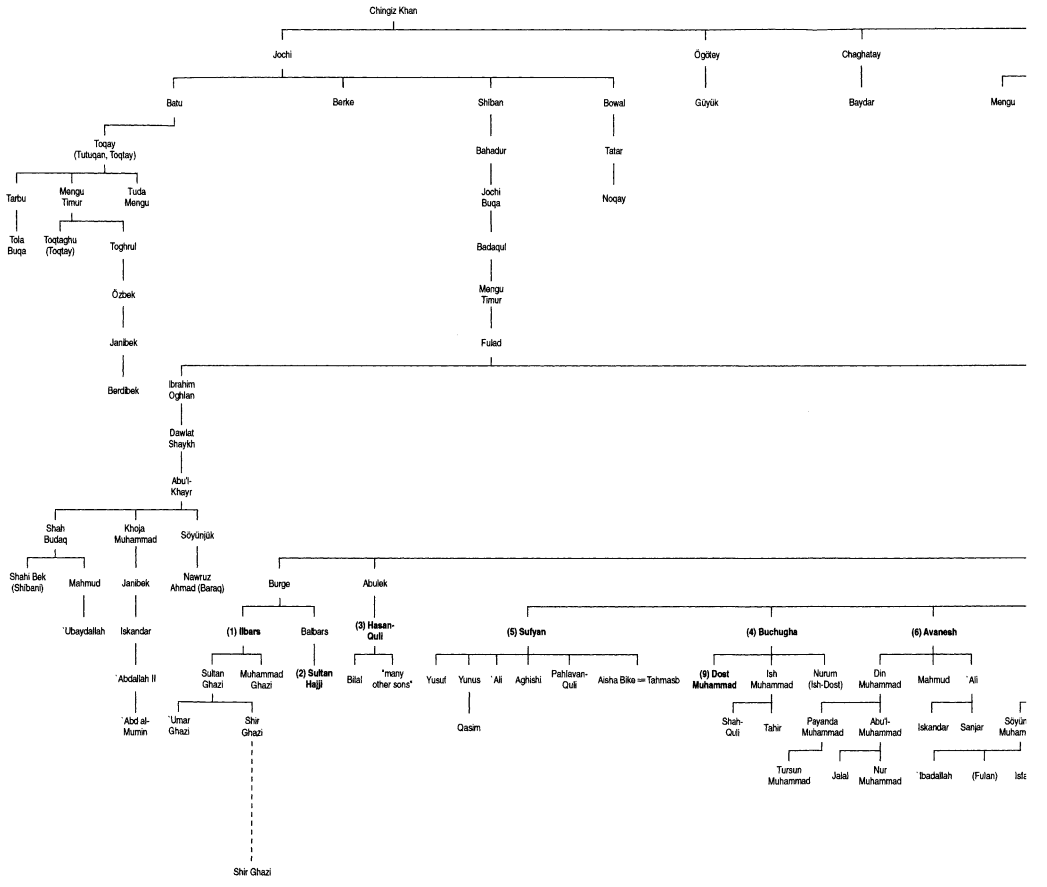
Genealogical tree of the `Arabshahids of Khorezm, with related Chingizids

(the names of the supreme khans of Khorezm, beginning with Ilbars, are given in bold print; numbers indicate dynastic succession)



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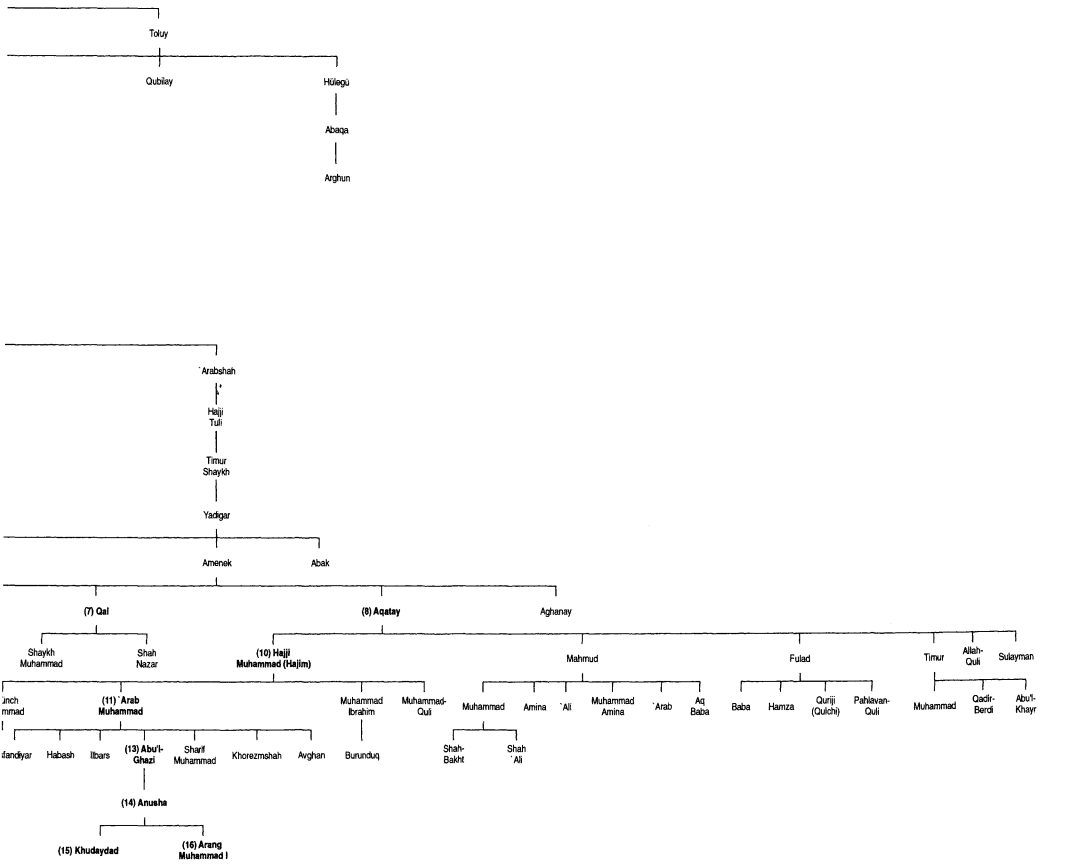

Toluy
Qubilay
Hülegü
Abaqa
Arghun
`Arabshah
Hajji
Tuli
Timur
Shaykh
Yadigar
Amenek
Abak
(7) Qal
(8) Aqatay
Aghanay
Shaykh
Muhammad
Shah
Nazar
(10) Hajji
Muhammad (Hajim)
Mahmud
Fulad
Timur
Allah-
Quli
Sulayman
(11) `Arab
Muhammad
Muhammad
Ibrahim
Muhammad-
Quli
Muhammad
Amina
`Ali
Muhammad
Amina
`Arab
Aq
Baba
Baba
Hamza
Quriji
(Qulchi)
Pahlavan-
Quli
Muhammad
Qadir-
Berdi
Abu'l-
Khayr
Habash
Ilbars
(13) Abu'l-
Ghazi
Sharif
Muhammad
Khorezmshah
Arghan
Burunduq
Shah-
Bakht
Shah
`Ali
(14) Anusha
(15) Khudaydad
(16) Arang
Muhammad I

Fig. 1.

Genealogical tree of the Qongrats of Khorezm (14th–20th centuries)

(the names of the khans of Khorezm, beginning with Eltüzer, are given in bold print; numbers indicate dynastic succession)

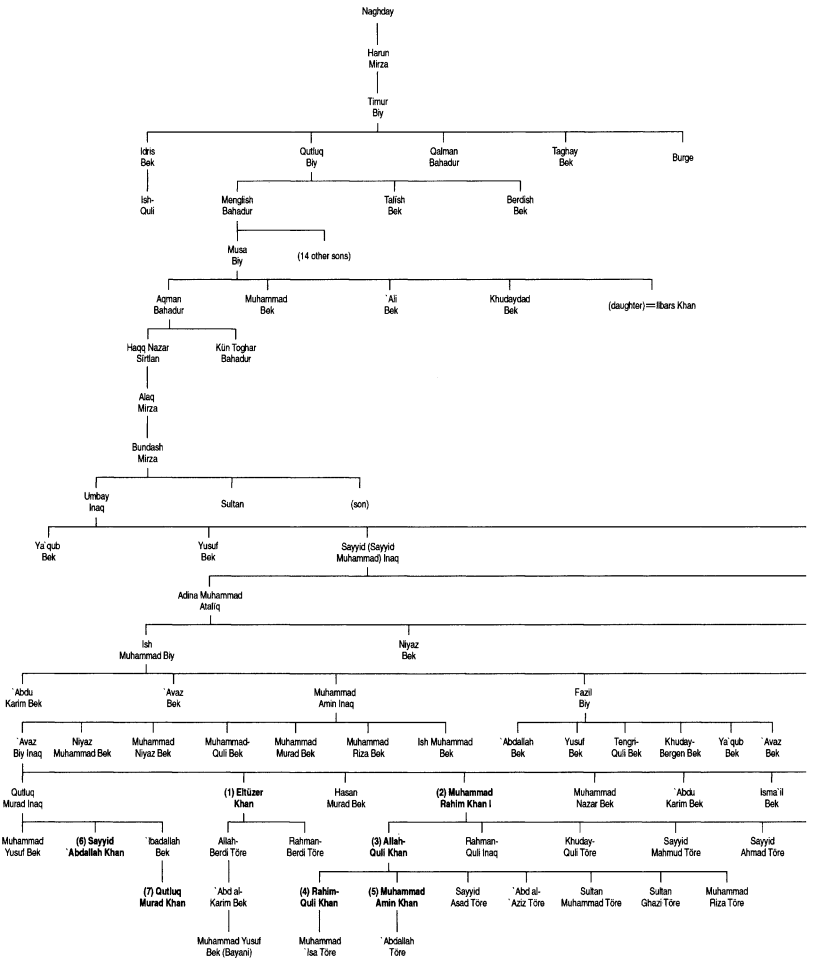
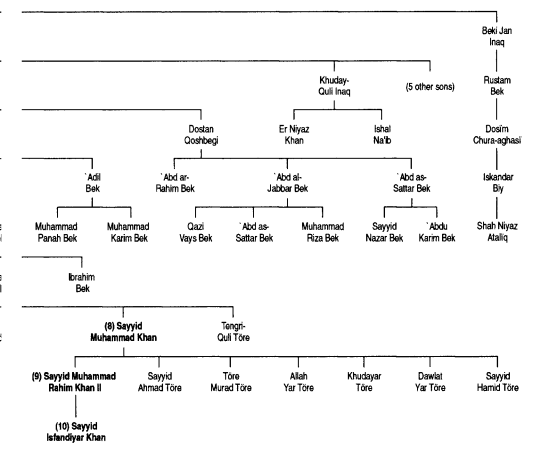
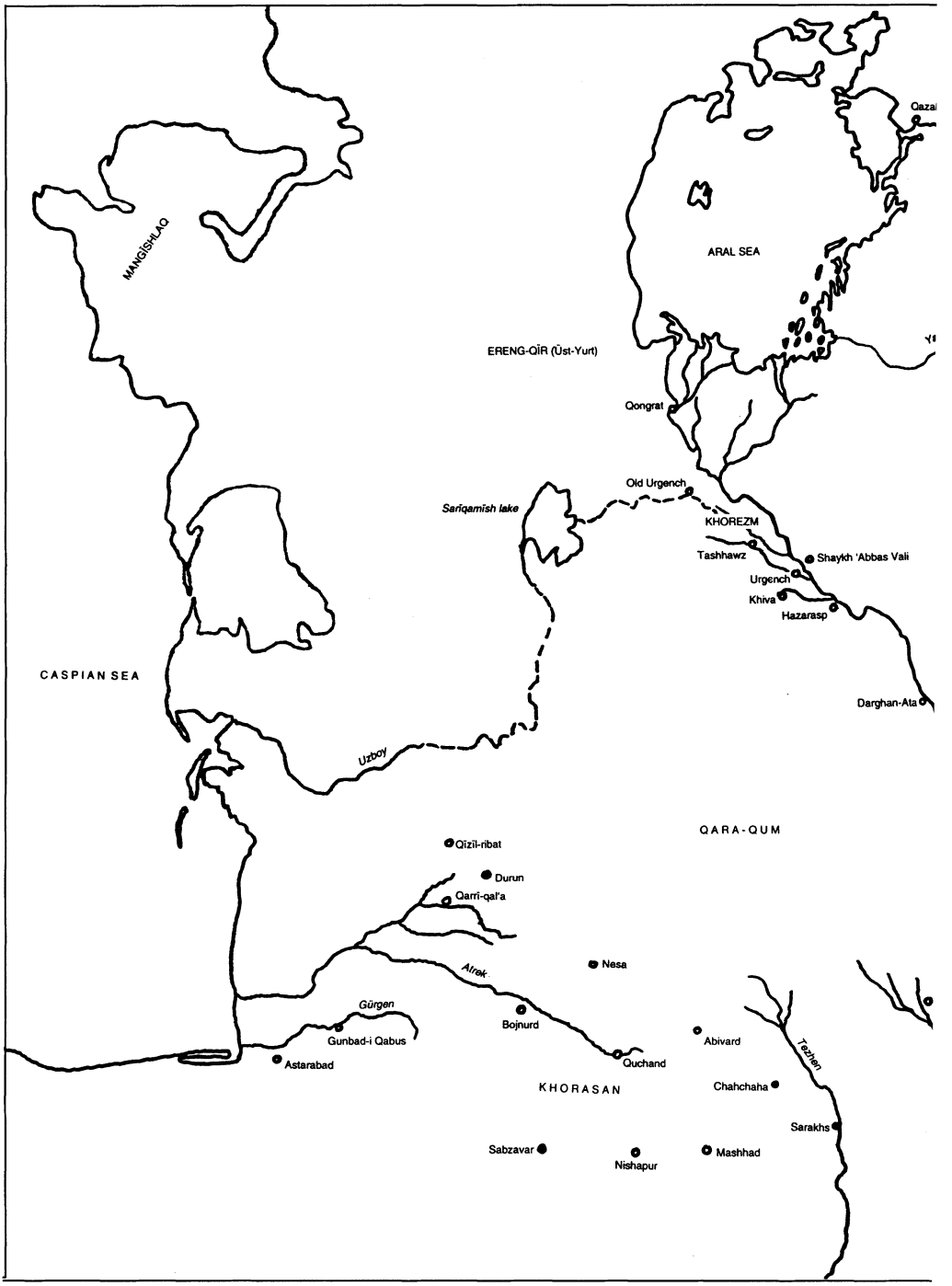
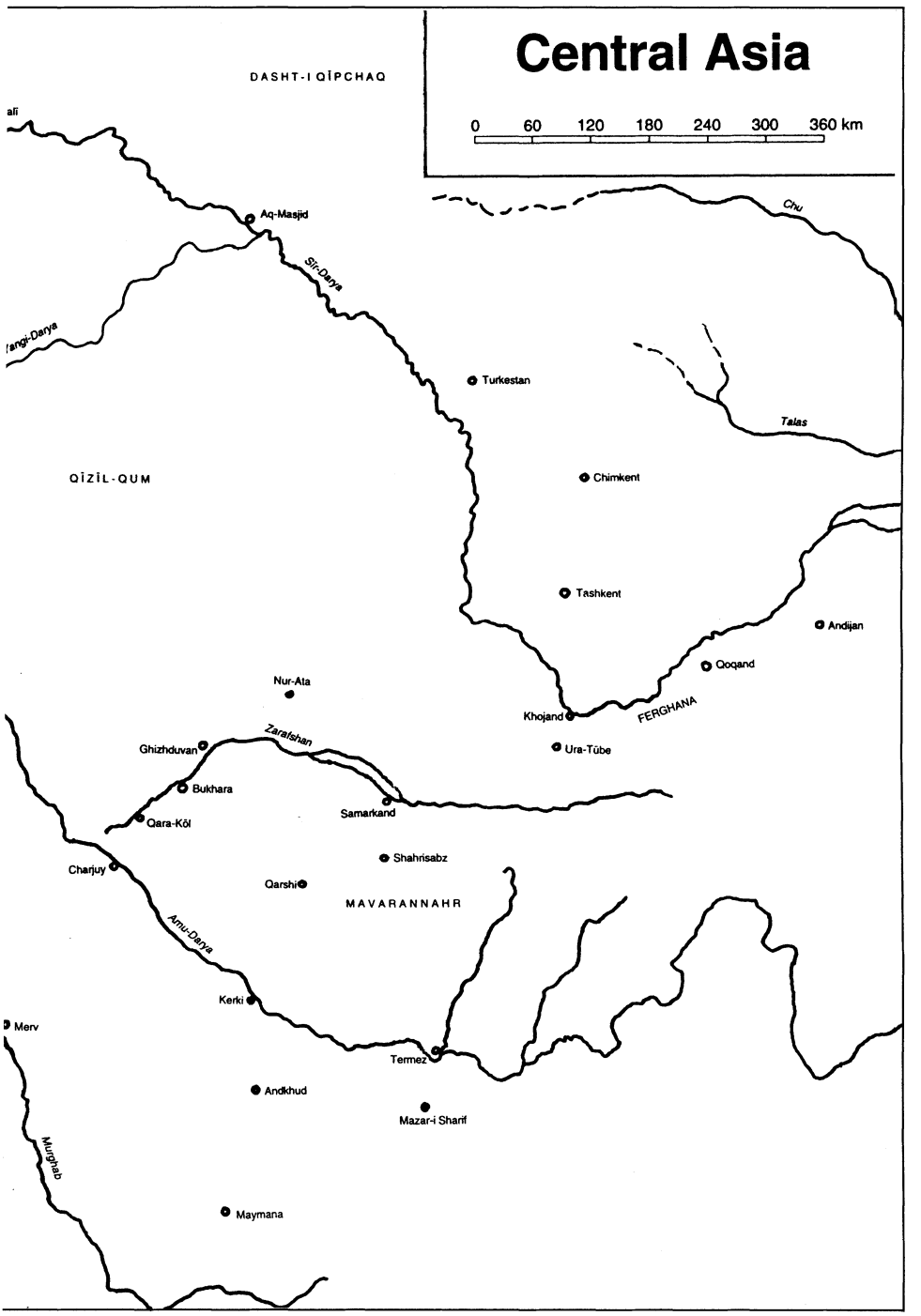


Fig. 2.

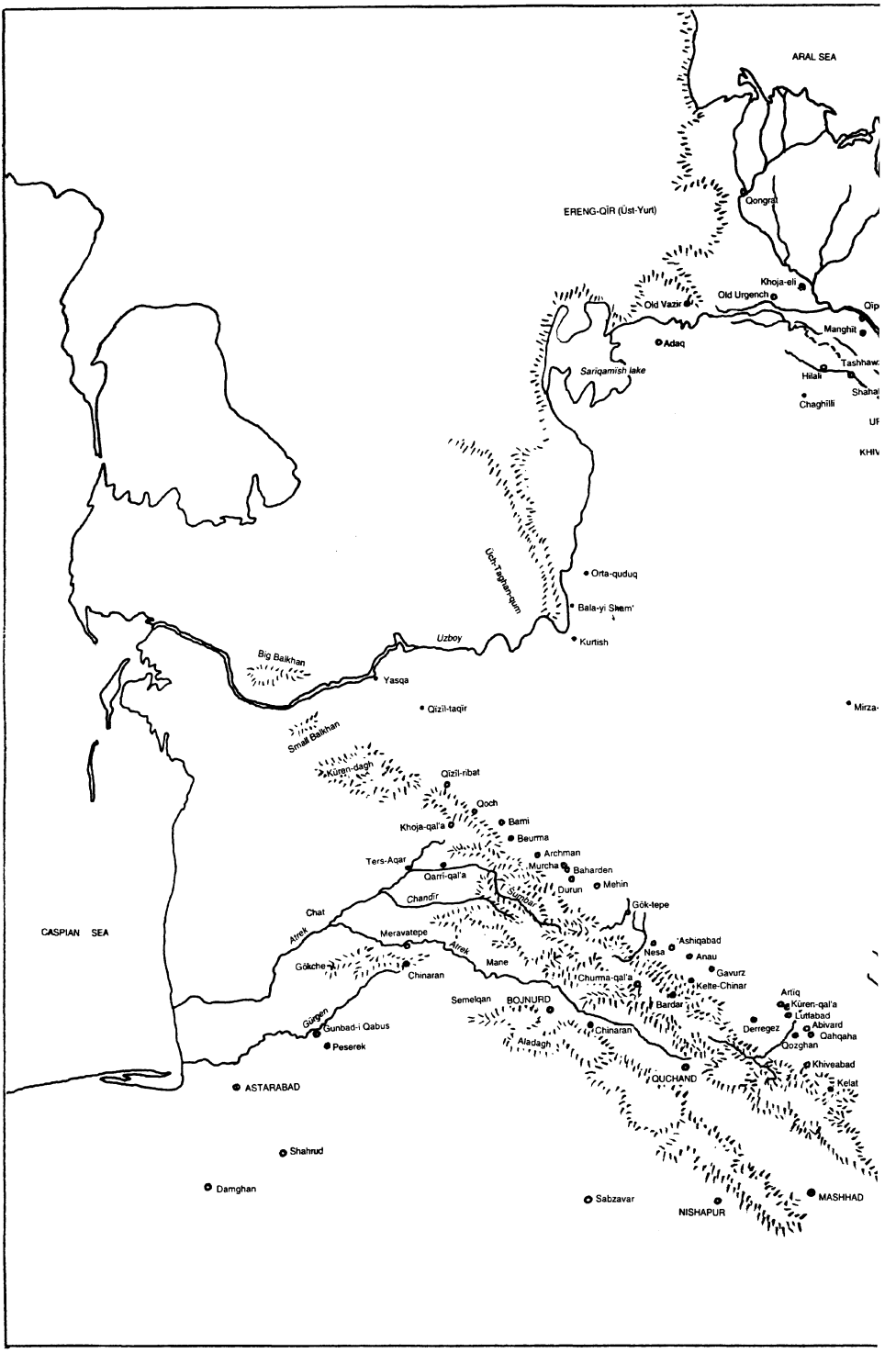

Beki Jan Inaq
Khuday-Quli Inaq
(5 other sons)
Rustam Bek
Dostan Qoshbegi
Er Niyaz Khan
Ishal Nalib
Dosim Chura-aghasi
'Adil Bek
'Abd ar-Rahim Bek
'Abd al-Jabbar Bek
'Abd as-Sattar Bek
Iskandar Biy
Muhammad Panah Bek
Muhammad Karim Bek
Qazi Vays Bek
'Abd as-Sattar Bek
Muhammad Riza Bek
Sayyid Nazar Bek
'Abdu Karim Bek
Shah Niyaz Atalliq
Ibrahim Bek
(8) Sayyid Muhammad Khan
Tengri-Quli Töre
(9) Sayyid Muhammad Rahim Khan II
Sayyid Ahmad Töre
Töre Murad Töre
Allah Yar Töre
Khudayar Töre
Dawlat Yar Töre
Sayyid Hamid Töre
(10) Sayyid Isfandiyar Khan


MANGĪSHLAQ
ARAL SEA
Qazal
ERENG-QĪR (Üst-Yurt)
Qongrat
Old Urgench
Sariqamish lake
KHOREZM
Tashhawz
Shaykh 'Abbas Vali
Urgench
Khiva
Hazarasp
Darghan-Ata
CASPIAN SEA
Uzboy
QARA-QUM
Qīzīl-ribat
Durun
Qarri-qal'a
Nesa
Atrek
Gürgen
Bojnurd
Gunbad-i Qabus
Astarabad
Quchand
Abivard
Tejhen
KHORASAN
Chahchaha
Sarakhs
Sabzavar
Nishapur
Mashhad

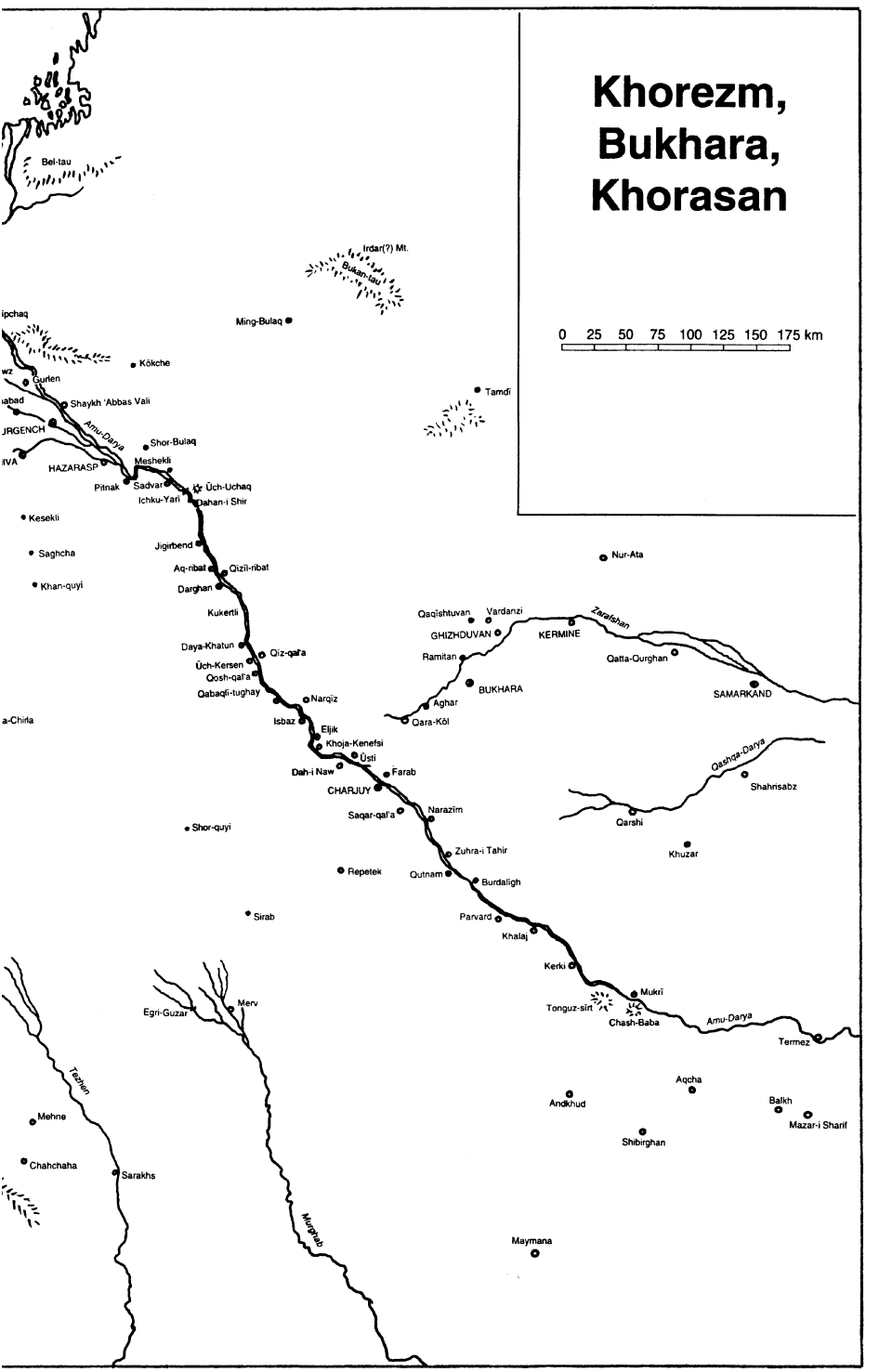
Map


Central Asia
0 60 120 180 240 300 360 km
DASHT-I QÎPCHAQ
Aq-Masjid
Sir-Darya
Chu
Turkestan
Talas
QÎZÎL-QUM
Chimkent
Tashkent
Andijan
Qoqand
Nur-Ata
Khojand
FERGHANA
Ghizhduvan
Zarafshan
Ura-Tübe
Bukhara
Samarkand
Qara-Köl
Shahrisabz
Charjuy
Qarshi
MAVARANNAHR
Amu-Darya
Kerki
Merv
Termez
Andkhud
Mazar-i Sharif
Murghab
Maymana

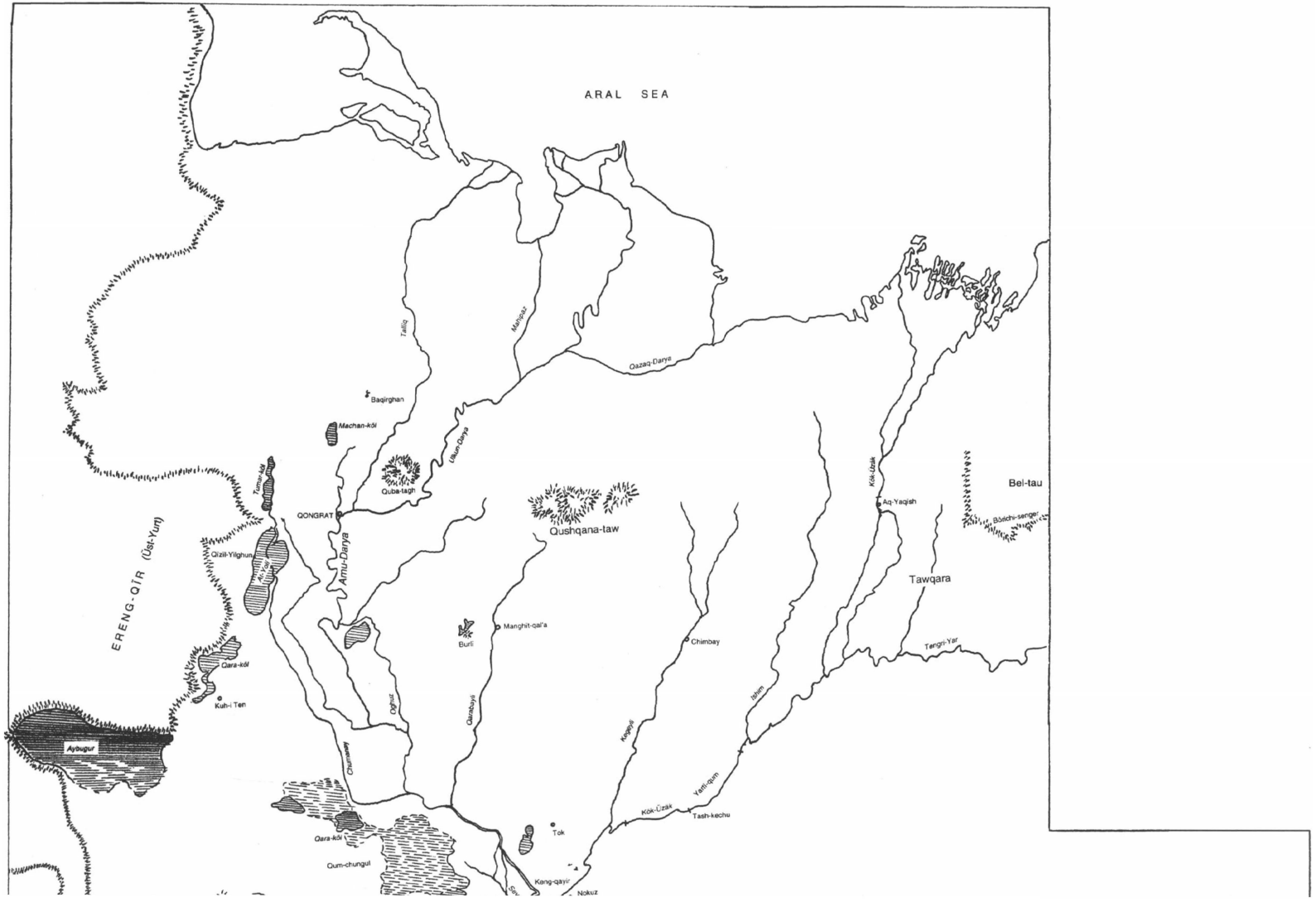
1.

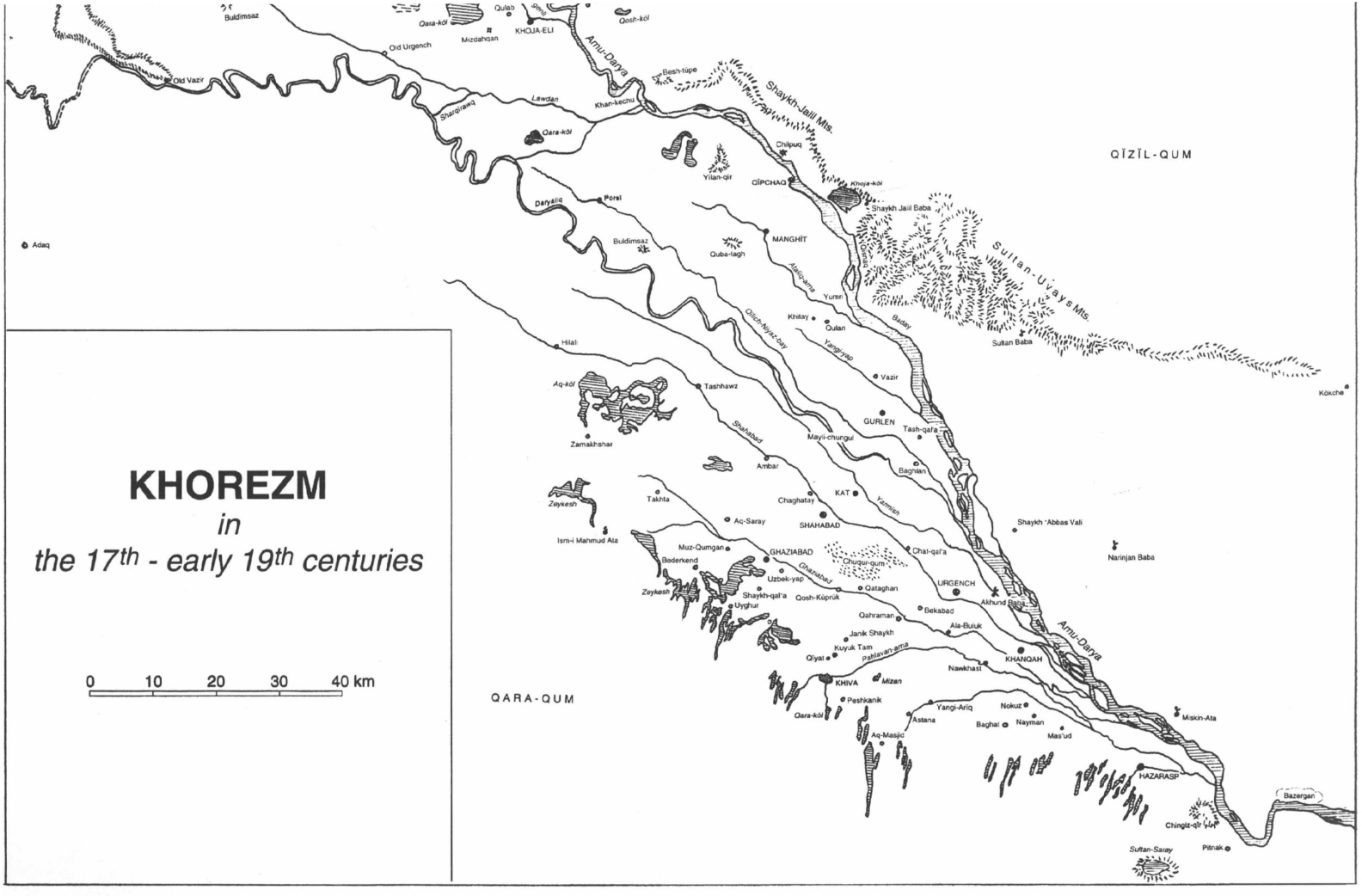

ARAL SEA
ERENG-QĪR (Üst-Yurt)
Qongrat
Khoja-eli
Old Urgench
Old Vazir
Qīp
Manghit
Adaq
Sariqamish lake
Tashhaw
Hilali
Shahal
Chaghilli
UF
KHIV
Üch-Taghan-qum
Orta-quduq
Bala-yi Shem'
Kurtish
Uzboy
Big Balkhan
Yasqa
Qīzīl-taqīr
Mirza-
Small Balkhan
Küren-dagh
Qīzīl-ribat
Qoch
Khoja-qal'a
Bami
Beurma
Archman
Murcha
Baharden
Durun
Mehin
Ters-Aqar
Qarri-qal'a
Chandīr
Sumbar
Gök-tepe
Chat
Atrek
CASPIAN SEA
Meravatepe
Atrek
Nesa
'Ashiqabad
Anau
Gökche
Chinaran
Mane
Gavurz
Churma-qal'a
Kelte-Chinar
Semelqan
BOJNURD
Bardar
Artīq
Küren-qal'a
Lutfabad
Gürgen
Gunbad-i Qabus
Chinaran
Derregez
Abivard
Qahqaha
Peserek
Aladagh
Qozghan
Khiveabad
QUCHAND
Kelat
ASTARABAD
Shahrud
Damghan
Sabzavar
NISHAPUR
MASHHAD

Map


Khorezm, Bukhara, Khorasan
0 25 50 75 100 125 150 175 km
Bel-tau
Irdar(?) Mt.
Bukan-tau
Ming-Bulaq
Kökche
Gurlen
Shaykh 'Abbas Vali
Amu-Darya
Shor-Bulaq
HAZARASP
Meshekli
Pitnak
Sadvar
Üch-Uchaq
Ichku-Yari
Dahan-i Shir
Kesekli
Saghcha
Khan-quyi
Jigirbend
Aq-ribat
Qizil-ribat
Darghan
Kukertli
Daya-Khatun
Qiz-qal'a
Üch-Kersen
Qosh-qal'a
Qabaqli-tughay
Narqiz
Isbaz
Eljik
Khoja-Kenefsi
Üsti
Dah-i Naw
Farab
CHARJUY
Saqar-qal'a
Narazim
Shor-quyi
Zuhra-i Tahir
Repetek
Qutnam
Burdaliqh
Sirab
Parvard
Khalaj
Kerki
Merv
Egri-Guzar
Tonguz-siri
Mukri
Chash-Baba
Amu-Darya
Termez
Tejhen
Mehne
Chahchaha
Sarakhs
Murghab
Andkhud
Aqcha
Balkh
Mazar-i Sharif
Shibirghan
Maymana
Tamdi
Nur-Ata
Qaqishtuvan
Vardanzi
GHIZHDUVAN
KERMINE
Zarafshan
Ramitan
Qatta-Qurghan
BUKHARA
Aghar
Qara-Köl
SAMARKAND
Qashqa-Darya
Shahrisabz
Qarshi
Khuzar

2.


ARAL SEA
Talliq
Mahipaz
Qazaq-Darya
Baqirghan
Machan-kôl
Ulkun-Darya
Tumar-kôl
Quba-tagh
QONGRAT
Amu-Darya
Qizil-Yilghun
Al-Yoli
ERENG-QÎR (Üst-Yurt)
Qara-kôl
Kuh-i Ten
Aybugur
Qushqana-taw
Manghit-qal'a
Burli
Oghuz
Qarabayli
Chimbay
Kogayli
Kok-Üzak
Aq-Yaqish
Bel-tau
Bôrichi-senger
Tawqara
Tengri-Yar
Ishim
Yarti-qum
Tash-kechu
Tok
Qara-kôl
Qum-chungul
Keng-qayir
Nokuz


KHOREZM
in
the 17th - early 19th centuries
0 10 20 30 40 km
QĪZĪL-QUM
QARA-QUM
Amu-Darya
Shaykh-Jalil Mts.
Sultan-Uvays Mts.
Buldimsaz
Old Urgench
Old Vazir
Qara-kōl
Qulab
KHOJA-ELI
Mizdahqan
Qosh-kōl
Besh-tūpe
Khan-kechu
Lawdan
Sharqirawq
Chilpuq
QĪPCHAQ
Yilan-qir
Khoja-kōl
Shaykh Jalil Baba
Daryaliq
Porsi
Buldimsaz
MANGHĪT
Quba-tagh
Ataliq-ama
Yumri
Khitay
Qulan
Qilich-Niyaz-bay
Yangi-yap
Baday
Sultan Baba
Kōkche
Adaq
Hilali
Aq-kōl
Tashhawz
Vazir
GURLEN
Tash-qal'a
Zamakhshar
Shahabad
Mayli-chungul
Ambar
Baghlan
Takhta
Zeykesh
Chaghatay
KAT
Yazmish
Aq-Saray
SHAHABAD
Shaykh 'Abbas Vali
Isrn-i Mahmud Ata
Muz-Qumgan
GHAZIABAD
Chat-qal'a
Narinjan Baba
Bederkend
Chuqur-qum
Uzbek-yap
Ghaziabad
Qataghan
URGENCH
Zeykesh
Shaykh-qal'a
Qosh-Kūprūk
Uyghur
Akhund Baba
Bekabad
Qahraman
Ala-Buluk
Janik Shaykh
Kuyuk Tam
Qiyat
Pahlavan-ama
KHANQAH
Nawkhast
KHIVA
Mizan
Peshkanik
Yangi-Ariq
Nokuz
Astana
Baghat
Nayman
Mas'ud
Miskin-Ata
Aq-Masjid
HAZARASP
Bazergan
Chingiz-qīr
Sultan-Saray
Pitnak

Map 3.