

# COMMUNITY ELDERS AND STATE AGENTS: *ĪLBĒĠĪS* IN THE EMIRATE OF BUKHARA AROUND 1900

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## *Abstract*

Around 1900, the Bukharan Emirate had a fairly large nomadic population. However, works on the Emirate of Bukhara have rarely addressed the details of the administration of nomadic groups. This article is an attempt to explore the realm of political middlemen at the interface between these groups and the state administration, using narrative sources and archival records of the Bukharan Emirate. A set of 20 letters related to the process of instituting community representatives called *īlbēgī* (lit. “chief of the tribe”), serves as a starting and focal point of analysis. Other Bukharan documents and Russian survey reports are also considered with a view to complementing and contextualising the information provided by these letters.

## I. INTRODUCTION

In a pioneer Western study of the history of Bukhara at the turn of the twentieth century, H. Carrère-d'Encausse outlines the Emirate's political power structure as consisting of two juxtaposed administrative systems: a top-down system of political control and a bottom-up system of political representation. Within the latter context, she briefly mentions that nomadic groups were represented by headmen called *īlbēgī* (*ēl-bēgī*).<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> I am grateful to Johann Büsow, David Durand-Guédy, Jürgen Paul and Carol Rowe for valuable comments on the first draft of this paper. All remaining mistakes are mine.

<sup>2</sup> “Les nomades enfin avaient à leur tête pour chaque tribu un *ēl-bēgī* chargé de les représenter auprès de l'*āmlōkdōr*. Les *ōqsoqōl*, *mīng-bōšī* et *ēl-bēgī* étaient choisis ou élus par la population qu'ils devaient représenter; ils étaient élus à vie, sauf dans les cas de délit grave; ils constituaient un élément de contact permanent entre les administrés et le pouvoir; jalon stable, mais sans efficacité réelle, leur rôle restant purement représentatif sauf lorsque les forces centrifuges qui agitaient l'Emirat les faisaient échapper au contrôle du pouvoir central” (Carrère d'Encausse, Hélène, *Réforme et révolution chez les musulmans de l'Empire Russe: Bukhara 1867-1924* [Paris: Armand Collin, 1966]: p. 56).

The concept of two basic and distinct modes of structuring the political field (top-down and bottom-up) will guide our investigation into relations between community elders and state agents in the Bukharan Emirate around 1900. However, Carrère-d'Encausse's statement on the *īlbēgī*, or *ēlbēgī* (in Russian also *il'begi*, *ēlbeḡi*, *ēl'begi*), as a regular feature of the administration of nomadic groups in Bukhara, will have to be qualified in the light of documentary evidence. First, *īlbēgīs* in Bukhara at around 1900 were far less common than she asserts in this generalised statement. Second, *īlbēgīs* also represented tribal and local communities that were sedentarised or sedentary.

Around 1900, the Bukharan Emirate had a fairly large nomadic population. One Russian observer estimates that, among a total population of three million, 500,000 were nomadic, and 1,700,000 were semi-nomadic.<sup>3</sup> Considering that nomadic people made up such a large proportion of the population and that the reported role of the *īlbēgī* was as representative of nomadic groups in the Emirate, there is strikingly little information on the *īlbēgīs* in relevant sources, such as archival records, travelogues and ethno-historical studies. Carrère-d'Encausse in fact based her account of the *īlbēgī* solely on the Russian officer and author D.N. Logofet,<sup>4</sup> and, incidentally, this is the only author – amongst at least a dozen contemporary Russian observers of the Emirate of Bukhara whose works I have consulted – who mentions headmen called *īlbēgī* at all. As an officer commanding Russian troops on the Afghan-Bukharan border, Logofet lived in Bukhara for several years around 1900.<sup>5</sup> At that time, according to one of his accounts, Bukhara was divided into 25 provinces,<sup>6</sup> which, in turn, were subdivided into between three and 25 districts, each under an official called an *amlākdār*. The affairs of individual villages and of clusters of villages were managed by elected headmen called Aksakal [*āqsaqāl*] and Ming-Baši [*mīng-bāšī*]

<sup>3</sup> Logofet, D[mitrii] N., *Bukharskoe khanstvo pod russkim protektoratom*. 2 vols (St Petersburg: Berezovskii, 1911): vol. 1, p. 187.

<sup>4</sup> Logofet, D.N., *Strana bezpraviya. Bukharskoe khanstvo i ego sovremennoe sostoyanie* (St Petersburg 1909): p. 34.

<sup>5</sup> Logofet started to publish in 1901, first a series articles in the Tashkent newspaper *Turkestanskije Vedomosti*. His books on Bukhara became very popular and influential in Russia (Becker, Seymour, *Russia's protectorates in Central Asia* [Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1968]: pp. 212-14.

<sup>6</sup> In Bukhara, a province was called *wilāyat*, and its governor either *hākim*, *mīr* or *bēk*. Logofet uses the Russian terminology, calling the governor “bek” and the administrative unit “bekship” (*bekstvo*). The number of provinces fluctuated. A Bukharan survey conducted in the 1910s lists 27 provinces (Mukhamedžanov, A.R. [ed.], *Naselennye punkty Bukharskogo ėmirata (konets XIX – nač. XX vv.* [Tashkent: National'nyĭ Universitet Uzbekistana im. Mirzo Ulugbeka; Tsentralnyĭ Gosudarstvennyĭ archiv Respubliki Uzbekistana, 2001]: p. 10).

respectively, whereas “the nomadic population of the Bekships, the sheep breeders, [had] their own elected chiefs (*načal’niks*) who [were] called Il’-Begi (chief of the tribe)”.<sup>7</sup> These headmen were not affected by provincial administrative reshuffles upon the appointment of new governors, but usually held their office for life, as long as no complaints of malpractice were received from the population.<sup>8</sup>

Logofet refers once to an *ilbēgī* whom he actually met: a leader of the “nomadic Qazaq (Russ.: *kirgiz*) tribe of Lokaï [Laqay]” of the province of Ĥiṣār, whom he met in Dahana-i Kiyik, 40 km south of Dushanbe, not later than 1906,<sup>9</sup> and who escorted him through tribal territory on his way to Qurḡān-Teppa. Logofet describes Dahana-i Kiyik as a mountain valley full of nomadic camps with some mud huts, two or three pens and a huge number of felt yurts.<sup>10</sup> The encounter with an *ilbēgī* of a mobile group of horse-breeders may well have shaped his notion of the *ilbēgī* as representing nomadic tribes.

Apart from Logofet, none of the Russian or West European travellers and observers of the Bukharan Emirate around 1900 mentions office-holders with the title *ilbēgī*, and neither do their contemporary Bukharan chroniclers. Nevertheless, Bukharan documents preserved in the Central State Archives of Uzbekistan, to which we shall refer below, confirm the term and office, as do oral history accounts that have been written down by ethno-historians and historians of Tajikistan and Uzbekistan since the late 1940s.<sup>11</sup> Both the archival material and the oral history accounts suggest that the term *ilbēgī* was primarily used in southern and eastern Bukhara, that is, in the area Logofet knew best.

<sup>7</sup> Logofet, D.N., *Strana bezpraviya*: pp. 31-2.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.: p. 34. In another work, Logofet slightly varies his account of the *ilbēgī* in the provincial administration (Logofet, *Bukharskoe khanstvo*, vol. 1, p. 241).

<sup>9</sup> Logofet mentions Astāna-Qūl as governor of Ĥiṣār, who held the post 1886-1906.

<sup>10</sup> Logofet, D.N., *V gorakh i na ravinakh Bukhary (Očerki Sredneĭ Azii)* (St Petersburg: Berezovskii, 1913): p. 266.

<sup>11</sup> Karmyševa, B. Ch., *Uzbeki-lokaitsy yužnogo Tadžikistana*. Vol. 1: *Istoriko-étnografičeskii očerk životnovodstvo v dorevoljucionnyĭ period* (Stalinabad: Akademiya Nauk Tadžikskoi SSR. Institut istorii, archeologii i étnografii, 1954): pp. 119, 125; Šaniyazov, K., “Osnovnye otrasli životnovodstva v dorevoljucionnom Uzbekistane”, in *Khozyaĭstvenno-kul’turnye traditsii narodov Sredneĭ Azii i Kazakhstana*, ed. T. Ždanko and K. Šaniyazov (Moscow: Izd. “Nauka”, 1975): pp. 188-93 (188-9, 193).

II. THE *ĪLBĒĠĪ*: HISTORY OF AN ADMINISTRATIVE TERM

The ethno-historian Karim Šaniyazov, in one of his lesser known articles, takes up the topic of the history and function of the *īlbēgī* (here: *el'begi*) of Bukhara without specifying his sources, except for a general reference to the work of Bel'kis Karmyševa, the other ethno-historian who mentions the term. Šaniyazov presents both data he collected during his field studies in southern Uzbekistan and a clear-cut theory on the history of the institution. According to him, the *īlbēgī* is an old institution of the Emirate of Bukhara that has later fallen into disuse except in the region of Qaršī.

However, a closer look at written sources suggests that the administrative term *īlbēgī* seems to have spread rather recently, after 1868, when Bukhara became Russian protectorate, and even then did not fully replace synonymous and presumably earlier terms for tribal representatives.

Historically, the *īlbēgī* as a political office seems to have originated in Iran under the rule of Karīm Khan Zand (1752-79), in a period of tribal resurgence and bureaucratic decline after the downfall of Nādir Šāh, whose military power had been based on ethnically, tribally and religiously mixed troops. When Karīm Khan Zand emerged as the winner of the power struggle, two new posts relating to the tribes appeared in Iran: the *īlhānī* (chief) of all the Lur tribes, and the *īlbēgī* (chief) of all the Turkish tribes of Fars. The *īlbēgī*, at that time, was a chief of a major tribe. He was appointed by the government, usually from among the members of the leading tribal families. He collected government taxes and was generally in charge of his tribe's affairs.<sup>12</sup>

In Bukharan sources, we first encounter the term *īlbēgī* in autumn 1171/1757 referring to a leader of the Uzbek tribe of Ming and governor of Balḥ, a province south of the Amu-Darya that had come under the supremacy of the Afghan Durrani state. The Bukharan court chronicler speaks of Ḥājī biy Ming as “*īlbēgī* of those people [the tribe of Ming] and the pillar of

<sup>12</sup> Lambton, A.K.S., “Tribal resurgence and the decline of the bureaucracy in eighteenth-century Persia”, in *Studies on eighteenth-century Islamic history*, ed. Thomas Naff and Roger Owen (Carbondale & Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1977) 108-29 + 377-82 (notes) (111). A text allegedly written in 1128/1716 that mentions *īlbēgīs* as leaders of tribal militia among the troops of the Safawid Šāh Sulṭān Ḥusain (Mustaufī, Muḥammad Ḥusain, “*Āmār-i māli wa nizāmī-yi Irān dar 1128*”, ed. Muḥammad Taqī Dānišpažūh, *Farhang-i Irān Zamīn* XX [1353/1975]: pp. 396-423 [397]) is not authentic, but originated in the late Zand or early Qajar period (see Floor, Willem, *Safavid government institutions* [Costa Mesa CA: Mazda, 2001]: pp. 214-15).

the province”.<sup>13</sup> As Ḥājjī biy Ming was officially acting as a governor of the Afghan state, the term *ilbēgī* may refer to a post there.<sup>14</sup>

A first sound indicator for the usage of the term *ilbēgī* in the administrative history of Bukhara comes from the western frontier of the Emirate in 1227/1812. In the colophon to a manuscript he had finished that year, the copyist gives his name as “Mulla Uraz mufti b. Ruzi Muhammad ilbegi Čardžui [\*Čahārjūyī]” and states that he had copied the book for a certain “Muhammad Yar dadkhah [\*dādḥwāh] Irsari, the son of Muhammad Salih dadkhah, ‘local ruler’ (*pravitel’ mestnosteĭ*) of Ulug-Tepe und Kunuš”.<sup>15</sup> Notwithstanding the lack of precision in technical terms (due to the Russian translation), this short note confirms that the father of the copyist held the post of *ilbēgī* in a Turkmen milieu on the left bank of the Amu Darya. When in Jumāda I 1176/November 1762-3 Bukharan troops conquered the town of Čahārjūy on the left bank of the Amu Darya, many Turkmen representatives (here: *āqsaqāl*) formally declared their submission to Bukhara.<sup>16</sup> Subsequently, Čahārjūy served as the base for Bukharan military campaigns into Qajar Iran, which led to the conquest of Merw around 1202/1788-9.<sup>17</sup> In this

<sup>13</sup> Karmīnagī, Qāzī Wafā, *Tuḥfa-i ḥānī* (MS Kazan, State University, inv. no. F-301): fol. 219b; ibidem (MS St Petersburg, Institute of Oriental Studies, inv. no. C-525): fol. 290ab.

<sup>14</sup> Aḥmad Šāh Durrānī had appointed the Uzbek amīr Ḥājjī Biy Ming as governor of the newly formed Afghan province of “Balḥ and all of Turkestan”, and, around 1755 conferred upon him the title of *ḥān* (McChesney, R.D., *Waqf in Central Asia: four hundred years in the history of a Muslim shrine, 1480–1889* [Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991]: pp. 215, 220-1, 230; Lee, Jonathan L., *The ‘ancient supremacy’: Bukhara, Afghanistan and the battle for Balkh, 1731-1901* [Leiden: Brill, 1996]: pp. 85ff). In the Uzbek Central Asian context, where the use of the title *ḥān* has been restricted to the sovereign, the Bukharan court chronicler had to avoid replace this title with a less prestigious one.

<sup>15</sup> *Sobranie vostočnykh rukopiseĭ Akademii Nauk Uzbekskoĭ SSR / Institut Vostokovedeniya im. Abu Reĭkhana Biruni*. Vol. 7, ed. A. Urunbaev and L.M. Epifanova (Tashkent: Izd. “Nauka”, 1964): p. 79 (no. 5064) Mullā Ūrāz muftī b. Rūzī Muḥammad *ilbēgī* Čahār-Jūyī, 1227/1812. He was copying the *Ḥamsa* of ‘Alīšēr Nawā’ī. Ulug-Tepe and Guneš are sub-tribes of the Ersari Turkmen (Komarov, Generalnogo staba kapitan, “Kratkie statističeskie svedeniya o plemenakh ěrsari, obitayuščikh levyĭ bereg Amu-Dar’i ot pograničnogo s Afganistanom seleniya Bossagi do Čardžuya, 1886 g.”, in *Sbornik geografičeskikh, topografičeskikh i statističeskikh materialov po Azii XXV* [1887]: pp. 278-97 [279]).

<sup>16</sup> Karmīnagī, *Tuḥfa* (MS Kazan): fols 268b-271a. Not in MS Tashkent, whose account stops a month earlier.

<sup>17</sup> Wood, William A., “The Sariq Turkmens of Merv and the Khanate of Khiva in the early nineteenth century” (PhD thesis, Indiana University, 1998): p. 53; Kügelgen,

historical and geographical context, where changing alliances of Turkmen tribes tipped the scales in the border conflict between Qajar Iran and Bukhara, administrative practices and terms, such as *ilbēgī*, may have spread into Bukhara.

Another early piece of evidence for the office of *ilbēgī* in the Bukharan administration, which can be tentatively dated to the 1830s,<sup>18</sup> is a letter of appointment (*manšūr*) for an *ilbēgī* of Qazaq subjects of Bukhara. The (abridged copy of the) letter, written in Central Asian Turki, appears in an *inšā'* collection composed around 1850 under the rubric “*ilbēgī* of the Qazāqs”:

Now, extending our kindness to the state and hopes (*šāmil-i ḥāl wa qarīn-i āmāl*) of the brave warrior such and such,

We have granted him exaltation and presented him the post of *ilbēgī* of the village (*mauza*) of Tāmlī [\*Tāmdī], Qulčūq, Āq-Tāgī, Ḥāl-Atā and Qara-Quduq, and of the Qazāqs dwelling in the steppe.

The above-mentioned community should know and respect him as *ilbēgī*, and treat him with honour and respect. They should not turn away from his good opinion regarding the welfare of the fortunate State or their own welfare.

The afore mentioned *ilbēgī* should be concerned about the welfare of the tribes, he should be informed about their flocks and herds, and he should control and record.<sup>19</sup> He should take good

Anke von, *Die Legitimierung der mittelasiatischen Mangitendynastie in den Werken ihrer Historiker (18.-19. Jahrhundert)* (Würzburg: Ergon, 2002): p. 355.

<sup>18</sup> There is an oral tradition about a Qazaq group that migrated into the political orbit of the Bukharan Emirate in the 1830s from beyond the Syr Darya. Daut batur, then leader of the Alčīn clan of the Qazaq Junior Horde, moved to the wells of Tamdy (which may well be the place spelled Tāmlī in the document). Upon reaching their destination, the Qazaq immigrants sent a depute to the Bukharan Emir Naṣrullāh. By becoming Bukharan subjects, they agreed to pay herd tax to the Emir (Khoroškhin A.P., *Sbornik statei, kasayuščikhsya do Turkestanskogo kraya* [St Petersburg: Tip. A. Tranšelya 1876]: pp. 466-7).

<sup>19</sup> *Žabṭ wa sarīšta qīl[sūn]* (*Majmū'a-i maktūbāt wa manšūrāt* [MS Tashkent, Institute of Oriental Studies, inv. no. 299/1]: fols 57ab. *Žabṭ wa sarīšta* is a standard expression for tax collection and fiscal management that occurs in letters of appointment for an *amlākdār* (*Manšūrāt* [MS Dushanbe, Institute of Oriental Studies, inv. no. 1533/II]: fol. 176a), for a governor of Samarqand, and a tax collector in the province of Qarākūl (*Maktūbāt wa manšūrāt* [MS St Petersburg, Institute of Oriental Studies, inv. no. A-212]: fols 79b-80a, 113a. The latter two are published by Šifatgul, Manšūr, *Pažūhišī dar bāra-i maktūbāt-i tāriḥī-i fārsī-i Īrān wa Māwarā'-an-Nahr: (Šafawīyān, uzbekān wa imārat-i Buḥārā); hamrāh bā guzīda-i maktūbāt* (Tokyo: Research Institute for Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, 2006): pp. 481-2, 504.

young men of the tribes and patrol in dangerous places; he should not be uninformed about highway robbery and evil rebels. Should evil rebels be captured, he should send and entrust them to the golden threshold [the ruler's residence]. He should report the young men who have conducted service to Our Majesty, We shall perform kindness.<sup>20</sup>

This letter of appointment describes two major tasks of the *īlbēgī*: first, to keep an eye on and record of the animal wealth of the tribespeople, and second, to organise armed patrols and gather information about highway robbers and bandits. These tasks were obviously related to the obligation to pay herd tax, and to safeguard the northern frontiers of the Emirate.

A further case was recorded in the early 1850s by Valikhanov in the expanding Khanate of Kokand. There, the term *īlbēgī* (here: *il'begi*) referred to Kokand officials posted to Qirghiz clans (Russ: rody). These *īlbēgīs* moved with "their camps" (Russ.: auly) in their "tribal territories" (Russ.: *ulusy*); they acted as mediators in conflicts, and collected fines due to the state treasury.<sup>21</sup> In letters of appointment that the Kokand Khanate issued to Qirghiz tribal leaders the term *īlbēgī* does not appear. Kokand usually granted the title of *bēk* to chiefs of Qirghiz clans.<sup>22</sup>

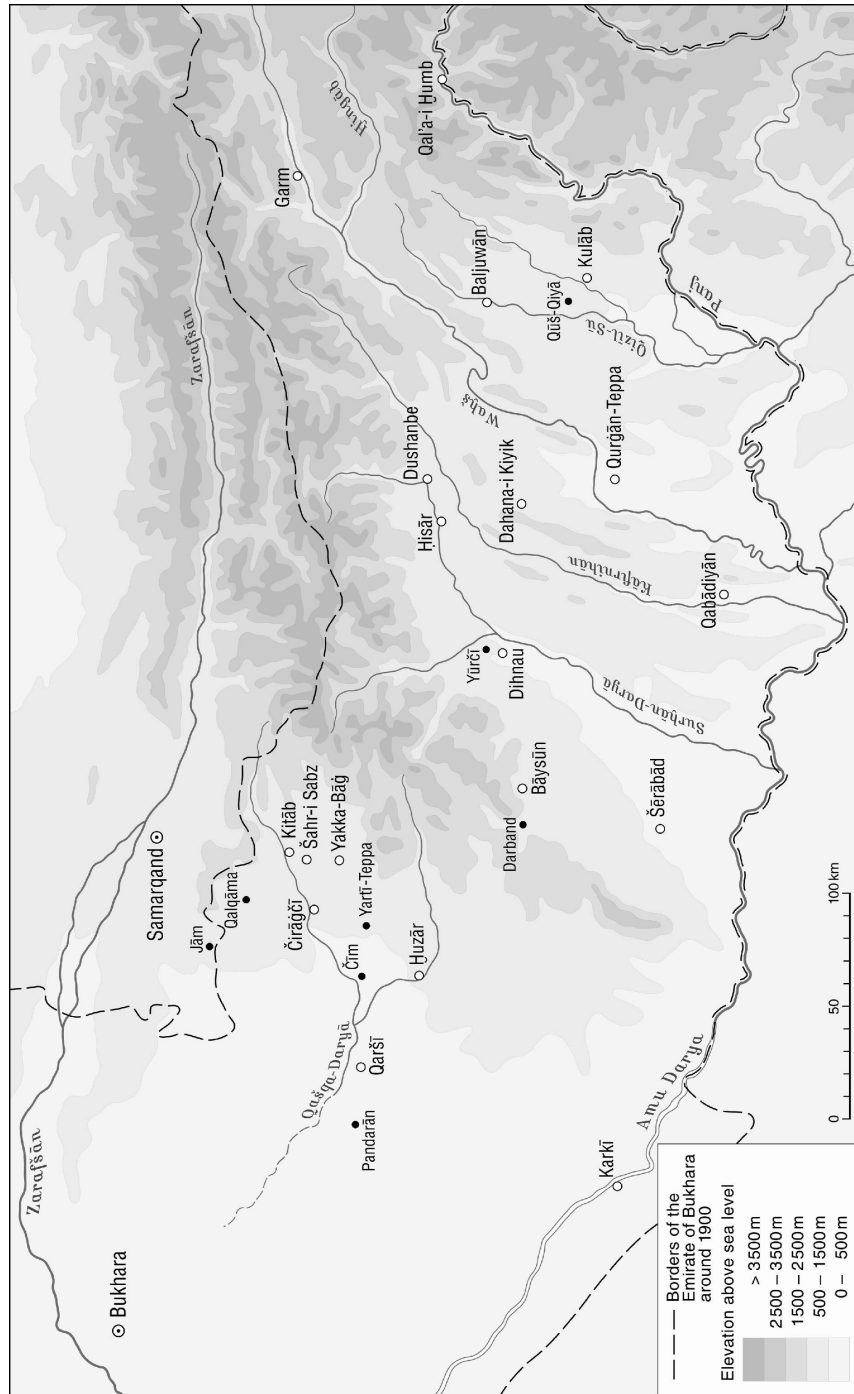
Finally, in 1886, the Central Asian Arabs of northern Afghanistan, most of whom had immigrated from Russian Turkestan and Bukhara since the 1870s, had a common *īlbēgī*, while their individual clans were represented by officials called *mīr-hazār* (P. "chief of thousand").<sup>23</sup>

<sup>20</sup> *Majmū'a-i maktūbāt wa manšūrāt* (MS Tashkent, Institute of Oriental Studies, inv. no. 299/1): fols 57ab.

<sup>21</sup> Valikhanov, Č.Č., "Opisanie puti v Kašgar i obratno v Alatau i Alatau", in *Sobranie sočineniĭ v pyatykh tomakh*, 2. izd., dop. i pererab., 5 vols. (Alma-Ata: Gl. Red. Kazakh. Sov. Ėntsiĭklopedii, 1985): vol. 3, pp 53-85 (74). It is not clear whether the *īlbēgīs* are identical with the individuals he calls clan leaders (*rodonačal'niki*). (Jacquesson, Svetlana, *Pastoralismes: Anthropologie historique des processus d'intégration chez les Kirghiz du Tian Shan intérieur* [Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2010]: pp. 43, 45).

<sup>22</sup> Ploskikh, V.M., *Kirgizy i kokandskoe khanstvo* (Frunze [Bishkek]: Izd. "Ilim", 1977): pp. 125-7.

<sup>23</sup> Barfield, Thomas J., *The Central Asian Arabs of Afghanistan: Pastoral nomadism in transition* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981): p. 20. According to Volin, who has studied the political representation of Arabs in the Emirate of Bukhara through *inšā'* literature of the early nineteenth century, their representatives were called *mīr-hazār* (Volin, S.L., "K istorii sredneaziatskikh arabov", in *Trudy vtoroi sessii assotsiatsii arabistov*, ed. I. Yu. Kračkovskii [Trudy Instituta vostokovedeniya, 36] [Moscow: Izd. Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1941]: pp. 111-26 [115-19]).



Southern and Eastern Bukhara around 1900 (draft: Matthias Gütte)



These four cases point to similar settings: the *ilbēgīs* appear as representatives of tribal groups on the political periphery, or in situations where political relations between sedentary states and mobile tribes had only recently been established and negotiated.

Bukharan archival documents from around 1900 inform us about communities represented by *ilbēgīs* which were located at the heart of the Emirate, among them a section of the Uzbek tribe of Manḡit from the region of Qaršī, the tribe to which the Emirs of Bukhara belonged. So, either the post of *ilbēgī* had previously existed here, unnoticed by Bukharan chroniclers and scribes, or it was introduced towards the end of the nineteenth century as part of a “new deal” between the state and tribal communities.

### III. A NOTE ON BUKHARAN ARCHIVAL DOCUMENTS

Around 85,000 Bukharan archival documents were recovered in 1931 in the basement of the ruined citadel of Bukhara. Most of these documents are not dated, but it has been established that the bulk of them relate to the period from 1870 to 1920.<sup>24</sup> Today, these documents are all kept in the Central State Archives of Uzbekistan as fund no. I-126, known as “Archive of the Košbegi of the Bukharan Emir”, in short “Košbegi Archive”. By repeatedly restructuring this collection, the archivists have stripped the documents off their original context.<sup>25</sup> The present archival infrastructure was shaped in the late 1960s and early 1970s,<sup>26</sup> and follows strictly formal guidelines. Documents with similar content are grouped together into a single file.

One of these files covers official reports and pleas regarding candidates for the post of *ilbēgī* in Bukharan communities. It contains a set of 20

<sup>24</sup> Pervyšev, I., “O dokumental’noī baze dlya istoriografii feodal’noī formatsii v Sredneī Azii”, in *Revoljutsiya i kul’tura v Sredneī Azii*. Vol. 1 (Tashkent: “Pravda Vostoka”, 1934): pp. 106-11.

<sup>25</sup> In the process of archival restructuring, the letters have been taken from their envelopes, which were destroyed (oral information by Dr Gulsara Astanova). Seal stamps cut out and glued to a number of existing documents seem to be remnants of the envelopes.

<sup>26</sup> The present inventory (Russ.: *opis’*), composed in 1969-73, has replaced an earlier one. Its structure differs to such an extent that references based on the earlier version have become useless; even a specialist like Kaukab Khakimova could not find material she had consulted and quoted according to the 1961 referencing system (Khakimova, K.Z., *Krest’yanstvo bukharskogo ėmirata v kontse XIX – načale XX v.* [Tashkent : Izd. “Fan”, 1991]: p. 4).

letters which will serve as a starting and focal point of the following assessment of selected Bukharan archival documents.<sup>27</sup>

Parallel files, which have not been reviewed systematically, assemble petitions related to the nomination of community representatives variously called: *āqsaqāl* (T. lit. “whitebeard”), *amīn* (lit. “arbitrator”),<sup>28</sup> *mīr-hazār*,<sup>29</sup> *mīng-bāšī* (T. lit. “head of thousand”),<sup>30</sup> *aḡāliq* (T. lit. “officiating as elder brother”),<sup>31</sup> *bābā* (lit. “father”), and *kalāntar* (“elder”),<sup>32</sup> the last two were representatives of craftsmen and townspeople.

The contents of these petitions are in many respects similar to the *īlbēgī* documents. Slight differences in the headman’s official functions point to different economic contexts. Whereas *āqsaqāl* and *amīn* were predominantly concerned with land taxation and irrigation, and ideally represented agricultural communities, the *īlbēgī* was concerned with the collection of herd tax, and ideally represented a pastoral community. There were, however, also representatives of pastoral groups who carried different official titles, such as *mīng-bāšī* in the case of the Turk of Kulāb,<sup>33</sup> or *mīr-hazār* in the case of the Central Asian Arabs, many of them mobile sheep-breeders.<sup>34</sup>

A second file in the Košbegi Archive which has been reviewed entirely for this study encloses 117 reports about the arrival and reception of newly appointed provincial governors (sg. *ḥākim*) in their new seats of power.

<sup>27</sup> Central State Archives of the Republic of Uzbekistan [henceforth: CSARUz], fund no. I-126 [henceforth: I-126], inventory no. 1 [henceforth: op.1], dossier no. 28 [henceforth: d.28], fols.1-20.

<sup>28</sup> Material on *āqsaqāls* and *amīns* is contained in CSARUz, I-126, op.1, dossiers nos 16-26. Two articles regarding functions of *āqsaqāls* are forthcoming: One by Andreas Wilde, “Whitebeards, village headmen and petitions”, in *Explorations on the social history of late modern and colonial Central Asia*, ed. P. Sartori and F. Schwarz, the other by Paolo Sartori, “The evolution of third-party mediation on Sharī‘a courts in 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup>-century Central Asia”, *JESHO* (forthcoming 2012).

<sup>29</sup> CSARUz, I-126, op.1, d.13.

<sup>30</sup> Only one document (CSARUz, I-126, op.1, d.27, fol.8).

<sup>31</sup> Most petitions contained in CSARUz, I-126, op.1, d.27 concern the nomination of community elders called *aḡāliq* in the provinces of Qaršī and Ḥuzār. Peščereva has collected oral traditions on these representatives (Peščereva, E.M., “Nekotorije etnografičeskie dannye ob agalykakh v karšinskom i šakhrisabzkom bekstvakh bukharskogo ėmirata v kontse XIX – načale XX v.”, in *Istoriya i etnografiya narodov Srednej Azii*, ed. A.K. Pisarčik [Dushanbe: Izd. Doniš, 1981]: pp. 5-13).

<sup>32</sup> CSARUz, I-126, op.1, d.20 (on *bābā*) and I-126, op.1, d.32-33 (on *kalāntar*).

<sup>33</sup> CSARUz, I-126, op.1, d.27 fol.8.

<sup>34</sup> CSARUz, I-126, op.1, d.13, fols 1-2.

These reports, as well as the petitions concerning community elders, were usually written by *qāzīs* and other legal experts.<sup>35</sup> They describe the initial ceremonial encounter and interaction between the major state agent and provincial executives and local representatives. Only two of these reports mention *īlbēgīs* among the crowd welcoming the new governor.

Further, several files that assemble reports related to the collection of herd tax (*zakāt-i sawāyim*) have been spot-checked with a view to see whether and how they depict *īlbēgīs* among the tax-payers and their representatives.

The narrow focus on an apparently uncommon term brings the methodological advantage of reducing an ocean of archival documents to a manageable corpus.

#### IV. REPORTS ON *ĪLBĒGĪ* CANDIDATES

As mentioned above, one of the thematically arranged files listed in (the first volume of) the inventory of the “Košbegi Archive” is the dossier no. 28, which assembles “petitions to the Bukharan Emir regarding the nomination of *īlbēgīs* in the Bukharan Emirate”.<sup>36</sup> The 20 documents kept in this file are undated. One of them, however, carries the seal of a petitioner that reads ‘*Abd al-Mu’min bēk biy 1308* (1890-91),<sup>37</sup> another petitioner, Tūra Ḥwāja *ṣudūr*, is known to have been governor of Šahr-i Sabz and Kitāb in 1895 and 1897.<sup>38</sup>

##### *The bureaucratic routine of nominating and appointing īlbēgīs*

The *īlbēgī* reports come down to us as fragments left over from an evidently larger body of documents related to the bureaucratic process of appointing headmen to represent tribal and village communities in the political field.

<sup>35</sup> CSARUZ, I-126, op.1, d.38.

<sup>36</sup> CSARUZ, I-126, op.1, d.28, fols 1-20.

<sup>37</sup> CSARUZ, I-126, op.1, d.28, fol.16. ‘Abd al-Mu’min biy was governor of Qaršī in 1894 (Tsepelkin, M.A. [ed.], “Zapiska P.M. Lessara o vnutreniem položenii Bukharskogo khanstva i ego otnošeniyakh s Rossiei (1895 g.)”, in *Sbornik russkogo istoričeskogo obščestva* V [2002]: pp. 96-126 [104]). In this context, *bēk* may signify the post of governor, whereas *biy* (lit. “chief”) is a Bukharan state rank not associated with any particular function.

<sup>38</sup> CSARUZ, I-126, op.1, d.28, fol.4. He is writing from Qaršī. On Tūra Ḥwāja *ṣudūr* as governor of Šahr-i Sabz and Kitāb in 1894 and 1897, see Tsepelkin, “Zapiska”: p.104 and Lipskiĭ, V.I., *Gornaya Bukhara: Rezultaty trekhletnikh putešestvii v Srednyuyu Aziyu v 1896, 1897 i 1899 godu*. Vol. 2: *Gissar’. Khrebet Petra Velikogo. Alai, 1897 g.* (St Petersburg: Izd. Imperatorskogo Russkogo Geografičeskogo Obščestva, 1902): p. 325.

They were nominated from ‘below’ and appointed from ‘above’. The letters under study illustrate one particular aspect of this process, an intermediate step in the rather complicated bureaucratic procedure of installing community representatives, namely the verification of the people’s choice of their proper representative by a trusted state agent posted to the provinces. The verifying authority, who acts upon a written instruction by the Bukharan Emir, is usually a *qāzī* or another legal expert, although provincial governors could also serve the purpose.

Both, governors and *qāzīs*, were state officials appointed by the central administration to outlying provinces, where they usually served from two to five years before they were transferred to positions in other provinces.<sup>39</sup> The *qāzī*’s function in cross-checking and reporting information directly to the political centre underlines his strong position in the province. Provincial politics in Bukhara seem to have been supervised and controlled by two high-level representatives of the central authority: the governor and the judge.<sup>40</sup>

The protracted bureaucratic procedure, in particular the verification process that ties the selection of tribal elders to legal administration, shows that tribal representation in southern Bukhara around 1900 was organised in a political arena that was heavily dominated by the central political power and its agents. The overall process is reflected in the structure of the

<sup>39</sup> See Šadr-i Žiyā, Muḥammad Šarīf, *The personal history of a Bukharan intellectual: The diary of Muḥammad Sharīf-i Šadr-i Žiyā*, trans. Rustam Shukurov; ed. Edward A. Allworth (Leiden: Brill, 2004); Salimbek, Mirza, *Tarikh-i Salimi (istočnik po istorii Bukharskogo emirata)*, trans. N.K. Norkulov (Tashkent: Akademiya, 2009).

<sup>40</sup> Regarding the importance of the *qāzī*, a Russian traveller noted in 1908: “The *bek* is not the sole master in the bekships. In each bekship there is a *kaziy* who fulfills judicial functions: he is a judge and nothing like of a notary; at the same time he has the role of a rural policeman (and) watchman, obliged to report on activities of the *beks* and all the officials. The need therefore arises for the *bek* to share his income with the local *kaziy*. Squabbling with the *kaziy* can cost the *bek* dearly. An eloquent denunciation can bring down the Emir’s terrible wrath upon the *bek*, who may not only be deprived of his post, but also not infrequently have his possessions confiscated too. Within a moment, an important official literally becomes a nobody” (Nečaeв, A.V., *Po gornoī Bukhare. Putevye očerki* [St Petersburg: Tip. M.M. Stasyul’kviča, 1914]: pp. 74-5). Archival documents confirm that the *qāzīs* did send or forward the complaints of the local population governors and their staff. A document of this kind was sent by Qāzī Mullā Mīr Imām al-Dīn and a local *qarāwulbēgī* (Seyid Nazor Bek karaoulbegi) from Dihnau in 1304 or 1305 (1886-8) suggesting that the governor, Almās *biy*, appoint more capable district chiefs (*amlākdār*) than the present ones who oppress the subjects (Mukhsinova, K.Z., “K istorii vystupleniī bukharskikh krest’yan protiv nalogovogo gnetā v kontse XIX v.”, *Problemy vostokovedeniya* I [1959]: pp. 94-9 [95, 97], referring to CSARUZ, I-126, op. 1 [old], d.101, fol.1).

reports about *ilbēgī* candidates (see the translated example in the appendix). The reports usually refer to two previously written communications, and summarise their contents: First, a petition from the community to the ruler – usually put in writing and sent by a governor – formally asking for the appointment of an *ilbēgī* proposed by the community;<sup>41</sup> Second, a letter from the ruler to the *qāzī*, ordering him to validate the choice of the candidate by the community.<sup>42</sup>

We understand from the information provided by the letters available that, upon the order of the ruler, the *qāzīs* set out to check whether the candidates for the position of *ilbēgī* truly reflected the will of the community. To this end, they either assembled a delegation of the community comprising members of all social ranks, high and low, or they sent an “able person” to the community to inquire whether the proposed candidate really represented the choice of the community members.

In all reported cases, the communities declared that they agreed on the candidate and wished that he be appointed as their representative by the Emir.<sup>43</sup> The *qāzīs* then wrote a report of their inquiry, and sent it to the Emir, adding their concluding and affirming remarks on the given case. This, in brief, is the major content of the letters under review.

The royal letters of appointment (*manšūr*) that the rulers subsequently issued to the nominated candidates are not included among the papers preserved in the file under review, nor have I been able to trace such documents amongst other Bukharan archival documents in the Central State Archives of Uzbekistan. Some original letters of appointment issued by Bukharan rulers are kept at the Biruni-Institute of Oriental Studies at the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Uzbekistan,<sup>44</sup> but there is no letter of appointment to the position of *ilbēgī* among them. Numerous specimens, copies and abridged versions of letters of appointment can be found in the rich body of *inšāʿ* literature, where, at last, we come across a

<sup>41</sup> Among the set of 20 letters there is one document of this kind (no. 7, see below).

<sup>42</sup> Some letters of the kind are to be found in a collection of letters from Emir Muḥaffar (1860-85) to *qāzī* Muḥiy al-Dīn (*Mubāraknāmajāt*, MS Tashkent, Institute of Oriental Studies, inv. no. 407). However, they refer to the nomination not of *ilbēgīs* but of other types of local representatives.

<sup>43</sup> Often the official report states that the community had recited a prayer (*duʿā*) for the well-being of the emir before confirming their choice.

<sup>44</sup> See Urunbaev, A., G. Džuraeva and S. Gulomov, *Katalog sredneaziatskikh zalovannykh gramot: iz fonda Instituta Vostokovedeniya im. Abu Raiḫana Beruni Akademii Nauk Respubliki Uzbekistan*. (Orientwissenschaftliche Hefte, 23, ed. W. Holzwarth) [Halle/Saale: Orientwissenschaftliches Zentrum der Martin-Luther-Universität, 2007]: nos 54, 65, 66, 89).

letter by which a Bukharan ruler appointed an *ilbēgī* of a Qazaq group, presumably in the 1830s.<sup>45</sup>

*The regional scope of the reports: A mixed agro-pastoral zone*

Insofar as they specify the names of provinces, the 20 documents concerning the appointment of *ilbēgīs* in the Emirate of Bukhara refer to regions in southern Bukhara, such as Karkī (fol. 2), Qaršī (fols 3, 10, 11, 15, 16), Kitāb (fols 6, 7, 9, 14, 18), Huzār (fol. 8), Čirāgčī (fols 12a, 12b,) and Šērābād (fol. 20). Thus, most of the petitions come from Qaršī and provinces to the east of it (see the attached map).

Taken together, these documents show representatives called *ilbēgīs* to be a widespread feature in the administration of tribal groups in southern Bukhara around 1900. It is not possible to work out to what extent groups represented by *ilbēgīs* led a nomadic way of life. In general, nineteenth-century European travelogues point to a strong, if declining, presence of pastoral groups in southern Bukhara.<sup>46</sup> A British traveller who visited the town (and oasis) of Qaršī in February 1825 informs us about a highly mobile section of its inhabitants:

The population is fluctuating, as the nomadic tribes come in with their families in winter and go out again in summer. The resident population, consisting in the largest portions of Tajiks, amounts to twenty thousand families: in the winter the number may be doubled, when the Uzbeks predominate.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>45</sup> *Majmū‘a-i maktūbāt wa maṣṣūrāt* (MS Tashkent, Institute of Oriental Studies, inv. no. 299/1): fol. 57ab. (See section 2).

<sup>46</sup> An early Russian report states that the population of Qaršī and surrounding villages consisted of nomadic and settled groups, Uzbeks and Tajiks, and that the town of Huzār (Guzar) was mostly populated by Uzbeks who lived in huts (Russ.: *mazan*) and nomadic camps (Russ.: *kočevye*) (Spasskiĭ, Grigoriĭ, “Novejščee opisanie Velikoĭ Bukharii. 3: Goroda, kreposti i seleniya v Bukharii. Razdelenie zemel’. Proizvedeniya. Dokhody”, in *Aziyatskiĭ vestnik*, IV [April 1825]: pp. 231-40 [238]).

<sup>47</sup> Moorcroft, William and George Trebeck, *Travels in the Himalayan provinces of Hindustan and the Panjab; in Ladakh and Kashmir, in Peshwar, Kabul, Kunduz and Bokhara from 1819 to 1825*, ed. Horace Hayman Wilson. 2 vols (London: John Murray, 1841; repr. Delhi: LPP, 2000): vol. 2, p. 502. This estimate probably includes the Qaršī oasis. According to another British traveller who saw Qaršī in June 1832, the town was a mile long and had 10,000 inhabitants. It was the biggest settlement in Bukhara, after the capital. The Qaršī oasis was about 22 miles wide (Burnes, Alexander, *Travels into Bokhara: being the account of a journey from India to Cabool, Tartary and Persia; [...] performed [...] in the years 1831, 1832, and 1833*. 3 vols [London: John Murray, 1834; repr. New Delhi: AES, 1992]: vol. 1: 261-2).

Later European observers add more nuances to the general image. Khanykov, who travelled through Qaršī in 1841, noted that among each of the Uzbek tribes there were “settled, nomadising agriculturalists, and nomadising” sections.<sup>48</sup> After 1868, when Bukhara became a protectorate of the Russian Empire, the Russian General Staff started to survey and map Bukharan territories. Lieutenant Evreinov, who in July 1887 reconnoitred the area between Jām, Qaršī und Huzār, which largely overlaps with the area from which most of the *ilbēgī* petitions come, reports that Uzbek tribes “nomadise” (Russ.: *kočuyut*) in the steppes of that area, namely the Mangit and Qaučin in the surroundings of Qaršī, the Sarāy along the road from Jām to Qaršī, and the Qungrat between Qaršī and Šahr-i Sabz, as well as in the mountains east of Guzar [Huzār].<sup>49</sup> Yet, Evreinov adds:

Concerning the population of the waterless steppes, it does not solely derive its livelihood from animal husbandry. On the contrary, only the rich Uzbeks, who at the beginning of the hot season move off into the mountains and in winter return to the steppe, lead a purely nomadic way of life. The poor Uzbeks, however, remain on one and the same place in the steppe with their not very many animals, where they are practising dry farming.<sup>50</sup>

In short, southern Bukhara was a region where nomadic and sedentary ways of life as well as pastoral and agricultural economic activities were combined in close proximity and small social units. In such a situation, a community represented by an *ilbēgī* would usually have comprised mobile and sedentary people of the same tribal affiliation.<sup>51</sup>

<sup>48</sup> Khanykov, N.V., *Opisanie Bukharskogo khanstva* (St Petersburg: Tip. Imp. Akad. Nauk, 1843): p. 66. In the English translation: “1, sedentary Uzbeks; 2, such as are engaged in agriculture, although continuing to lead a camp life; and, 3, such as are essentially nomadic” (Khanikoff, N.V., *Bokhara: its amir and its people*. Translated from the Russian of Khanikoff, By Baron Clement de Bode [London: Madden, 1845]: p. 81). Khanykov, who travelled from Samarqand to Qaršī in September 1841, further reports that the Mangit nomadise partly around Qaršī and partly around Bukhara, but many of them, especially the elders of the clans (*staršie rodov*) have settled down in the two cities (Khanykov, *Opisanie*: p. 63). The English version is misleading, as it states that especially the senior clans – “the elder branches, have established themselves in both these towns” (Khanikoff, *Bokhara*: p. 77).

<sup>49</sup> Evreinov, Generalnogo štaba polkovnik, “Rekognostsirovka puti čerez Džamskiĭ pereval’ na Guzar i na Karši 1887 g.”, *Sbornik geografičeskikh, topografičeskikh i statističeskikh materialov po Azii*, XXXVI (1888) : pp. 112–46 (119).

<sup>50</sup> Evreinov, “Rekognostsirovka”: p. 121.

<sup>51</sup> For centuries nomadic pastoralism had been practised here within a frame of settlements and agricultural land in the form of “enclosed” nomadism, in contrast to

An exceptionally nomadic tribe were the Qungrat, who have been frequently noted for their specialisation in animal husbandry, their nomadic way of life, and their wealth. Their main areas were the regions of Bāysūn and Šērābād, and the steppe between Qaršī and Ҳузār. Bāysūn was described as an “almost exclusively nomadic bekship”,<sup>52</sup> whose main wealth consisted of herds. In the 1870s some 2,000 tents of Qungrat from Bāysūn and Šērābād moved annually to summer pastures in the mountains south of Yakka-Bāg.<sup>53</sup> Another large group of Qungrat moved for wintering into the steppe between Qaršī and Ҳузār.<sup>54</sup> During summer this steppe was usually without human inhabitants, as from spring onwards the nomads moved into the mountains again. Both groups probably shared the summer pastures in the mountains between Bāysūn and Yakka-Bāg. Rich Qungrat herd owners of Bāysūn, at least from the 1880s, also used summer pastures much further east, in the mountains of Qarātegīn and Darwāz, especially in the Ҳingāb valley system.<sup>55</sup> Two of the *īlbēgī* letters refer to Qungrat groups: the Tuğūz-Qungrat (fol. 13) and the Qanjağālī of the province of Šērābād (fol. 20). The Tuğūz-Qungrat were an exception to the exception; they needed

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the “excluded” nomadism of the Great Steppe (Rowton, M.B., “Enclosed Nomadism”, in *JESHO* XVII [1974]: pp. 1-30; Fletcher, J.K., “The Mongols: Ecological and Social Perspectives” in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* XLVI/1 [1986]: pp. 11-50).

<sup>52</sup> Maev, N.A., “Maršruty i zametki po yužnym častyam Bukharskogo khanstva”, *Izvestiya Imperatorskogo Russkogo geografičeskogo Obščestva* XIV/4 (1878): pp. 361-86 (385).

<sup>53</sup> Grebenkin, A., “Šaagrisabzskaya dolina”, *Izvestiya imperatorskogo russkogo geografičeskogo obščestva* VIII/6 (1872): pp. 211-23 (217). Qungrat nomads were observed on the way to the mountains in late April [1880] in Šūrāb/Šērābād (Bonvalot, Gabriel, *De Moscou en Bactriane* [Paris: Plon, 1884]: p. 249), and on the way down on 23 September 1886 on the banks Surḥān-Daryā near Sar-i Jūy (Bonvalot, Gabriel, *Du Caucase aux Indes à travers le Pamir* [Paris: Plon, 1889]: pp. 173-5; idem, *Through the heart of Asia over the Pamir to India*, trans. C. B. Pitman. Vol. 1 [London: Chapman, 1889]: pp. 208-9).

<sup>54</sup> Maev, “Maršruty”, p. 386. In 1883, approximately 40,000 families were living in the bekship of Guzar. The majority of them were nomadic Qungrat, while the settled population consisted of Qaučīn-Uzbeks, Sarts, Khojas (*Ḥwājas*) and Tajiks. The Qungrat were rich herd owners; they nomadised in the Ҳузār mountains and foothills, and bartered their animals for wheat in the bazar of Ҳузār (Arkhipov, Generalnogo štaba kapitan, “Voennaya rekognostirovka ravinnoi časti Bukharskogo khanstva, proizvedennaya v 1883 g.”, *Sbornik geografičeskikh, topografičeskikh i statističeskikh materialov po Azii* X [1884]: pp. 171–238 [182]).

<sup>55</sup> Arandarenko, G.A. “Darvaz i Karategin (ėtnografičeskiĭ očerok)”, *Voenniĭ Sbornik* XXVI/11 (1883): pp. 140-59; XXVI/12 (1883): pp. 303-19 (142-3). The summer movement into Qarātegīn and Darwāz probably followed the opening-up of this region by the Emirate of Bukhara in 1876.



their *ilbēgī* for both, the collection of herd tax and land-tax (*zakāt wa ḥarāj*), signalling that members of this Qungrat group were engaged in agriculture to a considerable extent.

*Communities represented by ilbēgīs*

What kind of communities chose and proposed candidates to act as their *ilbēgī*? The senders of the petitions use two terms for these groups, namely *jamāʿat*, “tribal community” and *mauzaʿ*, “village community”. In our small sample of 20 letters,<sup>56</sup> 12 speak of tribal groups and eight of village communities.

| FOL.      | SENDER OF PETITION   | APPLICANT COMMUNITY                                  |
|-----------|--|--|
| 1         | Qāzī Mullā ʿUmar Ḥwāja <i>raʿīs</i>  | <i>jamāʿat</i> Naymān-Sarāy of Čīm and Yartī-Teppa   |
| 2         | not stated   | <i>jamāʿat</i> Ḥwāja-Ḥayrān of the province of Karkī |
| 3         | Muḥammad Akram <i>biy dādḥwāh</i> ;<br>Qāzī Mullā M. Baqā Ḥwāja <i>ṣudūr</i> | <i>jamāʿat</i> Qara-Mangīt of the province of Qaršī  |
| 4         | Tūra Ḥwāja <i>ṣudūr</i>  | <i>jamāʿat</i> Qara-Mangīt                           |
| 5         | unspecified template   | [no details]   |
| 6         | Qāzī Mullā Šālih Ḥwāja;<br>ʿAbdullāh Ḥwāja <i>ṣudūr</i>                      | <i>mauzaʿ</i> Qalqāma of Kitāb [province]            |
| 7 cf. 18  | ʿAbd al-Raḥīm <i>bēk biy dādḥwāh</i>   | <i>jamāʿat</i> Čihil-Čuyūt of the province of Kitāb  |
| 8         | Qāzī Mullā ʿAbd al-Qādir   | <i>mauzaʿ</i> Karšik of the province of Ḥuzār        |
| 9 cf. 14  | Qāzī Mullā ʿAbd al-Qādir   | <i>jamāʿat</i> Barlās of the province Kitāb          |
| 10 cf. 16 | ʿAbd al-Muʿmin <i>bēk biy</i>  | <i>mauzaʿ</i> Ḥitāy-Kēntī of the province of Qaršī   |
| 11        | ʿAbd al-Muʿmin <i>bēk biy</i>  | <i>mauzaʿ</i> Pandarān of the province of Qaršī      |
| 12 a      | Qāzī Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Ḥwāja;<br>Mulla Dāwud Ḥwāja <i>raʿīs</i>         | <i>jamāʿat</i> Qutčī (?) of the province Čirāgčī     |
| 12 b      | Qāzī M. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Ḥwāja  | <i>jamāʿat</i> Qalandarān of the province of Čirāgčī |
| 13        | Qāzī Mullā Muhtār  | <i>jamāʿat</i> Tuğūz-Qungrat                         |

<sup>56</sup> Fol. 5 is a template. No 12 has two letters on one folio.

|           |   |   |
|-----------|---|---|
| 14 cf. 9  | Qāzī Mullā ‘Abd al-Qādir  | <i>jamā‘at</i> Barlās of Kitāb province             |
| 15        | Qāzī Ğiyās al-Dīn <i>šudūr</i>                                  | <i>mauza‘</i> Qarluq of the province of Qaršī       |
| 16 cf. 10 | (seal) ‘Abd al-Mu‘min <i>bēk biy</i><br>1308/1890-1             | <i>mauza‘</i> Ĥitāy-Kenfī of the province of Qaršī  |
| 17 cf. 19 | (seal) Amānullāh Ĥwāja <i>mīrāḥūr</i>                           | <i>mauza‘</i> Darband with its dependencies         |
| 18 cf. 7  | not stated  | <i>mauza‘</i> Čihil-Čuyūt of province of Kitāb      |
| 19 cf. 17 | Qāzī Mullā Nazrullāh  | <i>mauza‘</i> Darband with Dih Pārakēnt             |
| 20        | (seals) ‘Abd al-Karīm <i>bēk</i> ;<br>Qāzī Mullā Muḥammad ‘Azīz | <i>jamā‘at</i> Qanjaǧalī of the province of Šērābād |

The high proportion of village communities represented by *īlbēgīs* may reflect a general process of sedentarisation. Two of the villages mentioned bear Uzbek tribal names, namely Ĥitāy-Kēntī (fols 10, 16) and Qarluq (fol 15). We can assume that these villages were basically settlements of Uzbek groups.

In at least two instances, the term *mauza‘* should be understood as an administrative unit larger than a single village. Thus, a Bukharan administrative survey of 1914 mentions Karšik (fol. 8) as a district (*amlāk*) of the province of Ĥuzār.<sup>57</sup> Darband was, as we know from the Russian officer and military topographer Maev, the centre of a district that comprised both sedentary Tajiks (settled in the village) and nomadic Qungrat in its dependency in the Šērābād valley.<sup>58</sup>

The term *jamā‘at* refers to tribal groups in all the identifiable cases.<sup>59</sup> Let us now take a closer look at three of them, namely the Qara-Manǧīt, the Naymān-Sarāy, and the Čihil-Čuyūt, in order to get a rough idea of what an Uzbek tribal community was.

<sup>57</sup> Mukhamedžanov, *Naseleńnye punkty*: pp. 298, 303.

<sup>58</sup> According to Maev, Darband was a small mountain village populated by Tajiks. Besides these villagers, the nomads of the adjoining region of *Dah-kara-kant* [which corresponds to the place name Dih Pārakēnt, in fol. 19] of the Šērābād valley were also subordinated to the *amlākdār* of Darband (Maev, N.A., “Ot Derbenta do Čushka-Guzar“, *Materialy dlya statistiki Turkestanskogo kraya*, ed. N.A. Maev, Vol. 5 [St Petersburg: Izd. Turkestanskogo statističeskogo komiteta, 1879]: pp. 150-65 [151]).

<sup>59</sup> Fols 1, 2, 3 and 4, 7 and 18, 9 and 14, 13, 20.

- The Qara-Manġīt (of the province of Qaršī)

Two petitions have been written for the Qara-Manġīt community (fols. 3 and 4), one of which specifically refers to the Qara-Manġīt of the Qaršī province.<sup>60</sup>

The first is written jointly by Muḥammad Akram *biy dādḥwāh*<sup>61</sup> and Qāzī Mullā Muḥammad Baqā Ḥwāja *ṣudūr*.<sup>62</sup> They state that [previously] the commoners of the Qara-Manġīt of the Qaršī province (*fuqarāyān-i jamāʿat-i Qara Manġīt-i wilāyat-i Qaršī*) had humbly informed His Majesty, telling the following: “Our *ilbegī*, Pīrīm-Qul by name, has died, and our community is being impeded in managing its own affairs (*ba umūrāt-i ḥwudhā muʿaṭṭalī kašīda istāda-īm*).” They further had expressed their wish that Mullā Jūra, a brother of the deceased and an able person qualified for the post of *ilbegī* should be provided with a royal letter of appointment (*manšūr-i mubāarak-i ʿālī*). Regarding this case, the petitioners continue, [meanwhile] a royal letter (*tabarruk-nāma-i ʿālī, tabarruk-nāma-i mubāarak-i ʿālī*) has reached them commanding them to ascertain and report back the wish of the community (*taḥqīq karda dānista ʿarż kunīd*). Accordingly, the petitioners report, they have assembled the Qara-Manġīt (*jamāʿat-i Qara-Manġīt*), inquired into the matter and received evidence confirming all the previous statements: The community hopes that a royal letter of appointment to the post of *ilbegī* may be bestowed on Mullā Jūra.

The second petition regarding the Qara-Manġīt is written by Tūra Ḥwāja *ṣudūr* (see appendix). He states that Suhrāb *tūqsāba*, Ismāʿīl *mīrāḥūr*, Musīb *qarāwulbegī* and the commoners of the Qara-Manġīt tribe (*jamāʿat*) had earlier appealed to the Emir and stated that they have been impeded in the conduct their affairs due to the death of their *ilbegī*, Maulān by name, and therefore wished Ḥwājam-Bērdī *āqsaqāl* to become their *ilbegī*. In this regard, Tūra Ḥwāja *ṣudūr* continues, a royal letter (*mihrbānī-yi maulāyam, šaraf-nāma-i humāyūn*) has been issued commanding him to verify and report the commoners’ wish (*taḥqīq karda ḥwāhiš-i fuqarāyān-rā dānista ʿarż kunīd*). Thereupon the petition writer assembled people of

<sup>60</sup> Fols 3 and 4; fol. 4 does not explicitly mention the province.

<sup>61</sup> Probably Akram *bēk* (*Ėkrem-bek*), a Hazāra slave of Amir Muẓaffar who made a military career, and for a while, during the early years of Emir ʿAbd-al Aḥad, was governor (*bēk*) of Qaršī (Tsepelkin, “Zapiska”: p. 103).

<sup>62</sup> This is [Muḥammad] Baqā Ḥwāja *ṣudūr*, who in 1908 was promoted from the post of *qāzī* of Čahārjūy to *qāzī-kalān* of Bukhara city (Šadr-i Žiyā, *Personal history*: pp. 248-9) – a post he still held in 1910 (Madžlisov, A.R., *Agrarnye otnošeniya v Vostočnoj Bukhare v XIX načale XX vv.* [Dushanbe & Alma-Ata: Izd. “Irfon”, 1967]: p. 53).

higher as well as lower standing of the said community (*kalān [u] ħurd-i jamā'at-i mazkūr*), inquired of them and verified the previous statements, in particular that all the Qara-Manġīt hoped that a letter of appointment to the post of *ilbēgī* (*manšūr-i mubāarak-i ilbēgīgī, yarlīq-i mubāarak-i ilbēgīgī*) might be issued to Ĥwājam-Bērdī.

It is not possible to connect the two cases related above. The names given for previous office-holders and preferred candidates do not match. The second case may even refer to the Qara-Manġīt of some province other than Qaršī, where the Qara-Manġīt may have had their own provincial *ilbēgī*. Tūra Ĥwāja *šudūr*, the writer of the second petition is known to have been governor (*bēk*) of Šahr-i Sabz in 1895 and 1897.<sup>63</sup> We do not know when he was serving in Qaršī.<sup>64</sup>

The Manġīt to which the Qara-Manġīt belonged<sup>65</sup> were the most powerful tribe in Bukhara; they were the tribe of the Manġīt dynasty that had ruled the country since the middle of the eighteenth century. The centre of the Manġīt was in the region of Qaršī.<sup>66</sup> According to a Bukharan chronicler writing around 1830,<sup>67</sup> the Manġīt (*jamā'at-i Manġīt*) consisted of 12,000 families and were stratified in three status groups: the political elite, the common tribespeople, and the clients.

The political elite were the Tūq-Manġīt (*jamā'at-i Tūq-Manġīt*), roughly 1,000 families in four sections (sing.: *firqā*). First, the Yarlī-Tūq, who were the royal house, made up of 300 families divided into two groups, one of them called “sultans and offspring” (*salāfīn wa awlād*) the other “great men and emirs” (*akābir wa umarā*). A second section of the elite, though not of the ruling lineage, were the Qūzī-Qūjqār-Tūq, consisting of more than 300

<sup>63</sup> On his being governor of Šahr-i Sabz and Kitāb, see above, and Lipskiġ, *Gornaya Bukhara II*: p. 325.

<sup>64</sup> There is a report about Tūra Ĥwāja *šudūr* becoming governor of Qaršī; it does not reveal the year (CSARUZ, I-126, d.38, fol.98).

<sup>65</sup> Both spellings occur in our sources: Manġīt and Manġit. In the following the latter spelling will be given preference and applied throughout.

<sup>66</sup> Kubakov, Karšibaġ, *Ėtničeskġ sostav sel'skogo naseleniya verkhnei Kaškadar'i v kontse XIX – načale XX v. (istoriko-ėtnografičeskoe issledovanie)*. PhD abstract (avtoreferat dissertatsii) (Tashkent: Izd. “Fan”, 1973): p. 26.

<sup>67</sup> Muĥammad Ya'qūb b. Muĥammad Dāniyāl, *Risāla* (MS St Petersburg, Institute of Oriental Studies, Academy of Sciences, inv. no. C-1934 [concluded in 1246/1830-31]: fols 1a-2a. In another version of his work, *Gulšan al-mulūk* (MS St Petersburg, Institute of Oriental Studies, inv. no. C-1141): fols 122b-198b [second redaction, written in 1247/1831-32], Muĥammad Ya'qūb narrates the historical traditions of the Manġīt (on fols 157a-158a). This account starts with the arrival of the Manġīt in Māwarānnahr and stresses their close alliance with the Kenagas (Kēnagas) and Čuyūt (Juyūt) at that time. On Muhammad Ya'qūb and his works see Kügelgen, *Legitimierung*: pp. 150-7.

families, whom the author describes as “pastoral nomads in the steppes administered by Qaršī”.<sup>68</sup> A third section of the elite, the Kūkādārī-Tūq, lived in the village Šakar-Jūy, south-west of Qaršī. A fourth section, the Qarābūr-Tūq, lived in the village of Qūrūq ‘Abda north of Qaršī.

The Qara-Manġit (5,000 families), along with the Tīmūr-Ḥwāja-Manġit (1,500 families) and the Ūč-‘Urūq (3,000 families), formed the main tribal body. The Qara-Manġit in turn were divided into 12 sections, all named by the author, each of them divided into still smaller units.

The clients of the Tūq-Manġit – called *Qūrama-i Tūq-Manġit* – who formed a third social stratum of the Manġit, fell into 12 different groups who had been integrated into the Manġit tribe through a tribute relationship (*sālūg dāstand*) to the Tūq-Manġit.<sup>69</sup>

In 1866-8, the years of Russian conquests and establishment of Russian supremacy in Bukhara, the chiefs of three Manġit sub-tribes – Tūq-Manġit, Tīmūr-Ḥwāja-Manġit, and Qara-Manġit – appear as political and military actors.<sup>70</sup> None of them is referred to by the title of *īlbēgī*.

In 1924 the population of the tribe of Manġit was estimated at nearly 100,000 people.<sup>71</sup> A third of them may have been Qara-Manġit. In the case of the Qara-Manġit, the *īlbēgī* thus represents a fairly large group, though not the whole of the tribe.

- The Čihil-Čuyūt of the province of Kitāb

Two petitions refer to the nomination of an *īlbēgi* for the Čihil-Čuyūt community of Kitāb (fols 7 and 18). Their contents resemble each other to such an extent that they may be perceived as documents referring to one and the same case.

The first letter is a short note in which ‘Abd al-Raḥīm *bēk biy dādḥwāh*, probably the governor of Kitāb,<sup>72</sup> informs the Bukharan Emir about a request by the Čihil-Čuyūt community of the province of Kitāb, which is

<sup>68</sup> *Bādīa-nišīn māldār-and ba-šahrāhā-yi šahr-i Qaršī* (Muḥammad Ya‘qūb, *Risāla*: fol. 1a).

<sup>69</sup> Among them were people of Iranian descent and administrative servitors (*Īrānī wa ġulamān-i ‘amaldār*) (Muḥammad Ya‘qūb, *Risāla*: fol. 1b).

<sup>70</sup> Sāmī, Mīrzā ‘Abd al-‘Azīm, *Tuḥfa-i šāhī* (MS Tashkent, Institute of Oriental Studies, inv. no. 2091): fol. 230b).

<sup>71</sup> Magidovič, I., “Naselenie” in *Materialy po raionirovaniyu Azii*, Kn. 1: *Territoriya i naselenie Bukhary i Khorezma. Č. 1: Bukhara* (Tashkent: Komissiya po raionirovaniyu Sredneĭ Azii, 1926): pp. 149-251 (177).

<sup>72</sup> Fol. 7, addressing the ruler with the formula “*banda nawāzā*” (O you who cherish the slave!).

presented in the third person plural: They previously did not have an *ilbēgī*, now they want to promote a certain Muḥammad Murād *bāy* (lit. “a rich man; wealthy herd owner”), an honest person, to be their *ilbēgī*. The letter underlines that they are presently being impeded in managing their own affairs – as in the petitions that report a temporary vacancy for an *ilbēgī* after the death of the previous one.

The second letter that takes up the case of the Čihil-Čuyūt is a formal petition (*ariža-dāšt*).<sup>73</sup> Here, an anonymous “slave” of the Emir, maybe a *qāzī* of Kitāb province, addresses the Emir in elaborate eulogies and basically reiterates the message sent by the governor. Still, there are differences. He names the wealthy herd owners (*bāyhā*) of the Čihil Čuyūt community who have come to him to voice their request – “Ēr-Nazar *amīn*, Suyūn *bāy*, Šēr ‘Alī *bāy*, Ḥwājam-Bērdī *bāy* and others”. Their request is presented in the first person plural: “We do not have an *ilbegī* in our community. We are impeded in some regards. We pray that the Supreme State may make Muḥammad Murād *bāy*, a sincere and humble man, *ilbēgī* in our community.” Subsequently, the petition writer adds his own endorsement: “The named person, upon the wish of the said community, may become *ilbēgī* and be exalted with the *ilbēgī* diploma.”<sup>74</sup>

We do not know whether the Čihil-Čuyūt, who previously did not have an *ilbēgī* responded to some administrative re-organisation by nominating a candidate, or whether this act marked a step in a process of community formation and tribal-administrative segmentation. By declaring its will to interact independently and directly with state agencies, the community may have broken away from the Čuyūt. The Čuyūt, in turn, in the 1870s were considered as sub-group and political elite of the Kenagas.<sup>75</sup> During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Kenagas had their stronghold in the region of Šahr-i Sabz and Kitāb. Jūra Bēk, the last pre-colonial ruler of Kitāb, estimated the Kenagas at some 20,000-25,000 families, among them 3,000 families who led a nomadic way of life.<sup>76</sup>

<sup>73</sup> Fol. 18.

<sup>74</sup> *Nāmburda-i mazkūr az rū-yi ḥwāhīš-i jamā‘at-i mazkūr ilbēgī šuda ba-mašūr-i ilbēgīgarī sarafrāz mišuda bāšad.*

<sup>75</sup> In the early 1870s, according to Grebenkin, Šahr-i Sabz was populated mostly by Kenagas. The Kenagas were divided into Tarakhli, Ača-Maili, Qara-Saili, Owakhli and Čiyut, “whom they consider the most senior among the Keneges.” (Grebenkin, “Šaarisabzskaya dolina”: p. 218), cf. Bekčurin, I., “Šakhrisabzskoe vladenie po rasskazam Džura-beka i Baba-beka”, in *Materialy dlya statistiki Turkestanskogo kraya*. ed. N.A. Maev, Vol. 2 (St Petersburg: Izd. Turkestanskogo statističeskogo komiteta, 1873): pp. 84-92 (85).

<sup>76</sup> Bekčurin, “Šakhrisabzskoe vladenie”: p. 86.

The name Čihil-Čuyūt appears in lists of villages in the province of Kitāb that were drawn up in 1914 and 1916 as part of a country-wide survey upon the initiative of the last Bukharan Emir.<sup>77</sup> As an Uzbek group in Bukhara, the Čihil-Čuyūt is mentioned in a survey of 1924, which says they number 290 persons and identifies them as a section of the “Čuyut-Keneges”, who numbered 5,825 persons.<sup>78</sup> As such, the Čihil-Čuyūt must have been one of the smallest tribal groups represented by an *ilbegī*.

- The Naymān-Sarāy of Čīm and Yartī-Teppa

A petition by Qāzī Mullā ‘Umar ḥwāja *ra’īs* reports and confirms that the Naymān-Sarāy community’s *ilbegī* Mirzā-Yār has died and that their wish is to have a certain Mullā Bēk Tāš, a sincere man, as his successor. The first message states that a group of notables (names specified) has declared: Mirzā Yār, the *ilbegī* of our community has died, “we are impeded in our own affairs and in some tasks such as the collection of ‘fortress-money’ (*qurgān-pulī*) and the payment of herd tax (*zakāt-i sawāyim*)” and wish to have Mullā Bēk Tāš as our new *ilbegī*.

The *qāzī* received a royal order to verify the case, and accordingly organised a kind of electoral assembly in the town of Yartī-Teppa, about which he reports:

On a Monday in the bazar of Yartī-Teppa [I] assembled the notables (*kalān šāwandahā*) of the said community, and Ḥasan *čuhra-āqāsī*, Jūra *yūz-bāšī*, Jawlī *amīn*, Muḥammad-Qul *bāy*, Naurūz *bāy*, Yūsuf *bāy*, Amān-Turdī *bāy*, Amīn *bāy*, Mullā Šāhī-Qul, Ḥwāja-Murād *bāy* - [in total] hundred men (*šad nafar ādam šawanda*) of the said community have come. After having prayed for His Majesty, they said: “May we be subjected to the mercy of His Majesty! As a matter of fact (*wāqi’an*), we are impeded in tasks like the collection of *qurgān-pulī* and the payment of herd tax because we do not have an *ilbegī*. We do have Mullā Bēk Tāš, who is a sincere person, and we hope and wish him to perform as *ilbegī* in our community.”<sup>79</sup>

<sup>77</sup> A Bukharan document mentions two villages called Čihil-Čiyūt – an upper and a lower one – in the province of Kitāb, both located in the district (*amlāk*) of Aftāb-Rūya (Mukhamedžanov, *Naselennye punkty*: p. 150).

<sup>78</sup> Magidovič, “Naselenie”: pp. 177, no. 144 (*Čil’-Džagaut*), 179, no. 149 (*Čiyut*).

<sup>79</sup> CSARUZ, I-126, op.1, d.28, fol.1. In his conclusion, the *qāzī* adds his endorsement: “Thus, this unknowing and absolutely imperfect slave [I, the *qāzī*] upon the kind grace of His Majesty, my master has understood the wish of subjects and slaves and submits that a royal diploma (*manšūr-i mubārak*) is hoped for Mullā Bēk Tāš”.

The Naymān and the Sarāy are well established Uzbek tribes, whereas the composite Naymān-Sarāy is not documented by earlier sources. According to an oral tradition, the Naymān arrived in Ҳузār and Qaršī as refugees from Bāysūn and Šērābād in the mid-eighteenth century.<sup>80</sup> The Sarāy were firmly established in the regions of Ҳузār and Čirāgčī. They usually sided with the Manġits in tribal conflicts with the Kenagas of Šahr-i Sabz. Around 1870, the Sarāy were masters of both the steppe near Ҳузār and the steppe between Qaršī and Jām. They were semi-nomads, nomadising and tilling the soil, and they did military service for the Manġit Emirs, for which their leaders received military ranks up to *tūqsāba*. Sarāy and Naymān lived together on good terms.<sup>81</sup>

Yartī-Teppa had been a fortified place and a bone of contention between the Manġit ruler and the Kenagas chief in the 1820s. After the fortress was razed to the ground,<sup>82</sup> the place was still, in 1891, of some importance as a market-place and as the seat of a district prefect (*amlākdār*).<sup>83</sup> In the vicinity of Yartī-Teppa and Čīm, which also once had a strong fortress,<sup>84</sup> the Sarāy and Naymān, acting jointly as Manġit border guards, seem to have formed a stable alliance that sided with the Manġit. With the Sarāy as senior and the Nāymān as junior partner, this alliance may have gradually developed into a new composite tribal body.<sup>85</sup>

<sup>80</sup> Grebenkin, A.D., “Uzbeki”, in *Russkii Turkestan: Sbornik izdannyi po povodu politekhnicheskoi vystavki*, ed. N.A. Maev and V.N. Trotskii. 3 vols (Moscow: Universitetsk. tip., 1872): vol. 2, pp. 51-109 (81).

<sup>81</sup> Idem, “Uzbeki”: pp. 89-90.

<sup>82</sup> *Tārīkh-i Amīr Haidar* quoted by Pavel P. Ivanov (*Vosstanie kitaī-kipčakov v Bukharskom khanstve 1821–1825 gg. Istočniki i opyt ikh issledovaniya* [Trudy Instituta Vostokovedeniya 28] [Moscow-Leningrad: Izd. Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1937]: pp. 107-8).

<sup>83</sup> Belyavskii, Generalnogo štaba pol’kovnik, “Opisanie obrekognostsirovannogo učastka, zaključayuščego sebe proīdennye puti v predelakh Šaar-sabiz, Guzarskogo bekstva i časti nagornoī Derbentskoī vozvyšennosti”, *Sbornik geografičeskikh, topografičeskikh i statističeskikh materialov po Azii LVII* (1894): 87-153 (131). Russian sources call the place “Yar-Tepa”. A map published by Logofet locates it on the same spot where modern maps show the town of Qamaši, half way between Ҳузār and Yakka-Bāg (Logofet, D., *Na granitsakh Sredneī Azii. Putevye očerki*. 3 vols [St Petersburg: Berezovskii, 1909]: Appendix: Karta yužnoī pogrannično polosy Aziatskogo Rossii. Izd. Voенno-Topogr. Upravl. Gener. Št). In 1914, the Bukharan provincial administration reported 28 villages in the *amlāk* Yartī-Teppa. One of these villages was Čīm (Mukhamedžanov, *Naselennykh punkty*: p. 301).

<sup>84</sup> Stremoukhov, N., “Poezdka v Bukharu”, *Russkii Vestnik* CXVII/6 (1875): 630-95 (658). In 1873 Čīm was but an insignificant village.

<sup>85</sup> In 1924, the Saray numbered nearly 36,000 persons, and the Nayman 12,000, see Magidovič, “Naselenie”: pp. 177-8. Around 1970, in the Upper Qashqa-Darya region,



V. THE ROLE OF THE *ĪLBĒGĪ*

What can the reports on *īlbēgī* candidates, complemented by other available written and oral sources, tell us about their role and duties?

There were no electoral terms. An *īlbēgī* once chosen by the community and confirmed by the ruler usually seems to have held this post for the rest of his life. In more than half of all the cases when communities declared they were in need of a new *īlbēgī* it was because the previous office holder had died; in four cases, the previous office holder is said to have acted inappropriately and forfeited the official role through his own mistake,<sup>86</sup> and in another four cases, the communities simply state that they did not have an *īlbēgī*.<sup>87</sup>

In four cases, the proposed candidate was a close agnatic relative of the deceased office holder, such as a son, a younger brother, a nephew (brother's son).<sup>88</sup> In addition, there is a case where a community that simply states "we have no *īlbēgī*" affirms that both the father and the grandfather of their candidate had held the very same office.<sup>89</sup> Thus, there seems to have been a tendency to gain access to and inherit the post within prestigious lineages and families. In this regard the scant sample supports Šaniyazov, who stresses the hereditary transmission of the post of *īlbēgī* from father to son in the nineteenth century. However, Šaniyazov's assertion that this was not the case in the eighteenth century, when the element of free eligibility prevailed, is not convincing.<sup>90</sup> First, as already stated above, there is no historical source on the *īlbēgī* in eighteenth-century Bukhara. Second, judging from the available information, Uzbek tribal groups in the Emirate were hierarchically organised, with clearly identifiable senior clans, lineages and families.

Even candidates from senior and privileged families needed appropriate personal qualities to persuade notables and commoners – and ultimately also the Emir. The proposed candidate was usually described with two of the following adjectives: *ba šalāḥ*, "sincere"; *bīčāra*, literally "helpless; destitute", but here obviously in the sense of "humble" (signalling submissiveness); and *'uhda-barā'ī*, "mastering the obligation".

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the Nayman-Saray were considered a branch of the Saray (Kubakov, *Ėtničeskii sostav*: pp. 20-1.

<sup>86</sup> CSARUZ, I-126, op.1, d.28, fols 8, 12b, 13, 14.

<sup>87</sup> CSARUZ, I-126, op.1, d.28, fols 7, 12a, 17, 19.

<sup>88</sup> CSARUZ, I-126, op.1, d.28, fols 2, 3, 11, 20.

<sup>89</sup> CSARUZ, I-126, op.1, d.28, fol.12a.

<sup>90</sup> Šaniyazov, "Osnovnye otrasli": p. 193 (note 2).

The people of Darband with its dependencies (Dih-Pārakēnt) wanted one person to perform two different communal duties. They proposed an *īlbēgī* candidate who had been appointed to the position of *amīn*, that is occupied with the collection of land tax, five years before, and stated in his favour that “he has served the palace and made the common people (*fuqarā*) content, and he himself is a sincere, competent (*‘uhda-barā’ī*) and humble person.”<sup>91</sup>

In cases where *īlbēgīs* had forfeited their office and lost the trust of the community, some negative characteristics appear. Thus the people of Karšik reported that their *īlbēgī* “deceives and oppresses the common people”, and “has shattered the consent and favour of his *īlbēgī*-ship.”<sup>92</sup> An *īlbēgī* who “acted carelessly”, or who “often acted negligently and carelessly” was also undesirable and unacceptable.<sup>93</sup>

As for the *īlbēgī*’s responsibilities, the petitions usually state that he is needed for the management of community matters (*ba-umūrāt-i jamā’at*) that have been impeded (*mu’aṭṭalī mīkašīda*).

A hint at one of these internal functions is found in oral history accounts. In the late 1940s and early 1950s Bel’kis Karmyševa recorded among the Uzbek tribe of Laqay in Eastern Bukhara (Southern Tajikistan) that the *īlbēgī* of the lineage of Debet (of the clan of Bayram) in Baljuwān used to lead the seasonal migrations and allocate grazing land in both summer and winter pastures to individual households, according to the number of their flocks. The *īlbēgīs* were also involved in the stock-taking of herds, which, in the region of Kulāb, was done on the way to the summer pastures.<sup>94</sup> However, oral traditions of another Laqay lineage of Baljuwān, the Šakey,<sup>95</sup> recorded by the present author in 2010, do not elaborate on the *īlbēgīs*’ role in allocating grazing rights. What they record most vividly is the *īlbēgī*’s enormous wealth in herds, and his role in *zakāt* collection. For that purpose the *īlbēgī* established himself in Qayqī,<sup>96</sup>

<sup>91</sup> CSARUZ, I-126, op.1, d.28, fol.19.

<sup>92</sup> *Rižā wa rağbat-i īlbēgīgī-yi ħwud-rā salb kard* (CSARUZ, I-126, op.1, d.28, fol.8).

<sup>93</sup> CSA, I-126, op.1, d.28, fols 12b, 13, 14.

<sup>94</sup> Karmyševa, *Uzbeki-lokaitsy*: pp. 119, 125 (stock-taking). Šaniyazov (“Osnovnye otrasli”: p.188) also mentions the *īlbēgī*’s responsibility for communal pastures.

<sup>95</sup> “Šakey” was also the name of a district (*amlāk*) in the province of Baljuwān (see Pokotilo, N., *Otčet o poezdke v predely tsentral’noi i vostočnoi Bukhary v 1886 godu generalnogo štaba kapitana Pokotilo* [Tashkent: Tipografiya Okružnogo Štaba, 1888]: p. 78 [Šakai]; Mukhamedžanov, *Naseleнные пункты* : pp. 382, 392 [Šakī]).

<sup>96</sup> About 30 km north-east of Qūš-Qiyā.

where he put up a golden rod in front of his yurt, and collected the *zakāt* from individual herd owners on their way to the summer pasture.<sup>97</sup>

*Functions related to the levy of zakāt and other taxes*

Five nominations of *ilbēgī* candidates specify that the collection of herd tax (*zakāt-i sawāyim*) is a central area of the *ilbēgī*'s responsibility. One community missed the performance of an *ilbēgī* "at the time of herd tax collection",<sup>98</sup> and another one states: "Because we do not have an *ilbēgī*, we are impeded with regard to the herd tax due to the palace".<sup>99</sup> In Darband, one person held two positions in his community simultaneously. As a holder of the post of *ilbēgī* he was responsible for the collection of herd-tax, and as bearer of the title *amīn* he was responsible for the collection of *ḥarāj*.<sup>100</sup> Among the Naymān-Sarāy who lived around the (former) fortresses of Čīm and Yartī-Teppa, the *ilbēgī* was needed for two specified tasks: the payment of herd-tax and the collection of *qurgān-pulī*, (lit. "fortress-money").<sup>101</sup>

The Qanjāgalī of Šērābād provide an interesting fiscal-administrative detail when they introduce their petition with the words: "Muḥammad Amīn *mīrāḥūr*, the master of our fixed tax (*ṣāhib-i jam 'i māyān*) has died" (fol. 20), by which they refer to the practice of levying a lump sum (*jam 'i jam 'i-bast*) on a given community. To divide the joint obligation among members of the community and to negotiate its total tax obligation with the higher government officials was a key responsibility of the institutional interface between the two.<sup>102</sup>

In the Emirate of Bukhara, at least in the colonial period, herd tax (*zakāt-i sawāyim*) was due to the state, and collected by its fiscal agents (sing.: *āmil*, in Bukhara also: *zakātčī*). What distinguished this tax from other tax incomes of the state treasury was that it was spent for charitable purposes. Thus, under the rule of Emir 'Abd al-Aḥad large sums were spent for the construction of a mosque in St Petersburg, the Hijaz railway

<sup>97</sup> Oral traditions recorded by the author during field research in Qūš-Qiyā.

<sup>98</sup> *Dar waqt-i zakāt* (CSARUZ, I-126, op.1, d.28, fol.12a).

<sup>99</sup> *Zakāt-i sawāyim-i daulathāna-i 'ālī* (fol. 19).

<sup>100</sup> CSARUZ, I-126, op. 1, d.28, fols 17 (quotation), 19. An exception is provided by the Tuğuz-Qungrat (fol. 13), who needed an *ilbēgī* for the collection of herd-tax and land-tax (*zakāt wa ḥarāj*).

<sup>101</sup> CSARUZ, I-126, op.1, d. 28, fol.1. The levy of *qurgān-pulī* may have been related to the maintenance of the two fortresses; see above (the section on the Naymān-Sarāy).

<sup>102</sup> For observations on this aspect of the fiscal administration, see Bonvalot, *De Moscou* : p. 174.

line, and guest houses in Mecca.<sup>103</sup> According to a Russian report, the collection of herd tax started in June and lasted for two or three months. The fiscal agents, holding tax lists, gathered the *zakāt* from each district and delivered it to the governor who sent it to the Emir.<sup>104</sup>

Some reports found in various dossiers in the Košbegi Archive depict the *ilbēgī*'s responsibility for handing the total amount of tax levied on the community he represented. For example, there are two reports by fiscal agents sent to collect the herd tax of the village of Čūkī,<sup>105</sup> one dated 1321/1902-3 and the other undated. Both reports state that the official arrived at the homestead of 'Abd al-Ġaffār *ilbēgī* and took the *zakāt*, or "took his *zakāt*, which had already been gathered".<sup>106</sup>

If the total amount could not be handed over in time, the *ilbēgī* guaranteed the payment of the rest. In a letter dated 1317/1899-1900,<sup>107</sup> without any clue as to the region or community he is referring to, a *zakātčī* reports that, since he had not received all the herd tax from a given fiscal unit, he gave Ḥwāja Muḥammad *ilbēgī* and Ḥwāja Murād *ilbēgī* a 40-day deadline for paying the rest, and hoped to recover and pay to the treasury (*dīwān*) "84½ *zakāt* [units]" from the *ilbēgīs* – 80½ from the former and four from the latter.<sup>108</sup> In the context of herd tax collection "one *zakāt* unit" (*yak zakāt*) stands for one sheep to be delivered, either in kind or in cash,<sup>109</sup> for every 40 sheep owned.

<sup>103</sup> Semenov, A.A., *Očerok pozemel'no-podatnogo i nalogovogo ustrojstva b. Bukharskogo khanstva* (Tashkent: Izd. Sredne-Aziatskogo Gos. University, 1929): p. 44. For a detailed review of *zakāt* in Islamic law, see Zysow, A., "Zakāt", EI<sup>2</sup>, XI (1978): pp. 406-22.

<sup>104</sup> P[antusov], A., "Podati i nalogi v vostočnoj Bukhare", *Turkestanskije Vedomosti*, 10 January 1906 (no. 6), 11 January 1906 (no. 7) and 13 January (no. 8). The section on *zakaat* is in no. 6.

<sup>105</sup> Not identified. Possibly the village Čūqī in the province of Qaršī (Mukhamedžanov, *Naselennye punkty*: p. 150).

<sup>106</sup> *Zakāt-i ū-rā girifta[m] jam' šudagī* (CSARUZ, I-126, op. 1, d.637, fols 44 (quotation), 84).

<sup>107</sup> CSARUZ, I-126, op.1, d. 666, fol.143. The verso side of this folio contains notes, dated 9 and 24 Jumāda I 1317 (September 1900), on exemption (*mu'āf*) from herd tax on the grounds of loss of animals.

<sup>108</sup> CSARUZ, I-126, op.1, d.666, fol.143.

<sup>109</sup> In 1886, herd tax in Eastern Bukhara was usually collected in kind (Pokotilo, *Otčet*: p.59), whereas in 1889 it was usually converted into cash, calculated at 12 *tanga* per unit (Liliental', Generalnogo štaba kapitan, "Gissarskie i Kobadianskie bekstva. 1889g.", *Sbornik geografičeskikh, topografičeskikh i statističeskikh materialov po Azii LVII* (1894): pp. 285-363 (315). In 1904, herd tax was levied in cash, calculated at the

If livestock were lost as a result of disease or winter frosts, the populace could, at least in theory, demand a new stock-taking.<sup>110</sup> Appeals for reassessment, which in fact were not always well received, are another category of archival documents in which *īlbēgīs* appear. One such plea was made by Raḥmān-Qul, a government official, who reported to the Emir that “*ilbegis* and elders” or “*ilbegis*, elders, and the wealthy in the province of Baljuwan” had complained that for several years there had been no new stock-taking, and despite losses of flocks in the cold winter, the herd tax (*zakat*) imposed on them had risen by 114 units.<sup>111</sup> It seems that the Emir accepted the plea, as “the *zakat* was reduced by 114 units following a reassessment”.<sup>112</sup>

In another case, the plea for a reassessment was brought forward directly by the populace of a Central Bukharan district (*tumān-i Ḥarqānrūd*) to the Bukharan court, stating that the *zakātī* had “not seen and not counted our sheep” and had demanded an excessive herd tax. The person entrusted with the reassessment, a mullā, in 1315 (1897-8) reports that he sent Amān *īlbēgī*, Tuḥsan *bāy*, the collecting agent (*‘āmil*), and four armed guards (*šāgird-pīšagān*) to tour the steppe and personally inspect and count the sheep. They returned with a list. In addition, the mullā assembled the “*īlbēgīs* and elders of the populace” (*īlbēgīhā wa kalān šawandagān-i fuqarā*) and thoroughly inquired into the animal wealth. It turned out that the number of sheep had indeed decreased. Consequently, the *zakāt* due on the sheep that were lost was written off in the state register.<sup>113</sup>

The *īlbēgīs* were spokesmen of their communities in matters of *zakāt*, as well as other taxes and charges, who ideally operated within a single, clearly defined provincial framework. Problems arose when the provincial

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rate of 33 *tanga* for each *zakāt* sheep. In that year, the Emir received a total herd tax of 800,000 *tanga* from Baljuwān and Ḥiṣār (P[antusov], “Podati”: no. 6).

<sup>110</sup> P[antusov], “Podati”: no. 6. In the winter of 1878-79 the Qungrat of Ḥuzār had lost much of their flocks. In 1883, a man who then had only 40 sheep, but was still registered as owner of 160, complained to a Russian observer that “the elders” still demanded four sheep from him as *zakāt* (Arkipov, “Voennaya rekognostsirovka”: p. 182).

<sup>111</sup> Khakimova, K.Z. & L.N. Kravets, *Sotsial’no-ekonomičeskie otnošeniya i klassovaya bor’ba v dorevolucionnom Uzbekistane (konets XIX -načalo XX v.)* (Tashkent: Izd. “Fan”, 1980): p. 131.

<sup>112</sup> Khakimova, *Krest’yanstvo*: p. 36. I have not seen the original document. The abstracts provided by Khakimova vary, even with regard to the rank of Raḥmān-Qul, which is once given as *dīwānbēgī* (Khakimova & Kravets, *Sotsial’no-ekonomičeskie otnošeniya*: p. 131) and once as *parwānačī* (Khakimova, *Krest’yanstvo*: p. 36). Both abstracts refer to CSARUZ, I-126, op.1 [old], d.1159, fol.93.

<sup>113</sup> CSARUZ, I-126, op.1, d.637, fol.25.

attachment of a community was blurred, as in the case of the Qara-Tamġalī of Yūrċī. At an unknown date, an official of the fiscal administration was sent to find out where the community (*jamā'at*) of Qara-Tamġalī had delivered their *zakāt*. He found that this community had previously had two *īlbēgīs*, one (Ḥwāja Kēldī *īlbēgī*) holding office in Ḥiṣār and the other (Sā'at Mu'min *īlbēgī*) in Yūrċī. After the former died, "his sons" moved to Yūrċī, where they "did not deliver their *zakāt* as part of the Qara-Tamġalī community of Yūrċī and Dihnau",<sup>114</sup> but handed it to the government authorities of another provincial centre. Another letter reports that Sā'at Mu'min *īlbēgī*, Šēr Muḥammad *īlbēgī* and other notables of the Qara-Tamġalī of the province of Yūrċī protested that the *qāzī* of a neighbouring province (Sar-i Jūy) had demanded fees from members of their community for the notification of marriage contracts and the settlements of estates, arguing that they were not subject to his authority as they paid their taxes (here: *ḥarāġ*) to the governor of Yūrċī.<sup>115</sup>

#### VI. *ĪLBĒGĪS* IN A PROVINCIAL COURT

A particular archival file that I have searched entirely for references to *īlbēgīs* as actors in the local political field collects reports about the arrival of newly appointed governors (sing. *ḥākim*) to their new seats of power in Bukharan provinces from Chahārjūy in the west to Qarātegīn in the east.<sup>116</sup> These letters are often written by the provincial *qāzī*. Some of the seals contain dates, which range from 1295/1878-9 to 1315/1897-8.

The reports describe a ceremonial first encounter between the major state agent and provincial officials and representatives. The letters follow a general pattern. The writer first identifies the newly appointed office-holder by name and rank, and reports his arrival to his new seat of power. This event is often dated exactly as to month, day, and even time of the day or hour, although the year is always missing. The reports sketch the crowd coming forward to welcome and congratulate the incoming governor, among them the locally posted *qāzī*, commanders of the regular army, provincial militiamen, scholars, notables and common people. In a third section the writer reports about ceremonial interactions and transactions between the new governor and the governed.

A basic and frequently reported form of interaction is the common invocation of blessing on the Emir. Other reports relate more aspects of

<sup>114</sup> CSARUZ, I-126, op.1, d.633, fol.15.

<sup>115</sup> Khakimova, *Krest'yanstvo*: p. 85 referring to CSARUZ, I-126, op. 1 [old], d. 1271, fol. 46.

<sup>116</sup> CSARUZ, I-126, op.1, d.38.

these first encounters – for example that banquets were held, that sweets and robes and other gifts were distributed by the governor to members of the “welcoming committee”. Some of newswriters even describe the meals served at the banquet and the gradation of gifts according to the rank and status of the recipients.

Of 117 reports,<sup>117</sup> there are only two that refer to local representatives using the term *ilbēgī*. Both come from the eastern province of Baljuwān and refer to the same event: the arrival of Raḥmān-Qul *bēk biy dīwānbēgī* at the fortress of Baljuwān, probably in early 1893.<sup>118</sup> One report was sent by Mullā ... (?) *mirāḥūr*,<sup>119</sup> and the other by Raḥmān-Qul himself.<sup>120</sup> The former meticulously reports fine distinctions in the value of the gifts that the incoming governor presented to various groups of the welcome committee, so that we can work out the social standing the *ilbēgī* had in this provincial court:

On Saturday, the eighth of Ša‘bān [Raḥmān-Qul *bēk biy dīwānbēgī*] entered the fortress of the province mentioned. He took blessings (*du‘ā*) for the Your Highness, my Lord, from his [Majesty’s] high and low servitors reciting prayers, and all of the poor, the widowers and the helpless (*fuqarāyān wa bīwa wa bičāragān*). When they came to the upper part of the fortress, they prayed for His Highness, my Lord. Those who said prayers were:

*qāzī* Mullā Pāčā Ḥwāja *ūrāq*, *qāzī* Mullā Musā, Mīrzā *bāy tūqsāba*, his [Majesty’s] servitor, the military commander (*sarkarda*), and his [Majesty’s] servitors, the *yūza-bāšīs*, “commanders of a hundred”;

And from his servitors among the provincial staff (*naukariya-i wilāyat*): *biy*, *ūrāq*, *išikāgā-bāšī*, *tūqsābas* [down] to the *mīrāḥūrs*, and the *alāmāns*, “common soldiery”;

And the *mīng-bāšīs*, *ilbēgīs*, *āqsaqāls*, and the populace reciting blessings (*ahālī-yi du‘ā-gūyān*).

Each of them came to the *dīwānbēgī* – his [Majesty’s] servitor – and congratulated him. Having recited the *fātiḥa*, they prayed for His Highness, my Lord. His servitor [Raḥmān-Qul, the incoming governor] gave [gifts] from the wealth of His Majesty, my Lord, to those who recited prayers and to the servitors.

<sup>117</sup> CSARUZ, I-126, op.1, d.38, fols 1-117.

<sup>118</sup> The event is dated “Friday, 8 Ša‘bān”, probably of the year 1310/1892-3, when it corresponded to Friday, 25 February 1893.

<sup>119</sup> CSARUZ, I-126, op.1, d. 38, fol.72. The name on the seal has not been read.

<sup>120</sup> CSARUZ, I-126, op.1, d.38, fol.33. Reporting in the first pers. sing., not mentioning his name.

Having invited and permitted everyone of the persons present, he served food (*āš*) and water.

To the *qāzī* and to the chief military commander (*sarkarda*) – his servitors – he gave a large sugar loaf.

To the other servitor staff (*ḡulāmān-i naukariya-i dīgar*), [such as] *biy*, *ūrāq*, *iškāqā-bāšī*, and *tūqsāba*, one piece of sugar and one package of tea.

To the servitors [holding the ranks of] *mīrāḥūr*, *yūza-bāšī*, [down] to *qarāwulbēgī*, *muftīs*, *ḥaṭībs*, *jībācī*, *mīng-bāšī*, he gave one box of sugar-cane and one package of tea.

To the servitors [holding the ranks of] *mīrzā-bāšī*, *ḥuhra-aqāšī* and common soldiery (*alamāniya*) – to each one of these – he gave one package of tea.

Thereupon he took blessings for His Highness, my Lord; the high and low servitors gratefully recited blessings for the health of the sublime and exalted body. Having recited blessings for His Majesty, they left.<sup>121</sup>

The *īlbēgīs*, first grouped together with the *mīng-bāšīs* and *āqsaqāls*, do not reappear in the list of presentees. In that context, the writer may have subsumed them under the generic term *mīng-bāšī*, which in his days stood for “community representative”.

This translation needs to be explained, since the term comes from the realm of the military, and originally – in the second half of the eighteenth century, when the decimal system re-emerged in Uzbek Central Asia and the Bukharan army was organised into units of ten, 50, 100, 500 and 1,000 soldiers – referred to a military commander, as did the term *yūz-bāšī*, (lit. “head of a hundred”). Each term has its own history. Around 1900, when *yūz-bāšī* (or *yūza-bāšī*) was still was a military rank, *mīng-bāšī*, especially in Eastern Bukhara, was no longer a rank in the military chain of command, but was generally understood to refer to a representative of the local population. A Russian observer compares the *mīng-bāšī* to the Russian *volostnoī staršina*, “district elder”,<sup>122</sup> and adds that “helpers of the governor ask the people whether they are satisfied with the appointment of the *ming-*

<sup>121</sup> CSARUZ, I-126, op.1, d.38, fol.72. I have used this layout to facilitate reading. While my structuring of the list of praying persons is deliberate, the four categories of presentees are clearly defined for by the newswriter and/or protocol of the provincial court.

<sup>122</sup> Since 1861, the *volost*, an administrative district comprising several villages and presided over by an elected headman (*staršina*), was a unit of local self-rule in rural Russia.



*baši*".<sup>123</sup> Bukharan archival sources show that representatives of Uzbek groups in Eastern Bukhara, such as the Turk of Kulāb,<sup>124</sup> and – around 1886 – the Laqay clan of Isan-Ḥwāja of Ḥiṣār, were titled *mīng-bāši*.<sup>125</sup>

There is no need, here, to comment on all the technical terms that appear in this condensed report. In general, in the provincial court of Baljuwān, a person's status seems to have been defined by a combination of criteria: his state rank, and his official function in the provincial administration. Around 1900, there was a hierarchy of 15 state ranks in Bukhara, and a parallel system for grading scholars, the '*ulamā*', which comprised fewer levels.<sup>126</sup> The governor or his master of ceremonies knew how to group dignitaries of equal status from these parallel hierarchies.

The ranking of status in Baljuwān generally followed the abstract hierarchy of the state ranks, as outlined by Aleksandr Semenov.<sup>127</sup> Raḥmān-Qul, the new governor,<sup>128</sup> held the rank of *dīwānbēgī* (grade 13) and acted as gift giver.

| BUKHARAN STATE RANKS                                    | GRADES | SCHOLARS            | OTHER TITLES                   |
|---|--------|---------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1   |        | <i>qāzī</i>         | <i>sarkarda</i> <sup>129</sup> |
| 2 <i>biy, išikāqā-bāši, tūqsāba</i>                     | 9-7    | <i>ūrāq</i>         |                                |
| 3 <i>mīrāḥūr, qarāwulbēgī, jībāčī</i>                   | 6-4    | <i>muftī, ḥaṭīb</i> | <i>mīng-bāši, yūza-bāši</i>    |
| 4 <i>mīrzā-bāši, čuhra-aqāsī, alamān</i> <sup>130</sup> | 3-1    |                     |                                |

The fine distinctions observed by the newswriter allow us to discern that the tribal representatives, such as the *mīng-bāšīs* and the *īlbēgīs* – who may be

<sup>123</sup> P[antusov], A., "Administrativnoe ustroĭstvo Gissarskogo bekstva", in *Turkestarskie Vedomosti*, 27 March 1908 (no. 112).

<sup>124</sup> CSARUZ, I-126, op.1, d.27, fol.8.

<sup>125</sup> CSARUZ, I-126, op. 1, d.198, fol.12.

<sup>126</sup> Semenov, A.A., "Očerĭk ustroĭstva tsentral'nogo administrativnogo upravleniya Bukharskogo kĭanstva pozdnejšego vremeni", in *Materialy po istorii tadžikov i uzbekov Sredneĭ Azii*. Vol. 2 (Stalinabad: Izd. Akademija Nauk Tadžikskoj SSR, 1954): pp.1-75 (61).

<sup>127</sup> These ranks, listed in increasing importance, are: 1) *bahādur*, 2) *čuhra-aqāsī*, 3) *mīrzā-bāši*, 4) *jībāčī*, 5) *qarāwulbēgī*, 6) *mīrāḥūr*, 7) *tūqsāba*, 8) *išikāqā-bāši*, 9) *biy*, 10) *dādḥwāh*, 11) *ināq*, 12) *parwānačī*, 13) *dīwānbēgī*, 14) *kull-i qūšbēgī*, 15) *atālīq* (Semenov, "Očerĭk ustroĭstva": pp. 60-1).

<sup>128</sup> His title *bēk* refers to his position as governor.

<sup>129</sup> His important military function obviously overrides his rather modest rank of *tūqsāba*.

<sup>130</sup> The term *alamān* corresponds to the lowest state rank in Semenov's list: *bahādur*, lit. "brave warrior".

added here, as argued above – were consigned to the third rank in prestige and power. Thus, the provincial court protocol confirms the general impression that, in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Bukhara, Uzbek chiefs and headmen were reduced to relatively powerless political positions as local administrative middlemen.

#### VI. HERD TAX ADMINISTRATION IN THE POLITICAL CONTEXT

Documents that explicitly mention *īlbēgīs* do not depict them as political actors beyond the fiscal field. There are, however, a number of Bukharan archival documents that – though they do not mention *īlbēgīs* – allow us a glimpse into the political context of reports on herd tax issues.

In the following, we shall therefore leave the narrow search for *īlbēgīs* and follow another track of tapping Bukharan archival sources for references to relations between community elders and state agents. The focus will be on the reports and activities of Rahmān-Qul, a governor and herd tax collector in Eastern Bukhara. We can follow some of his movements in a phase of political transition in Eastern Bukhara that began in 1885, when, on the level of central authority, Emir Muẓaffar (1860-85) was succeeded by his son, Emir ‘Abd al-Aḥad (1885-1910), and continued in 1886, when a reshuffle of the provincial administration in Eastern Bukhara followed.

At the time when Emir ‘Abd al-Aḥad acceded to the throne – on 30 October 1885, there were two major political posts in Eastern Bukhara: One was the governorship of Ḥiṣār, which ‘Abd al-Aḥad’s elder brother, the Manḡit prince ‘Abd al-Mu’min had held since 1871. As he was a rival for the throne, whom the court feared and excluded from the political process, central and provincial political affairs were tightly interwoven.<sup>131</sup> The other was the governorship of the mountain region of Qarātegīn, which had become a Bukharan province in 1877 and was held by Ḥudāy-Nazar *atālīq*, a Bukharan general of Iranian descent, who had conquered Qarātegīn and Darwāz. Based in the fortress of Garm,<sup>132</sup> he enjoyed huge authority in all the eastern provinces, where he had the right to collect the

<sup>131</sup> ‘Abd al-Aḥad was the choice of the Russian colonial authorities, who enforced his succession against counter-claims by his brothers, ‘Abd al-Mālik and ‘Abd al-Mu’min, who had led and supported an anti-Russian uprising in 1868 (Tukhtametov, T.G., *Russko-bukharskie otnošeniya v kontse XIX i načale XX vv.* (Tashkent: Izd. FAN Uzbekskoī SSR, 1966): pp. 50-1.

<sup>132</sup> Kisl’yakov, N.A., *Očerki po istorii Karategina.* (Stalinabad: Tadžikgozizdat, 1954): p. 77. When the governor of Qarātegīn visited the capital in 1884, he was closely associated with Emir Muẓaffar (Salimbek, *Tarikh*: p. 66).

herd tax from pastoral groups.<sup>133</sup> The new Emir counted on him to check the movements of his rival elder brother in Eastern Bukhara and to safeguard the political transition there.<sup>134</sup> Ҳудāy-Nazar *atālīq* died in December of 1885, while (officially) on a herd tax mission in Dushanbe/Ҳишār.<sup>135</sup> His successor was Raḥmān-Qul, whose movements in 1886 we can partly trace through Bukharan archival documents.

The new Emir removed his elder brother and rival from the governorship of Ҳишār to the less prestigious seat of Bāysūn in summer 1886. ‘Abd al-Mu’min left Ҳишār and his place there was taken by the former governor of Šahr-i Sabz, Astāna-Qul *bēk biy dīwānbēgī*, who held the post till he died in 1906.

The tense atmosphere in which power was transferred in Ҳишār was noted by the French traveller Gabriel Bonvalot, who visited it in late September 1886. Under ‘Abd al-Mu’min, he was told, Ҳишār had been a refuge for rebels, as the governor had bad relations with his father and the Bukharan court, but was on good terms with the local Uzbek tribes, who “have for some time regarded themselves as having no emir, nor have they made common cause with him, because he has not followed the advice of the Uzbek chiefs, but has submitted to the influence of foreign servitors, and especially of Persians.”<sup>136</sup> Astāna-Qul was known as the descendant of Persian slaves.<sup>137</sup>

Thus, by autumn 1886, the two major political posts in Eastern Bukhara were held by Astāna-Qul, the governor of Ҳишār, and Raḥmān-Qul, a Mangīt, the governor of Qarātegin. Raḥmān-Qul had been governor of

<sup>133</sup> Arandarenko, “Darvaz”: p. 150.

<sup>134</sup> He confidentially ordered Ҳудāy-Nazar *atālīq* to watch out and report on the activities of his rival brother in Ҳишār (Sāmī, *Tuḥfa*: fol. 297a) The Bukharan chronicler Sāmī calls Ҳудāy-Nazar *atālīq* “chief administrator of the provinces of Ҳишār and Kuhistān [...] entrusted with the affairs of those territories and the zakāt of all its tribes” *mudabbir-i umūr-i wilāyāt-i Ҳишār wa Kuhistān būda [... ..]. muhimmāt-i ān mamālik wa zakāt-i hama ilāt-i ān diyār ba ū mafauwaz šuda* (Sāmī, *Tuḥfa*: fol. 296b).

<sup>135</sup> Sāmī, *Tuḥfa*: fol. 296b. According to Khakimova (*Krest’yanstvo*: p. 103), he died on 23 December 1885, less than two months after the accession of the new Emir. Oral tradition recorded decades later depicts Ҳудāy-Nazar as a victim of false complaints, imprisoned and decapitated by the Bukharan Emir (Varygin, M.A., “Opyt opisaniya Kulyabskogo bekstva”, *Izvestiya Russkogo Geografičeskogo obščestva*, LII/10 (1916): pp. 737-803: p. [742])

<sup>136</sup> Bonvalot, *Through the heart*: p. 229.

<sup>137</sup> According to P. Lessar, the Russian political agent (Tsepelkin, “Zapiska”: p. 102), but according to another source, his father, ‘Abbās biy, was a younger brother of Emir Muḥaffar (see Salimbek, *Tarikh*, p. 283 [note 3 by the translator N. Norkulov]).

Baljuwān in 1885.<sup>138</sup> In early 1886, shortly after the death of Ḥudāy-Nazar *atālīq*, Raḥmān-Qul became governor of Qarātegīn and supervisor of *zakāt* collection in Eastern Bukhara.<sup>139</sup> In June 1887, he was called back from Garm (Qarātegīn) to Bukhara.<sup>140</sup>

The Bukharan “Košbegi Archive” contains several letters documenting Raḥmān-Qul’s concern for herd tax in Eastern Bukhara. Khakimova mentions two letters from Raḥmān-Qul *biy parwānači* to the Emir, in which he refers to problems resulting from the *zakāt* management of his predecessor, Ḥudāy-Nazar *atālīq*, and voices pleas for a recounting of flocks. In one of them, he reports on a tax called *zakāt-i čakāna*, which his predecessor had arranged as a fixed tax, payable in cash by village communities.<sup>141</sup> In the other, he reports that many families from Kulāb and Baljuwān, who had lost animals and were overburdened, had fled across Amu Darya into Afghanistan.<sup>142</sup> We can assume that these letters date from the period between early 1886 and mid-1887.

Rahman-Qul’s concern for a reassessment of herd tax is further documented by a report by Mullā Mīr Aḥmad *raʿīs muftī* whose seal

<sup>138</sup> We do not know whether he is identical with Raḥmān-Qul *parwānači* Maṅgīt, who was governor of Hisar in 1868 (Sāmī, *Tuhfa*: fol. 235a) or with “Rakhmet-Kul datkha” [\*Raḥmān-Qul *dādhwāh*], governor of Baljuwān in 1882-3 (Krestovskii, Vsevolod, “V gostyakh u ėmira Bukharskogo”, in *Sobranie sočineniĭ Vsevoloda Vladimiroviča Krestovskogo*, ed. Yu. L. Elets, Vol. 7 (St Petersburg: Izd. tovariščestva “Obščestvennaya pol’za”, 1900): 1-162 (100).

<sup>139</sup> Yusupov, Š., “Narodnye volneniya v Baldžuvanskom bekstve nakanune vosstaniya Vose”, *Izvestiya AN Tadž. SSR. Seriya Vostokovedenie, istoriya, filologiya*, IX (1988): pp. 41-45 (42), referring to news from Ḥiṣār received by the Russian political agent in Bukhara, N. Čarykov, on 4 March 1886.

<sup>140</sup> Kisl’jakov, *Očerki*: p. 106.

<sup>141</sup> Khakimova, *Krest’yanstvo*: pp. 131, 133, referring to CSARUZ, I-126, op.1 [old], d. 1159, fol.99. The *zakāt-i čakāna* was a tax on animal wealth of less than 40 sheep or goats. In contrast to the herd tax (*zakāt-i sawāyim*), the levy of *zakāt-i čakāna*, which was due to the provincial governor, cannot be based on Islamic law (Semenov, *Očerki pozemel’no*: p. 48). The levy of this new tax caused widespread protest and was a major cause of the disturbances and uprising in Eastern Bukhara in the 1880s (Liliental’, “Gissarkie”: pp. 315-6).

<sup>142</sup> Khakimova, *Krest’yanstvo*: p. 37, based on CSARUZ, I-126, op.1 [old], d. 1271, fol.42. The undisclosed sender of another plea for reassessment, which points to a similar context, reports complaints by community elders (here not called *ilbēgī*) that flocks have not been counted since the beginning of Ḥudāy-Nazar’s time, i.e. since 1877 or 1878, and, notwithstanding losses of flocks in cold winters, the herd tax had risen annually by a surcharge, called *tūl*, “lambing; herd increase”, causing most of those who had lost their flocks to flee across the Amu Darya (CSARUZ, I-126, op.1, d. 764, fol.2).

indicates the year 1303 (1885-6). The year 1303, which began in October 1885, was the first year of the reign of Emir ‘Abd al-Aḥad.<sup>143</sup>

The custom of the tribes (*ilātiya*) of this province [Ḥiṣār] has been like this year by year: till the first of the month of *Jauzā* [Gemini, 22.5.-21.6.] they dwell in the steppe (*dašt*) and starting from the month of Gemini they go to the mountain (*kūh*) for three or four months.

This year His Majesty’s servitor, *imārat-panāh* Raḥmān-Qūl *biy parwānačī*, had sent information about the counting of sheep and [ordered] that the herd owners (*bāyhā*) should not take their sheep to the mountain and disperse them before the time of counting the sheep. Therefore, till now, the sheep of the herd owners of this province that should have been taken to the mountain remained in the steppes.

O you who cherish the slave! Now, the *imārat-panāh* [Raḥmān-Qul] *parwānačī* came on Monday the 12<sup>th</sup> of the blessed month of Ramazān from Ḥiṣār to the fringe of Dašt-i Nabāt where he counted the sheep of the herd owners, and from there went to Sar-i Jūy.<sup>144</sup>

Raḥmān-Qul is here moving in the westernmost districts of Ḥiṣār, far from his governor’s seat, presumably in June 1886.<sup>145</sup> Why should he bother with going in person to count sheep and meet local notables? Obviously there was more at stake, for he appears as a political and military actor in the province of Ḥiṣār less than two months after his reassessment tour. A letter written by a certain Qāzī Mulla ‘Ali Ḥwāja mentions Raḥmān-Qul as organiser of road blocks in a critical time of transition of political power in Ḥiṣār in the first week of August 1886.<sup>146</sup>

News has been brought from Qaratāq: Having [realized] some hints [from the movements] of the deposed (lit. “unemployed”) governor (*ḥākim-i bīkār*) of Ḥiṣār who has fled in that direction [Qaratāq], the *imārat-panāh* Raḥmān-Qul *biy parwānačī* thought about it, and remained in the province of Dūšanbe. For a week he

<sup>143</sup> CSARUZ, I-126-op.1, d.652, fol.1. Emir ‘Abd al-Aḥad used the seal with the year 1303 (1885-6), the year of his accession to the throne, throughout his reign, see Urunbaev et al., *Katalog*: index of seals.

<sup>144</sup> CSARUZ, 126, op.1, d. 652, fol.1.

<sup>145</sup> On the assumption that the year of the report was indeed 1303, which is plausible as in that year 12 Ramazān was a Monday, corresponding to 14 June 1886.

<sup>146</sup> CSARUZ, I-126, op. 1, d.198, fol.10. The context points to summer 1886; one of the events narrated is dated “Friday, 6 Zū l-Qa‘da [\*1303]”, which is 6 August 1886.

posted 500 men from the tribes of Laqay and Marqa, and from the Qarāteḡīn people on the roads around Ḥiṣār to keep watch.<sup>147</sup>

By 22 August 1886, the ousted governor of Ḥiṣār, ‘Abd al-Mu’min, had actually retreated to Bāysūn, whereas the new governor, Astāna-Qul *bēk biy dīwānbēḡī*, had reached Qarataq, near Ḥiṣār.<sup>148</sup> Astāna-Qul emerged as the new paramount governor in Eastern Bukhara. This episode reminds us that, in a context where military power was still recruitable from tribal contingents,<sup>149</sup> good relations with pastoralists, such as could be achieved by agreement on matters of taxation, was a good asset for engaging in power games. Thus, in the wider political context, re-counting herds in Eastern Bukhara can also be understood as part of a campaign “to win the hearts and minds” of Uzbek herd owners.

The swift transfer of power in Eastern Bukhara was followed by further administrative changes that did not run smoothly. By shifting and restructuring regional competences, including with regard to the collection of herd tax,<sup>150</sup> the state seems to have created havoc in the fiscal administration, as a number of reports of unfair methods of tax collection, among them double taxation, indicates. For reasons that need to be further investigated, communication between local elders and state agents was blocked, and Eastern Bukhara became a hot bed of unresolved disputes over matters of taxation and failed community representation. Protests, disturbances and revolts in Kulāb and Baljuwān culminated in June 1888, when a garrison commander and tax collector, along with three or four of his body guards was killed.<sup>151</sup>

<sup>147</sup> CSARUZ, I-126, op.1, d.198, fol.10.

<sup>148</sup> The date, Sunday 22 Zū l-Qa‘da [\*1303], is mentioned in a report from Ḥiṣār (CSARUZ, I-126, op. 1, d. 38 fol.3). On 27 September 1886, Astāna-Qul was still in Qarataq (Bonvalot, *Through the heart*: p. 226).

<sup>149</sup> In all likelihood these were tribal (*naukariya-i ilātiya*) or rather provincial troops (*naukariya-i wilāyat*), serving in their home provinces, districts and villages. These *naukars* were mounted militiamen from notable families, “not needed so much for any particular service as for the purpose of maintaining an influence on the population” (Arandarenko, “Darvaz”: pp. 148-9). The military importance of the militia was secondary in comparison with the regular units (*sarbāz*). For descriptions of the military system in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Eastern Bukhara, see Pokotilo, *Otčet*: pp. 66-71; P[antusov], “Administrativnoe”, pp. 47-50.

<sup>150</sup> Yusupov, “Narodnye”: p. 42: referring to CSARUZ, f 126, op. 1[old], d. 1266, fol.9.

<sup>151</sup> The series of revolts in Eastern Bukhara, which eventually became known as the “uprising of Vose”, i.e. of Mullā ‘Abd al-Wāsī’, has attracted considerable scholarly attention (see Mukhsinova, K., “Novoe o vosstanii Vose”, *Obščestvennye nauki v Uzbekistane*, X (1963): pp. 52-5; Stetsenko, I., *Iz istorii narodnykh dviženii v Tadžikistane vo vtoroi polovine XIX i načale XX vv. (1870-1917 gg.* [Dushanbe: Izd.

In the aftermath of these disturbances, the importance of well-founded and well-maintained personal relations between state agents and the community elders, which facilitated an unruffled fiscal administration at the lower end of the bureaucracy, seems to have been rediscovered by Bukharan officials. Thus, the experienced Almās *biy* advises another herd tax collector to establish good relations with the local representatives and notables. “It is essential to entertain the *ilbegis*, *aqsaqals* and *bays* at one table [cloth]. I have been occupied with this work for four years and present gifts to the payers of *zakat*”.<sup>152</sup> It is likely that Almās *biy* gave this advice in the early 1890s.<sup>153</sup>

## VII. CONCLUSION

The archival material examined suggests that the administrative term *ilbēgī* spread among Uzbek groups in the Emirate of Bukhara towards the end of the nineteenth century. The only date that appears in our sample of 20 letters is the year 1308 (1890-1) inscribed in a seal. Dates that occur in other documents explicitly mentioning *ilbēgīs* are: 1315/1897-8, 1317/1899-1900, and 1321/1902-3.

The section on the history of the administrative term in a wider historical context led us to consider the possibility that the term *ilbēgī* was introduced in the Emirate of Bukhara in the second half of the nineteenth century as part of a “new deal” between the state and Uzbek groups, which, by and large, had become powerless.

There were Uzbek tribal leaders before, but an Uzbek chief with an independent source of power would have usually been referred to as

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Akad. Nauk, 1963]: pp. 103-10; Mukhtarov, A. & B.I. Iskandarov (eds), *Iz istorii narodnykh dvizhenii v Srednei Azii: sbornik statei, posvyashchennykh 100-letiyu vosstaniya Vose* [Dushanbe: Izd. “Doniŝ”, 1988]; Yusupov, “Narodnye”; Pirumŝoev, Kh., *Istoriya izučeniya vosstaniya Vose* [Dushanbe: Izd. “Maorif”, 1998]). Yet, many aspects, including the chronology of events are still unclear, and further study on the basis of the rich Bukharan archival documents would have the potential to produce interesting results.

<sup>152</sup> Khakimova, *Krest ’yanstvo*: p. 38. It is not clear whether her source is CSARUZ, I-126, op.1 [old], d.1266, fol.16, or: d.1159, fol.71. Other *zakāt* collectors also report that they presented gifts, mostly robes, to *zakāt* tax payers (CSARUZ, I-126, op.1, d.633, fols 8,9).

<sup>153</sup> Khakimova does not attempt to date this letter. We know that Almās *biy* was occupied with herd tax collection as governor of Qarātegīn, a post he held around 1889-91 (Madžlisov, A., *Karategin nakanune ustanovleniya Sovetskogo vlasti* [Stalinabad: Tadžikskoe gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo, 1959]: p. 33), and as governor of Kulāb (Khakimova, *Krest ’yanstvo*: p. 38), a post he supposedly held after 1891 and before 1894, judging from a list of Kulāb governors in Varygin, “Opyt”: p. 744).

“commander” (*amīr*, *sarkarda*, *sardār*) in narrative sources, stressing the military aspect of his tribal power base. His relation to his own tribal following would not have been subjected to the scrutiny of a government-appointed official, the *qażī*, as in the bureaucratic system that comes with the appointment of *īlbēgīs* around 1900. Official papers documenting the relation of the state to a powerful Uzbek chief, say in the early eighteenth century, would be letters of appointment to top ranks and governorships of important provinces to military and politically powerful tribal chiefs.<sup>154</sup> The title *biy*, synonym to *āmīr*, was the common denominator of these powerful Uzbek chiefs.

By the mid-nineteenth century, when the Uzbek chiefs had lost much of their former military and political power, they had also lost their formerly exclusive hold on the title of *biy*. When, for example, Emir Muḏaffar (1860-85) first presented himself to his subjects in the province of Samarqand, he was accompanied by at least three non-Uzbek officials of Iranian descent, who bore the title *biy*, while the Mangit officials with him did not.<sup>155</sup> As the title *biy* gradually came to be stripped off its earlier Uzbek tribal context, new terms may have come into use for the considerably less powerful headmen of Uzbek tribal groups in the second half of the nineteenth century. In these circumstances, the post of *īlbēgī* may have been introduced.

The chronological evidence gathered in this study supports this hypothesis. So far, however, no master-plan for a centrally initiated reform of grass-roots level administration and community representation under Emir Muḏaffar (1860-85) or Emir ‘Abd al-Ahad (1885-1910) has been found, though (unspecified) administrative reforms are confirmed for the early regal years of the latter’s reign.<sup>156</sup> Thus it remains an open question as to whether and to what extent the Bukharan *īlbēgī* system was influenced by administrative reforms and practices in Russian Turkistan.

When compared with the official duties of a Qazaq *īlbēgī* in the 1830s as stated in the Bukharan letter of appointment (see section 2), the military aspect is conspicuously absent in the *īlbēgī*’s functions discernable in the

<sup>154</sup> For documents – found in *inšā’* collections – on one of these powerful Uzbek tribal chiefs, Farhād *biy* Ḥitāy, see Holzwarth, Wolfgang, “The Uzbek State as Reflected in Eighteenth Century Bukharan Sources”, in *Asiatische Studien* (Bern) LX,2 (2006): pp. 321-53 (335-41).

<sup>155</sup> Grebenkin, A., “Rodoslovnaya Mangitskoī dinastii”, in *Materialy dlya statistiki Turkestanskogo kraya*, ed. N.A. Maev, Vol. 3 (St Petersburg: Izd. Turkestanskogo statističeskogo komiteta, 1873): pp. 337-41 (340). See also Krestovskī, “V gostyakh”: p. 38.

<sup>156</sup> Tsepelkin, “Zapiska”: p. 98



Bukharan archival sources. Around 1900, the *ilbēgīs* of Uzbek groups were clearly not expected to take on military responsibilities. At that time, the military power of the Emirate rested on regular troops (*sarbāz*), which were garrisoned in the provincial centres, and mainly drawn from non-Uzbek sections of the society. These troops were commanded by generals and other officers sent from the centre and not by local chiefs.

Nevertheless, the *ilbēgī* was an important person for his community and for the state. He was both a community elder, representing his community to the state, and a state agent authorised by an official letter of appointment, representing the state within his community. In one of the reports quoted above, dated 1315/1897-8, the dual roles of the middlemen are clearly reflected in the text. At one point, the revenue inspector depicts an *ilbēgī* as part of his executive staff, along with a collecting agent (*āmil*) and four armed guards, while at another he depicts them as advisors whom he consults along with other “elders of the populace” (*ilbēgīhā wa kalān šawandagān-i fuqarā*).

The *ilbēgī*'s characteristic official task was to supervise and coordinate the payment of taxes, in particular herd tax, to higher state authorities. His responsibility for herd tax points to pastoralism as a characteristic economic feature of the communities he represented. In pleas and complaints against unfair modes of tax collection, his negotiating power was crucial to the community. When no understanding could be reached, community members fled or, in extreme cases, resorted to violence.

## APPENDIX

Petition regarding the appointment of an *ilbēgī* for the Qara-Manġit

Seal: Tūra Ḥwāja *ṣudūr*

O you who cherish the slave!

Petition (*‘arż-i bandagī*) of the perfectly ignorant servitor who throws away his life and strives to please, Tūra Ḥwāja *ṣudūr*, to His Highness in hope of clemency and a favourable reception, saying:

May I be subjected to the mercy of the dear and blessed head of His Highness!

Suhrāb bēk *tūqsāba*, Ismā‘īl *mīrāḥur*, Musīb *qarāwulbēgī* and the common people of the community of Qara-Manġit have addressed a petition to the splendid and sublime [Emir], and received an auspicious letter of the sublime, stating:

“We had an *ilbēgī* named Maulān who has died. Therefore we are impeded in [managing] our affairs. Ḥwājam-Bērdī *āqsaqāl* is a humble and sincere man, whom we wish to have as our *ilbēgī*”.

In this respect a [written sign of] kindness of my Lord has been issued, stating: “Ascertain the truth, get to know the wish of the common people and report!”

May I be subjected to mercy!

The servitor who strives to please [I], have rubbed the noble royal letter against my eyes and – according to the auspicious order of His Highness – have assembled people of higher as well as lower standing from the said community and questioned [them] to ascertain the truth. Indeed, the aforementioned Maulān *ilbēgī* has died and in his place they wish to have Ḥwājam-Bērdī *āqsaqāl* as their *ilbēgī*. Hoping for a blessed letter of appointment (*manšūr*) of *ilbēgī* for him through the kindness of my Lord, they pray for His Highness.

Your servitor [I] also went to fro and asked about the affairs of Ḥwājam-Bērdī *āqsaqāl* from persons who know [about him]: He is a humble (*bīčāra*) person, suitable for the post of *ilbēgī*. Therefore, may this ignorant servitor [I] find the blessed consent of my Lord by having stated the humble petition (*‘arż-i bandagī*): “A royal order (*yarlīq*) for the post of *ilbēgī* (*ilbēgīgī*) of Ḥwājam-Bērdī Qara-Manġit is hoped for, may it be clear to His Highness.” His Highness knows better. O God, may my Lord be fortunate and healthy!

[Forgive me my] deficiency (*al-taqṣīr*), deficiency, deficiency, deficiency, deficiency.<sup>157</sup>

<sup>157</sup> CSARUZ, I-126, op.1, d. 28, fol.4.

مهر: توره جواجه صدور

بنده نوازا

عرض بندگی غلام جان نثار رضاجوی هیچمدان [هیچ مدان] توره جواجه صدور  
بجناب عالی حضرتم بامید مرحمت و قبول اینکه تصدق سر عزیز مبارک جناب حضرتم شوم  
سهراب بیک توقسابه اسماعیل میرآخور و مسیب قراولبیگی و فقارایان جماعه قره منغیت  
بعرض انور عالی رسانیده مبارکنامه عالی گرفته اند که مولان نام ایلبیگی داشتیم که  
فوتیده بامورات خودها معطلی کشیده خواجمبیردی [خواجم بیردی] آقسقال نام آدم بیچاره  
بصلاح است که

بایلبیگی خودها خودها [!] میخواستیم ازینوجه مهربانی مولایم شده است تحقیق کرده خواهش  
فقرايان را دانسته عرض کنيد تصدقشوم [تصدق شوم] غلام رضاجوی شرفنامه همایون عالی  
را

بچشمان خود مالیده موافق امر مبارک حضرتم کلان [و] خرد جماعه مذکور را آورده  
تحقیق کرده پرسیدم در واقع مولان ایلبیگی مذکور فوتیده بجایش خواجم بیردی  
آقسقال را بایلبیگی خودهاشان خواسته منشور مبارک ایلبیگی او را از مهربانی  
مولایم امید کرده حضرتم را دعا مینمایند غلامشان نیز احوال خواجم بیردی مذکور را تردود  
[تردد] کرده

از آدماں میدانسته گی پرسیدم آدم بیچاره مناسب ایلبیگی بوده است بنابران  
غلام نادان رضای مبارک مولایم شود یرلیق مبارک آیلبیگی خواجم بیردی  
قره منغیت را امید کرده معلوم جناب حضرتم شود گفته عرض  
بندگی نمودم حضرتم بهتر میدانند الهی مولایم بدولت و سلامت باشند  
التقصیر التقصیر التقصیر التقصیر التقصیر

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