

NURYOGHDI TOSHOV (ED.)

ĪSH MURĀD B. ĀDĪNA MUḤAMMAD AL-'ALAVĪ:  
JAMSHĪDĪ ṬAVĀYIFĪ FATHĪ

(THE SUBJUGATION OF THE JAMSHĪDĪS)

ÖSTERREICHISCHE AKADEMIE DER WISSENSCHAFTEN  
PHILOSOPHISCH-HISTORISCHE KLASSE  
SITZUNGSBERICHTE, 888. BAND

---

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

NR. 82

STUDIES AND TEXTS ON CENTRAL ASIA  
HERAUSGEGEBEN VON PAOLO SARTORI

BAND 1

NURYOGHDI TOSHOV (ED.)

ĪSH MURĀD B. ĀDĪNA  
MUḤAMMAD AL-‘ALAVĪ  
JAMSHĪDĪ ṬAVĀYIFĪ FATHĪ  
(The Subjugation of the Jamshīdīs)



VERLAG DER  
ÖSTERREICHISCHEN  
AKADEMIE DER  
WISSENSCHAFTEN

Angenommen durch die Publikationskommission  
der philosophisch-historischen Klasse der ÖAW:  
Michael Alram, Bert Fragner, Hermann Hunger, Sigrid Jalkotzy-Deger, Brigitte Mazohl,  
Franz Rainer, Oliver Jens Schmitt, Peter Wiesinger und Waldemar Zacharasiewicz

Umschlaggestaltung: Bettina Hofleitner

Lektorat: Thomas Welsford

Diese Publikation wurde einem anonymen, internationalen  
Peer-Review-Verfahren unterzogen.

This publication has undergone the process of anonymous, international peer review.

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

Alle Rechte vorbehalten.  
ISBN 978-3-7001-7977-1  
Copyright © 2018 by  
Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien  
Druck und Bindung: Sowa Sp., Zo.o.  
<https://epub.oeaw.ac.at/7977-1>  
<https://verlag.oeaw.ac.at>  
Printed and bound in the EU

## CONTENTS

Acknowledgments .....	7
Preface .....	9
Introduction .....	11
Plates .....	49
Text .....	۳
Indexes.....	۱۳۵
Persons.....	۱۳۷
Places.....	۱۴۱
Groups and communities .....	۱۴۵
Technical terms .....	۱۴۷



## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The present book was produced within the framework of the research project “Seeing like an Archive: Documents and Forms of Governance in Islamic Central Asia (18<sup>th</sup> – 19<sup>th</sup> Centuries)” (START-Project Y 704), funded by the Austrian Science Fund (FWF) and based at the Institute of Iranian Studies of the Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna. I want to thank these two institutions for providing material support for my research in Uzbekistan, Russia, and Austria. I am grateful to Dr. Paolo Sartori and Dr. Ulfat Abdurasulov for commenting on previous versions of the Introduction to this book at various stages of drafting; thanks are also due to Dr. Hamidulla Aminov for his insightful comments on the preparation of the edition of Īsh Murād’s text. Their suggestions proved helpful in clarifying some of the issues that I faced while working on the book. I also took on board the recommendations of three anonymous reviewers who read the book for the Austrian Academy of Sciences Press, to whom I am naturally grateful. I further wish to express my gratitude to the directors of the Center of Oriental Studies in Tashkent and the Institute of Iranian Studies of the Austrian Academy of Sciences for providing the facilities to carry out my research. Bettina Hofleitner deserves particular mention here for taking on the burden of transforming my text into a real book. I am deeply grateful to her. Finally, I want to thank my wife Sharifa Toshova, without whose support this book would never have seen the light of day.

Nuryoghdi Toshov



## PREFACE

The present volume introduces a new subseries of the *Veröffentlichungen zur Iranistik* (Iranian Studies Monographs), a series published under this name by the Austrian Academy of Sciences Press since 2003. *Studies and texts on Central Asia* directs the spotlight on the necessity for state-of-the-art editions and presentations of various types of sources and for studies on the history of Central Asia that are as richly documented as they are theoretically informed. Two recent monographs in the *Veröffentlichungen zur Iranistik* series, Jeff Eden's annotated translation of "The Life of Muḥammad Sharīf: A Central Asian Sufi Hagiography in Chaghatay" (2015) and Andreas Wilde's three-volume monograph "What is Beyond the River? Power, Authority, and Social Order in Transoxania, 18<sup>th</sup>-20<sup>th</sup> Centuries" (2016) prepared the path for a focused publication program, underwritten by Paolo Sartori as subseries editor and the main series editors Bert G. Fragner and Florian Schwarz. Covering a wide range of source genres and historical approaches, and publishing books in English as well as occasionally in Russian, the series intends to build bridges between diverse approaches to academic publishing in the field of Central Asian studies.

The editors wish to thank Nuryoghdi Toshov for introducing Īsh Murād ibn Ādīna Muḥammad al-‘Alavī's *Jamshīdī ṭavāyifī fathī* to historians of Central Asia (and beyond) and for preparing a diligent and well-presented edition of this Chaghatay-language account of a military campaign of the Khorezmian ruler Allah-Quli Khan into Khorasan in 1841 as the opening volume of *Studies and texts on Central Asia*. Historically of high relevance, *Jamshīdī ṭavāyifī fathī* also sheds light on the processes of crafting historiographical texts. The editors could not have wished for an opening publication that better represents the goals of the series.

Bert G. Fragner

Paolo Sartori

Florian Schwarz



## INTRODUCTION

The material published here comprises a detailed description of the Khivan campaign against Khurasan, carried out in 1257–1258/1841–1842 under the command of Prince Raḥīm-Qulī and resulting directly in the resettlement of the Jamshīdīs of Bādghīs, on the territory of present-day Afghanistan, in Khorezm. The text has come to us as a single manuscript, which was discovered a few years ago among the holdings of the Institute of Oriental Studies at the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Uzbekistan.<sup>1</sup>

Allāh-Qulī Khān (1240–1258/1825–1842), at the end of whose reign this expedition took place, was the third ruler from the Qungrat dynasty, which officially reigned in Khorezm from 1804 until 1920. He inherited a centralized state with a more or less established system of governance and an efficient army from his father, Muḥammad Raḥīm Khān I (1221–1240/1806–1825). Relying on this army, whose main striking force consisted of belligerent Turkmen, Allāh-Qulī Khān continued the aggressive and successful foreign policy of his predecessor. His rule saw especially frequent expeditions against Khurasan, which, as particularly underlined in local sources, took on an almost annual character. These expeditions continued under Allāh-Qulī Khān's immediate successors and were invariably presented by court historians as “holy war” against “infidels”. In addition to other benefits, they were sometimes crowned by the resettlement into Khorezm of various Turkmen tribes and the inhabitants of entire Khurasani villages and fortresses. The Khivan *khāns* settled these migrants along newly reconstructed canals so that they would engage in agriculture. The male Turkmen population, meanwhile, was drawn into military service in exchange for the cancelling of tax and labor obligations.<sup>2</sup>

After the establishment of direct control over the Merv oasis in 1832, a development of great strategic and economic value, Allāh-Qulī Khān had the

---

<sup>1</sup> In 2014 this institute has been reorganized as the Al-Biruni Center for Oriental Manuscripts at the Tashkent State Institute of Oriental Studies, Ministry of Higher and Specialized Secondary Education of Uzbekistan.

<sup>2</sup> On Khorezm under the first Qungrats, see Yu. Bregel, “The New Uzbek States: Bukhara, Khiva and Khoqand: c. 1750–1886,” in *The Cambridge History of Inner Asia: The Chinggisid Age*, ed. N. Di Cosmo, A. J. Frank and P. B. Golden (Cambridge, 2009), 398–400; *Khorezm v istorii gosudarstvennosti Uzbekistana*, ed. É. V. Rtveldzde and D. A. Alimova (Tashkent, 2013), 166–179.

opportunity to wield more effective influence over events in Khurasan and northwestern Afghanistan.<sup>3</sup> This was particularly evident during the Herat crisis of 1837–1841, when this small dominion became an arena of conflict between several world and regional powers – Britain, Russia, Iran, and others.<sup>4</sup>

The Khivan *khāns* had already maintained friendly relations with Herat's Sadūzai dynasty earlier,<sup>5</sup> something that was largely motivated by the presence of a common enemy in the form of Qājār Iran. When Muḥammad Shāh Qājār (1834–1848) besieged Herat in 1837, the city's ruler Shāh Kāmṛān b. Shāh Maḥmūd (1828–1842) turned to Allāh-Qulī Khān for help, receiving not only military assistance but also significant food aid. Although the Persians were forced to lift the siege of Herat primarily because of stubborn resistance on the part of its defenders and pressure from the British, who threatened the *shāh* with war in the Persian Gulf, Khivan authors attribute Herat's victory entirely to Khivan weaponry.<sup>6</sup>

Be that as it may, this was followed by an unprecedentedly frequent exchange of embassies between the Persian *shāh* and the Khivan *khān*. According to Āgahī, the *shāh* was the first to send his messenger with expressions of friendship and even agreed to the *khān*'s request that he persecute those who engaged in public cursing (*sabb*) of the Companions of the Prophet in his domains. But this nascent improvement in relations between the two countries was nullified, in the words of this historian, through the

<sup>3</sup> W. A. Wood, *The Sariq Turkmens of Merv and the Khanate of Khiva in the Early Nineteenth Century* (PhD diss., Indiana University, 1999), 136.

<sup>4</sup> V. M. Masson and V. A. Romodin, *Istoriia Afganistana*, vol. II (Moscow, 1965); Ch. Noelle-Karimi, *The Pearl in its Midst: Herat and the Mapping of Khurasan (15<sup>th</sup> – 19<sup>th</sup> Centuries)* (Vienna, 2014).

<sup>5</sup> Shīr Muḥammad Mīrāb Mūnis and Muḥammad Rizā Mīrāb Āgahī, *Firdaws al-iqbāl: History of Khorezm*, trans. Yu. Bregel (Leiden/Boston/Köln, 1999), 457, 505, 536; Muḥammad Rizā Mīrāb Āgahī b. Īr Niyāz Bīk, *Riyāz al-dawla*, MS IOM, inv. no. D 123, ff. 35b, 161b, 168b.

<sup>6</sup> Āgahī, *Riyāz al-dawla*, ff. 208a–224a; Muḥammad Taqī Lisān al-Mulk Sipīhr, *Nāsikh al-tavārīkh: Tārīkh-i qājārīya*, ed. J. Kiyānfar, vol. 2 (Tehran, 1377/1998), 682–683, 691 (his information is repeated in: *The History of Afghanistan: Fayz Muḥammad Kātib Hazāra's Sirāj al-tavārīkh*, vol. 1, trans. R. D. McChesney (Leiden/Boston, 2013), 216, 226–227); Wood, *The Sariq Turkmens of Merv*, 161–165. Recently the author of this introduction discovered a text devoted to the campaign in question at the National Library of Russia (see below, “Determining the genre of the work”).

fault of the *shāh*, who ordered the *khāns* of Kurdistan to arrange a raid against the Akhal Taka, the Khivan *khān*'s vassals. In response, the *khān* granted the Turkmen permission to resume periodic raids into Iranian territory, and in the fall of 1841 he set out on another expedition into Khurasan.<sup>7</sup>

The work published here is dedicated to the details of that campaign. Written by an eyewitness to the events it describes, the account contains many facts and details that are absent from other sources, both Eastern and European. This includes the text of numerous letters, the originals of which appear to be no longer extant. The author's evaluation of various events is also of interest from the point of view of understanding the peculiarities of the Khivan historiographical school. Finally, this text is of great interest as a significant literary work composed in Khorezm and written in Central Asian Turki.

## I. THE AUTHOR

### 1. Establishing Īsh Murād's authorship

The text of the manuscript is missing the usual author's preface, from which it follows that either the work was not completed by the author, or it has come down to us in incomplete form. Whatever the case, the existing text includes neither the author's name nor the original title of the work. The card catalogue assigns it the provisional title *Raḥīm-Qulī Khānnīng ṭavāyif-i a'ādī ūstīgā yibārīlīshī* ("Raḥīm-Qulī Khān's expedition against hostile tribes"), and the potential author is listed as Muḥammad Rizā Mīrāb b. Īr Niyāz Bīk Āgahī (1809–1874), with the following annotation: "The *Zubdat al-tavārīkh* and the *Jāmi' al-vāqi'āt* include similar content, but the wording is not identical."<sup>8</sup>

Given the ineffective provisional title, I propose a different name for this text: the *Jamshīdī ṭavāyifī fathī* (see below, the section "The *Jamshīdī ṭavāyifī fathī*"). As for the author, the card catalogue attributes the text to Āgahī without sufficient grounds for doing so. There is indeed indirect evi-

<sup>7</sup> Āgahī, *Riyāz al-dawla*, ff. 224b–226a, 230a, 233a, 238b.

<sup>8</sup> This refers to Āgahī's historical texts, the *Zubdat al-tavārīkh* and the *Jāmi' al-vāqi'āt-i sulṭānī*. Nevertheless, *Jāmi' al-vāqi'āt-i sulṭānī* does not contain any references to the campaign in question.

dence against Āgahī's authorship. First of all, it should be noted that Āgahī does not include this work in the list of his writings and translations contained in the preface to his *dīvān*, entitled *Ta'vīdh al-'āshiqīn*.<sup>9</sup> Moreover, Āgahī composed two separate works on the rule of Allāh-Qulī Khān and Raḥīm-Qulī Khān (1258–1262/1842–1846), the *Riyāz al-dawla* and the *Zubdat al-tavārīkh*, respectively, the second of which contains a section dedicated to the military campaign in question.<sup>10</sup> The language and the writing style also contradict the card catalogue's compilers. For example, the text I offer here in edition contains words, phrases, and blessing formulas that are not found in any of Āgahī's historical works (see below, the subsection "Some remarks on the language and style of the work").

Leaving aside this type of circumstantial evidence against Āgahī's authorship, as one piece of information provided by the anonymous author makes a convincing attribution possible. According to this information, during the campaign in question, in the locality Band-i Nādir, Prince Raḥīm-Qulī sent the author and Qārī Maḥram to collect the *zakāt* from the Chārshangī and Īrsārī tribes living in the vicinity of the fortress of Panjdih; having fulfilled this assignment, they joined the army in the locality of Ūrūshūshgān.<sup>11</sup> The author does not provide his name, limiting himself to the traditional formula of self-abasement, "the poor and insignificant" (*faqīr al-ḥaqīr*). In order to identify the author, therefore, there remains only one small thing – to identify Qārī Maḥram's companion through other sources, provided, of course, that such sources exist. Fortunately, such a source is available to us in the form of the *Zubdat al-tavārīkh*, Āgahī's text on the history of Raḥīm-Qulī Khān's reign.

Āgahī also mentions the 1257–1258/1841–1842 campaign in another of his works, dedicated to the history of Allāh-Qulī Khān, but only very briefly, in one long sentence, promising the reader that he will relate the details of this event in his history of Raḥīm-Qulī Khān.<sup>12</sup> Indeed, in the *Zubdat al-*

<sup>9</sup> See: Muḥammad Rizā Mīrāb Āgahī, *Jāmi' al-vāqi'āt-i sulṭānī*, ed. N. Tashev (Samarkand/Tashkent, 2012), XIII–XVI.

<sup>10</sup> On the connections between the *Zubdat al-tavārīkh* and the text under consideration, see below, "The Jamshīdī ṭavāyifī fathī."

<sup>11</sup> [Īsh Murād b. Ādīna Muḥammad al-'Alavī], [*Jamshīdī ṭavāyifī fathī*], MS COM permanent collection, inv. no. 9981, ff. 79a–80b.

<sup>12</sup> Āgahī, *Riyāz al-dawla*, f. 238b.

*tavārīkh* considerable space is devoted to this campaign,<sup>13</sup> and a certain interesting fact is related. Āgahī writes: “On Tuesday [Raḥīm-Qulī Tūra] appointed the refuge of wisdom, the abode of eloquence, the friend of grace, Dāmullā Īsh Murād Ra’īs, who occupies, like fortune, a position in the royal retinue of His Majesty, together with the expresser of sincerity, the mirror of devotion, the attendant of faith, Qārī Maḥram, for the collection, in accordance with *sharī’a* law, of *zakāt* on large and small livestock (*amvāl va mavāshī*) that had achieved the taxable minimum and was [therefore] subject to taxation, from the Chārshangī clan living in the vicinity of Panjdīha.”<sup>14</sup> As is evident from Āgahī’s words, Qārī Maḥram’s companion – and therefore the author of the text in question – was Dāmullā Īsh Murād b. Mullā Ādīna Muḥammad al-‘Alavī, already known as the author of two other historical works.

A further irrefutable proof of Dāmullā Īsh Murād’s authorship lies in the fact that one of the poems written by the author contains Īsh Murād’s literary name (see below).

## 2. The author’s biography

Information on the life of Dāmullā Īsh Murād is extremely scarce. As evidenced by the various components of his name (al-‘Alavī, *makhdhūm*, *mullā*, *dāmullā*, *ākhūnd*) and the posts he occupied, he was a member of the clergy. Although it is difficult to say with certainty, it seems that he was a native of Khiva.<sup>15</sup> Judging by the lack of a component indicating any government office in his father’s name, the latter was never involved in royal service.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Muḥammad Rizā Mīrāb Āgahī, *Zubdat al-tavārīkh*, ed. Kh. Nazirova (Tashkent/Samarkand, 2016), 32–73. For an abbreviated Russian translation, see *Materialy po istorii turkmen i Turkmenii, II: Iranskie, bukharskie i khivinskie istochniki* (Moscow/Leningrad, 1938), 477–486.

<sup>14</sup> Āgahī, *Zubdat al-tavārīkh*, 61–62.

<sup>15</sup> For example, one Mullā Ādīna Muḥammad figures as a witness on a Khivan deed of purchase from 1205/1791, see *Katalog khivinskikh kazīiskikh dokumentov XIX – nachala XX vv.*, ed. A. Urunbaev et al. (Tashkent/Kyoto, 2001), no. 615. We cannot be completely certain, however, that this is the same person as our author’s father.

<sup>16</sup> In the Khanate of Khiva a title became part of its bearer’s name, see Āgahī, *Jāmi’ al-vāqī’āt-i sulṭānī*, VII. However, it should be mentioned that there were exceptions to this rule. For example, if a person served as the *imām* of a mosque, this might not be reflected in his name.

As discussed above, in 1257/1841, Īsh Murād held the post of *ra'īs*, but it is unclear in which province he performed his duties. The two most likely options are Khiva and Hazārasp. The latter is worthy of consideration based on the fact that Raḥīm-Qulī, as heir to the throne, was the governor of Hazārasp, and Īsh Murād might have accompanied his patron as *ra'īs* of this *vilāyat*.<sup>17</sup>

Īsh Murād relates a very interesting fact from his biography, pertaining to the same period, in the text published here. He writes that he composed a chronogram (*tārīkh*) dedicated to this campaign, and presented it to Raḥīm-Qulī. The verse met with the latter's approval, and he immediately appointed the author to the post of *muftī* for the duration of the campaign (literally, "until the time of return").<sup>18</sup> According to another source, on Sunday, 4 Rabī' I 1262/1 March 1846, Muḥammad Amīn Khān (1262–1271/1846–1855) sent Dāmullā Īsh Murād Ra'īs and Allāh-Bīrdī Šūfī as ambassadors to Bukhara in order to announce the death of his brother and his own accession to the throne.<sup>19</sup> If the Dāmullā Īsh Murād Ra'īs mentioned here is our author, which there seems to be no serious reason to doubt, then in 1262/1846, he still held the same post. It is not known how long he served as *ra'īs* and whether he was appointed to other positions,<sup>20</sup> but on 27 Rabī' I 1278/2 October 1861 Sayyid Muḥammad Khān (1272–1281/1856–1864) appointed him as a teacher (*mudarris*) at the Qūtlūq Murād Īnāq Madrasa in Khiva.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>17</sup> The *khān* was certainly accompanied on his various trips by members of the so-called "Khān's Council", see Āgahī, *Jāmi' al-vāqi'āt-i sulṭānī*, X. The same could easily have been true at the residence of the heir to the throne.

<sup>18</sup> Īsh Murād 'Alavī, *Jamshīdī ṭavāyifī fathī*, f. 42a. If I am not mistaken, other Khivan sources do not provide information on such a practice, which, of course, does not rule out its existence.

<sup>19</sup> Āgahī, *Jāmi' al-vāqi'āt-i sulṭānī*, 36.

<sup>20</sup> According to Āgahī, at the beginning of 1282 (May 1865), Muḥammad Raḥīm Khān II (1281–1328/1864–1910) organized a type of civil service exam at which the supreme *qāzī* 'Abd al-Raḥīm Īshān and Īsh Murād Ra'īs served as experts (*mumayyiz*) (Muḥammad Rizā Mīrāb Āgahī b. Īr Niyāz Bīk, *Shāhid al-iqbāl*, MS IOM, inv. no. C 572, f. 26b). It is difficult to say whether this is our author. If so, this can mean only one thing: After Muḥammad Raḥīm Khān II came to power, Īsh Murād was again appointed as *ra'īs*, and two years later, as *qāzī-yi 'askar* (see below).

<sup>21</sup> Īsh Murād Ākhūnd b. Ādīna Muḥammad al-'Alavī, *Tārīkh-i Sayyid Muḥammad-Khānī*, MS IOM, inv. no. C 573, f. 3b. In the catalogue the *madrasa* in question is incorrectly called the Qūtlūq Murād Khān Madrasa, L. V. Dmitrieva, A. M. Muginov and S. N. Muratov, *Opisanie tiurkskikh rukopisei Instituta narodov Azii*, vol. 1 (Moscow, 1965), no.

From that point on, the title of *ākhūnd* was appended to his name.<sup>22</sup> By that time, Īsh Murād's father was no longer alive, as in the preface to the *Tārīkh-i Sayyid Muḥammad-Khānī* his name is followed by the word "deceased" (*marḥūmī*).

The seal on one legal opinion (a *fatwā* or *rivāyat*) reads "Dāmullā Īsh Murād Ākhūnd Muftī ibn-i Mullā ... (?) Muḥammad marḥūmī."<sup>23</sup> Unfortunately, none of the three stamps is dated, so the time of the document's origin cannot be established, as the date was usually not specified in legal opinions. There are four other documents, dated 1283–1284/1866–1868, stamped by Qāzī-yi 'askar Īsh Murād Ākhūnd b. Mullā Ādīna Muḥammad marḥūmī.<sup>24</sup> All of them are private deeds (a *vaqf* deed, a relinquishment of claim, a sale deed, and a debenture); one is from Khiva, one from Pīshkānīk, which is in the vicinity of Khiva, while the place of origin of the other two is unknown. The seal on the debenture includes a date, 1283/1866–1867, from which we can conclude that it was in that year that its bearer was appointed to this position. So is this person our author? The answer should be in the affirmative. In addition to the name and the title, the chronology also supports a clear-cut answer to the above question. There is only one potential point of confusion – the seal lacks the *nisba* 'Alavī, while the legends of a number of other stamps contain such an element.<sup>25</sup> However, this counterargument is too weak to cast doubt on the conclusion that in 1283/1866–67, our author was appointed as a military judge in the capital city of Khiva.

This is the extent of our information on the career of Īsh Murād. The dates of his death and birth remain unknown, and nothing is known about his descendants. It cannot be excluded, however, that 'Abdallāh Ākhūnd b. Qāzī Īsh Murād, appointed as *ra'īs* in 1296/1878–79, was the author's son.

---

103. On Qūtlūq Murād Īnāq Madrasa, see P. Sartori, "On Madrasas, Legitimation, and Islamic Revival in 19th-Century Khorezm: Some Preliminary Observations," *Eurasian Studies* 14 (2016): 98–134.

<sup>22</sup> In one register (*daftar*) from the archive of the Khivan *khāns*, relating to the year 1272/1856, there is a record according to which Īsh Murād Ākhūnd was paid 10 *ḥilā*, see Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan, f. I-125, op. 2, d. 526, f. 86. Unfortunately, his position is not given, and there is no firm basis for a positive identification of this person as our author.

<sup>23</sup> For a description of the document, see *Katalog khivinskikh kaziiskikh dokumentov*, no. 1117. Because of a blemish it is impossible to read the first part of the *nasab*.

<sup>24</sup> *Katalog khivinskikh kaziiskikh dokumentov*, nos. 211, 217, 534, 798a.

<sup>25</sup> See, e.g.: *Katalog khivinskikh kaziiskikh dokumentov*, nos. 49, 56, 556b, 948.

As evident from the last line of his long poem glorifying Raḥīm-Qulī, Īsh Murād used the poetic pseudonym (*takhalluṣ*) Murādī.<sup>26</sup> Although Īsh Murād himself does not employ this nom de plume anywhere else, neither in this text nor in any other, it is used to refer to him in the *Tūy-nāma* composed by Shīr Muḥammad Mūnis (1778–1829). This *Tūy-nāma* contains verses by many Khivan poets, including Mūnis himself, written in honor of the celebration organized by Allāh-Qulī Khān in Sha‘bān 1244/February 1829 on the occasion of the marriage and circumcision (*khatna*) of a number of princes, the *khān*’s sons and brothers. The poem of our author, named by the compiler as Mullā Īsh Murād Makhdhūm Murādī, comes towards the end of the collection.<sup>27</sup>

### 3. The author’s works

As noted above, Dāmullā Īsh Murād has long been known as the author of two historical texts. In recent years, several other of his works have been discovered, which allows us to rank him as a relatively prolific author. In addition to the text published here, he composed the following original works, as well as one translation.

#### A) *Tārīkh-i Sayyid Muḥammad-Khānī*.

Written in 1278/1861–62 on the orders of Sayyid Muḥammad Khān, who charged the author, indebted to the ruler for his appointment to the post of *mudarris* (see above), with writing a history of his ancestors, bringing the story up to the time of his own reign.<sup>28</sup> Īsh Murād began his history with the fourth chapter of Shīr Muḥammad Mūnis and Muḥammad Rizā Āgahī’s *Firdaws al-iqbāl*, entitled “The enumeration of His Majesty’s noble ancestors and venerable forefathers,”<sup>29</sup> significantly abridging its initial sections. So, having mentioned Naghadāy Bī in a few words, the author immediately

<sup>26</sup> Īsh Murād ‘Alavī, *Jamshīdī ṭavāyifī fathī*, f. 4a.

<sup>27</sup> Mūnis Shīr Muḥammad, *Tūy-nāma*, MS NLR, inv. no. T.n.s. 88, ff. 75b–78a. This is the earliest reference to Īsh Murād in the sources.

<sup>28</sup> Īsh Murād ‘Alavī, *Tārīkh-i Sayyid Muḥammad-Khānī*, ff. 2b–3a.

<sup>29</sup> Shīr Muḥammad Mīrāb Mūnis and Muḥammad Rizā Mīrāb Āgahī, *Firdaws al-iqbāl: History of Khorezm*, ed. Yu. Bregel (Leiden/New York, 1988), 193.

proceeds to Īsh Muḥammad Bī.<sup>30</sup> Through the reign of Muḥammad Raḥīm Khān I (f. 510b), Īsh Murād recapitulates the *Firdaws al-iqbāl*. This is followed by a brief history of the reigns of Allāh-Qulī Khān (ff. 510b–515b), Raḥīm-Qulī Khān (ff. 515b–518b), Muḥammad Amīn Khān, ‘Abdallāh Khān (1271/1855), and Qūtlūq Murād Khān (1271–1272/1855–1856) (ff. 518b–524a), as well as the circumstances of the accession of Sayyid Muḥammad Khān (ff. 524b–526b). It is possible that in these latter sections the author made use of Āgahī’s works on the history of these *khāns*, with the exception, perhaps, of *Gulshan-i dawlat*, although for some reason the manuscript cataloguers name that work (along with *Firdaws al-iqbāl*) as Īsh Murād’s source.<sup>31</sup>

The only known extant manuscript of this text is held by the St. Petersburg Institute of Oriental Manuscripts at the Russian Academy of Sciences.<sup>32</sup> It was copied out in 1279/1862–63, meaning that the text was composed in about one year.

#### B) *Tārīkhcha-yi Muḥammad Ya ‘qūb Khwāja*.

This work was begun in 1280/1864 at the request of Sayyid Muḥammad Khān and dedicated to the history of his rule. The author’s name and the name of this work are absent from the text. Īsh Murād’s authorship can be established thanks to the author’s preface to this work, in which he states that he had recently completed, on the orders of Sayyid Muḥammad Khān, a work entitled *Tārīkh-i Sayyid Muḥammad-Khānī*, which contains that ruler’s genealogy and relates the events of the reigns of his ancestors, ending with his ascension to the throne.<sup>33</sup> The provisional and, it must be said, ineffective title given above was assigned by one of the manuscript’s readers, and

<sup>30</sup> Īsh Murād ‘Alavī, *Tārīkh-i Sayyid Muḥammad-Khānī*, ff. 3b–4a. Cf.: Mūnis/Āgahī, *Firdaws al-iqbāl*, text, 204–206, 219.

<sup>31</sup> Dmitrieva et al., *Opisanie tiurkskikh rukopisei*, no. 103.

<sup>32</sup> For a description, see Dmitrieva et al., *Opisanie tiurkskikh rukopisei*, no. 103; L. V. Dmitrieva, *Katalog tiurkskikh rukopisei Instituta vostokovedeniia Rossiiskoï akademii nauk* (Moscow, 2002), no. 71.

<sup>33</sup> Īsh Murād Ākhūnd b. Ādīna Muḥammad al-‘Alavī, *Tārīkhcha-yi Muḥammad Ya ‘qūb Khwāja*, MS IOM, inv. no. C 574, ff. 1b–2b. As the result of an error, the description of the manuscript gives the information in reverse, as if the author had written about his *Tārīkhcha-yi Muḥammad Ya ‘qūb Khwāja* in the *Tārīkh-i Sayyid Muḥammad-Khānī*, see Dmitrieva et al., *Opisanie tiurkskikh rukopisei*, no. 104.

adopted by K. G. Zalemann.<sup>34</sup> The only basis for this strange title is the fact that the *khān*'s orders to compose the text were transmitted to the author by Muḥammad Ya'qūb Khwāja (ff. 2b–3a).<sup>35</sup>

The St. Petersburg manuscript, C 574, whose ending is defective, was long considered unique. In fact, the manuscript held by the Al-Biruni Center for Oriental Manuscripts under inventory number 845 contains the same text and, judging by the numerous amendments and additions it includes, is the author's draft.<sup>36</sup> According to the compilers of the catalogue, the end of manuscript C 574 is missing "about one or two folios; the narration cuts off on the events preceding Sayyid Muḥammad Raḥīm Khān's ascension to the throne."<sup>37</sup> But a comparison of this manuscript with the Tashkent manuscript and with Āgahī's *Gulshan-i dawlat* shows that this assertion is mistaken. The end of manuscript C 574 corresponds to the beginning of folio 31b of manuscript 845, which comprises 42 folios, and to folio 150b of the Tashkent manuscript of the *Gulshan-i dawlat* (MS 7572), which describes the events of Rajab 1274/February-March 1858. The text of manuscript 845 covers events through the end of 1275/mid-1859, which corresponds to folio 201a of the *Gulshan-i dawlat* manuscript. Thus, even in the more complete text of manuscript 845, events concerning a further six years of Sayyid Muḥammad Khān's reign remain unaddressed. It appears that the work remained unfinished, but it is difficult to say why. According to Īsh Murād, when the narration of events had reached Jumādā I 1274/December 1857, Sayyid Muḥammad Khān died and work on the text was suspended; the work was later continued on the orders of the newly enthroned Sayyid

<sup>34</sup> Iu. É. Bregel', "Sochinenie Baiani 'Shadzhara-yi khorezmshakhi' kak istochnik po istorii turkmen," *Kratkie soobshcheniia Instituta narodov Azii* XLIV (1961): 129; Dmitrieva et al., *Opisanie tiurksskikh rukopisei*, no. 104.

<sup>35</sup> On Muḥammad Ya'qūb Khwāja Dīvān b. Ibrāhīm Khwāja (died 1287/1870), see N. Toshov, "Povtoriaemost' imen i psevdonimov kak faktor nedorazumeniī: primer khorezmskogo poēta Khalisa" (forthcoming).

<sup>36</sup> In the first volume of the Tashkent catalogue, this manuscript is described as one of the copies of Āgahī's work, *Riyāz al-dawla*, see *Sobranie vostochnykh rukopisei Akademii nauk Uzbekskoī SSR*, vol. I (Tashkent, 1952), no. 213. The thematic catalog corrects this error and gives the title of the text as the *Tārīkh-i Sayyid Muḥammad-Khān* [*Sobranie vostochnykh rukopisei Akademii nauk Respubliki Uzbekistan: Istoriiā*, ed. D. Iu. Iusupova and R. P. Dzhaliolova (Tashkent, 1998), no. 649], but the work was not identified.

<sup>37</sup> Dmitrieva et al., *Opisanie tiurksskikh rukopisei*, no. 104. See also: Bregel', "Sochinenie Baiani," 130.

Muḥammad Raḥīm Khān II (1281–1328/1864–1910).<sup>38</sup> We can conclude, therefore, that the work was completed after 1281/1864.

Yuri Bregel posited that both works by Īsh Murād, as well as the writings of Bābājān Thanāʾī and Muḥammad Yūsuf Bayānī, were abbreviated and simplified retellings of texts by Mūnis and Āgahī, completed in order to popularize the latter, as these two historians wrote in highly stylized language accessible only to a narrow circle of educated people.<sup>39</sup> As a forthcoming book on the historiography of the Khanate of Khiva will seek to demonstrate,<sup>40</sup> this thesis requires serious refinement. In the meantime, without delving into this multi-faceted issue, I note only that in relation to the works of Īsh Murād, it is more appropriate to talk about modifications to the style and language of Mūnis and Āgahī's chronicles, rather than their simplification, although a degree of abbreviation is indeed present. Īsh Murād carefully replaces words and phrases used by the sources with his own expressions, even when this means that his style becomes more flowery and verbose than that of the original. In an effort to make the text distinct from its sources, Īsh Murād goes so far – and this is somewhat troubling – as to edit the texts of documents (see below).

### C) *Sulṭān al-lughāt*.

This work is an Arabic-Turkic-Persian dictionary, compiled in 1280/1863 on the basis of other dictionaries and organized alphabetically. It is noteworthy that the manuscript does not include the author's name. Attribution is possible thanks to the compiler's mentioning of the fact that about a month after completing a translation of the *Mu'nis al-insān*, in the middle of Jumādā II 1280/late November 1863, he was commissioned by Allāh-Bīrgān Maḥram, on behalf of Sayyid Muḥammad Khān, to compile a dictionary.<sup>41</sup> There can

<sup>38</sup> Īsh Murād 'Alavī, *Tārīkhcha-yi Muḥammad Ya'qūb Khwāja*, MS COM, inv. no. 845, f. 25a–b; MS IOM, inv. no. C 574, ff. 93b–95a.

<sup>39</sup> Bregel', "Sochinenie Baiani," 129–130; Yu. Bregel, "The Tawārīkh-i Khōrazmshāhīya by Thanāʾī: The Historiography of Khiva and the Uzbek Literary Language," in *Aspects of Altaic Civilization II: Proceedings of the XVIII PIAC, Bloomington, June 29–July 5, 1975*, ed. L. V. Clark and P. A. Draghi (Bloomington, 1978), 21–22. See also: Dmitrieva et al., *Opisanie tiurkskikh rukopisei*, no. 103; H. F. Hofman, *Turkish Literature: A Bibliographical Survey III* (Utrecht, 1969), 333–334.

<sup>40</sup> N. Toshov, *Khorezmian Historiography (19<sup>th</sup> – 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries)* (provisional title).

<sup>41</sup> Īsh Murād Ākhūnd b. Ādīna Muḥammad al-'Alavī, *Sulṭān al-lughāt*, MS from the private collection of Anbara Atamuradova and Allanazar Abdurahimov, ff. 2a–3b.

be no doubt that the *Mu'nis al-insān* refers to the *Mayāmin al-tarjumān va mu'nis al-insān*, a translation of which was completed by Īsh Murād Ākhünd more than a month before work was begun on the *Sulṭān al-lughāt* (see below).

The structure of the dictionary cannot be characterized as systematic. Entries can be under Arabic, Persian, Turkic, or even Mongol words (as determined by the author, of course), and it is completely unclear what criteria guided the compiler's selection of terms. Sometimes a word is translated only into one language, not into both "proposed" languages. It should also be noted that the origins of some words are incorrectly related by the compiler, for which, of course, he should not be harshly judged. For example, the word *barānghar* ("the right flank of the army"), which is of Mongolian origin, is given as Persian (f. 18a). Despite its obvious flaws, the dictionary is not without a certain value, mainly as guide to Khorezmian dialects. For example, in the *Jamshīdī ṭavāyifī fathī* we encounter the word *sūyghūn* (ff. 15b, 21a), which does not appear in well-known dictionaries, including in a dictionary of Khorezmian dialects.<sup>42</sup> From the *Sulṭān al-lughāt* we learn that this word means "deer" (f. 19a).

There are three known manuscripts of the *Sulṭān al-lughāt*. Two are held by the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts in St. Petersburg;<sup>43</sup> one manuscript found its way there from the collection of Alexander L. Kun<sup>44</sup>, while the other comes from the collection of Konstantin P. von Kaufman, meaning that both manuscripts came from the library of the Khivan *khāns* and were taken from Khiva after its occupation by the Russian troops in 1873. The third manuscript is stored in the personal library of Anbara Atamuradova and Allanazar Abdurahimov.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>42</sup> F. A. Abdullaev, *Ūzbek tilining Xorazm shevalari* (Tashkent, 1961).

<sup>43</sup> Dmitrieva, *Katalog tiurkskikh rukopisei*, nos. 881–882. The description incorrectly gives the hijri date as 1285.

<sup>44</sup> On him and his collection, see O. Yastrebova and A. Azad, "Reflections on an Orientalist: Alexander Kuhn (1840–88), the Man and his Legacy," *Iranian Studies* 48:5 (2015): 675–694.

<sup>45</sup> I would like to take this opportunity to express my sincere gratitude to them for allowing me access to the manuscript.