NICCOLÒ PIANCIOLA AND PAOLO SARTORI (EDS.)

ISLAM, SOCIETY AND STATES ACROSS THE QAZAQ STEPPE (18TH – EARLY 20TH CENTURIES)

ÖSTERREICHISCHE AKADEMIE DER WISSENSCHAFTEN
PHILOSOPHISCH-HISTORISCHE KLASSE
SITZUNGSBERICHTE, 844. BAND

VERÖFFENTLICHUNGEN ZUR IRANISTIK
HERAUSGEGEBEN VON BERT G. FRAGNER UND FLORIAN SCHWARZ
NR. 72

NICCOLÒ PIANCIOLA AND PAOLO SARTORI
(EDS.)

ISLAM, SOCIETY AND STATES ACROSS THE QAZAQ STEPPE (18TH – EARLY 20TH CENTURIES)

Verlag der
Österreichischen Akademie
der Wissenschaften

Wien 2013

Vorgelegt von w. M. Bert G. Fragner
in der Sitzung am 14. Juni 2013

Cover: "Volost administrators from the Ural'sk region with
Qazaq students of the Ural'sk secondary military school (1901)",
courtesy of the journal *DANA.kaz*.

Diese Publikation wurde einem anonymen, internationalen
peer-review Verfahren unterzogen

This publication had been anonymously reviewed by international peers

Die verwendete Papiersorte ist aus chlorfrei gebleichtem Zellstoff hergestellt,
frei von säurebildenden Bestandteilen und alterungsbeständig.

Alle Rechte vorbehalten

ISBN 978-3-7001-7336-6

Copyright © 2013 by
Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften
Wien

Druck: Prime Rate kft., Budapest

http://hw.oeaw.ac.at/7336-6
http://verlag.oeaw.ac.at

Printed and bound in the EU

CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The papers which appear in this volume were first presented at a conference on the social and religious history of Central Eurasia held at the Cini Foundation in Venice in October 2009. The event was organized by the Institute of Social and Religious History (Vicenza) thanks to a generous grant from ENI, to which goes our gratitude. We would like to express our warmest thank to Gian Luca Bonora (University of Bologna/L.N. Gumilëv Eurasian National University, Astana), who organized the conference with us, and who has been a valuable companion over years of collaboration on different projects at the Institute. We would also like to thank the Secretary of the Institute of Social and Religious History, Giorgio Cracco, along with Francesca Lomastro, Sara Bordignon, and the whole staff of the Institute in Vicenza, for their indispensable support in organizing the event.

The process of editing the book has been long: we are grateful to the authors for their commitment to the project, and to our colleagues who served as anonymous referees throughout the revision process. For different reasons, it has been impossible to include in this volume all the papers presented at the conference. Nevertheless, we would like to thank Meruert Abuseitova, Juliette Cadiot, Aftandil Erkinov, Ashirbek Muminov, Saypualla Mollaqanaghatuli, Bruce Privratsky, and Tamara Volkova for their presentations and contributions during discussions. Irina Erofeeva was unable in the end to attend the conference, but we would like to thank her and Laura Ertaevna Masanova of the "Kazakhstan Scientific Research Institute on Problems of the Cultural Heritage of the Nomads" for their support and collaboration in Almaty.

Finally, we would like to thank Florian Schwarz, director of the Institute of Iranian Studies at the Austrian Academy of Sciences, for supporting the book project, and Bettina Hofleitner for her enormous contribution towards the process of turning the manuscript into a book.

Niccolò Pianciola
Paolo Sartori

Introduction:
Towards a Connected History of the Qazaq Steppe

NICCOLÒ PIANCIOLA AND PAOLO SARTORI

Hong Kong – Vienna

The present volume brings together a selection of studies that were first read at an international symposium held in Venice in October 2009. In convening this event, we sought to map out some new lines of inquiry into the social history of the Qazaq steppe from the early modern to the early Soviet period. We term "Qazaq steppe" the region of central Eurasia inhabited by Qazaq communities, at the centre of which we find the steppes of present-day Kazakhstan as well as areas now belonging to Xinjiang, Siberia, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan.

In the period following the first half of the 18th century, sources consistently described the Qazaqs as inhabiting a residual space between Central Asian Muslim principalities and the tsarist and Chinese empires. The cultural construction of the Qazaq steppe was evidently a product of predominantly settled societies of Islamic Central Asia, and it has been usually defined more by what it was not than by what it was. Moreover, it was mainly in sedentary areas that practices deemed representative of the steppe culture were acted out, narrated and recorded. As a result, urban milieus and complex social groupings also necessarily partake of the cultural area in question.[1]

The symposium was based on the premise that opening new lines of inquiry would necessarily call for a close reading and an assessment of a wide range of sources. Proceeding from this, we included in our purview not only texts crafted in vernacular languages and "speaking Muslim"—that is, the sources representing what with little latitude we might refer to as Islamic cultural traditions—such as hagiographic literature, the memoirs of Qazaq

[1] Allen J. Frank and Mirkasym A. Usmanov, "Introduction", in: Qurbān-ʿAlī Khālidī, *An Islamic Biographical Dictionary of the Eastern Kazakh Steppe (1770–1912)*, eds. A.J. Frank and M.A. Usmanov (Leiden, 2005), xv.

literati, and the press; instead, we also deemed it useful to explore the cultures of documentation of the bureaucracies of the non-Muslim majority states ruling over the Qazaq steppe and thus examined the records produced by the officials of the tsarist and the Qing empires, the Chinese Republic, and the Soviet Union.

The stratification and the blending of writing cultures and practices of documentation are salient features of the border regions of empires; and Central Asia is no exception in this respect. The imperial subjects of Western and Eastern Turkestan clearly moved across cultural jurisdictions and exploited the various available documentary regimes[2] to achieve their own purposes. They clearly did so in compliance with the formalistic prescriptions of Islamic epistolography and bureaucratic practice, now by acquiring a bill securing entitlements expressed in the formulaic repertoire of Islamic notary tradition, now by appealing to the provincial commandant in imperial bureaucratese, thus pandering to Russian tastes. Nor did the politics of documentation always reflect one writing culture alone. Rather, practices of documentation could inhabit parallel worlds; the Islamic hagiographies and juristic texts that were produced for Muslim consumption alone in Russian and early-Soviet Central Asia are cases in point. However, one might well presume that the bureaucratic practices of the polities that ruled in Central Asia between the 19th and the 20th centuries must have exerted some kind of influence also on the compositional genres that one would perceive as typical of a Muslim region such as the Qazaq steppe.[3]

Talking of writing cultures in a pastoral region such as Central Asia might sound counterintuitive, but wrongly so; it is a fact that the pastoral societies of central Eurasia have been widely described by outsiders including imperial officials, diplomatic emissaries, madrasa students, and traders. This is a structural feature of the foundational basis for the study of the region, one which necessarily poses a number of problems for the historians

---

[2] We are drawing here on Derek K. Peterson and Giacomo Macola, "Homespun Historiography and the Academic Profession", in: *Recasting the Past: History Writing and Political Work in Modern Africa*, eds. D.K. Peterson and G. Macola (Athens, OH, 2009), 8.

[3] It appears that Orientalists like Nikolai Katanov and Wilhelm Radloff acted as informants of Qurbān ʿAlī Khālidī while he was writing the *Tavārīkh-i khamsa-yi sharqī*; see Nathan Light, "Muslim Histories of China: Historiography across Boundaries in Central Eurasia," in: *Frontiers and Boundaries: Encounters on China's Margins*, eds. Zsombor Rajkai and Ildikó Bellér-Hann (Wiesbaden, 2012), 160, fn. 43.

who choose religious practice and discourses as the main objects of their inquiry.

Though the paucity of (or the overtly bureaucratized and hence difficult access to) sources *in situ* might represent an issue for the historian to consider, grappling with the history of the religious landscape of Muslim pastoral communities such as the Qazaqs requires more than just expanding the available informational basis; it also calls for the application of a dedicated framework within which to interpret the data that were produced outside of the Qazaq steppe. We thus have selected out and edited for publication a handful of essays that best reflect the delicate work of coordinating and cross-checking etic and emic categories in writing about the history of Islamic institutions and Muslim culture in the history of the region. For all this, however, the picture which emerges from the book is still one of blank spots and dark corners rather than a coherent and conclusive narrative: the reader will find that in-depth studies on specific Islamic devotional practices as well as detailed inquiries into tsarist confessional policies applied in the Central Asian steppe are coupled with an impression that the student of the social and religious history of the pastoral regions of Islamic Central Asia still gropes in the dark over missing records.

In seeking a remedy for this state of affairs, we looked across the steppe and commissioned a few contributions reflecting Islamic cultural practices as well as forms of governance over Muslim communities in the neighboring areas of Siberia, Xinjiang, and Uzbekistan. In asking for such chapters, we purposefully instigated the production of three case-studies of comparative potential, which might be of exemplary character for future inquiries into the social as well as the cultural history of the core Qazaq territory. We are aware that in taking such a course of action and experimenting with the cultural connectivity[4] of Central Asia we are at risk of producing a *bricolage* of studies with little thematic unity. Nevertheless, we hope that in piecing these essays together we are able to show that the Qazaq steppe should be viewed not as a self-contained and clearly bounded cultural area but as an enmeshed part of a larger regional framework, best explored through the prism of transnational forms of governance, trade networks, and cultural encounters. Given these premises, it is arguable that the final outcome of a new season of

[4] Horden, Peregrine, and Nicholas Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History* (Oxford, 2000).

studies will not be an "Islamic history of the Qazaqs," but instead a firmer positioning of the Muslims inhabiting the steppe inside the networks and debates of the larger Muslim world. In what remains of the present introduction we purposefully limit ourselves to discuss the practices, the discourses, and the forms of authority which were deemed "Islamic" by the inhabitants of the Qazaq steppe.

1. Sources and Questions

It would be perhaps fair to note that writing the history of the Qazaq steppe has become relatively easier in the wake of the Cold War, now that many – though far from all – archives in Central Asia and Russia have finally become accessible to researchers; the political and institutional settings in which research is conducted in the region have also changed substantially. Along with such ruptures, however, continuities with the Soviet past are also in place, for national narratives remain largely dominant in Central Asian historiographies. But by focusing our attention on transnational religious traditions and practices we may begin to offer a counterweight to these etatist narratives, and to view the region instead within a web of wider connectivities.

Much of the scholarship produced in the past twenty years has focused on the period spanning from the Russian conquest of Central Asia to the Stalinist "revolution from above" (mid-19th-century to the famine in 1931–1933). The present collection of essays reflects this approach, though the chapters authored by Devin DeWeese and Alfrid Bustanov project their inquiries back into earlier epochs. This periodization, which privileges the tsarist and the early Soviet periods, clearly reflects the potentials as well as the limitations of the post-Soviet archives in Kazakhstan, Central Asia and Russia: these archives represent an institutional legacy of the Soviet Union and, to a minor extent, of the tsarist empire. The texts available in repositories of Kazakhstan may well speak on behalf of the Qazaqs, but their production was in fact largely a function of the tsarist and Soviet systems of governance. As such, they reflect the taxonomies and systems of classification of the tsarist and Soviet administrations, thereby misrepresenting what the historian today would like to know.

At the risk of being overly schematic, one could say that the main endeavor of the historiography of Qazaq social history after the demise of the USSR has been to debunk the tsarist and Soviet administrative and academic

discourses on the Qazaqs, which were still dominant right into the 1990s. Such discourses concerned religious practices as well as indigenous forms of communal organization. Recent studies challenge the traditional and often repeated interpretation attributing an ideal-typical "stateless" character to Qazaq society, characterized by a similarly ideal-typical lignatic segmentary system of "tribes" and "clans" over which Qazaq *khān*s supposedly lacked any real power.[5] No matter how stimulating these new approaches might be, it is necessary to keep in mind that they are still based on a very narrow source-base, and that very little is known about the social history of the Qazaqs prior to the tsarist conquest of Central Asia.[6]

Misleading assumptions and misconceptions about the social and religious history of the Qazaq steppe proliferated under tsarist rule. This state of affairs should by no means be viewed as a product of colonial cultural production alone, unless we are willing to overlook the very influential ways in which Qazaq military officials, scribes and intellectuals contributed to the making of imperial knowledge on the steppe. Figures such as the famous military official and ethnographer Chokan Valikhanov, for instance, were instrumental in producing a cultural history of the Qazaq steppe that matched much of the topoi of the Russian administrative jargon, these including the religious illiteracy of the Qazaqs, the moral decay of the indigenous judiciary, and the cultural backwardness of the pastoral groups living in the steppe, to cite just a few.[7]

The papers in this volume lead us to question such assumptions about the "defective" nature of Islam in the steppe by alerting us to the embeddedness of Qazaqs' ritual and devotional practices within a landscape which now appear by far richer and less superficial than once it was assumed to be; it should be noted, however, that the "archival revolution"[8] which started in

---

[5] David Sneath, *The Headless State: Aristocratic Orders, Kinship Society, and Misrepresentations of Nomadic Inner Asia* (New York, 2007); Virginia Martin, "Kazakh Chinggisids, Land and Political Power in the Nineteenth Century: a Case Study of Syrymbet", *Central Asian Survey* 29/1 (2010): 79–102.

[6] Jürgen Paul, "Recent Monographs on the Social History of Central Asia", in: *The Land Question in Colonial Central Asia*, ed. Paolo Sartori (= *Central Asian Survey* 29/1 [2010]): 119–30.

[7] Allen J. Frank, "The Qazaqs and Russia", in: *The Cambridge History of Inner Asia: The Chinggisid Age*, eds. N. di Cosmo, A.J. Frank, P. Golden (Cambridge, 2009), 378

[8] Cf. on the impact of the "archival revolution" on the study of tsarist and Soviet history, see the special issues of *Cahiers du Monde Russe* 40/1–2 (1999); *Kritika: Explorations in*

the 1990s has not yet yielded a significant impact on the study of Islam in the steppes of Central Eurasia. This is most probably due to the tendency among scholars of Islamic studies to confer more instrumental utility on texts in vernacular languages than on sources produced in Russian. The former—it must be observed—figure less prominently in the archives—especially the archives created by empires largely dominated by non-Muslim or, still worse, anti-religious Communist regimes as the Soviet Union, the administrators of which could seldom read those languages, or, even if they could have, would hardly have used them.[9]

Secondly, since a state-centered approach is still paramount among students of tsarist and Soviet history, the marginality of the steppe and the other nomadic regions within the Russian empire and its twentieth-century successor may have contributed to a diminished attention to the Islamic history of the steppe. Qazaqs appear to have occupied a marginal place in the mental map of tsarist bureaucrats: a haze of preconceived opinions about the insubstantial religiosity of the nomads led the Russians to accord their Qazaq subjects a lowly position in the hierarchy of concerns originating from the "Muslim question" in the last decades of the empire.[10] Moreover, from the second half of the 19th century the administration of Islamic institutions in the Muslim-majority Governorship-Generals of the Steppe, of Russian Turkestan and the North Caucaus differed starkly from what obtained in the Muslim-minority Crimea, Volga-Ural and South Caucasus regions, where institutions were overseen by the state via the medium of a Muslim Spiritual Assembly. Further research will show whether the absence in the steppe of any such representative body—together with the closing of mosques and

Russian and Eurasian History 2/2 (2001); *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 51/1 (2003).

[9] It should be equally considered, however, that a large portion of Central Asian colonial subjects communicated with the Russian military bureaucracy in vernacular languages; the same phenomenon is characteristic of the bureaucratic practices of early-Soviet Central Asia. In post-Soviet Central Asian archives it is therefore possible to find a significant amount of texts in Arabic script.

[10] On this specific issue, cf. Elena Campbell, "The Muslim Question in Late Imperial Russia", in: *Russian Empire. Space, People, Power, 1700–1930*, eds. Jane Burbank, Mark Von Hagen, and Anatolyi Remnev (Bloomington, IN/Indianapolis, 2007), 320–47.

religious schools—made it harder for bureaucrats to keep local religious affairs within the purview of state administration.[11]

Lastly, and perhaps most importantly, Islamic education remains a largely indeterminate entity in the religious history of the steppe. We presently know very little, for instance, about what constituted an Islamic *cursus studiorum* among the Qazaqs. Something can be gleaned from the urban history at the fringes of the steppe, since the culture of the *madrasa* radiated from Islamic educational hubs such as Orenburg, Semipalatinsk and Tashkent, which attracted a number of students from the steppe regions.[12] The teaching imparted by itinerant *mullā*s among pastoral groups equally represents an entirely new subject deserving further inquiries.[13] Above all, one would like to know whether among the Qazaqs the *monumenta* of Ḥanafite school of law were glossed differently from the commentaries produced within urban cultural milieus, or were read precisely in the same fashion as one would find in the madrasas in the settled areas of the region, thereby contributing to the production of a single Ḥanafite discourse across the steppe. The same approach evidently holds true for Sufi literature. If so far scholars have noted that Qazaq *moldaka*s (*mullā*s) taught their students on the basis of texts which were current also in Bukharan madrasas,[14] it would now be useful to find out why and how *moldaka*s referred precisely to a set of texts, and what was the knowledge they sought to impart to their students.[15]

---

[11] Crews, Robert, *For Prophet and Tsar. Islam and Empire in Russia and Central Asia* (Cambridge, MA, 2006), 197; Gulmira Sultangalieva, "The Russian Empire and the Intermediary Role of Tatars in Kazakhstan; the Politics of Cooperation and Rejection", in: *Asiatic Russia. Imperial Power in Regional and International Contexts*, ed. Uyama Tomohiko (London and New York, 2012), 67.

[12] Allen J. Frank, *Muslim Religious Institutions in Imperial Russia. The Islamic World of Novouzensk District and the Kazakh Inner Horde, 1780–1910* (Leiden, 2001), 236–46; *Materials for the Islamic history of Semipalatinsk: two manuscripts by Aḥmad-Walī al-Qazānī and Qurbān ʿali Khālidī*, eds. Allen J. Frank and Mirkasyim A. Usmanov (Berlin, 2001).

[13] Allen J. Frank, "A Month among the Qazaqs in the Emirate of Bukhara: Observations on Islamic Knowledge in a Nomadic Environment", in: *Explorations in the Social History of Modern Central Asia (19th – Early 20th Century)*, ed. Paolo Sartori (Leiden and Boston, 2013), 247–266.

[14] *Ibid.*

[15] We are here clearly over-privileging the written, textual, and formal milieu of Islamic education. It should be equally noted, however, that oral and even folkloric material were no less part of education and no less expression of religious culture. See, for example,

2. A Reading of the Essays

A number of contributions to the present volume try to give a general assessment of sources which were not produced by state administrations. Devin DeWeese shows that, though descent groups claiming genealogical connections with the family of Aḥmad Yasavī and devotional traditions relating to his shrine are well known from the 18th century onward, the presence of the Yasavī Sufi order in the Dasht-i Qïpchaq is rather tersely attested. Proceeding from this, DeWeese suggests that Qazaqs appropriated a relation to the Yasavīya "outside the framework of the 'Sufi order' as traditionally understood," a relation which, far from being based on continuity of devotional practices and initiatory transmission, mostly relies on kinship and shrine traditions. In this contribution DeWeese pushes back to at least the second half of the 17th century a phenomenon that he already identified for later periods. Elsewhere he had suggested that "for the late 18th and especially 19th century, it is no longer useful to assume the presence of fixed "brotherhoods" similar to the Sufi orders of the 16th century, or to understand the references to Qādirī or Yasavī lineages as reflecting actual corporate structures (as had been the case in earlier times); modes of organization and self-identities among Sufi communities had changed substantially by the 19th century".[16]

Alfrid Bustanov employs narratives of Islamization to trace the evolution of the cult of Muslim saints in Siberia. By so doing, he suggests that *shaykh*s affiliated to the Yasavī Sufi order, who emigrated from Khorezm and the Syr Darya, played a prominent role in establishing a culture of devotion to Sufi shrines. Bustanov's essay thus offers a valuable insight on the trans-regional dimension of the Yasavī disciplinary legacy that clearly extends well beyond the southern steppe. It therefore geographically extends DeWeese's conclusions regarding the changing character of what we often term "Sufi traditions" from a communal organization to a set of shrine-based devotional

---

Devin DeWeese, "Ahmad Yasavi and the Dog-Men: Narrative of Hero and Saint at the Frontier of Orality and Textuality", in: *Theoretical Approaches to the Transmission and Edition of Oriental Manuscripts. Proceedings from a Symposium held in Istanbul march 28–30, 2011*, eds. Judith Pfeiffer and Manfred Kopp (Würzburg, 2007), 147–73.

[16] Devin DeWeese, "'Dis-ordering' Sufism in Early Modern Central Asia: Suggestions for Rethinking the Sources and Social Structures of Sufi History in the 18th and 19th Centuries", in: *History and Culture of Central Asia*, eds. Bakhtiyar Babadjanov and Yayoi Kawahara (Tokyo, 2012), 259–79.

practices. It also suggests that the shift from an organizational and conceptual structure to a relationship based on natural descent was in place well outside of pastoral communities.

Allen Frank's contribution offers an insight into the oeuvre of Mäshhür Zhüsip Köpeyulï, a Qazaq intellectual who lived through the tsarist and early Soviet period. Reflecting as they do his historical, folkloric and poetical interests, Mäshhür Zhüsip's works are particularly valuable for the study of Islamic institutions in the steppe, as "his portraits of patrons, scholars […] reveal a system of practices and institutional structures for all intents and purposes similar to those documented in the Volga-Ural region and sedentary Central Asia."

Uyama Tomohiko's essay investigates literature, mainly poetry composed by Qazaq intellectuals of the second half of the 19th century. By inquiring into the "politics of admonition"[17] among the Qazaqs, Uyama yokes together the different voices of local literati, and their calls for political participation, with the discussion on the application of Islamic law in the steppe. The preoccupations of the Qazaq *ʿulamāʾ* seem distant from the emic ethnography of Mäshhür Zhüsip. While the former seem to lament the identity crisis of Qazaq Muslimness trapped between secularism and Islamic revival, the latter appear mostly concerned with the activity of recording. Both signal a preoccupation for cultural and social change unfolding in the steppe.

Paul Werth, Anna Afanasyeva, and Yuriy Malikov take a Russian viewpoint on Qazaq society. Paul Werth considers the relationship between the empire's secular and confessional institutions by comparing the case of the subtraction of the Qazaqs (with the important exception of the Bukey *zhüz*) from the jurisdiction of the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly in 1868 with that of cis-Baikal Buriats from the authority of the Bandido-Khambo-Lama twenty years later. As Werth explains, the cases of the Qazaqs and Buriats were the only ones in the entire tsarist empire where the state abandoned its policy of government control over specific religious communities.[18] This happened in the crucial initial decade of Alexander II's reforms,

[17] Adeeb Khalid, *The Politics of Cultural Reform. Jadidism in Central Asia* (Berkely, CA, 1998), 114–54.

[18] This situation was reversed in the early Soviet period. In 1923 the jurisdiction of the Central Muslim Spiritual Directorate in Ufa was extended over the Qazaq steppe: see Uyama Tomohiko, "The Alash Orda's Relations with Siberia, the Urals, and Turkestan:

the 1860s. According to Werth, this decision was not simply a consequence of local conditions. Instead, it was a symptom of specific ideas shared by some tsarist statesmen and bureaucrats whose aim was to reform the empire's whole multi-confessional institutional setting. As Alberto Masoero reminds us, bureaucratic projects have a significance that goes beyond their actual implementation. Their sedimentation in administrative knowledge, and in the realm of possibility in bureaucratic minds, can bear fruit at later stages, and/or can influence administrative practices in more indirect but nonetheless significant ways.[19]

Werth's conclusions resonate with Yuriy Malikov's treatment of cases of conversion to Christian Orthodoxy among the Qazaqs. Malikov shows that, despite the official rhetoric, conversion among the Qazaqs was very limited, because of the social consequences this would entail for the converts. This is even more interesting if one bears in mind the context of the "borderland culture" that formed during the 18th and 19th centuries in the northern steppe, as detailed elsewhere by the same author.[20] The frontier society inhabited by Qazaqs and Cossacks was a space of constant cultural borrowings and everyday interactions, which worked, in Malikov's definition, as a "society of interests," where the borders of religious communities crossed estates (*soslovie*) and ethnic categories. Trenspassing those borders between religious communities, however, remained nonetheless a highly socially significant course of action for the converts. Indeed, until 1861, Qazaq converts were removed from the *soslovie* of the "people of different stock" (*inorodtsy*) and were obliged to leave their homeland and live outside the steppe.[21]

Anna Afanasyeva's study scrutinizes writings of Russian doctors working in the steppe over a longer period of time, from the late 18th to the early 20th centuries. Largely neglected by previous scholarship, Russian doctors' accounts of everyday life of the steppe population are a significant source

---

the Kazakh national movement and the Russian Imperial Legacy", in: *Asiatic Russia*, 283, 287.

19 Alberto Masoero, "Layers of Property in the Tsar's Settlement Colony: Projects of Land Privatization in Siberia in the Late Nineteenth Century", in: *The Land Question in Colonial Central Asia*, ed. Paolo Sartori (= *Central Asian Survey* 29/1 [2010]): 9–32.

20 Yuriy Malikov, *Tsars, Cossacks and Nomads. The Formation of a Borderland Culture in Northern Kazakhstan in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* (Berlin, 2011).

21 Agila M. Nurgalieva, *Ocherki po istorii Islama v Kazakhstane* (Almaty, 2005), 39.

about Qazaq healing practices and their connection with their religious beliefs. In part ethnographic descriptions, in part memoirs, by the early twentieth century doctors' reports also attest to how doctors aspired to play a more active political role in society as carriers of a specific scientific knowledge, in the framework of the political mobilization brought about by the 1905 revolution.

Two contributions to our volume—David Brophy's on Xinjiang and that of Bakhtiyar Babajanov and Sharifjon Islamov on Uzbekistan—make the most use of published documentation produced or inspired by non-Muslim political authorities with the aim of influencing the perception, in Central Asian societies and/or by "metropolitan" audiences, of state-led policies of cultural reform. David Brophy details the attitude toward Islamic institutions in Xinjiang by early Republican governor Yang Zengxin through a close reading of materials dealing with Islamic practices from a published collection of Yang's decrees, letters and instructions. As Brophy explains, these materials were selected and published during Yang's rule in Xinjiang; therefore they are the official image about "religious policies" in the province that Yang wanted to project. Brophy's chapter opens important comparative perspectives, and shows how surprisingly firm the grasp of Chinese administrators could be on Islamic devotional practices among the various Muslim communities (Qazaqs included) which inhabited Xinjiang. As Brophy observes, "Yang's writings show an overriding interest in maintaining boundaries: between natives and foreigners, among the province's various *menhuan* and mosque communities, and between religious practice and other forms of social life. In his vision of a stable Xinjiang, Islam was to be confined spatially to the mosque, and doctrinally to the *Qurʾān*." Though one could note (as Brophy does) that self-proclaimed colonial governments ruling over Muslim-majority regions applied containment- and supervision- policies of Islamic institutions (such as *sharīʿa* courts and charitable endowments) which were comparatively more insidious, Yang's acrimonious attitude towards Sufi lodges is redolent of the kind of obtrusive Sufiphobia that the tsarist and early-Soviet governments nourished in the Qazaq steppe and in Turkestan.[22]

[22] Crews, *For Prophet and Tsar*, 224–25; A.S. Morrison, "Sufism, Pan-Islamism and Information Panic: Nil Sergeevich Lykoshin and the Aftermath of the Andijan Uprising," *Past and Present* 214 (2012): 255–304.

Bakhtiyar Babajanov and Sharifjan Islamov account for the success of the Bolshevik administration in Turkestan in mobilizing a group of *ʿulamāʾ* to support the land reform policies implemented during the 1920s. In *fatvā*s on land reforms published in the press under state control, some *ʿulamāʾ* conferred Islamic legitimacy upon land reforms and, surreptitiously, on the ideology of egalitarianism informing communist policies in early-Soviet Central Asia. Unfortunately little is known about the biographies of the Muslim jurists who sided with the Bolsheviks and made this choice, why they did it, and how these positions were received within Uzbek society. The essay of Babajanov and Islamov suggests a number of observations regarding the instrumental value which the Soviet government conferred upon *fatvā*s as a medium to reach the Muslim population. In assessing the clerics' agency behind the production of these legal opinions, the authors reach some necessarily circumspect conclusions. If we were to take their arguments further, we might find that contemporary documents from party and OGPU files provide evidence of a coordinated campaign organized by the political police. An OGPU report about "clergy" activity in 1927 Central Asia, recently published by Dmitrii Arapov, indeed confirms that the political police instigated the production of some *fatvā*s supporting the land reform of the second half of the 1920s. The OGPU plenipotentiary in Central Asia lamented that, during the land reform, "in spite of the preemptive measures we took in order to neutralize the clergy, such as the publication of *fatvā*s and *rivāyāt*s on behalf of the Spiritual Directorate", influential *ʿulamāʾ* – especially in Ferghana and Tashkent – spoke out openly against land redistribution as an unlawful act under Islamic law.[23] The application of the same policy is not attested in the Qazaq steppe in the early Soviet period; however, it would be misleading to assume that Qazaqs' approach to Islam was less normative and hence jurists' response had a weaker impact on their ethics (see Pianciola's essay in the present volume for a case in point). Even in times of war and famine a *fatvā* clearly represented among the Qazaqs a resource with which to establish some kind of legitimization for specific political decisions.

[23] *Musul'manskoe dukhovenstvo v Srednii Azii v 1927 g. (po dokladu polnomochnogo predstavitelia v Srednei Azii)*, 4 June 1927, Russian State Archive for Social and Political History (RGASPI), f. 62, op. 2, d. 1145, l. 35–68; now in Dmitrii Arapov, sost., *Islam i sovetskoe gosudarstvo (1917–1936). Sbornik dokumentov* (Moscow, 2010), 96–133 (quote from p. 100).

The instrumental use of Muslim jurists by the early Soviet state in order to support the land reforms leads us to consider the issue of Central Asian voices in the archives and in the official press. It has become a truism to argue that the colonial (or Soviet) archive cannot convey the voice of the subjects, especially in the countryside, as they appear only when they talk to the state. If we were to follow this approach, we should thus infer that the voices of Muslims living under tsarist and Soviet rule were all irremediably distorted by the repressive bureaucratic practices of state apparatuses. A helpful way to escape this hermeneutic bind would be to distinguish the voices of those Muslims who talked at the instigation of the state from those who wanted the state to hear them. An example of the former could be the transcripts of the police interrogations in the early 1930 (clearly different from those produced during the Great Terror) such as those studied by Pianciola. Even from this documentation, as Pianciola details in his contribution, it is possible to read sources with the grain and make sense of the categories employed by representatives of the Soviet state as well as by the victims of its repressive machinery. OGPU documentation shows the discursive significance of group categories related to the Qazaq segmentary lineage system. At the same time, the case study suggests that their use and social relevance had been limited by the legacy of the tsarist administrative practice in the steppe.

Examples of the latter kind of sources could be petitions to tsarist authorities to secure certain fiscal privileges, the control of the revenues generated by an endowment or more simply to confirm property rights on a plot of land. These petitions crafted in vernacular languages speak Muslim as much as a genealogical chart or an endowment deed could do.

When Muslims interacted with the state they did not speak only the local administrative languages, i.e. Persian and Chaghatay. They also resorted to Russian, as shown in documents produced in a context of legal pluralism, such as tsarist and early Soviet Central Asia. When they jostled the available jurisdictions—be they *sharīʿa* courts, Russian justices of peace or military-civil chancelleries—Muslims spoke (or ventriloquized) loudly, often adopting a muscular behavior before colonial bureaucrats. They did not seem particularly shy, let alone silent, when they exercised leverage on the institu-

tions of the colony,[24] or on the obsessions of their colonial masters,[25] to pursue their own aims; nor did they show any hesitation while widening the domain of Islamic law and seeking a favorable adjudication according to the imperial law. The agency, the emotions and ultimately the voices of the Muslim population remain in the documents in which the people addressed the state. There is no reason to believe in a significant divide, in this respect, between the sedentary and nomadic areas of Central Asia as shown by recent inquiries into this subject. [26]

If we acknowledge the agency of the local Muslim population also in the documentation produced by or at least for the state, the next interpretative problem is to assess the extent to which indigenous communities appropriated categories imposed by the imperial administration(-s).[27] This is especially true for the possibility of finding a true nomadic Qazaq legal culture beyond the sphere of influence of the Russian state,[28] or to make sense of a segmentary lineage system independently from the reformist policies of the states under which the Qazaqs (and the other largely pastoral peoples of Central Asia) happened to live.[29] In this respect, the transnational study of Qazaq society should acquire more importance. The study of the history of the polities centered in Bukhara, Khiva and Kokand during the 18th and 19th centuries has also yet to yield a clearer idea about the interaction of their administrators with local pastoral communities. The disproportion between the tsarist documentation and those produced by the bordering (or conquered) states

[24] Paolo Sartori, "Authorized Lies: Colonial Agency and Legal Hybrids in Tashkent, c. 1881–1893," in: *Legal Pluralism in Muslim-Majority Colonies*, eds. Paolo Sartori and Ido Shahar (= *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 55/4–5 [2012]): 688–717.

[25] Morrison, "Sufism, Pan-Islamic and Information Panic: Nil Sergeevich Lykoshin and the Aftermath of the Andijan Uprising."

[26] Johann Bussow, David Durand-Guédy, Jürgen Paul, "Preface," in: *Id*., *Nomads in the Political Field* (= Nomadic Peoples, 51/1 [2011]): 5–6.

[27] Paolo Sartori, "Introduction: Dealing with States of Property in Modern and Colonial Central Asia," in: *The Land Question in Colonial Central Asia* (= *Central Asian Survey* 29/1 [2010]): 5–7.

[28] Paolo Sartori, "Notes on an Instance of Application of Qazaq Customary Law in Khiva (1895)," in: *Joining the Dots: Essays on Central Asian Documents and their Readings*, eds. Paolo Sartori and Thomas Welsford (= *Der Islam* 87/2 [2012]): 217–57.

[29] Jacquesson, Svetlana, "Reforming Pastoral Land Use in Kyrgyzstan: from Clan and Custom to Self-Government and Tradition", in: *The Land Question in Colonial Central Asia*, ed. Paolo Sartori (= *Central Asian Survey* 29/1 [2010]): 103–18.

will be, of course, a hindrance. Nonetheless, the comparative study of adjoining areas across the tsarist/Qing border could help us to disentangle the respective impacts of the two imperial administrations on Qazaqs' social practices, discursive categories, and institutions.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Arapov, Dmitrii, sost., *Islam i sovetskoe gosudarstvo (1917–1936). Sbornik dokumentov* (Moscow, 2010)

Büssow, Johann and Durand-Guédy, David and Paul, Jürgen, "Preface," in: Id., *Nomads in the Political Field* (= *Nomadic Peoples* 51/1 [2011]): 1–10

Campbell, Elena, "The Muslim Question in Late Imperial Russia," in: *Russian Empire. Space, People, Power, 1700–1930*, eds. Jane Burbank, Mark Von Hagen, and Anatolyi Remnev (Bloomington, IN/Indianapolis, 2007), 320–47

Crews, Robert, *For Prophet and Tsar. Islam and Empire in Russia and Central Asia* (Cambridge, MA, 2006)

DeWeese, Devin, "Ahmad Yasavi and the Dog-Men: Narrative of Hero and Saint at the Frontier of Orality and Textuality," in: *Theoretical Approaches to the Transmission and Edition of Oriental Manuscripts. Proceedings from a Symposium held in Istanbul march 28–30, 2011*, eds. Judith Pfeiffer and Manfred Kopp (Würzburg, 2007), 147–73

———, "'Dis-ordering' Sufism in Early Modern Central Asia: Suggestions for Rethinking the Sources and Social Structures of Sufi History in the 18th and 19th Centuries," in: *History and Culture of Central Asia*, eds. Bakhtiyar Babadjanov and Yayoi Kawahara (Tokyo, 2012), 259–79

Frank, Allen J., *Muslim Religious Institutions in Imperial Russia. The Islamic World of Novouzensk District and the Kazakh Inner Horde, 1780–1910* (Leiden, 2001)

———, "The Qazaqs and Russia," in: *The Cambridge History of Inner Asia: The Chinggisid Age*, eds. N. di Cosmo, A.J. Frank, P. Golden (Cambridge, 2009), 363–79

———, "A Month among the Qazaqs in the Emirate of Bukhara: Observations on Islamic Knowledge in a Nomadic Environment", in: *Explorations in the Social History of Modern Central Asia (19th – Early 20th Century)*, ed. Paolo Sartori (Leiden and Boston, 2013), 247–266.

——— and Usmanov, Mirkasym A. (eds.), *Materials for the Islamic history of Semipalatinsk: Two Manuscripts by Aḥmad-Walī al-Qazānī and Qurbān ʿAlī Khālidī* (Berlin, 2001)

——— and Usmanov, Mirkasym A., "Introduction", in: Qurbān-ʿAlī Khālidī, *An Islamic Biographical Dictionary of the Eastern Kazakh Steppe (1770–1912)*, eds. A.J. Frank and M.A. Usmanov (Leiden, 2005), xi-xxvi

Horden, Peregrine, and Purcell, Nicholas, *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History* (Oxford, 2000)

Jacquesson, Svetlana, "Reforming Pastoral Land Use in Kyrgyzstan: from Clan and Custom to Self-Government and Tradition", in: *The Land Question in Colonial Central Asia*, ed. Paolo Sartori (= *Central Asian Survey* 29/1 [2010]): 103–18

Khalid, Adeeb, *The Politics of Cultural Reform. Jadidism in Central Asia* (Berkely, CA, 1998)

Light, Nathan, "Muslim Histories of China: Historiography across Boundaries in Central Eurasia," in: *Frontiers and Boundaries: Encounters on China's Margins*, eds. Zsombor Rajkai and Ildikó Bellér-Hann (Wiesbaden, 2012), 151–76

Malikov, Yuriy, *Tsars, Cossacks and Nomads. The Formation of a Borderland Culture in Northern Kazakhstan in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* (Berlin, 2011)

Martin, Virginia, "Kazakh Chinggisids, Land and Political Power in the Nineteenth Century: a Case Study of Syrymbet," in: *The Land Question in Colonial Central Asia*, ed. Paolo Sartori (= *Central Asian Survey* 29/1 [2010]): 79–102

Masoero, Alberto, "Layers of Property in the Tsar's Settlement Colony: Projects of Land Privatization in Siberia in the Late Nineteenth Century," in: *The Land Question in Colonial Central Asia*, ed. Paolo Sartori (= *Central Asian Survey* 29/1 [2010]): 9–32

Morrison, Alexander S., "Sufism, Pan-Islamic and Information Panic: Nil Sergeevich Lykoshin and the Aftermath of the Andijan Uprising," *Past and Present* 214/1 (2012): 255–304

Nurgalieva, Agila M., *Ocherki po istorii Islama v Kazakhstane* (Almaty, 2005)

Paul, Jürgen, "Recent Monographs on the Social History of Central Asia," in: *The Land Question in Colonial Central Asia*, ed. Paolo Sartori (= *Central Asian Survey* 29/1 [2010]): 119–30

Peterson, Derek K. and Macola, Giacomo, "Homespun Historiography and the Academic Profession," in: *Recasting the Past: History Writing and Political Work in Modern Africa*, eds. D.K. Peterson and G. Macola (Athens, OH, 2009), 1–28

Qurbān-ʿAlī Khālidī, *An Islamic Biographical Dictionary of the Eastern Kazakh Steppe*, eds. A.J. Frank and M.A. Usmanov (Leiden, 2005)

Sartori, Paolo, "Introduction: Dealing with States of Property," in: *The Land Question in Colonial Central Asia*, ed. Paolo Sartori (= *Central Asian Survey* 29/1 [2010]): 1–7

———, "Authorized Lies: Colonial Agency and Legal Hybrids in Tashkent, c. 1881–1893," in: *Legal Pluralism in Muslim-Majority Colonies*, eds. Paolo Sartori and Ido Shahar (= *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 55/4–5 [2012]): 688–717

———, "Notes on an Instance of Application of Qazaq Customary Law in Khiva (1895)," in: *Joining the Dots: Essays on Central Asian Documents and their Readings*, eds. Paolo Sartori and Thomas Welsford (= *Der Islam* 87/2 [2012]): 217–57

Sneath, David, *The Headless State: Aristocratic Orders, Kinship Society, and Misrepresentations of Nomadic Inner Asia* (New York, 2007)

Sultangalieva, Gulmira, "The Russian Empire and the Intermediary Role of Tatars in Kazakhstan; the Politics of Cooperation and Rejection," in: *Asiatic Russia. Imperial Power in Regional and International Contexts*, ed. Uyama Tomohiko (London and New York, 2012), 52–79

Uyama, Tomohiko, "The Alash Orda's Relations with Siberia, the Urals, and Turkestan: the Kazakh national movement and the Russian Imperial Legacy", in: *Asiatic Russia. Imperial Power in Regional and International Contexts*, ed. Uyama Tomohiko (London and New York 2012), 271–87.

The Yasavī Presence in the Dasht-i Qïpchaq from the 16th to 18th Century

DEVIN DEWEESE

Bloomington

It is often assumed that the arena for the historical development of the Yasavī Sufi tradition was chiefly the steppe regions of Central Asia inhabited by Turkic-speaking nomads, including groups that came to be known, from the 15th century, as Qazaqs.[1]

This assumption in part reflects stereotypes about the historical role of Aḥmad Yasavī, the eponym of the Yasavīya, as an Islamizer of the Turks, but it also simply reflects the scene of Aḥmad Yasavī's life and Sufi career, namely the town of Yasï, or Turkistān, located at the frontier between the urban, commercial environment of the Syr Darya valley, and the steppe itself; the presence in that town of Yasavī's shrine, known as a major pilgrimage site since the 14th century, only encouraged the notion that the Sufi tradition named for Aḥmad Yasavī must have been strong in the region, and among the people, most directly tied to the shrine.[2]

---

[1] The Qazaqs, of course, are customarily portrayed as incompletely Islamized (whatever that might mean) until the 18th or 19th century, on the one hand, or as devoted to "Yasavī dervishes" from an early time, and these two discordant characterizations have at times been reconciled through the assumption that the Yasavī tradition was itself not quite wholly Islamic; such characterizations have been based upon ideological assumptions, misconstrued evidence, or no evidence at all.

[2] The assumption that Aḥmad Yasavī and the Sufi tradition linked to him were linked especially closely with the nomadic Turks of the Dasht-i Qïpchāq, including the Qazaqs, is reflected already in such pioneering studies as the works of Köprülü and Bartol'd from a century ago, but still remains strong in western scholarship, whether in popular "background" surveys given in works on contemporary Central Asia, or in attempts at more serious historical surveys; see, in the former regard, Kemal H. Karpat, "The Roots of Kazakh Nationalism: Ethnicity, Islam or Land?," in: *In a Collapsing Empire: Underdevelopment, Ethnic Conflicts and Nationalisms in the Soviet Union*, ed. Marco Buttino (Milan, 1993), 316–7]; Olivier Roy, *The New Central Asia: The Creation of Nations* (New York, 2000; originally published in French, *La Nouvelle Asie centrale ou la fabrication des nations* [Paris, 1997]), 143–4, 147; Yaacov Ro'i, *Islam in the Soviet Union: From the Sec-*

The devotion of the Qazaqs to the shrine of Aḥmad Yasavī is certainly well-attested, but it hardly needs to be pointed out that shrine traditions are not identical, or coterminous, with Sufi traditions. Pilgrims come to saints' shrines with a wide range of religious aims, and both historically and at present, shrines serve a public extending well beyond the affiliates of Sufi traditions, however we define these. As for individuals tied to particular shrines more directly than occasional pilgrims, as custodians or employees of the shrine complex, the "constituencies" of shrines often include groups claiming hereditary ties to the saint buried at the site, as well as elements of the local population linked to the shrine through their connection with *vaqf* properties established to support the shrine financially; they may also include groups linked spiritually, as in a Sufi community, to the saint buried at the site, but they need not, and it is quite common for the custodians of a saint's shrine to be utterly unconnected with any initiatic lineage traced to the saint.

In the case of Aḥmad Yasavī's shrine, the strength and prominence, among the Qazaqs, of familial traditions claiming genealogical connections with the saint's family are well-known, and can be traced back to the 18th century at least;[3] but these descent-groups, too, need not and typically do not

---

ond World War to Gorbachev (London, 2000), 360, 386, 394; and Ahmed Rashid, *Jihad: The Rise of Militant Islam in Central Asia* (New Haven and London, 2002), 27; as for attempts at historical surveys, see Samuel A. M. Adshead, *Central Asia in World History* (New York, 1993), 156–8, and Svat Soucek, *A History of Inner Asia* (Cambridge, 2000), 141–3. The same assumption permeates works produced in the former Soviet world as well; see, for example, Anara Tabyshalieva, *Vera v Turkestane (Ocherk istorii religii Srednei Azii i Kazakhstana)* (Bishkek, 1993), 90–1; A. K. Sultangalieva, *Islam v Kazakhstane: Istoriia, ètnichnost' i obshchestvo* (Almaty, 1998), 7–8, 14–5, 24; N. D. Nurtazina, *Islam v istorii srednevekovogo Kazakhstana* (Almaty, 2000), 99, 108–22, 147–8, 286, 288; and, also reflective of Soviet scholarship, Galina M. Yemelianova, *Russia and Islam: A Historical Survey* (New York, 2002), 48, 61, 128–9.

[3] See my discussion in "The Politics of Sacred Lineages in 19th-Century Central Asia: Descent Groups linked to Khwaja Ahmad Yasavi in Shrine Documents and Genealogical Charters," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 31/4 (1999): 507–30, and the recent publication of such genealogical material in *Islamizatsiia i sakral'nye rodoslovnye v Tsentral'noi Azii: Nasledie Iskhak Baba v narrativnoi i genealogicheskoi traditsiiakh*, Tom 2: *Genealogicheskie gramoty i sakral'nye semeistva XIX-XXI vekov: nasab-nama i gruppy khodzhei, sviazannykh s sakral'nym skazaniem ob Iskhak Babe* / *Islamization and Sacred Lineages in Central Asia: The Legacy of Ishaq Bab in Narrative and Genealogical Traditions*, Vol. 2: *Genealogical Charters and Sacred Families: Nasab-namas and Khoja*

have any connection with what we know, from sources of the 15th–18th centuries, as the Yasavī Sufi order. The possibility that these descent traditions, known from the 18th century onward, reflect "genealogized" understandings of Sufi *silsila*s, and thus indirectly attest to a Yasavī Sufi presence at least in the southern steppe, cannot be dismissed; but at the same time it cannot be more than conjectural at this point, and there is only occasional evidence available by which to argue this sort of connection.

More broadly, although it is important to be somewhat flexible in our understanding of what a Sufi tradition might encompass at different times, it is no less important to delineate carefully the multiple strands comprising a Sufi tradition in a given period, on the basis of explicit sources at our disposal. In recent times, we may conclude, the Yasavī legacy among the Qazaqs is limited primarily to shrine traditions linked with Yasavī saints, and to kinship groups claiming descent from Yasavī's family and from other Yasavī saints. Can we find evidence, however, of a Yasavī presence in the steppe, and/or among the Qazaqs, in the earlier periods? The present study will attempt to take stock of the scattered indications, in written sources, of the presence, during the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries, of the Yasavī "order"—i.e., a communal structure that defined itself in terms of a *silsila*, with a self-conception based on a presumed continuity of practice and initiatic transmission going back to Aḥmad Yasavī—in (or near) the Dasht-i Qïpchāq, a region where, in later times, quite different modes of connection with the Yasavī tradition—based on shrine traditions and kinship—appear dominant.

1. From the 13th through the 15th Century

Our earliest sources on the Yasavī tradition confirm Aḥmad Yasavī's activity as a Sufi *shaykh* in the milieu of the Syr Darya basin, but our evidence is exceedingly sparse regarding the early development of his Sufi community there. We know the names of several disciples active in the same region, such as Ṣūfī Muḥammad Dānishmand, Süksük Ata, and Yashlïgh Yūnus Ata, and we can assume a degree of travel into and through the steppe regions in connection with accounts about the Islamizing activity of Sayyid

---

Groups Linked to the Ishaq Bab Narrative, 19th-21st Centuries, eds. A. Muminov, A. von Kügelgen, D. DeWeese, M. Kemper (Almaty, 2008).

Ata, for instance, in the Golden Horde;[4] we can also trace somewhat more fully the important hereditary Sufi tradition, centered initially between Tashkent and Sayrām, linked with the figure of Ismāʿīl Ata, who died in the early 14th century.[5] The latter saint's immediate descendants, however, became prominent in more southerly parts of Central Asia, and it is clear from written sources that the central initiatic lineage traced to Aḥmad Yasavī, which yields the recognizable Yasavī Sufi order of the 15th–18th centuries, was centered not in the steppe, or even in the Syr Darya basin, but in the heart of Mavarannahr, already by the second half of the 14th century, at the latest.

Indeed, aside from occasional evidence of hereditary lineages linked to saints incorporated into the Yasavī tradition centered in Khwārazm and in the vicinity of Tashkent, virtually all our evidence regarding Sufi lineages linked with Aḥmad Yasavī during the 15th, 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries—found above all in hagiographical works produced from the 16th–18th centuries—points to Mavarannahr, and chiefly the region between Samarqand and Bukhara, as the scene of their lives and Sufi careers. From the 15th century, to be sure, we hear of figures in the Yasavī *silsila* whose *nisba*s link them with the Syr Darya basin. One such figure is Kamāl Shaykh of Īqān (near Yasï/Turkistān), known as a contemporary of Khwāja Aḥrār;[6] he, as well as his master, Mavdūd Shaykh, and his fellow disciple Khādim Shaykh, may well have been natives of the region of Turkistān, but their center of activity was clearly in the vicinity of Samarqand, and it was there that their only known legacy as Sufi *shaykh*s continued. The same is true of Mavlānā Shams Ūzgandī, two generations after Kamāl Shaykh in the Yasavī *silsila*; although his *nisba* is explicitly explained as referring to the town of

[4] See my discussion in *Islamization and Native Religion in the Golden Horde: Baba Tükles and Conversion to Islam in Historical and Epic Tradition* (University Park, PA, 1994), 101–04 (and elsewhere), and in "The Descendants of Sayyid Ata and the Rank of *Naqīb* in Central Asia," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 115 (1995): 613–14.

[5] On the legacies of Ismāʿīl Ata, see my discussion in "Yasavī Šayḫs in the Timurid Era: Notes on the Social and Political Role of Communal Sufi Affiliations in the 14th and 15th Centuries," in: *La civiltà timuride come fenomeno internazionale*, ed. Michele Bernardini [= *Oriente Moderno*, N.S., 15 (76), No. 2 (1996)]: 173–88, and in: "Orality and the Master-Disciple Relationship in Medieval Sufi Communities (Iran and Central Asia, 12th–15th centuries)," for *Oralité et lien social au Moyen Âge (Occident, Byzance, Islam): parole donnée, foi jurée, serment*, eds. Marie-France Auzépy and Guillaume Saint-Guillain (Paris, 2008), 305–7.

[6] ʿAlī b. Ḥusayn Ṣafī, *Rashaḥāt-i ʿayn al-ḥayāt*, ed. ʿAlī Aṣghar Muʿīnīyān (Tehran, 2536/1977), I, 30–1.