

Turko-Mongol Rulers, Cities and City Life



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DAVID DURAND-GUÉDY

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Turko-Mongol Rulers, Cities and City Life

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PREFACE

This book originated in the international conference “Turko-Mongol Rulers, Cities and City Life in Iran and the Neighboring Countries” held at the University of Tokyo on 12-13 September 2009.

The conference was the result of the conjunction between a project and an opportunity. In 2007, I embarked on a research project called “Ruling from the Outside: Turkish Rulers and City Life in pre-Mongol Iran”. It was based on one of the findings of my earlier research on Saljuq Isfahan: that the sultans did not live inside their capital, but stayed in a camp set up on its perimeter or in a much more remote location. The Saljuqs’ way of life seemed to have had a lot more in common with that of later Mongol and Turko-Mongol rulers but needed to be fully investigated.

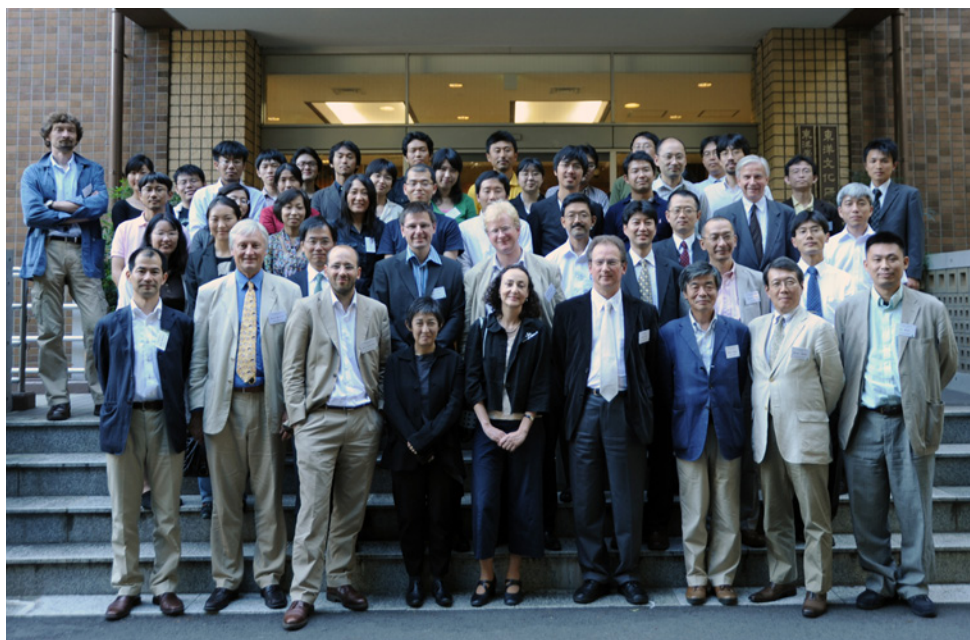
In 2008, I joined the third phase of the Collaborative Research Centre “Difference and Integration” (Sonderforschungsbereich, or SFB, 586) dedicated to the study of the relationship between nomads and sedentary people. At the same time I was also granted a fellowship by the Japanese Society for the Promotion of Science (JSPS) to spend a year at the Tobunken (Institute for Advanced Studies on Asia, former Institute of Oriental Culture), at the University of Tokyo. Taking advantage of this institutional configuration, I suggested to Jürgen Paul, then speaker of the SFB, and Kazuo Morimoto, my host in Tokyo, that they organize a joint seminar on the attitude of Turko-Mongol rulers in general toward cities and city life. The Japanese connection was quite justified by the long-standing Japanese interest in the history of the Turks and the Mongols and also because pioneering research published in Japanese (by Honda, for example, and by some of the contributors to this volume) remained inaccessible to the wider academic world.

In September 2009, a conference was organized at the Tobunken as a joint seminar between this institution and the Collaborative Research Centre “Difference and Integration”. We were fortunate to have the additional support of the IAS Center at the University of Tokyo (TIAS)/NIHU Program Islamic Area Studies as well as the JSPS (through the cooperation agreement it has with the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft). None of this would have been possible without Kazuo Morimoto. I thank him for the time and effort he gave to make it possible for this event to take place in ideal conditions. I would also like to thank Masashi Haneda (director of

the Tobunken) and Hisao Komatsu (director of TIAS) for their valuable support. Yukako Goto, Hiroyuki Mashita, Dai Matsui and Kazuhiro Shimizu kindly agreed to serve as chairs and Professor Masami Hamada as general discussant. I seize this opportunity, too, to extend my thanks to Yoichi Isahaya, Satoru Kimura, Ryo Mizukami and Asuka Tsuji for their technical help during the conference.

The publication of the proceedings has been funded by the Collaborative Research Centre “Difference and Integration”, funded in turn by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft. Devin Deweese, who happened to be in Tokyo shortly after the conference, immediately agreed to the idea of including the proceedings as a volume in Brill’s Inner Asian Library. I thank him for his permanent support and trust throughout the long editing process. I am deeply indebted to Jürgen Paul for the help he gave me when I was editing the articles, and especially for giving me the benefit of his unique expertise on Inner Asia. I would also like to express my gratitude to the many colleagues who have responded to my requests: Thomas Allsen, Reuven Amitai, Jan Bemmman, Michal Biran, Devin DeWeese, Hormoz Ebrahimnejad, Jean-Claude Garcin, Peter Golden, Dai Matsui, Kazuo Morimoto and Andrew Peacock. I thank them all for their time, their feedback and their advice.

I am grateful for the assistance of Piet Collet with drawing the maps I or the contributors commissioned (chapters 1, 4, 6, 11 and 8, 9, 10 respectively), and of Carol Rowe during the long copy-editing process and of Daniel Haas for preparing the indices. I thank them all for their fine work. Finally, I am very grateful to Patricia Radder at Brill for her availability and support.



The participants in the international conference “Turko-Mongol Rulers, Cities and City-Life” in front of the Institute for Advanced Studies on Asia (Tobunken), Tokyo, September 13, 2009. Speakers, organizers, panel chairs and heads of supporting institutions are (from left to right) in the front row: Kazuo Morimoto, Charles Melville, David Durand-Guédy, Tomoko Masuya, Michal Biran, Jürgen Paul, Masami Hamada, Masashi Haneda, Dai Matsui; second row: Hisao Komatsu, Kurt Franz, Andrew Peacock, Kazuhiro Shimizu, Nobuaki Kondo, Hiroyuki Mashita, Minoru Inaba, Jin Noda; third row: Yukako Goto, Claus-Peter Haase; last row: Yury Karev.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<i>EI</i> ¹ and <i>EI</i> ²	<i>Encyclopaedia of Islam</i> , 1st and 2nd English editions, Leyden.
<i>Elr</i>	<i>Encyclopaedia Iranica</i> , London and New York; then Costa Mesa, California; then New York.

NOTES ON DATES AND TRANSLITERATION

1. Dates are generally given according to the Gregorian calendar. *Hijrī* dates are given when they have special relevance in a particular article. When both *hijrī* and Gregorian dates are given, the *hijrī* comes first, followed by a slash and the Gregorian date. In the bibliography, when the work states only a *hijrī* publication date, it has been converted to the first relevant Gregorian year.
2. Arabic words and names have been transliterated according to the system of the *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*. Words and names in Persian have been transliterated as if they were Arabic, e.g. Juwaynī, except that the final *ā* is transliterated –a (not –ah), e.g. Mustawfī's *Tārīkh-i Guzīda*. Long vowels are elided before the definite article only after Abū/Abī, *fī* and *dhū*.
3. Names and terms of Turkish and Mongolian origin are reproduced with a more elaborate vowel system and are not transliterated, e.g. Toghrīl, Hülegü. Cleaves' scheme (but ch, sh, gh instead of č, š, γ) has been used for names and terms of Mongolian origin.
4. Russian has been transliterated according to a simplified version of the Library of Congress system.
5. Chinese names and terms have been transliterated according to the Pinyin system.
6. Common words and place names are written without macrons and diacritical points, e.g. Bukhara, Isfahan. Words and names have been considered as common when they appear in the Unabridged Merriam-Webster Dictionary. In addition, names of dynasties are treated as common, e.g. Saljuqs. Well-known place names and personal names are given in their accepted English forms, e.g. Damascus.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Michal Biran, PhD 2000 (Hebrew University of Jerusalem), is an Associate Professor at the departments of Islamic and Middle Eastern Studies and of Asian Studies at the Hebrew University. She is a historian of Inner Asia and author of, among others, *Qaidu and the Rise of the Independent Mongol State in Central Asia* (Routledge, 1997); *The Empire of the Qara Khitai in Eurasian History: Between China and the Islamic World* (Cambridge University Press, 2005); and *Chinggis Khan* (Oneworld, 2007). She is currently running a project funded by the European Research Council entitled “Mobility, Empire and Cross-Cultural Contacts in Mongol Eurasia” and is working on book projects on *The Cultural History of Ilkhanid Baghdad*, and *Central Asia under Mongol Rule*. Together with Hodong Kim, she is also editing *The Cambridge History of the Mongol Empire*.

David Durand-Guédy, PhD 2004 (Aix-en-Provence University), is a former Research Associate at the Collaborative Research Centre ‘Difference and Integration’, Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg. He is an historian specializing in eleventh-twelfth-century Iran and has published *Iranian Elites and Turkish Rulers: A History of Isfahān in the Saljūq Period* (Routledge, 2010). His other publications relevant to this volume include “Ruling from the Outside: A New Perspective on Early Turkish Kingship in Iran”, in L. Mitchell and C. Melville, eds, *Every Inch a King: Comparative Studies on Kings and Kingship in the Ancient and Medieval Worlds* (Brill, 2012).

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Peter B. Golden, PhD 1970 (Columbia University), is Professor II Emeritus of History, Turkish and Middle Eastern Studies at Rutgers University. His primary fields of interest are the history of the nomads of medieval Eurasia, and the Turkic world and its relations with Rus', Byzantium, the Caucasus, pre-Islamic Iran and the Islamic lands. Recent publications include *Türk Halkları Tarihine Giriş* (Ötüken, 3rd printing, 2012), *Studies on the Peoples and Cultures of the Eurasian Steppes* (Florilegium, 2011), *Central Asia in World History* (Oxford University Press, 2011), *Turks and Khazars: Origins, Institutions and Interactions in Pre-Mongol Eurasia* (Variorum, 2010). He has co-edited *The Cambridge History of Inner Asia: The Chinggisid Age* (Cambridge University Press, 2009) and is currently preparing a second, revised edition of *An Introduction to the History of the Turkic Peoples* (Harrassowitz, 1992).

Minoru Inaba, MA 1985 (Kyoto University), is Professor of History of the Orient at Kyoto University. He specializes in the history of pre-Islamic and early Islamic Afghanistan. His publications relevant to this volume include "The Identity of the Turkish Rulers to the South of the Hindukush from the 7th to the 9th Centuries, A.D" (*Zinbun* 36, 2005).

Yury Karev, PhD 1999 (Moscow State University and EPHE, Paris), is Research Associate at the Centre National pour la Recherche Scientifique (CNRS-ENS, UMR 8546). He is an archaeologist, specialising in early Islamic cities in Khurasan and Transoxania, but also works on the social and political history of pre-Mongol Central Asia. As a member of the French-Uzbek Archaeological Mission in Samarqand since 1990, he was in charge of the excavations on the lower terrace of the citadel of Afrasiab site. He has published several relevant articles, including "Qarākhānid Wall Paintings in the Citadel of Samarqand: First Report and Preliminary Observations" (*Muqarnas* 22, 2005).

Nobuaki Kondo, PhD 1997 (The University of Tokyo), is Associate Professor at the Research Institute for Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies. He is an historian and has published in English and Japanese on Iran during the Qajar period. He has also edited the collective volume, *Persian Documents: Social History of Iran and Turan in the 15th-19th Centuries* (RoutledgeCurzon, 2003), and is now preparing a monograph on the social history of Qajar Tehran.

Tomoko Masuya, PhD 1997 (Institute of Fine Arts, New York University), is Professor of Art History at the Institute for Advanced Studies on Asia of the University of Tokyo. She has published many articles on Islamic art of the Ilkhanid and Timurid period. Her publications relevant to this volume include “Ilkhanid Courtly Life”, in L. Komaroff and S. Carboni, eds, *The Legacy of Genghis Khan* (Metropolitan Museum of Art and Yale University Press, 2002).

Charles Melville, PhD 1978 (University of Cambridge), is Professor of Persian History at the University of Cambridge and a Fellow of Pembroke College. His main research interests are the history and historiography of Iran in the Mongol to Safavid periods, and the illustration of Persian manuscripts, especially the *Shahnama*. His publications relevant to this volume include “The Itineraries of Sultan Öljeitü, 1304-16” (*Iran* 28, 1990) and “From Qars to Qandahar: The Itineraries of Shah ‘Abbas I (995-1038/1587-1629)”, in J. Calmard, ed., *Etudes safavides* (IFRI, 1993). He is currently working on the illustration of mediaeval Persian history.

Jürgen Paul, PhD 1989 (Hamburg University), is Professor of Islamic Studies at Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg. He was also co-speaker of the Collaborative Research Program “Differenz und Integration” (SFB 586) in 2008-2012. His main research interest is the political and social history of eastern Iran and Central Asia (11th-15th centuries), on which he has published extensively, including recently *Zentralasien* (Fischer, 2012), “Khalil Sultān and the Westerners (1405-7)” (*Turcica* 42, 2010), “Zerfall und Bestehen: Die Ġa’un-i qurban im 14. Jahrhundert” (*Asiatische Studien* 65, 2011) and “Mongol Aristocrats and Beyliks in Anatolia: A Study of Astarābādī’s *Bazm va Razm*” (*Eurasian Studies* 9, 2011).

Andrew Peacock, PhD 2003 (Cambridge University), is Lecturer in Middle Eastern History at the University of St Andrews. His research interests include the history of Islamic societies in Anatolia, Iran, Iraq and Central Asia in the mediaeval period and Arabic and Persian historiography. Principal publications related to the theme of this book include *Early Seljuq History: A New Interpretation* (Routledge, 2010) and the co-edited volume (with Sara Nur Yıldız) *The Seljuks of Anatolia: Court and Society in the Medieval Middle East* (I.B. Tauris, 2013), as well as a number of articles. He is Principal Investigator of a major research project funded by the European Research Council, “The Islamisation of Anatolia, c. 1100-1500”.

INTRODUCTION

LOCATION OF RULE IN A CONTEXT OF TURKO-MONGOL DOMINATION

David Durand-Guédy

“Do not become sedentary, for sovereignty resides in those who practice the nomadic Türkmen way of life.” These are the reported words of Qara ‘Uthmān Yülük (d. 1435), the founder of the Aqqoyunlu Türkmen state in Eastern Anatolia.¹ The similarity with the recommendations made seven centuries earlier in Mongolia to the Türk ruler Bilge Qaghan (d. 734) not to live in “permanent habitation places”, is striking.² This invites us to consider the kind of relationship that could or should exist between the exercise of power and the way of life—a question that is particularly relevant with regard to the various dynasties of Turkic and Mongol origin that ruled large parts of Eurasia during the pre-modern period.

By dealing with the issue of the location of rule in a context of Turkic and Mongol domination, this volume is at the intersection of four lines of research that have produced an extensive literature: first, studies on the topography of power, largely derived from the works of the German historical school on *Raumordnung*;³ second, urban studies, since the city is the presumed locus of power in the history of Eurasia;⁴ third, Inner Asian

¹ Yazıcıoğlu Ali, fol. 17a, quoted by Woods 1999, 17: “Olmasın ki oturak olası ki beylik Türkmenlik ve yörüklük edenlerde kalur”.

² Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 1: 172-3, quoted by Golden in this volume, p. 41. See also Biran in this volume, p. 257, note 5.

³ See the collective volume *Raumordnung im Aufbau des mittelalterlichen Staates* (1961) and Brühl's classic study on royal residence in medieval Europe (Brühl 1967, 1968). Recent publications on ‘topography of power’ with contributions on the Islamic world include Theuvs et al. 2001; Duindam et al., 2011. See also Borrut 2011, 383-466 (chap. 8: “L'exercice du pouvoir dans l'espace syrien”), with a useful summary of past scholarship on the question.

⁴ See Mumford 1938. Garcin (2000a, 2: 129-71 and 3: 93-109) has delivered a very clear and thought-provoking introduction to urban studies on medieval Islam, which completes the useful and still not superseded 1994 bibliographical handbook of Haneda and Miura. (Brill's recently published *Handbuch der Orientalistik* dedicated to “The city in the Islamic World” (Jayussi et al. 2008), is far too Arab-centred to claim to be a synthesis on the subject and its main advantage is that it makes accessible in English research already published in other European languages.)

studies, since Turkic- and Mongolian-speaking people originate from this region;⁵ and last, nomadic studies, since the ‘nomadic identity’ has often been invoked to account for certain features that seemed characteristic of Turko-Mongol rulers: itinerancy, an ambiguous relationship with cities, an attachment to the tent.⁶

The issue of ‘location of rule’ in the Turko-Mongol context itself has a history that might be useful to recall in a few words in order to better situate the present work. The first studies focused quite naturally on the Mongols, not only because their World Empire aroused the interest of scholars very early, but also because their irruption into the Muslim world seemed to mark a clear break with the past as far as location of rule was concerned. Even after the conquest of the ‘sown’, the centre of power remained the *ordu*, that is the military camp that moved with the ruler. In the early 1970s, Boyle published two short articles dealing with the royal “camping grounds” in Mongolia. He analysed in particular the seasonal travels of the Great Khan Ögödei (d. 1241) between summer pastures (T.: *yaylaq*) and winter quarters (T.: *qışlaq*).⁷ His work was emulated by Honda, who in 1976 published an article listing and locating the camping grounds of the Mongol rulers in Iran, the Ilkhans (1256-1335).⁸ Twenty years later, John Masson Smith focused on the royal winter grounds to make deductions about the repartition of the Mongol military groups (the *tümens*).⁹

An inspiring line of research was explored in the 1970s by Jean Aubin, one of the first specialists in medieval Iran to have taken spatial issues

⁵ The references works on Inner Asian history are: Sinor 1990; Golden 1992; Asimov and Bosworth 1999; and now Paul 2012.

⁶ An excellent introduction to nomadic studies from a historical perspective has been written by Amitai and Biran for the collective volume *Mongols, Turks and Others*, also published in this series. See Amitai and Biran 2005: 1-12. See also Digard 1987 (synthesis of the results of the working group “Equipe écologie et anthropologies des sociétés pastorales” active in Paris in the years 1970-80) and Digard 1990 (excellent introduction to the interrelations of nomadic and sedentary peoples in the Middle East). In the present volume, several contributors have benefited in varying degrees from the experience and work of the Collaborative Research Center “Difference and Integration” (www.nomadsed.de), which has been investigating the relationship between nomads and sedentary peoples for twelve years from 2000 to 2012.

⁷ Boyle 1973 (on the Kereyit rulers), Boyle 1974 (on the travel patterns of the Great Khan Ögödei).

⁸ Honda 1976 (an adaptation of Honda’s map is inserted in this volume p. 249). Honda built up on Spuler 1968, 332-4 (“Verzeichnis der Aufenthaltsorte der Ilchane”).

⁹ Masson Smith 1999 (including several maps locating the royal pastures from Central Asia to Anatolia).

seriously. In a famous article on northern Khurasan, Aubin showed how Mongol rule altered the hierarchy of the road network and, as a consequence, of the urban network as well.¹⁰ Aubin was also the first to address the emergence of a new type city of under Mongol and Turko-Mongol rule: what he calls the “association city-pasture” and which was later coined by Masashi Haneda “pastoral city”.¹¹ This new type of urban creation was, Aubin argued, fundamentally different from the traditional “association city-oasis” that had so far characterized the Iranian landscape. The emblematic example is Sultāniyya, the summer capital of Ilkhan Öljeitü (d. 1316), which mushroomed in north-western Iran on a rich pasture between Zanjān and Qazvin. However, these foundations should not mask the fact that Turko-Mongol rule was detrimental to the cities. Let us hear how Aubin sketched the overall evolution of Iranian cities in the new context:

Thanks to the acculturation of the nomadic aristocracy, the old cities were embellished with public buildings. The new rulers built alongside them new foundations such as Shanb-i Ghāzān, and ceremonial residences surrounded by vast grounds planted with trees, where they maintained their camp life-style, as at Samarkand and Herat. The replacement of the traditional regime by the pastoral nevertheless led to a palpable erosion of urban life. In some cases this was sudden, in others gradual, but accelerating with the fifteenth-century Türkmen invasions. Apart from a few regional metropolises (Herat, Shiraz, Tabriz), most cities declined to the rank of country towns. The most fortunate survived as markets serving grazing areas (Tūs, Varāmīn) or as hosts to royal lodges. The nomadic rulers dealt with urban communities as dangerous groups, inflicting on them reprisals and massacres; as reservoirs of manpower, subjecting them to deportations; and as sources of wealth, to be tolled, held for ransom or pillaged. The accommodations they made for industrial cities such as Kāshān and Yazd clearly show that there was nothing blind or thoughtless about the nomadic aristocracy’s attitude to the city. The adoption of the pastoral economic system was also marked, after the failure of the new foundations, by the development of the *ordōbāzārs*, tent cities of traders, which followed the movements of the royal or military camps (*ordo*) and duplicated the urban bazaars, often entering into competition with them.¹²

The *ordu* is precisely the subject of Melville’s famous article on the “Itineraries of Sultan Öljeitü”.¹³ The subject appears very similar to that of Boyle’s aforementioned article on the residences of the Great Khan Ögödei,

¹⁰ Aubin 1971 (on northern Khurasan), coming after other local-scale studies on the Persian Gulf coast and southern Fārs.

¹¹ Aubin 1970, 70 (“association ville-pâturage”, “association ville-oasis”). Haneda 1997.

¹² Aubin 1970, 70-1 (my translation).

¹³ Melville 1990.

but the premises of the two studies are different: while Ögödei's pattern of travel was already formalized in the sources (e.g. Juwaynī's account of "the houses and dwelling-places of Qa'an"¹⁴), Öljeitü's had to be reconstructed from data scattered in the sources. To achieve this, Melville emulated the approach previously developed by Daniel Nordman on the seasonal travels of the Moroccan king Moulay Hassan (d. 1894). Using reports left by French military advisers, Nordman built up "geochronologies", that is tables integrating temporal and spatial data that made it possible to follow the movements of a given court as precisely as the sources allowed.¹⁵ By using the Ilkhanid corpus systematically, Melville was able to get a fairly precise picture of Öljeitü's movements and therefore to deduce his patterns of travel. Building on this researches, as well as on the vast but often neglected Soviet and Russian scholarly resources, Anatoly Khazanov produced a short but excellent historical overview of the various types of interrelation that have existed between nomads and cities in pre-modern Eurasia.¹⁶

Finally, mention should be made of important publications on another level of analysis: the dwelling. In the introduction to a landmark volume on Islamic palaces, Gülrü Necipoğlu has proposed that four "paradigmatic shifts" can be identified to explain the development of the castle in the Islamic world: the "palace-cum-mosque" of the Umayyad caliphs, who still conducted the ritual prayers and remained accessible to their subjects; the extra-urban palace of the Abbasids, whose isolation was intensified by a rigid ceremonial; the urban fortress of foreign rulers from the eleventh century onwards; and lastly the huge palaces of the Turko-Mongol rulers who, as nomads, continued to use the tent.¹⁷ This division, which has been influential, postulates a clear break with the past in the territories ruled by the Mongols and their successors. About tents, Peter Andrews, who has training as an architect as well as competences in Oriental languages, has shown in masterly fashion that the tentage of the Turk and Turko-Mongol rulers was not simply derived from the tents of the pastoral nomads, but merged nomadic, royal and urban traditions.¹⁸ In the 1990s the setting of the court of the Timurids (1370-1507) received particularly extensive atten-

¹⁴ Juwaynī, 1 : 191-5, trans. 1: 236-9.

¹⁵ Nordman 1980-1 (completed by Aatif 1908-1). The term "geochronology" belongs to geological field, but has been taken up by Nordman (*ibid.*, 128), and after him by Melville (1990, 64).

¹⁶ Khazanov 2005.

¹⁷ Necipoğlu 1993.

¹⁸ Andrews 1999.

tion. The abundance of available information (both in the written sources, and also in miniatures and archaeological remains) combined with the opening of Central Asia to foreign scholars led to several important studies. In 1993 O'Kane delivered an inspired article on the emblematic Timurid setting: the garden *cum* pavilion inside which tents could be erected, and which was therefore very different from the fortified complexes of their contemporaries the Mamluks, the Ottomans, and their successors the Moghuls.¹⁹ Maria Subtelny has dealt more specifically with the Timurid garden, by putting it in its economic, technical and also political context (the garden as a symbol of kingship).²⁰ Moreover, the spatial approach enabled O'Kane and Szuppe to conclude (simultaneously) that as far as the location of rule was concerned, no major gap could be shown between the Timurids and the early Safavids.²¹

I have deliberately limited myself here to listing a handful of some of the most important researches on the Mongol and Turko-Mongol rulers, without even mentioning the many researches on the "royal city" of the early modern period.²² By bringing together specialists on various periods and from various disciplines (history, art history, archaeology), the aim of the conference from which this volume emerged was to build upon these works, but also to extend the field of investigation to the many dynasties that could claim for themselves, or that have been associated with, Turkic or Turko-Mongol origins.

The result is this collection of eleven contributions.²³ They cover a period of twenty centuries, from the Xiongnu (third c. BCE–second c. CE) to the early Qajars (eighteenth–nineteenth c.), and an area ranging from China to Egypt, though the bulk of the chapters focus on Iran and Turan-connected territories. It was never the aim to provide the contributors with a predetermined framework in which to organize their material, as Jean-Claude Garcin did, for example, for his book on the great metropolises of

¹⁹ O'Kane 1993. On the royal tentage of the Timurids, Andrews 1999 supersedes Wilber 1979 and all previous studies.

²⁰ Subtelny 2002 and 2007, esp. chap. 4.

²¹ O'Kane 1993. Szuppe 1993.

²² I use the expression "royal city" to refer to the characteristic places of power of Muslim rulers in the late medieval and early modern period (e.g. Bukhara, Istanbul, Delhi, Meknes). See Barrucand 1985.

²³ Fourteen speakers gave papers at the conference held in Tokyo in September 2009. Three contributions are missing in this volume: those of Maria Subtelny (on gardens), of Jin Noda (on the role of Yasi/Turkestan under Kazakh rule) and of Claus-Peter Haase (on Timurid mausolea).

the Arab world.²⁴ On the contrary, they were given freedom to interpret the theme of the conference in their own way and using their own method. As a result, the aim, the material on which the analysis is based, and the scope of the chapters vary greatly from one another. Authors like Inaba, Melville, Kondo and myself have worked only from textual sources. Paul even makes one single chronicle the matrix of his argumentation. Others (Golden, Karev, Peacock, Masuya, Biran, and Franz) have used a combination of archaeological reports and textual sources, in varying proportions depending on the material available and their own specialization.

In a previous publication, I have proposed to address the issue of 'location of rule' at three different levels of analysis: the territory, the urban space and the abode.²⁵ With regard to the territory, how did the ruler occupy his territory? Was he mobile or sedentary? To what extent can we speak of an 'itinerant kingship', an expression that designates a very specific form of government?²⁶ And then, how can his capital be defined? As for the urban space, what was the attitude of the ruler toward cities (hostility or attraction, interest or disinterest)? Where was his court located (inside or outside the city-walls)? Finally was the ruler's abode a tent or palace?²⁷ And what about his last abode (the mausoleum)? Each contribution in this volume tackles one or several of these levels. However despite my endeavours, I have found it extremely difficult to merge the various contributions into a single narrative. I have therefore chosen to present the way these issues are dealt with in each of the eleven chapters, and I shall then reflect briefly on some outcomes of the volume taken as a whole.

The first chapter is devoted to the royal court of the Turks before the thirteenth century. Golden aims to reassess the findings of Pohl, according to whom the places of power of the peoples of the steppe were different from the traditional model insofar as they were located outside the cities. Golden studies Turkic polities that dominated larger or smaller portions of the 'steppe corridor' stretching from Mongolia to Pannonia during the first millennium AD. While wealth was found in profusion at most of these

²⁴ See Garcin 2000b.

²⁵ Durand-Guédy, 2012, 328.

²⁶ See Bernhardt, 2012, 304: "Technically itinerant kingship refers to a method of government whereby a king carries out all of the practical functions and symbolic representations of governing, by periodically or constantly travelling throughout his dominion." Bernhardt worked on the Ottonian kings of Germany (919-1024), but starting with the Achaemenids (see Briant 1988), the history of the Old World provides us with numerous other examples of itinerant kingship (see Inaba in this volume, p. 92-4).

²⁷ I have presented these three levels of analysis in more detail in Durand-Guédy 2012.

courts (Attila's being a notable exception), their relationship to cities differed greatly. The Xiongnu and their Hunnic descendants in Europe (fifth century), the Türks (sixth-eighth centuries) and the Hephthalites (fifth-seventh centuries) did not have any known capital. Their rulers' places of power were non-urban (such as the Dai forest for the Xiongnu, the Ötüken Mountains for the Türks) and contacts with sedentary peoples were minimal (as when the Xiongnu ruler visited Longcheng, the 'Dragon City'—if it was indeed an urban settlement). In contrast, rulers of the Turkic peoples (Qarluq, Oghuz, Kimek) who occupied Central Asia after the end of the Türk qaghanate did have an urban presence, although they continued to live outside the cities. As for the Uighurs (eighth-ninth centuries), the Khazars (seventh-tenth centuries) and the Bulgars (seventh-thirteenth centuries), not only did they found cities (Ordu Baliq in Mongolia, Atil and Bulghar in the Volga valley), but these cities took on the role of capital and hosted the court for at least part of the year. This opening chapter shows well that, while the *ordu* was seen by foreigners as the most characteristic feature of most of the courts of Turkic polities, it would be simplistic to reduce them to it.

The second chapter analyses the movements of the early Ghaznavid rulers, Maḥmūd b. Sebüktegin (d. 1030) and his son Mas'ūd (d. 1041). Inaba straightaway defines these descendants of military slaves as "sedentary rulers on the move"—'sedentary' insofar as they did not fundamentally differ from the early Abbasids. Ghazna, which occupied the same strategic central position as Baghdad had for the Abbasids (at the centre of what Inaba terms a "Figure-eight" road network), was the seat of their administration and their principal place of residence. But the early Ghaznavids were also often 'on the move' to enlarge and consolidate their territory. Mobility was for them an instrument of power, either to lead the armies, as on winter campaigns inside India (following here the same 'seasonal pattern of war' as former rulers of the Kabul region), or to strengthen local loyalties, especially in Khurasan. In that region, the ceremonies held by the city-dwellers for the arrival of the Ghaznavid amir bore many similarities to the "entrées royales" of the French kings in the Late Middle Ages.

The third chapter is devoted to the Western Qarakhanids, a branch of the first Muslim Turkish dynasty, research about whom is notoriously hampered by the lack of textual sources. To analyse the changes that took place during the two centuries of their rule in Transoxania (999-1212), Karev puts together the invaluable Persian translation of the *Ta'rikh Bukhārā*

with recently found archeological material, in particular the excavations at the pre-Mongol citadel of Samarqand, in which he took part with the French-Uzbek Mission in Uzbekistan. A clear evolution in several steps “from tents to city” can be discerned. For a ruler like Shams al-Mulk Naṣr (d. 1080), patronizing building activities inside the city was part of his agenda, but he himself remained outside the walls, in places like the royal compound of Shamsābād (in the vicinity of Bukhara), which had its own private hunting reserve (*ghuruq*). During the following stage, we see the khans moving into the suburbs (*rabaḍ*) of Bukhara, but still very mobile and not attached to a particular place for any extended period. It is only in the second half of the twelfth century, as a result of multiple pressures on the Qarakhanid state, and pressure from the Qarluq nomads in particular, that the khans settled in the citadel of Samarqand and built for their personal use elaborate structures with sophisticated decorative designs.

The fourth chapter is devoted to the most emblematic feature of Turko-Mongol courts, the tent. I focus on the case of the Saljuqs (1040-1194), the first Turkic dynasty of nomadic origin to have ruled over the Iranian plateau, and show that the forms and functions of their tentage belong to the same tradition of princely tentage studied by Peter Andrews. The tent remained their dwelling as well as one of the main symbols of their sultanate. The question of the Saljuq ‘palace’, I argue, cannot be resolved as long as one tries to find equivalent of the Abbasid-like complexes, along the lines of the Ghaznavid palaces. Instead, the setting of the Saljuq court merged gardens, pavilions and various type of tentage, as in the better known Timurid case. From this perspective, the gap represented by the Mongol conquest can be reassessed and Necipoğlu’s “paradigmatic shifts” revisited.

The fifth chapter reassesses the relationship of the Rum Saljuqs (1077-1328) with the Türkmens through the prism of a spatial analysis. Peacock argues that there was no such thing as a “rigid dichotomy” (as postulated in Vryonis’ *Decline of Hellenism*) between peripheral areas populated by Türkmen city-looters and a sedentary central area controlled by an acculturated sultan who followed Iranian models. In many places, the urban decline attributed to the Türkmens was rather an urban mutation, with the emergence of new sites like Denizli. But the key point is that, even in the thirteenth century, “the Great Age of Saljuq palace building”, the sultans did not live isolated from the Türkmens. On the contrary, possibilities of meeting were facilitated by the seasonal royal travels from the

Mediterranean coast up to the Anatolian plateau, which followed the pastoral roads, and also by the construction of royal residences in nomad-friendly areas. The capital, Konya, appears no longer as a symbol of Persianized kingship, but as a “pastoral and mausoleum city” like those postulated by Haneda for later periods.

The sixth chapter focuses on the palaces of the Mongol Great Khans in Mongolia and China (1206-1368). Tapping a vast corpus of archaeological reports and literary sources, Masuya examines the way indigenous and Mongolian traditions merged in their successive capitals: Chinggis Khan's Grand Ordu, Ögödei's Qaraqorum in the Orkhon valley, and the seasonal capitals of the Yuans in northern China. While the Grand Ordu at Köde'e Aral was mainly a tented encampment, permanent structures had been built so that the tent of Chinggis could be pitched in a preeminent position. In contrast, while the large palatial complexes of Qaraqorum, Shangdu and Dadu were typically Chinese in their design, they also included tents or buildings that evoked the shape of tents. Furthermore, these complexes were merely the centre of a network of sites where the ruler could spend time. The Great Khans, and especially the Yuan emperors in China, offer a typical example of mobility on two levels: large-scale seasonal movements between the winter and the summer capital, and small-scale movements in the “peri-urban” (to quote the expression of Moses and Greer²⁸) around each of these capitals.

The seventh chapter examines the case of the Mongol rulers of Central of Asia up to the rise of Timur (1370). Since this was probably the place and time where the pressure of the nomads on the ‘sown’ was at its peak in the history of mankind, it has special relevance to our subject. The urban regression is undeniable, especially when compared with the pre-invasion urban boom, but Biran shows that this regression is due less to a deliberate hostility towards cities than to unfavourable political conditions: on the one hand, the heavy “brain-and-labour” drain that burdened the cities, and on the other the partition of Central Asia between two competing entities (the *ulus* Chaghatay and the *ulus* Ögödei), which led to endemic warfare. The khans lived in the *ordu*, like those visited by Ibn Battuta in 1333, but they did not ignore cities—far from it. This is shown not so much by the foundation of the ‘pastoral capital’ of Qarshī, as by the appointment of personal representatives of the ruler in the great urban centres, or by the creation of urban centres to boost the local economy of a sedentary region,

²⁸ Moses and Greer 1998. See also Shiraishi 2004 (Shiraishi uses the expression “peri-urban area” to translate the Japanese notion of *shutoken*).

like Andijan in the Farghāna Valley. Moreover the crisis of Chinggisid authority in Central Asia resulted in the increasing legitimacy of cities such as Almaliq in the eyes of the rulers, a legitimacy strengthened further by the construction of dynastic mausolea.

The eighth chapter complements the seventh by examining the mobility of a Timurid court, that of Shāhrukh b. Timur (d. 1447). This was a reign of transition and as such, explains Melville, it constitutes a good vantage point from which to observe what the ruler did, and here more importantly, where he went when he was not campaigning. As in the case of Shāh ‘Abbās (on whom Melville had done similar work²⁹), a particular type of mobility can be associated to each phase of the reign. The conclusion is that Shāhrukh does not seem to have been as sedentary as previously thought. A typical pattern of movement was along the valley of the Hari-Rud: from Herat to Sarakhs in winter, then to the hills of Badghis in spring, to come back to Herat during the summer. What is striking is the importance of pilgrimages: Shāhrukh made not less than six visits to the mausoleum of Abū Sa‘īd b. Abī’l-Khayr at Mayhana, eight to that of Aḥmad-i Jām and nine to that of the Shi‘i Imam ‘Alī al-Riḍā at Mashhad. This is reminiscent of the “sacralized travels” of the Ottonian rulers analysed by Bernhardt. However, despite the abundance of data, Melville finds it difficult to decide whether Shāhrukh’s court was indeed an itinerant court, Herat “probably” fulfilling the role of a permanent administrative capital.

The ninth chapter takes an entirely new approach. It explores the spatial background of an institution: the vassal-lord relationship. The vassal, says Paul, owes service (*khidmat*) to the lord, who in turn should grant benefit (*ni‘ma*) to the vassal. Now, in fourteenth-century Central Anatolia, which is the setting of this chapter, the key benefit was the possession of a fortress, because it provided its owner with control over the surrounding countryside, its revenues, and also its manpower, from local farmers to pastoral nomads. The fortress, summarizes Paul, was the “mainstay of power on the spot”. While the mechanisms of the allocation of fortresses varied (the ruler could appoint a retainer or confirm a family possession), the issue of loyalty was its cornerstone. Ultimately, this chapter highlights a new element in the Anatolian landscape: a network of fortresses linked by personal relationships, which overlapped the networks of pastures and the network of cities dear to Jean Aubin.

²⁹ See Melville 1993.

Networks are also at the heart of the tenth chapter, which analyses the spatial strategies of the Bahrī Mamluks (1250-1390). Born in the Qīpchaq steppe (now in southern Russia), but brought to the banks of the Nile before adolescence, the Mamluk rulers of Egypt and Syria were sedentary and urban and they aimed at centralization. But this centralization, Franz shows, was only possible because the occupants of the “Castle” (the ‘royal city’ which dominated Cairo) had the means to act on the “Country”. These means comprised a multiform communication network (*barīd* system, pigeons and beacons) and a network of fortresses, as well as institutional tools such as the *amīrat al-‘arab* which allowed them to play a kind of “politics of notables” in the Bedouin milieu. (We have here a striking example of a Turkic polity whose rulers originate from the steppe, but control another steppe from the city.) The aim was to ensure that the territory claimed by the state was congruent with the territory it actually controlled (a process called “territorialisation”). There were clear limitations (especially as far as the steppe was concern), although, from the perspective of the whole span of Islamic history, the Mamluk period, Franz argues, marks a clear break with the long Abbasid period (eighth-thirteenth centuries), when “interstices” of territory (roads, deserts, mountains) were much more beyond the ruler’s control.

The eleventh and final chapter focuses on the first two Qajars kings, Āqā Muḥammad Khān (d. 1797) and his son Faṭḥ ‘Alī Shāh (d. 1834). As they left their capital Tehran frequently, as the site of Sulṭāniyya developed by the Ilkhans was one of Faṭḥ ‘Alī Shāh’s favourite summer residences, and as they were not averse to living in tents, their lifestyle, if not their state as a whole, has been compared to that of previous Turkic and Turko-Mongol polities. For Kondo, these comparisons are groundless. Using carefully constructed ‘geochronologies’, he shows that the movements of the king were dictated by military concerns and nothing else. Sulṭāniyya, for example, became a royal residence only to serve as a base during operations against the Russians. Most of the year, the king lived behind the walls of the Arg (i.e. the “Castle”), inside Tehran, and when he left his capital during the summer, he simply followed a local pattern. Archival documents (especially sale deeds) show that he was himself an actor in the economic life of his capital. But nothing emblemized this special relationship with Tehran better than the ceremony of *Nawrūz* (New Year), when the king had to be seated in the audience chamber of the Arg to reenact the first *Nawrūz* celebrated by the mythical king Jamshīd. In this sense, concludes

Kondo, the early Qajars are not so much reminiscent of earlier Turko-Mongol rulers as precursors of the Pahlavis.

Taking together, this collective work may allow several conclusions to be drawn. First it is obvious that it does not come close to exhausting the question of location of rule in the Turko-Mongol context. Much is expected to result from the growing amount of archaeological material that is available on the setting of these courts. These excavations have a long history, from the nineteenth-century pioneering expeditions, like Radlov's reconnaissance of the Orkhon valley, to the achievements of Soviet archeologists in Central Asia, like Kiselev and many others (quoted in chapters 1, 3, 6 and 7) and their Italian (e.g. Scerrato), German (e.g. Naumann) and French (e.g. Schlumberger) colleagues in Iran and Afghanistan.³⁰ In the last three decades, however, new opportunities have appeared. For example an ambitious German-Mongolian project is providing us with a much clearer idea of urban and proto-urban settlements over an extended period of time in the Orkhon Valley, a key region for numerous nomadic polities from the Xiongnu to the Mongols.³¹ Another example is the work accomplished since 1991 by the French Archaeological Mission in Uzbekistan (MAFOuz de Sogdiane) on the Afrasiab teppe in Samarqand and which has led to a sharp increase in our knowledge of pre-Mongol Transoxania.³² The opening up of Central Asia since Perestroika in the 1980s,³³ and more crucially after independence, has been exploited all the more intensively because large international projects have proved difficult in Iran and have been hampered by security concerns in Afghanistan.³⁴

³⁰ See Kiselev et al. 1965 (on the early Mongol towns); Scerrato 1959 (on the Ghaznavid palace of Ghazni); Naumann 1976 (on the Ilkhanid palace of Takht-i Sulaymān); Schlumberger and Sourdel-Thomine 1978 (on the Ghaznavids of Lashkari Bazar).

³¹ For an introduction to this project, see Bemmman 2010.

³² While Monik Kervran's synthesis article on "Qarakhanid foundations" was limited by the lack of textual information beyond the middle of the twelfth century, Karev is able to fill the gap up to the end of the dynasty. Compare Kervran 2001 and Karev in this volume.

³³ Golombek and Wilber's reference work on Timurid architecture dates to 1988.

³⁴ The French-Iranian Archeological Mission constituted for excavations on the pre-Mongol fortress of Nishāpūr was able to undertake only three expeditions, while MAFOuz has so far led seventeen expeditions at the pre-Mongol fortress of Samarqand. I do not minimize the importance of the work done by Iranian archeologists but, since most of their budget is devoted to pre-Islamic sites and the rare projects dealing with Islamic periods tend to neglect civil architecture, their publications are not so relevant to the issues considered in this volume.

As far as texts are concerned, the work to be done is no less. Let us hear Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī (d. 1349) speaking of the Chaghadaid rulers of Central Asia: “they call [Qarshī] it their ‘abode of royalty’ (*qāʿidat al-mulk*) although they do not reside in houses or use walls.”³⁵ It was clear that, for this author, Qarshī and Cairo had little in common except the title of capital, and that this very title masked the true nature of Chaghadaid rule. This should make us particularly prudent when we deal with technical terms, whose meaning can change from time to time, from place to place and even depending on the context. For example in Persian, Arabic as well as Turkic, a same word can refer to a tent or to fixed house depending on the context (chap. 4, p. 152). The understanding of these terms requires full analysis of the broader context, a better synergy between historian, archaeologists and art historians, and perhaps also the abandonment—or more carefully considered use—of some too easy-to-use English caption words (e.g. ‘capital’, ‘palace’). This volume gives some very good examples of problems posed by terminology. Golden (chap. 1) starts his discussion by re-examining relevant vocabulary in pre-thirteenth-century Turkic languages. In some chapters, historical analysis has led to the redefinition of the meanings of some well-known terms. Peacock (chap. 5) shows that the *ūj*, a key-word in pre-Ottoman sources on Anatolia, meant a nomad-populated area but not necessarily an outlying area. Masuya (chap. 6) shows that the Chinese term *longting* (lit. ‘the court of the dragon’) had been used to refer to the headquarters of a nomadic ruler since Xiongnu times, but that in Yuan sources related to Chinggis Khan it referred specifically to the site of Köde’e Aral. Melville (chap. 8) explains that the term *yaylāq*, which means ‘summer pasture’ in the context of pastoral nomadism, loses its temporal value when it is used to describe a royal itinerary. In other words, when a chronicler says that Shāhrukh is in a *yaylaq*, it does not necessarily imply that the season was summer (this is important when one tries to reconstruct his movements). I have myself (chap. 4) endeavoured to define as precisely as possible the terms used to refer to Saljuq dwellings by establishing correspondences (e.g. *sarāparda* and *surādiq* are synonymous) as well as differences (a *sarāparda* is not a tent; a *kūshk* and a *dār* are structurally different).

If the volume as a whole may hope to have accomplished only one thing, it is to dispel a spectre that has been haunting scholarship on the Turko-Mongol rulers: the spectre of nomadism. There has been an enduring ten-

³⁵ Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, 49, also quoted by Biran in this volume, p. 273.

dency in large sections of the scholarship to systematically interpret some features of Turko-Mongol rule as relics of their Inner Asian origin. This is especially true of the dynasties after the Mongols. A 'good' example is Gronke's article on the setting of the court "from Timur to 'Abbas I".³⁶ The aforementioned studies by O'Kane and Szuppe on the same subject are far better documented and convincing, but they do not avoid reference to the 'nomadic heritage' factor.³⁷ The problem with this factor is, as Jürgen Paul warns in this volume, that "nomads and the way we think they lived are perhaps an invention of nineteenth-century anthropology or, even worse, of Herodotus and his readers, including nineteenth-century anthropologists and historians." More specifically, the so-called 'nomadic features' are not exclusive to nomadic societies. A long-noted example is itinerancy: having compared the Saljuqs to the kings of medieval England, David Morgan remarked that "no one has yet accused the [reckless] Angevins of harking back to nomadic origins!"³⁸ The same could be said of the seasonal movements of the first Qajars: they used to leave Tehran in summer for cooler places, but when we see a European physician noting that all the inhabitants who could afford it tried to escape the deplorable sanitary conditions of the capital during that season, the 'nomadic heritage' factor loses much of its relevance (see chap. 11).

Significantly, while in 1990 Melville still described Öljeitü as a "nomad chief",³⁹ three years later he dropped any reference to the "nomadic origin" paradigm in his article on Shāh 'Abbās I. This probably shows less his lack of interest in the question than his growing awareness of the difficulty of answering it without making a comprehensive analysis of the reign and

³⁶ Gronke 1992, 19: "This life in tents and gardens, rather than palace and city, clearly points to a nomadic heritage; *ibid.*, 20: "The large garden areas ... represent an attempt to reconcile the freedom of nomadic life with the pleasures of culture and sedentary civilization".

³⁷ O'Kane 1993, 256: "it is not difficult to understand how life in [citadels] would be anathema to those of nomadic heritage"; *ibid.*, 253: the construction of gardens outside the city-wall is interpreted as a proof of Timur's "nomadic taste", of his "ability to re-create a nomadic environment"; Szuppe 1993: "Venus de l'Asie Centrale, les souverains timourides avaient gardé cet usage [la coutume de la vie en dehors des murs de la ville] de leur ancien passé nomade ou semi-nomade"; cf. *ibid.*, 286. See also Haneda 1990 and 1996. Mention should be made here of Susan Babaie's recent book on Safavid Isfahan and in which she harshly criticizes the use of the "nomadic paradigm" for sixteenth-century rulers, especially after Shah 'Abbās. See Babaie 2009, esp. 178 (against the Turko-Mongol origin of the *tālār*), 225 and 245.

³⁸ Morgan 1988, 35; also quoted by Melville (1990, 55).

³⁹ Melville 1990, 63: "[Öljeitü] moved about because he was a nomad chief whereas the Angevins, for example, were nomadic rulers because they moved about."

the period.⁴⁰ The limits of ‘nomadic determinism’ are well illustrated in this volume. The rulers of the Türks did not have a capital city, but their successors, the Uighurs, did and they lived inside a castle, at least at the time when Tamīm b. Baḥr visited it (chap. 1). The Baḥrī Mamluks grew up in a nomadic environment in the Qipchaq steppe but they nonetheless became perhaps the most urban Islamic dynasty (see chap. 10). Thus, at the risk of stating the obvious, let us insist on the fact that the location of rule did not depend on the nature of the ruler, but on the nature of the rule: its legitimacy, its resources, and its networks.

Rather than focusing on ethnicity (who is a Turk? who is a Mongol? who is a Kurd? etc.) future research would profit from focusing on these issues instead. Peacock’s chapter on Saljuq Anatolia is here particularly enlightening: the movements of Sultan ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Kay-Qubād (d. 1237) along the pastoral routes from the Mediterranean coast to the Inner Anatolia have nothing to do with the nomadic patterns studied by de Planhol,⁴¹ but were rather a “political response to a new situation”. Presenting a powerful display in nomad-populated areas or on nomadic migration routes was a way for the Saljuq sultan to gain the support of the Türkmens, and especially their military support.⁴² Similarly, Paul defines the nomadization of Qadi Burhān al-Dīn (d. 1398), the regional ruler of Sivas, as a “ruling habitus”. In other words these rulers were not nomadic out of atavism, but out of agency.⁴³ Medieval Anatolia is a very good field of investigation because the sources do refer to nomads, whatever the authors’ negative sentiments towards them and the problems posed by the lack of a clear terminology to refer to them.⁴⁴ The same is not true of Timurid Central Asia, where the nomads are in the sources like the ‘dark matter’ of history—invisible but essential.⁴⁵ Therefore, although it is extremely likely that the regular trips

⁴⁰ In this volume, Melville takes the same deliberately low-profile approach: “I have concentrated only on the most basic element of the research, that is, collecting the evidence of Shāhrukh’s journeys and charting them in a rather schematic way” (p. 287).

⁴¹ De Planhol 1958.

⁴² The key-issue of the military role played by the nomads in sedentary-states is the subject of a collective publication of the Collaborative Research Center “Difference and Integration”; see Franz and Holzwarth 2013.

⁴³ This is reminiscent of the reassessment of Umayyad rule by Heinz Gaube: the main function of the castles they built in the Syrian steppe was to serve as an appropriate setting when the caliph (who was definitely urban) wanted to meet the representative of the Bedouins, whose support was essential to him. See Gaube 1979. Discussed in detail by Borut 2011, 414.

⁴⁴ See the key-study of Paul 2007.

⁴⁵ On this subject see Melville 2008.

made by Shāhrukh to Sarakhs were intended to strengthen links with nomadic groups on their winter camping ground, this cannot be firmly proved.

Focusing on the structure of power can also help us understand the process of acculturation. It was not inevitable or unidirectional. Karev (chap. 3) establishes a connection between the withdrawal of the Qarakhanids into the fortresses and the rise of external threats and tensions between the dynasty and the Qarluq nomads. What we see here seems to accord well with the Khaldunian model of a ‘nomadic power’ progressively severing itself from its roots and hastening its own downfall. In the case of the Saljuqs of Iran, however, no clear change in lifestyle can be observed in the long term. Not only did the last sultan, Toghril b. Arslan, never live inside a palace-fortress, but with the arrival of spring he would make the *kūch* around his capital Hamadan—that is he would move his camp from one meadow to another (see chap. 4, p. 172). This does not mean that the Saljuqs remained strangers to the country they ruled. There may even have been a trend towards settlement in the capital during the reign of Muḥammad b. Malik-Shāh (d. 1118), but the conditions on the ground did not allow any real evolution in their way of life or their style of rule. The increasing significance of nomadic pastoralists in Iran from the eleventh century onwards forced the ruler to maintain what I would call a ‘balance of mobility’ with them. “Ruling from the outside” was a necessity before being a choice. From this perspective, the changes that could not take place before the Mongol conquest were even less possible afterwards. As Biran shows, the khans of the *ulus Chagatai* were not essentially hostile to cities, but political conditions forced them to keep their distance. In the case of Qaidu, this went as far as preventing him from founding a capital.

Now—and this will be my final remark—the real meaning of ‘nomad identity’ and what may indeed have been a “Türkmen way of life” (as in the sentence attributed to the Aqqonyunlu ruler quoted at the beginning of this Introduction) is even more obscured because these rulers may have manipulated it in order to gain political advantage. The “cachet” of nomadic culture at the court of the later Saljuqs (to use Peacock’s word, p. 194), with the production of works such as the *Danishmend-name* in thirteenth-century Konya, had practical implications: new alliances could be built on old memories. The same could be said of the *Saljūq-nāma* written in Hamadan.⁴⁶ In this respect, architecture was a key medium. The huge tent erected at

⁴⁶ See Durand-Guédy 2013.

Shangdu, the summer capital of the Yuans, was probably built as a replica of the one set up at Örmügetü, the summer camping ground of Ögödei, in the mountain west of Qaraqorum. For whose benefit was it set up? The same could be asked of the golden tent built on the roof of the royal palace in the Uighur capital. Likewise the Khargāh Pavilion built in the royal compound of the Safavid capital Isfahan evoked, if only by its name, the not so distant time where the trellis tent *was* the palace. Nowadays, Central Asian rulers of no-longer nomadic societies have themselves portrayed in a nomad setting, and these portraits will become historical sources. Nothing appears less slippery than this notion of ‘nomadic identity’, but the spatial approach may be the best way to circumscribe it. It is our hope that this volume will give rise to new research in this direction.

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CHAPTER ONE

COURTS AND COURT CULTURE IN THE PROTO-URBAN AND URBAN DEVELOPMENTS AMONG THE PRE-CHINGGISID TURKIC PEOPLES

Peter Golden

CITIES AND THE TURKIC NOMADS: SOME INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

In the tribal borderlands of the Roman world of Late Antiquity, as Walter Pohl notes, “[b]arbarian residences only become apparent once they have been transferred to Roman cities”.¹ The same may be said of the Middle East and the oasis cities (or earlier city-states) of the southern tier of Central Asia. ‘Courts’ in settled Central Asia, even with monarchs who made periodic tours of their realms, dragging entourages with them and imposing on the ‘hospitality’ of their subject aristocrat-servitors, usually returned to more permanent residences in cities, the presumed ‘natural’ locus for a developed court life and culture. The ‘places of power’ of the steppe peoples, Pohl contends, were an exception to this general pattern.² This was largely, but not universally true of the steppe polities prior to the thirteenth century. The overwhelming majority of the Turkic peoples in the pre-Chingissid era were pastoral nomads, whose life-style, although not entirely lacking in settled zones, was not usually associated with cities or urban settings. In the steppe, the *ordu*, the camp of the ruler, who often followed the traditional pastoral nomadic cycle of seasonal migrations, was the court. Some nomad-based empires did create urban centres (e.g. the Uighurs and Khazars). Others, such as the Qarakhanids, having conquered settled areas, maintained residences in the subject cities, imposing their Central Asian nomadic political traditions as a governmental carapace over the older state and urban traditions, many elements of which (especially the daily practicalities of governance) were maintained. Nomadic political traditions remained much in evidence. This is particularly true of the Chinggisid and Timurid eras, which lie beyond the chronological boundar-

¹ Pohl 2008b, 100.

² Ibid., 100.

ies of this chapter. In either event, the process usually involved some degree of sedentarisation on the part of some of the nomads, in particular the elites. In the studies that follow, the focus has been on 'nomadic states', i.e. states founded by nomads who continued to hold the dominant positions of political power and constituted the bulk of the population. These states were located in ecologically distinct areas (i.e. the steppe), separate from sedentary populations that may have been politically subordinate to them.³

The seasonal migrations of the nomadic cycle included areas (usually winter quarters) with some permanent structures, that were used for part of the year, year after year.⁴ These 'proto-urban' or 'early urban' developments, presumably with more or less permanent resident populations (former nomads, subject artisans et al.), could serve as 'places of power' as nomadic or semi-nomadic rulers moved around their realms.⁵ Scholars are just beginning to explore these long-term camps and more permanent settlements.

Cities in the Turko-Nomadic World

As a preface to any discussion of 'proto-urban' or urban 'places of power', something must be said about 'urbanism' in the early Turko-nomadic world and how the nomads viewed cities. More than one pre-Chinggisid nomadic polity considered the practicality of having a fixed capital and court, but nomad attitudes towards cities were filled with ambivalence. Nomads wanted access to cities for trade, but were wary of them and—with the occasional exception of the elite—feared sedentarisation and disdained those who sedentarised (see below).

The historiography of Central Asia has often drawn a sharp line between the steppe and the urban world within it. Unlike the Middle East, Central Asian nomads occupied a very distinct ecological zone (the steppe), often at some distance from the major cities. Distance did not preclude elements of symbiosis. Nonetheless, standard histories tend to focus on the major oasis city-states associated with the Silk Road, such as Bukhara and Samarqand,⁶ leaving the urban history of Central Asia from the Turko-

³ See definitions in Khazanov 2007, 9.

⁴ Radloff 1884-93, I: 417-18; Waugh 2010, 99.

⁵ Pohl (2008b, 101) notes that Attila had several of these and chose to meet with Byzantine ambassadors in the "largest and most beautiful" of them. See discussion below.

⁶ Cf. Frye 1965; Muminov 1969-70.

nomadic perspective insufficiently covered.⁷ There are huge gaps in what is known about Mongolia from the second to eighth century CE,⁸ possibly for the very good reason that there was little urban development. Of the work that has been done on the Central Asian cities, much of it consists of detailed archaeological reports, which describe physical objects, but make little attempt to place them in a larger political-cultural context.⁹ An exception is Teresa Nagrodzka-Majchrzyk's *The Genesis of Towns among the Ancient Turks*,¹⁰ which appeared in Polish in 1978, and is an early attempt to grapple with the issue of the origins of settled communities within the steppe world itself. Only recently, now released from some of the ideological constraints of the Soviet era, several major Russian archaeologists are putting together their overviews of the process (cf. the works of V.M. Masson and L.R. Kyzlasov).¹¹ S.A. Pletneva, the late doyenne of Khazar archaeology,¹² recounted in a 1990 article the difficulties that her mentor, the founder of modern Khazar archaeological studies, M.I. Artamonov, underwent before he could publish his *Istoriia Khazar* in 1962¹³—after years of delay.¹⁴ Artamonov's work, despite a number of shortcomings, has much to tell us when it deals with the excavation of Khazar sites. The historiography of these issues is worthy of a full-scale study.

Soviet/Russian scholars have written numerous studies on pre-historic and early Indo-Iranian or early Iranian settlements in Central Asia, which they dubbed the "Country of Towns" (*strana gorodov*)¹⁵ or at the least a land of "proto-urban civilization".¹⁶ Kyzlasov, in particular, has argued against a long-standing prejudice regarding the antiquity of urban develop-

⁷ Cf. the brief study by Sümer 2006, which first appeared in 1980 and marks an early attempt to deal with the question of Turkic cities. There are also the article of von Gabain 1949 and the brief overview of Khazanov 2008, 418–30. See also Pletneva (1967), who traces the movement to semi-nomadism/semi-sedentarism and proto-urbanisation among the primarily Bulghāric tribes of the Saltovo-Maiaki culture of Khazaria. Rowton (1974, 1–30), terms semi-nomadism "enclosed nomadism" denoting "pastoral land" that was either "partly or completely within the sedentary zone" and was often "encircled by urban settlement". This arrangement, which could include symbiotic intereactions (Bates 1973), was more typical of the Middle East, see Khazanov 2008, 64–6, 94–102.

⁸ Waugh 2010, 102.

⁹ Cf. Senigova 1972; Tulepbaev 1983.

¹⁰ Nagrodzka-Majchrzyk 1978.

¹¹ Cf. Masson 2006; Kyzlasov 2006.

¹² Pletneva 1999.

¹³ Artamonov 2002 (re-edition of 1962 edition, with addenda).

¹⁴ Pletneva 1990, 77–8; Pletneva 1998, 26–7.

¹⁵ See discussion in Kohl 2007, 13, 146ff.

¹⁶ Kuzmina 2008, 49.

ments in Siberia. He has found archaeological, folkloric and other evidence, including accounts of Russians travelling in these regions since the seventeenth century, that indicate that there was more urban or 'proto-urban' development than had previously been suspected, dating to much earlier periods. He points to the numerous indigenous terms in eastern Uralic and Palaeo-Siberian languages denoting urban settlements or cities. All of this needs further investigation.¹⁷ This might seem like special pleading from a scholar who has devoted so much of his work to the question. However, we have several medieval accounts that would indicate that there was more urban development than has usually been accepted. Recent work in the Yetisu (Semirech'e) region has indicated that, in Antiquity and the early Middle Ages, the Saka and Wusun confederations possessed proto-urban settlements with permanent structures that were used annually (but not necessarily on a permanent basis for the whole year) by peoples engaged in animal husbandry, which entailed varying degrees of seasonal migrations. They also practised some agriculture.¹⁸ The Wusun, most probably an Iranian nomadic people,¹⁹ had a walled capital 'city', Chigu (lit. 'Red Valley', Late Han pronunciation: *tś^hak kok), at one point,²⁰ with some 120,000 households, and government officials below their 'king', the *kunmi* (or *kunmo*), divided into left-right wings. According to the *Han shu*, the Chinese princess sent as a bride to the *kunmi* in a bid to draw the latter into an anti-Xiongnu alliance, had "buildings" constructed in which she resided (although she also complained of living in a "domed lodging ... with walls made of felt") and held state banquets for her husband (whom she rarely saw and with whom she was unable to communicate due to language barriers) and the Wusun elite. In her plaintive letters to the Han court, she told of her loneliness and China responded by regularly sending her "drapes, brocades and embroideries to supply her needs".²¹ These ties (and the sending of Chinese princesses) continued as part of a Wusun-Han alli-

¹⁷ Kyzlasov 2006, 9-10, 80-3.

¹⁸ Baipakov 2007, 62-6.

¹⁹ The Wusun (*Aśvin) have been identified as Iranian, Indo-Iranian or perhaps a mix of Tokharian and east Iranian elements, neighbours of the Yuezhi in the Gansu Corridor, who were driven westward to the Ili in the Yuezhi-Xiongnu conflicts of the 170s-160s BCE. See Beckwith 2009, 6-7, 376-7; Borovkova 2001, 105-13; Borovkova 2008, 9-10.

²⁰ Schuessler 2009, 70, 158 (* indicates a reconstructed word). These and other Wusun terms preserved in Chinese accounts have yet to reveal what language they actually spoke. See Hulswé 1979, 143-62; on Han-Wusun relations, see Borovkova, 2001, 245-91. Hulswé (1979, 143 n. 378) notes that 'Chigu' may not be the Chinese transcription of the native name of this town.

²¹ Hulswé 1979, 143-9.

ance. The princesses became important channels of communication between the Han and Wusun courts. When internecine strife weakened the central government, the Han attempted to strengthen one or another faction for its own purposes, even providing a garrison for Chigu. Our accounts report little of Wusun court life other than the ongoing interest in gift ‘exchanges’ with the Han,²² an important element of Chinese diplomacy and relations with ‘subordinate’ peoples. The tradition of ‘Princess Cities’ continued into the medieval era, most probably with ‘courts’ that imitated to varying degrees those of the princesses’ homeland.

In 821, Tamīm b. Baḥr journeyed to the Uighur capital of Ordu Balīq. In his account, he reports “traces of an ancient town” near Lake Issyk Kul [Issīq Köl] (in the Tianshan Mountains in Kyrgyzstan) in Upper ‘Nūshajān’.²³ None of the local Turks knew who had built it or why it had become deserted. In the 840s, the Caliph al-Wāthiq (r. 842-7) dispatched Sallām the Interpreter, who was fluent in Turkic (and reputedly some 30 tongues), to reconnoitre the lands beyond the Caucasus up to the ‘Wall of Gog and Magog’. The itinerary, preserved earliest—and only partially—in Ibn Khurdādhbih,²⁴ is uncertain. Sallām appears to have gone from Tbilisi in Georgia to Siberia and perhaps as far as Tuva and Xinjiang (see Fig. 3).²⁵ After more than a month of travel beyond Khazaria, through foul-smelling lands, Sallām came to a series of ruins of cities and travelled through them for 20 days. When he inquired how they had come to this state of destruction, he was told that it was the work of Gog and Magog.²⁶ The mysteries of these cities still remain to be explored.

Further indications of more sedentarised or semi-sedentarised Turkic groupings in the steppelands are found in al-Mas‘ūdī’s report on the Burtās (of still unascertained ethno-linguistic affiliation), whom he considered ‘Turks’. He remarks that numerous sedentarised Turkic peoples lived along the Burtās River under Khazar rule, forming an unbroken chain between

²² Hulsewé 1979, 149-62; Borovkova 2001, 245-91 on Han-Wusun relations.

²³ Tamīm b. Baḥr, 280, trans. 284, commentary 290. Nūshajān نُوشَجَان is probably a corruption of Barsghan/Barskhan بَرَسْخَان.

²⁴ Ibn Khurdādhbih, 162-70; al-Muqaddasī, 362-5; al-Idrīsī, 934-6, and in various versions deriving from Ibn Khurdādhbih’s source. See Dunlop 1971, 167-9; Göckenjan and Zimonyi 2001, 25-6. The text has been most recently published by Van Donzel and Schmidt (2010, 122-41). They suggest (p. 121) that Sallām was most probably of Khazar origin.

²⁵ Kyzlasov 2006, 32; described at length in Van Donzel and Schmidt 2010, 182-218.

²⁶ Ibn Khurdādhbih, 163; Van Donzel and Schmidt 2010, 124, 129.

Khazaria and Volga Bulghāria.²⁷ Thomas Noonan's studies have shown that Khazaria contained important settled elements in its economy.²⁸ Al-Mas'ūdī may be using the ethnonym 'Turk' here very broadly, i.e. including non-Turkic peoples living under or associated with Turkic ruling elites, and the settled peoples of Khazaria may have represented other ethnic groupings, but we cannot automatically dismiss these notices.

However tantalising these ruins and archaeological hints may be, medieval written accounts seem to indicate that the Turko-Mongolian nomads created few durable cities in the steppes. In Central Asia, the great cities were largely founded by Iranians. Old Turkic *kend/kent*, 'city', is clearly a borrowing from Iranian (*kand* or *qand*²⁹ as in *Samarqand*—which the Turks had jokingly transformed into *Semizkend* 'Fat City ... because of its great size'³⁰). In Oghuz, *kend* meant 'village', but in the other Turkic dialects it denoted 'town'.³¹ Sogdian *kath*³² is also found in a Turko-nomadic connection. Theophylaktos Simokattes mentions the Onoghur city of Βαχάθ, which was destroyed in an earthquake.³³ No date or location is given.

Problems of Terminology

Turkic terms for urban developments have a long and far from clear evolution.³⁴ A perhaps native Turkic term for 'city' is *balīq*,³⁵ probably borrowed early on from Turkic into Mongol as *balghasun* (Modern Mong. *balghas*) 'town', 'city', 'fortress'³⁶—although this issue is disputed. *Balīq* et al., in turn, may have derived from an Altaic term for 'fortress' (something like **pīālag*³⁷). Other suggestions have derived it from the same root that

²⁷ Al-Mas'ūdī, 1: 215.

²⁸ Noonan 2006/2007, 107–24.

²⁹ Gharib 1995, 190: *knδ(h)* *kand/t*, *kanθ*, (*qnθ*, *knδ*), Khotanese *kanthā*, 'city'; Tenishev and Dybo 2006, 796–7.

³⁰ Kāshgharī, 1: 270.

³¹ Ibid., 1: 270.

³² Gharib 1995, 197: *qθ*, *kaθ* 'city'.

³³ Simocatta, 260, trans. 191 (VII.8.13).

³⁴ Tenishev and Dybo 2006, 438–76.

³⁵ Clauson 1972, 335–6: 'town'.

³⁶ Shcherbak 1997, 104.

³⁷ Starostin, Dybo and Mudrak 2003, 2: 1092, producing Mong. **balaga-sun*, 'city', 'fortress', Manchu (probably archaic) *falga* ('clan, tribe, all the people living on one street, quarter of a town, office, bureau, group, clump, grove ...': see Norman 1978, 82) < ProtoTung. **palVga* ('a group of houses') and Proto-Turk. **bialik* 'city, fortress' > Old Türk *balīq*. Tenishev and Dybo 2006, 474; Sinor 1981, 97–9. Starostin's work has come under severe criticism, cf. Vovin 2005, 71–132. Indeed, the nature of the Altaic relationship is hotly contested, the debate centring on whether the relationship is genetic or the result of long-term borrowings and

means ‘mud’, ‘clay’ in Turkic (*balčiq* in many modern Turkic languages). In Maḥmūd Kāshgharī’s time (writing ca. 469/1077), *balīq* denoted “‘fortress, city,’ in the dialect of the heathens and of Uighur”, but also meant ‘mud’ in the dialect of Arghu.³⁸ To tent-dwelling nomads, towns would have appeared to be collections of mud buildings. Denis Sinor derives the Turkic *balīq* from Ugric **palyV* (cf. Hung. *falu*, ‘village’, Vogul *pāβl*, *pāβl*, *pēl*, Ostyak *pūyət*, *pūyəl*),³⁹ although why the Turks would have borrowed this term from the primarily hunting-gathering Ugric peoples is unclear.

By Kāshgharī’s time, *kend* was more often employed, especially in connection with Muslim towns. Perhaps *balīq* had a too non-Muslim association. Kāshgharī, who considers *kend* to be a Turkic word, offers the widespread usage of *kend* in Central Asian toponyms as proof that “all of Transoxania, from Baykend eastward is part of the Turk lands” and cites the names *Semiz kend* (Samarqand), *Tashkend* (Shāsh), *Özkend*⁴⁰ and *Tunkend*,⁴¹ concluding that

the names of all these cities are Turkic. *Kend* in Turkic is ‘city.’ They built these cities and gave them these names, and the names have remained as they are. But when the Persians began to multiply in them they became like Iranian cities.⁴²

As the nomads borrowed so many elements of culture, material and spiritual, from the sedentary world,⁴³ the borrowing of some basic terminology for urbanism is hardly surprising—and Kāshgharī had an ideological agenda to enlighten the Middle Eastern Islamic heartlands about the high culture of the Turkic peoples.

Other terms have urban associations. Qarakhanid Turkic *tura*, first attested in the eleventh century, denoted ‘something to shelter behind’ or ‘permanent fortifications’. *Tura*, however, was not necessarily a fixed stationary object, as it could also mean ‘portable breastworks’, such as wooden palisades, an essential feature of Turkic proto-urban developments. The

areal phenomena. A fair-minded overview and assessment of the issue can be found in de Rachewiltz and Rybatzki 2010, 348–55.

³⁸ Kāshgharī, 1: 290.

³⁹ Sinor 1981, 95–102. There are a number of Ugric loan words in Turkic (cf. Sinor 1979–80, 768–73). On Hung. *falu*, see also Benkő 1967–76, 1: 836–7.

⁴⁰ Kāshgharī, 1: 270. On this city, see Goriatcheva 2001, 104–10.

⁴¹ ‘Tunkath’, the capital of Ilāq, clearly pointing to its Sogdian roots. See Ibn Ḥawqal, 2: 508 (in the Beirut ed.: 416).

⁴² Kāshgharī, 2: 225; Kāshgharī (2: 229) also notes Menkend, “name of a city which was near Kashgar; it is now in ruins”. He is the only source to mention this ‘city’.

⁴³ Khazanov 2001, 1–2.

term was borrowed into Mongol meaning ‘fortress’, ‘city’, ‘town’,⁴⁴ which might point to its earlier presence in Turkic in that sense. In western Siberian Turkic, *tura* still denotes ‘city’, ‘town’, although that is a somewhat archaic meaning today and it more often signifies ‘building’, ‘log house’ (*izba*), ‘house’.⁴⁵ Within a Turkic urban setting, nomadic terms took on urban meanings. Thus, Old Turkic, *eb/ev* denoting ‘dwelling place’ and most probably initially a ‘tent’ became ‘house’.⁴⁶ Kāshgharī lists a number of terms for dwellings beyond Qarakhanid Turkic *ew/Oghuz ev* (‘house’⁴⁷) that underwent this semantic transition: *kerekü*, “‘tent,’ among the Türkmens; ‘winter house,’ among the settled folk”.⁴⁸ Its original meaning was “the lattice-work wooden frame which supports the felt covering of a *yurt*”.⁴⁹ In the Turkic of ‘Upper and Lower Şin’, *kerem* denoted an ‘underground habitation’;⁵⁰ whether this is a borrowed term is uncertain. *Satma*, “a type of platform which the vineyard guard sets up in a tree to sit on at night”,⁵¹ is also of uncertain origin, but clearly is associated with some kind of settled life. *Qarġu* (“a structure in the shape of a minaret, built on a mountain peak, on which a fire is lit to warn people to arm themselves against an approaching enemy”⁵²) and *qarġuy*, identical in meaning, may be an old term, perhaps already noted in the Bilge Qaghan (E37) inscription.⁵³ More certain is *čit* “a hut of reeds or thorns” in Kāshgharī,⁵⁴ which in Old Turkic (Uighur) denoted ‘fence’ or ‘stockade’, in particular one driven into the ground to establish a frontier:

⁴⁴ Clauson 1972, 531; Lessing 1995, 843; Shcherbak 2005, 51.

⁴⁵ Kyzlasov 2006, 82; Subrakova 2006, 677 remarks that it is often used to denote cities, e.g. *Aba tura* Kuzneck, *Tom tura* Tomsk.

⁴⁶ Clauson 1972, 3-4, 359-60; Tenishev and Dybo 2006, 461.

⁴⁷ Kāshgharī, 1: 85, 118.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 1: 336.

⁴⁹ Clauson 1972, 744.

⁵⁰ Kāshgharī, 1: 304; Clauson (1972, 745) translates Arab. *sarab* as an “underground water channel”, which may be more likely; cf. *saraba* “to flow, run out”, *sarab* “burrow, hole, den, lair (of an animal); underground passage, tunnel, conduit” (Wehr 1994, 472); *sarab* “a subterranean excavation or a habitation” also “a subterranean channel or conduit by which water enters a *hā’it* [or garden or walled garden of palm trees]” (Lane 1968, 1341); *sarab* “canal, conduit de l’eau, cloaque” (Dozy 1968, 1: 644). But both interpretations are possible.

⁵¹ Kāshgharī, 1: 327.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 1: 322, 2: 275.

⁵³ Thus, according to the reading of Clauson (1972, 653). Tekin (2006, 62-3) has **qaraġan qusilta*, which he translates as “in the Qaraghan Pass”. Berta (2004, 170) reads it as KRGN, and translates as ‘watchtowers?’ (*megfiggyelótornyuk*: ‘we blocked off the watchtowers[?]’ — the Turkic is open to several readings).

⁵⁴ Kāshgharī, 1: 257.

örgin anta etitdim čit anta toqitdim, “I had (my) throne (*örgin*) set up there, I had a stockade driven into the ground.” (Shine Usu, E8)

... *anta yayladim örgin anta yaratitdim čit anta toqitdim*, “I spent the summer (there), I had (my) throne set up there. I had a stockade driven into the ground.” (E9)

... *tez baši čitimın yayladim*, “[setting up] my stockade at the headwaters of the Tez [River], I summered there.” (S2)⁵⁵

Here, we have some indication of the nature of a traveling court: the royal throne and some kind of portable defence line set up around the ruler’s camp. The vocabulary for the pre-Qarakhanid period is spotty and clearly shows foreign influences. Dating back to the old Türk era is the term *quy* (possibly in variants such as *küy/kün*, denoting ‘the women’s apartments’, ‘the private part of the dwelling’. Interestingly, it is only found in the Yenisei Qırghız runic inscriptions in the standard formula *quyda qunčuyım*: “my consorts in the women’s apartments”.⁵⁶ The circumstance that the terminology is of Chinese origin probably points to early efforts to create comfortable living quarters for the Chinese princesses who were periodically (and tearfully) sent off as brides to Türk and Uighur *qaghans* in the complicated diplomacy between China and the nomads. *Quy* is from Chin. 閨 *gui* (EMC kwej, LMC kjaaj⁵⁷) and *qunčuy* is from Chin. 公主 *gongzhu* (EMC kwŋ-təuä) ‘princess’. The term is also recorded in Bactrian, Xᵛζωιo, ‘queen, consort’, and is preserved in Wakhī, *xinžó*.⁵⁸ It has been suggested that the Türks, Uighurs and others created special ‘Qatun cities’, i.e. fortified proto-urban settlements in which the wives and children of the *qaghans* lived, in safety, while they were away campaigning. This practice among the nomads may date back to the Wusun era (see above). The Tang official and geographer, Jia Dan (730-805) mentions the Uighur *Gonzhucheng* ‘Princess City’, clearly a reference to one of these settlements.⁵⁹ The *Ḥudūd* records a ‘Khātūnkath’ in Transoxania,⁶⁰ but as Turkic *χatun/qatun* may

⁵⁵ Clauson 1972, 222 (*örüg* “rest, repose”), 225, 226 (*örgin* “throne” < *örge* [p. 401]). See also Aydın 2007, 42, 43, 46, 85-6, who defines *čit* as “border, border marker”, but notes other definitions, in particular a raised earthenwork on which the khan’s tent is placed so that the people could see it. For the most recent reading of Shine Usu, see Moriyasu et al. 2009, 14, 27.

⁵⁶ Clauson 1972, 674, 725-6; Kormushin 2008, e.g. E-45 (Köljeelig-Khovu, Tuva), pages 135-6, line 6.

⁵⁷ Pulleyblank 1991, 115 [E/LMC: Early and Late Middle Chinese].

⁵⁸ Clauson 1972, 635; Tenishev and Dybo 2006, 792; Sims-Williams 2002, 233.

⁵⁹ See discussion in Baykara 1980, 497-510; Drompp 2005, 29, n.54.

⁶⁰ *Ḥudūd*, 117, trans. 118.

be a borrowing from Sogdian,⁶¹ this was not necessarily a Turkic foundation.

Cities built by nomads were largely outgrowths of the *ordu* (also *orda*, *ordo*), a word in use since Xiongnu times, which initially meant ‘the camp of the ruler’. Its meaning was expanded to denote the capital city and, as the ruler was invariably accompanied by his military forces, *ordu* came to mean ‘army’ as well, in particular in the Oghuz languages, while retaining its earlier meaning in other variants of Turkic.⁶² (English ‘horde’ derives from it.) Although mobile, the *ordu* was the seat of power, the place from which administration was carried out and in which religious functions were performed, whether this was the ruler’s (often capacious) tent or some kind of urban or proto-urban settlement.⁶³ In short, among the early Turkic peoples, permanent settlements, towns or proto-towns occasionally also evolved out of winter quarters (*qishlaq*), where a population of denomadised elements had sedentarised, and from fortified places built by the *qaghans*, sometimes for their families, i.e. the ‘Qatun cities’, or for strategic-defensive purposes. The evidence, literary and archaeological, is sparse.

For Kāshgharī, *ordu* was above all “the residence of the king. Thus, the city of Kashgar is called *Ordu Kend* meaning ‘City of Residence of Kings’”. He also notes a place-name, Ordu—“a residence near Balāsāghun. Balāsāghun also is called *Quz Ordu* from this word”⁶⁴—but provides no further explanation. Kāshgharī records the position of *ordu baši*: “Name for the bedmaker (*farrāsh*) of kings”,⁶⁵ giving us some hints as to the internal service and staffing of the Qarakhanid court, but here we are clearly dealing with a ruler residing in an urban setting. In the case of Ordu Kend, Kāshgharī is transferring Old Turkic nomenclature to a long settled area, one noted since Han times,⁶⁶ which was now under the political power of a state of nomadic origin—but not a nomadic state.

The term *ulush* (Mong. *ulus* ‘appanage’, ‘state’ derives from it) originally denoted ‘country’ in a geographical sense in distinction to *el/il* which meant ‘country’ in a political sense, i.e. the ‘state’ or ‘empire’. By the eleventh century, if not earlier, it had taken on the meaning of ‘city’ in a number of Turkic languages, as for example in Quz Ulush, another name for Balāsāghūn

⁶¹ Clauson 1972, 602-3 < Sogd. *χwatʼyn* (*χwatén*).

⁶² Ibid., 203: “a royal residence, palace, royal camp”—as such an early loanword in Mongol.

⁶³ Nagrodzka-Majchrzyk 1978, 39-40.

⁶⁴ Kāshgharī, 1: 148. *Quz* denotes “the northern side of a mountain” (Clauson 1972, 680) and here probably has geographical-descriptive rather than political associations.

⁶⁵ Kāshgharī, 1: 149.

⁶⁶ Maliavkin 1989, 200-1.

recorded in Kāshgharī, who notes that in Chigil *ulush* means ‘village’, but in Balāsāghūn and in Arghu it means ‘city’.⁶⁷ *Köy*, ‘village’, found in Middle Qipchaq⁶⁸ and Ottoman, is a borrowing from Persian *kūy*, ‘village’. In many Modern Qipchaq Turkic languages (e.g. Tatar, Bashkir, Qırghız, Kazakh), ‘village’ is denoted by *avıl* (< Old Turkic *ağıl*, ‘an enclosure for livestock’).⁶⁹ *Kermen*, meaning ‘city’ and ‘fort’ is not attested until the thirteenth century.⁷⁰

Nomadic ‘cities’ usually had few structures made of clay or brick. Their inhabitants, a mix of people including resident foreign merchants, for the most part lived in tents, as did the nomads. The dearth of durable materials makes tracing these ‘cities’ difficult. Nomad rulers, as we have noted, also became masters of older cities that had evolved from fortified oasis settlements created by earlier Iranian tribes, some of which had sedentarised by about 500 BCE. Here, nomadic elites and their entourages implanted themselves as the political masters. Ninth-tenth century Muslim geographers and historians describe these towns, the routes and distances to and between them. With this lengthy preface, we may now turn to specific examples.

CASE STUDIES

The Xiongnu

The Xiongnu, of uncertain ethno-linguistic affiliations,⁷¹ constituted a union (or “imperial confederation”⁷²) of pastoral nomadic tribes in

⁶⁷ Clauson 1972, 152-3; Tenishev and Dybo 2006, 474; Kāshgharī, 1:105.

⁶⁸ Toparlı, Vural and Karaathı 2003, 160.

⁶⁹ Clauson 1972, 83.

⁷⁰ See discussion in Tenishev and Dybo 2006, 443-50.

⁷¹ See Ligeti 1950; Pulleyblank 1962, esp. 239-65 Appendix “The Hsiung-nu Language”. The Russian translation of this study (1986) contains (pp. 65-7) some newer readings of Xiongnu forms in light of Pulleyblank’s later work on the reconstruction of Early and Middle Chinese. See also Pulleyblank 2000. Janhunen (1996, 185-9) views them as “dominated by speakers of Pre-Proto-Bulgaric”. Bailey (1982, 91-2, and more extensively in 2009, 25-41) views them as Iranian, as does Harmatta (1997). See also Vovin 2000. Horváth (2007, 63-7), on the basis of Šinjo Šeli Tutung’s translation (tenth century) from Chinese into Uyğur Turkic of the seventh-century Chinese biography of Xuanzang, which renders *Xiongnu* as *türk yoçul bodun*, concludes that *türk* must render *Xiongnu*. This usage is found elsewhere in Uighur, where it has nothing to do with the Xiongnu. *Türk* may have been used as a generic term for ‘nomad’ here. See Golden 2001, 13-14. See also Kljashtornyı (2001, 49), who suggests that the Xiongnu were not Altaic, but Turkic-speakers may have been the predominant linguistic grouping in their tribal confederation. See also Rásonyi 1971, 65 (Turkic); Faizrakhmanov (2000, 39-40) begins their history in the third millennium BC.

⁷² Barfield 1989, 8-9.

Mongolia; the first of the nomadic powers with which China had to contend. Their population has been estimated at 1.5 million people, but this figure may be inflated. Somewhat less than a million may be more accurate.⁷³ In life-style, customs, clothing and cuisine, they were viewed by the Han Chinese as the quintessential Other. Despite the comments of Sima Qian that the Xiongnu “have no walled towns or fixed residences, nor any agricultural activities, but each has a portion of land”,⁷⁴ there are hints elsewhere (including in his *Shiji*) of proto-urban structures or at the least of walled, fortified settlements among the proto-Xiongnu, or groups associated with them as early as Qin times (221–206 BC),⁷⁵ and the historical Xiongnu. Actually, recent archaeological reports of finds from Xiongnu-era Mongolia give evidence of walled settlements and hint at the possibility of local agricultural activity as well. Xiongnu residential patterns were not static, but changed over time, especially in response to the attacks directed against them by Han China.⁷⁶ The pattern of scattered walled settlements through which the ruler and his entourage regularly moved is quite reminiscent of Priscus’s account of Attila (see below).

Although, the Xiongnu did not have an imperial urban centre as such,⁷⁷ they recognised certain geographical zones as ‘places of power’ where political and religious functions took place.⁷⁸ In the “first month”, “various leaders” came to the “court” (or “tent”⁷⁹) of the ruler, the *chanyu*,⁸⁰ “to perform sacrifices”. In the “fifth month”, at Longcheng (which may have been located “southwest of Ulan Bator”⁸¹, see Fig. 1a), they held “a great

⁷³ See discussion in Kradin 2001, 71–3.

⁷⁴ Sima Qian, trans. 2: 129.

⁷⁵ Ibid. 2: 132, with reference to the Yiqu Rong, who have been connected with the early Xiongnu. See Pulleyblank 1994, 514–16; Kyzlasov 2006, 144.

⁷⁶ Waugh 2010, 100–1. See also Brosseder and Miller 2011.

⁷⁷ The ‘personal domain’ of their supreme ruler, the *chanyu*, appears to have been located in the area bounded by the “loop of the Yellow River” in the north-east and the regions north of the Ordos Desert and the modern provinces of Shansi and Hopei. See Di Cosmo 2002, 189. Bemmman (2011, 441–61) notes that the Xiongnu-era finds in the middle-upper Orkhon valley are very sparse in comparison with finds from the later Türk-Uighur era, when it was an imperial centre. The absence of elite graves is particularly telling. Bemmman (2011, 457) places an important Xiongnu centre in the Khanui and Khünni valleys in the mountain forest-steppe zone, along the Selenge River stretching northward to Buryatia, a region in which the majority of Xiongnu-era burial sites are found.

⁷⁸ On ‘places of power’, see Pohl 2008b, 98–100; on the Xiongnu, see Di Cosmo 2002, 189.

⁷⁹ See the *Han shu*: Onat, Orsoy and Ercilasun 2004, 8.

⁸⁰ On the *chanyu* as supreme or “supratribal leader”, see Barfield 1989, 33; Kradin 2001, 138–43.

⁸¹ Di Cosmo 2002, 189. As Chin. *long cheng* means ‘Dragon City’, some kind of urban settlement is implied here. Bemmman (2011, 443–4) argues that the location of Longcheng is far from determined.

meeting ... at which sacrifices are conducted to the Xiongnu ancestors". In autumn, they gathered at the Dai Forest, "when a reckoning is made of the number of persons and animals".⁸² According to the *Han shu*, the sacrifices at Longcheng were carried out three times a year. These were also occasions to discuss state affairs and have horse and camel races.⁸³ The *chanyu* performed sacral functions. He daily engaged in 'obeisance' to the rising sun and in the evening to the moon. At his court there were special seating arrangements, in which "the north is considered the place of honour". If Longcheng was, indeed, some kind of proto-urban or early urban settlement, this would appear to be the only important area of regular contact by the *chanyu* and Xiongnu elite with a settled community (aside from devastating raids that the Xiongnu unleashed against China to gain access to goods). Victorious warriors who have killed or captured the enemy are "presented with a cup of wine and allowed to keep the spoils they have captured".⁸⁴ Presumably, such ceremonies took place at a 'court' / *ordu*.

Zhonghang Yue, a Chinese who had defected to Xiongnu service, compared Xiongnu familial and ruler-subject relationships favourably with those of Han China. Undoubtedly seeking to score political points, he remarked to Han envoys that "the relation between ruler and subject is relaxed and intimate",⁸⁵ as compared with the gulf between emperor and subject in China. This is, most probably, a deliberately idealised portrayal of the *chanyu*'s relationship with his subjects, but may reflect some actual elements of the 'imperial confederal' aspects of Xiongnu political organisation and may point to less formality in the Xiongnu court. Nonetheless, in dealing with the outer world, the *chanyu* wrapped himself in an imperial mantle. In letters to the Han court, he styled himself "born of Heaven and Earth and ordained by the sun and moon".⁸⁶ The *chanyu* claimed a divinely sanctioned rulership.⁸⁷ When he died, his favoured ministers and concubines "were obliged to follow him in death". The num-

⁸² Sima Qian, trans. 2: 137; *Han shu*: Onat, Orsoy and Ercilasun 2004, 8.

⁸³ Taskin 1973, 73. Cf. the *Han shu*: Hulsewé (1979, 144 n. 384) notes de Groot's opinion that it was on the Ongin River in Mongolia. See the Turkish translation and reworking of de Groot's Xiongnu studies in de Groot, Jacob and Asena 2010, 87. See also Onat, Orsoy and Ercilasun 2004, 8, 109 n.128, where locations north or south-west of Ulan Bator are noted; Di Cosmo 2002, 189, 237.

⁸⁴ Taskin 1973, 137; *Han shu*: Onat, Orsoy and Ercilasun 2004, 8-9.

⁸⁵ Sima Qian, trans. 2: 144.

⁸⁶ Ibid. 2: 143.

⁸⁷ Kradin 2001, 138ff.

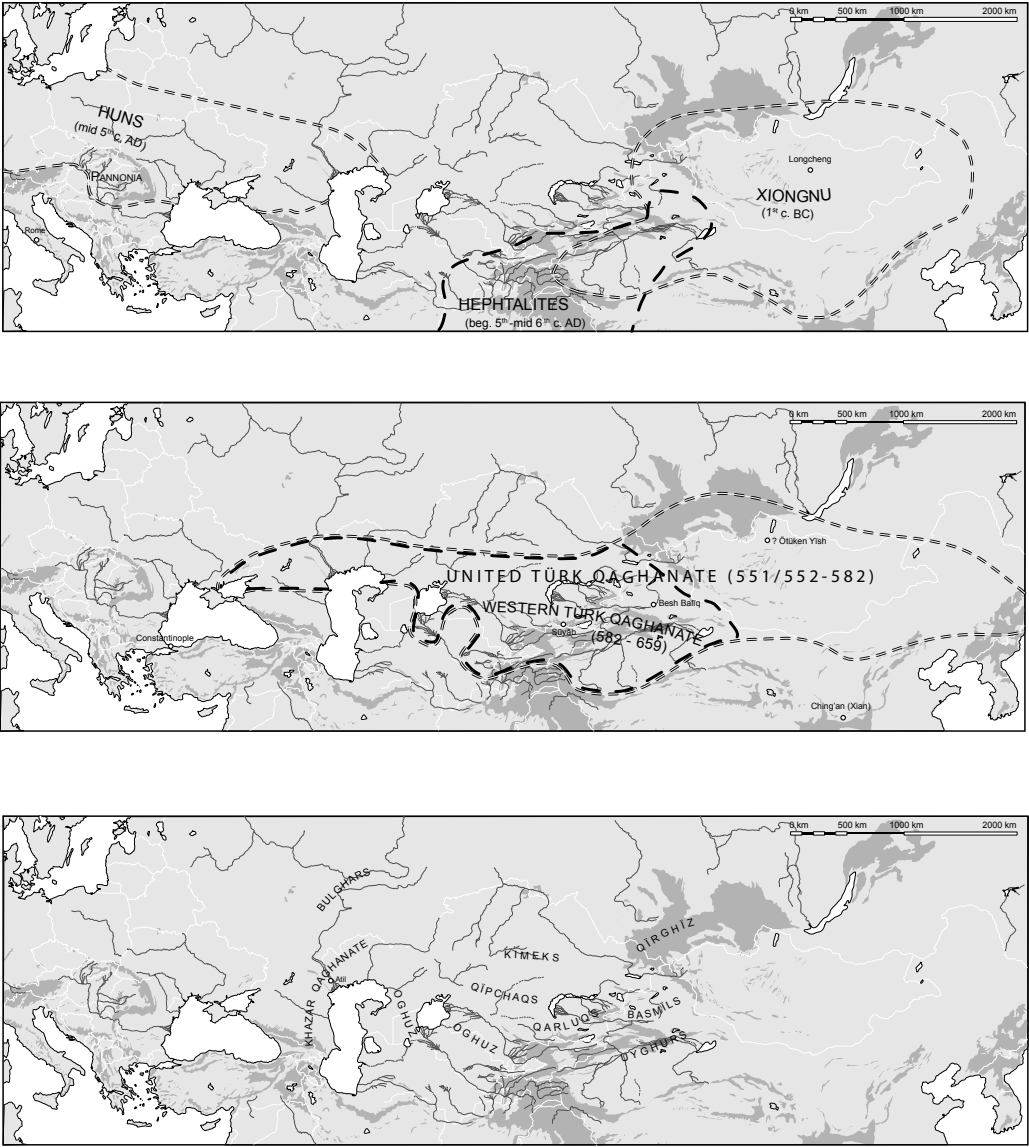


Fig. 1a. Three pre-Türk nomadic empires (Huns, Xiongnu, Hephtalites) at the time of their maximum extension.

Fig. 1b. The Türk qaghanate.

Fig. 1c. Turkic people in Central Asia in the tenth century AD.

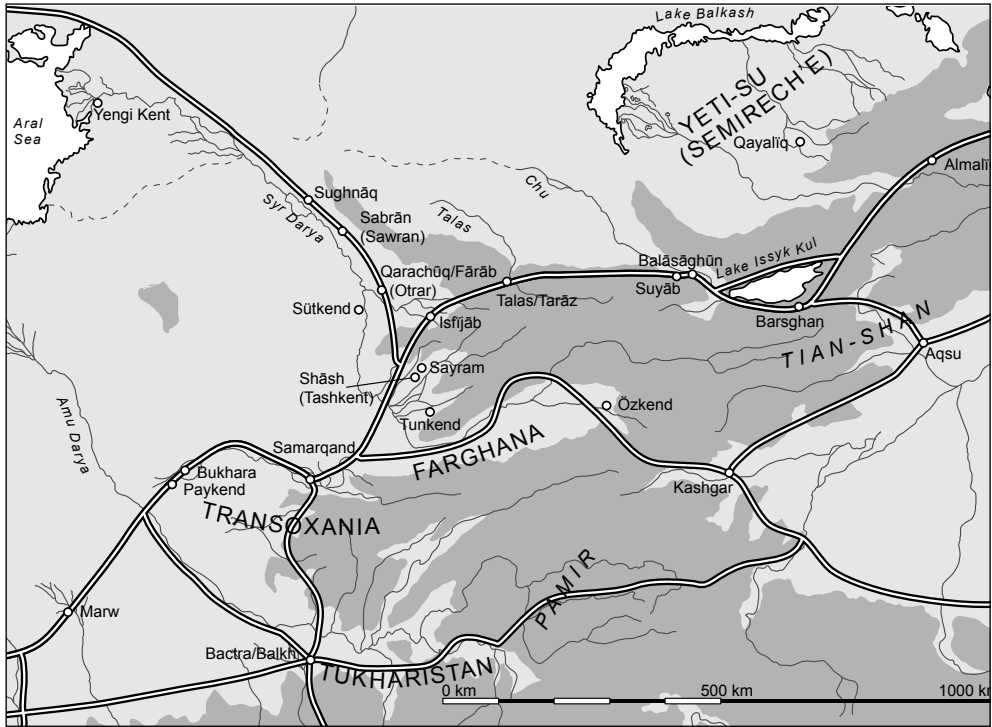


Fig. 2. Inner Asia situation map.

bers of those sacrificed could run into the thousands.⁸⁸ This is a recurring theme in the comitatus institution throughout Central Asia.⁸⁹

In addition to Longcheng and the Dai Forest, there were also state preserves where grains and supplies were kept and protected by permanent garrisons.⁹⁰ This is reminiscent of the later Turkic *qoriğ*, “an enclosed area, particularly one enclosed by a ruler” (more on this below).⁹¹ The Chinese sources make mention of various Xiongnu ‘towns’ and fortified positions, some of which are being investigated by Russian archaeologists (e.g. the Ivolginskoe gorodishche), as well as German-Mongolian teams.⁹² The Xiongnu also controlled agricultural settlements inhabited largely by non-Xiongnu, most probably captive Chinese, in areas of northern Mongolia

⁸⁸ Sima Qian, trans. 2: 137.

⁸⁹ Beckwith 2009, 12–13.

⁹⁰ Kyzlasov 2006, 145.

⁹¹ Clauson 1972, 652.

⁹² Kyzlasov 2006, 145–9, see also Brosseder and Miller 2011.

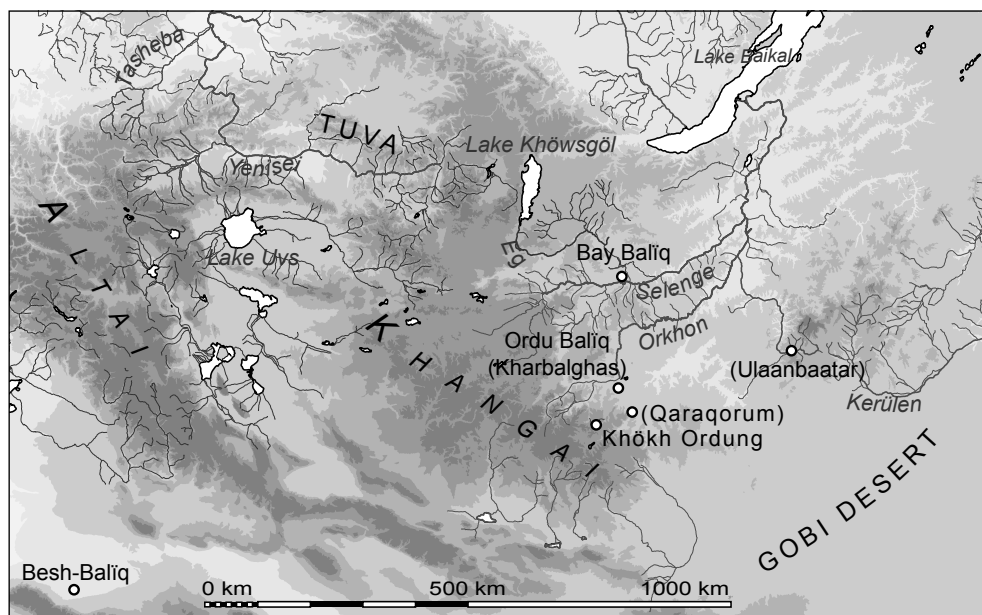


Fig. 3. Mongolia situation map.

and southern Buriatia.⁹³ The first century BC Xiongnu complex or ‘palace’ on the Tasheba River in Khakasia remains the subject of debate (see Fig. 3). Kyzlasov associates it with Li Ling, a Han general who took service with the Xiongnu, which would mean that it was not really a nomad creation.⁹⁴ While some urged the *chanyus* to “dig wells, build towns surrounded by walls and erect towers in which grain can be stored”, they were overruled by those who argued that they could not defend the cities and would end up “making a gift of the grain to the Han”.⁹⁵

The European Huns

The origins of the European Huns are as problematic as those of their presumed eastern progenitors. Much recent thinking on the subject again derives them from, or at least situates their origins in, the Xiongnu milieu or elements stemming from it.⁹⁶ The linguistic evidence is equivocal, but

⁹³ Kradin 2005, 79-85; Sümer 2006, 17; Di Cosmo 2002, 169-70, who also points to agriculture practised by the nomads, as well as other sources of agricultural products.

⁹⁴ Kyzlasov 2001; Kyzlasov 2006, 146-53.

⁹⁵ Taskin 1973, 23-4; *Han shu*: Onat, Orsoy and Ercilasun 2004, 42-3.

⁹⁶ Erdy 1995, 5-94; Wright 1997, 77-112; de la Vaissière 2005b, 3-26.

it does appear that one of the languages of the European Hun union was Turkic, alongside of other linguistic groupings,⁹⁷ e.g. local Eastern and Central European tongues. Hunnic and Gothic served as the *linguae francae* of this mix of peoples.⁹⁸ While our information on the courts of the Xiongnu is minimal, we have one important eyewitness account of that of the European Huns: Priscus who journeyed to the court of Attila. Priscus mentions a number of persons of Graeco-Roman background who lived among the Huns and had to varying degrees acculturated, pointing to ongoing contacts with urban (or formerly urban) individuals. Such a 'foreign' presence among the settled population of these 'barbarian places of power' was not unusual (cf. the Khazar capital below).

The Huns' *ordu* was rendered in Latin as *regia* ('royal precinct', 'royal palace') and in some Carolingian sources as *hringus*, *hringa*, a word of Langobard origin denoting "field, plain, flat surface" (Lat. *campus*) and here "a mobile structure, not made of stone".⁹⁹ The embassy in which Priscus participated harboured, unbeknownst to him then, a plot in which Edeco, one of Attila's intimates and a major figure in a Hunnic embassy to the East Romans, had been suborned (or was thought to have been suborned) to assassinate Attila.¹⁰⁰

Priscus found Attila living in a tent. The East Romans were prevented from pitching their tent on ground higher than that of Attila's abode. The initial Hun reception was understandably hostile—as Edeco had disclosed the assassination plot. The Huns were prepared to send the embassy home without an interview with Attila. When the East Romans were finally permitted to see the Hun ruler, they found him in his tent, "surrounded by a ring of barbarian guards ... seated on a wooden chair". Attila roundly berated the East Roman ambassador, threatening to leave him as food for the birds.¹⁰¹ Nonetheless, the embassy accompanied Attila as he was moving "to a certain village", where he planned to marry the daughter of Eskam Ἐσκάμ.¹⁰² They ultimately came to a very large village that contained Attila's "palace", which was built of wood and "surrounded by a wooden wall which was built with an eye not to security but to elegance". Other

⁹⁷ On the Hunnic language, see Németh 1948, 106-14; Németh 1991, 111-19; Doerfer 1973, 1-51; Maenchen-Helfen 1973, 376-443.

⁹⁸ Blockley 1983, 2: 266-7.

⁹⁹ Pohl 2008b, 98-100, 103; Pohl 2002, 306-8.

¹⁰⁰ Blockley 1983, 2: 242-9.

¹⁰¹ Blockley 1983, 2: 250-55.

¹⁰² Ibid. 2: 260-1, for Turk. *Ešqam, 'companion-shaman' (Maenchen-Helfen 1973, 408-9, Németh 1991, 114). The etymology is unlikely.

high officials had elegant palaces, surrounded by walls but, unlike Attila's compound, without towers. Attila was greeted by "young girls" who "went before him in rows under narrow cloths of white linen which were held up by the hands of women on either side". There were many rows of them, all "singing Scythian songs". Wine and food were brought to him by the wife of one of his high officials, "a very great honour".¹⁰³ Priscus had an interview with ^[h]Ēreka (Ἠρέκα), Attila's principal wife, who resided in a wooden palace in which the floors were "covered with woollen-felt rugs for walking upon".¹⁰⁴ As was typical of the Central Asian nomadic world, the royal women had their own compounds and could play a role in official state receptions, sometimes even hosting them.¹⁰⁵ Attila held court after emerging from his dwelling, settling disputes that were brought before him.¹⁰⁶ At a banquet, Attila sat on a couch; all around were seats for the other diners. Those who were on his right were considered "the most honourable". Lavish dishes were prepared for the guests. While gold and silver plates were in abundance at the banquet, Attila only ate "meat on a wooden plate". Similarly, none of his accoutrements (sword, fastenings, boots etc.) were "adorned".¹⁰⁷ Great emphasis was placed on gift-giving and the consumption of food and drink, often with an array of alcoholic beverages. This was true of Attila's *regia* and other, subsequently documented, Central Asian 'places of power'.¹⁰⁸

The legend of Attila's ferocity has been overstated. The Huns were certainly fearsome warriors; raiding and plundering were part of their economy, and Roman cities were sacked. Nonetheless, he never sought to conquer the Roman world (only to gain access to its goods) and his major military ventures ended in defeat. He was, as Maenchen-Helfen has noted, "for a few years more than a nuisance to the Romans, though at no time a real danger".¹⁰⁹ He was not the 'Scourge of God' (*flagellum Dei*), a term that was never applied to him by contemporaries but rather was first used (by St Augustine) for the Gothic ruler Alaric,¹¹⁰ who did, indeed, sack Rome in 410, before Attila became a serious, albeit fleeting, presence in Europe.

¹⁰³ Blockley 1983, 2: 264-7.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 2: 274-5. Germanic renderings are: Herche, Helche, Hrekja, Erka. Maenchen-Helfen (1973, 408) and Németh (1991, 113) read her name as Turk. *Ariğ-Qan, 'pure princess'. Moravcsik (1958, 2: 173) prefers the reading Kreka (Κρέκα), but still a rendering of *Ari(ğ)-qan.

¹⁰⁵ Pohl 2008b, 109-11.

¹⁰⁶ Blockley 1983, 2: 276-7.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 2: 284-5.

¹⁰⁸ Pohl 2008b, 108-9.

¹⁰⁹ Maenchen-Helfen 1973, 125-6; see also Beckwith 2009, 96-9.

¹¹⁰ Bóna 2002, 71.

Avars and Hephthalites

Although the Hun land was dotted with forts, the description of Attila's *regia* does not give the impression of having been a fortified area. The same appears to be true of the European Avar *hring*, which Charlemagne's Franks took with little resistance in the late 790s.¹¹¹ The European Avars, refugees from the Asian Avar/Rouran state destroyed by the Türks in 552, had fled westward to the Pontic steppes and, after the Türk entry into that region (and diplomatic contact with Constantinople), had, by 567/568, taken refuge in Pannonia, Attila's old centre.¹¹² The walls, and in some instances moats, with which these centres were equipped, were not so much defensive as areas that "may have marked off an inner sphere of power or a hierarchical order of space".¹¹³

The Chinese accounts of the Yeda/Hephthalites, a people of War-Hun origins, present in many respects a similar picture.¹¹⁴ They formed a state in the old Kushan realm in Afghanistan and adjoining parts of Central Asia in the mid-fourth century until they were crushed by a Türko-Sasanid invasion in the late 550s.¹¹⁵ Song Yun, who travelled there in 518, reports that they have "no walled towns, but they keep order by means of a standing army that constantly moves here and there". They nomadised in the mountains during the summer, but "disperse themselves through villages" during the winter. The ruler received foreign ambassadors, seated on a golden throne, "supported by four golden phoenix birds". The royal ladies had gilded thrones made of ivory. The foreign ambassadors made "repeated prostrations" before the ruler.¹¹⁶ Golden thrones were hardly unique to the Hephthalites. The European Avar *qaghan* demanded "a golden couch" from the Byzantine Emperor Maurice (582-602), which he subsequently disdainfully sent back to the emperor, "as though it were something cheap and common".¹¹⁷ Attila, in this regard as well as in his studied simplicity with regard to personal items, seems to have been the exception.

¹¹¹ Pohl 2008b, 102-3.

¹¹² Golden 1992, 76-9; Pohl 2002, 43-57. On the demise of the Asian Avars/Rouran, see varying accounts in Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 1: 10, 17, 35-6; Taskin 1984, 294-5 (*Beishi*).

¹¹³ Pohl 2002, 307 and Pohl 2008a, 121-2.

¹¹⁴ Czeglédý (1983, 33-4, 67-97) adduces the evidence for the Uar/War (Avar)-Hun components of the Asian Avars and Hephthalites.

¹¹⁵ Czeglédý 1983, 67-106; de la Vaissière 2003, 119-32.

¹¹⁶ Song Yun's account is noted by Beal in the prefatory comments to his translation of the *Da Tang Xiyuji* 1900, xc, xci. See discussion of Song Yun's lost account in Chavannes 1903, 379-441, especially pp. 402-5. The Chinggisid *qaghan* Güyük had an ivory throne. See Piano Carpaine, 19: "tronus autem erat de ebore, mirabiliter sculptus".

¹¹⁷ Simocatta, 46, trans. 24.

The Türks

The Türks destroyed the Asian Avar Empire in 552 in Mongolia and by 568 had conquered the western Asian steppes and established contact with Constantinople. Their empire extended from Manchuria and the Korean borderlands to the Black Sea (see Fig. 1b). It was a dual *qaghanate*, with two branches of the royal Ashina house ruling in the east (Mongolia and adjoining regions) and west (from Xinjiang, Transoxania, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan to the Black Sea). The eastern branch, which was considered nominally superior, succumbed to Tang China in 630. The western realm fell to the Tang by 659. In the meantime, the western-most Western Türk lands broke away ca. 630s-650 to form the Khazar Qaghanate centred on the lower Volga, Ponto-Caspian steppes. The Eastern Türk Qaghanate revived in 682 before falling to internecine strife in 742. The Western empire was also restored and again under Eastern Türk overlordship by the late seventh century. Faced with attacks from the Arabs and internally divided, the Western realm faded by the mid-eighth century. In 766, the Qarluqs, themselves refugees from the turmoil that ended the Eastern Qaghanate, occupied the core Western Türk lands and the city of Sūyāb, which had capital-like functions in their realm.¹¹⁸

The term *balīq* appears only infrequently in the runiform Türk inscriptions that were erected in the Orkhon valley as part of the burial complexes for some of the *qaghans* and leading statesmen of the Second Eastern Qaghanate in the 720s and 730s. Thus, in the inscription for Bilge Qaghan (r. 716-734), (E28), Besh Balīq, a city associated with the subject Basmīls¹¹⁹ and Uighurs, is noted several times. In the account of the rise of the Second Türk Qaghanate in the east (Bilge Qaghan, E10), mention is made of “those in the city who went out (to campaign for the struggle)” (*balīqdakī tašīqmiš*),¹²⁰ positing a Türk population in cities at that time, although the reference here may be to Türks living in Chinese cities. Mention is also made of a ‘Toghu Balīq’ (Kül Tegin, N4, Bilge Qaghan, E30), where the Türks fought the Toquz Oghuz, the Uighur-led union.¹²¹ Other place-names are noted, but we do not know if they are urban areas. Chinese accounts men-

¹¹⁸ Golden 1992, 127-41; Scharlipp 1992, 13-80. See also Stark 2008. Sūyāb is identified with the ruins at Ak Beshim on the Chu River in Kyrgyzstan (Kyzlasov 2006, 4, 219ff.).

¹¹⁹ Salman 1990, 165-6, 168-71.

¹²⁰ Tekin 2006, 52-3, 60-1.

¹²¹ Tekin, 2006, 36-7, 60-1. Sümer 2006, 9-10: probably a Toquz Oghuz town.

tion a Türk city called Heishacheng ('City of Black Sand', presumably *Qaraqum Baliq), described as the "southern court" of the Türks.¹²²

Some early eastern Türk rulers, such as Mughan (r. 557-72) and Tatpar (r. 572-81) were attracted to Buddhism. Mughan appears to have been the *qaghan* responsible for building a Türk Buddhist temple in the Chinese capital, Chang'an—but not on the steppe. Tatpar permitted a monastery to be built, although it is not indicated where.¹²³ Qimin Qaghan (r. ca. 599-609),¹²⁴ whom the *Sui Shu* credits with having one million warriors, was bound by marital ties to, and supported by, Sui China and wanted to emulate his Sui patrons in every way. He sought to build cities. The Sui did, in fact, build 'walled towns' for him and his followers, while using him to promote inter-Ashina strife.¹²⁵

Although Qimin's power increased, his example did not become a permanent fixture of Türk policy. Thus, when Bilge Qaghan, toyed with the notion of building cities, and Buddhist and Taoist temples, his chief adviser, Tonyuquq, persuaded him to abandon such ideas, arguing that it was their lack of "permanent habitation places" that gave them their martial strength and security against China, whose population vastly outnumbered them. Buddhism, moreover, he argued, would weaken the Türks' martial spirit.¹²⁶ Bilge Qaghan was won over by the argument. More than one royal advisor made the argument that the power of the Türks and other later Turkic polities derived from their mobility and pastoral nomadic way of life. Sedentarisation would lead to a loss of power. The theme is repeated during the course of much of medieval and early modern Turkic history.¹²⁷ As we shall see, it explains in part the fall of the Uighur Empire, the ultimate successor state of the Türks in the east. An argument can also be made that the growing sedentarisation of elements of the Khazar population, the successor state of the Türks in the far west, also contributed to its downfall. Turkic statesmen of nomadic polities, as the examples noted indicate, were

¹²² Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 1: 162, 211, 212, 250, 2: 602 n. 873. This is the Qara Qum of the Tonyuquq (7) inscription. See Czeglédy 1962, 55-9.

¹²³ Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 1: 36-9, 43, 2: 518-19 n. 205.

¹²⁴ On the various forms of this title, see *ibid.*, 2: 533 n. 324; Chavannes 1941, 15-17, 48-50 and n. 5. This is part of a longer title: *Yili zhendou Qimin* EMC ʔi'lih trin dəwəh khej mjin, LMC ʔi' li' trin tñəw' khjiaj mjin 意利珍豆啓民. See Pulleyblank 1991, 368, 188, 401, 81, 247, 216.

¹²⁵ Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 1: 59-65, 69-70; Pan Yihong 1997, 105-7.

¹²⁶ Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 1: 172-3.

¹²⁷ Qara 'Uthmān Yülük (d. 839/1435), founder of the Aq Qoyunlu state said: "Do not become sedentary, for sovereignty resides in those who practice the nomadic Türkmen way of life." His descendant, Ya'qūb b. Uzun Ḥasan, referred to "filthy cities and perverse towns". See Woods 1999, 17.

well aware of this. The lure of the cities was countered by a fear of its temptations, which could lead to sedentarisation and consequent loss of mobility, the source of nomadic martial prowess.

The Orkhon inscriptions clearly state that possession of the place known as Ötüken Yish was essential for the legitimisation of power.¹²⁸ It was one of the manifestations of *qut* ('the favour of heaven'¹²⁹) and it was here that the *qaghan* had his court.¹³⁰ It was considered a sacred source of power (Kül Tegin, S4): *il tutsiq yir ötüken yiş ermiş*, "the Ötüken Yish was the place from which the state is held", i.e. governed. It was holy ground (Kül Tegin, E23): *ıduq ötüken yiş bodun*, "people of the Holy Ötüken Yish".¹³¹ Post-840 Uighur Manichaen documents still note the power-giving force and good fortune of the Ötüken.¹³² The Ötüken Yish may have also served as a military supply and training ground: from here armies were sent out on campaigns, as well as caravans to China (Kül Tegin, S3-4, 8).¹³³

Qaghanal investiture was, undoubtedly, the most important function that was performed (most probably) at the Ötüken Yish—although it is never specifically stated where this occurred. High dignitaries of the realm¹³⁴

¹²⁸ The location of Ötüken Yish is uncertain. Kliashtorny (1964, 34) suggests the Khangai Mountains (Mong. Hangayn Nuruu) in Central Mongolia. See also Roux 1997, 13, who places it in the "Grand Khingai" (sic) and the region of the Kerülen, Orkhon and Selenge rivers. Runoff from the Khangai feeds the Orkhon River. In the Tariyat (Terkhin) inscription (E3, see Moriyasu and Ochir 1999, 169-71), the *Ötüken* is placed around the Orkhon (*orqun ögüz*). The ruler sets up his throne "here at the center of the *Ötüken*, to the west of the river-head areas of Aş-Öngüz and Qan-Iduq" (S6, W2). The text also notes the "western end of the *Ötüken*, in the river-head area of Tez" (W1, 5). In the east are Qanyuy and Künüy. The southern zone seems to be the Altun mountains and in the west are the Kögmen.

¹²⁹ In the political context, Turkic *qut* denoted 'heavenly good fortune', 'charisma'. It was, in essence, the heavenly mandate to rule. See Clauson 1972, 594. In general, the term has a wide range of meanings in Turkic, 'soul', 'life-force' (in this sense akin, perhaps, to Ancient Egyptian notions of *ka*), 'spirit', 'fortune', 'good fortune', 'blessing', 'grace', etc. In Mongol of the era of Chinggis Khan, it was rendered by *suu jali*: *suu* (Lessing 1995, 740: "distinction, superior(ity), genius"), *jali* (ibid., 1031: "flame, spirit"). The original meaning of the latter was 'burning coal', 'fire'. This element of fire and brightness was added to the notion of *suu* (the 'genius' bestowed by Heaven) to capture the full sense of the Turkic *qut*. Skrynnikova (1992, 71-85), who has made a detailed study of these concepts, translates *suu jali* as "Heavenly charisma". This association with 'light' and 'flame' should, in turn be connected with the Old Iranian concepts of *χwarəna*, which has the same notions of royal glory personified by light and flame. See Gnoli (1999), where, among other things, *χwarəna* is defined as "magical force or power of luminous and fiery nature". See also Choksy 1988, 36-7.

¹³⁰ Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 1: 181.

¹³¹ Tekin 2006, 20, 22, 30.

¹³² Le Coq 1922, 34, lines 13-14, 35, lines 16-20.

¹³³ Tekin 2006, 20, 22.

¹³⁴ On the various dignitaries, see Golden 2006, 50-7.

carried the new *qaghan* about in a felt cover, spinning him “around the sun” nine times. His subjects bowed to him at each spinning. After this they placed him on a horse and let him ride. They then strangled him with a silk scarf almost to the point of death, and then released him and asked him, “How many years will you be our *qaghan*?” Whatever he said in this muddled state was taken as the length of his reign.¹³⁵

Byzantine sources tell us something about the court of the Western Türks, although they do not indicate whether these were stationary courts or simply the mobile *ordu* of the *qaghan* moving through the nomadic cycle. The Western Türks were governed by the branch of the royal Türk Ashina house founded by Ishtemi, the Sir Yabghu Qaghan, who was the brother of Bumīn, founder of the Türk Qaghanate. The Byzantine ambassador Zemarchus was sent in response to the 568 embassy of the Türks to Constantinople. When he reached the ‘court’ of Sizaboulos/Silziboulos Σιζάβουλος/ Σιλζιβουλος (Middle Pers. *Sinjēbīk*), i.e. Sir Yabghu Qaghan,¹³⁶ in Ἐκτάγ, probably located in the eastern Tianshan,¹³⁷ he was put through a purification ritual, including being led through fire, before he could have an audience with the *qaghan*. He found Ishtemi “in a tent sitting upon a golden throne with two wheels, which could be drawn when necessary by one horse”. The tent was richly bedecked “with silken hangings”. The Byzantine ambassadors were wined and dined. Zemarchus’s next audience was held in “another hut”, with the usual silken hangings and statues of various sizes. Ishtemi sat on a golden couch and the building contained numerous gold utensils. More feasting and drinking ensued. On the following day, he was at yet “another dwelling” which had “gilded wooden pillars” along with a golden couch supported by “four golden peacocks”. Wagonloads of silver utensils and objects, a large number of silver statues of animals, “in no way inferior” to those produced in Constantinople were on display. Zemarchus could only conclude “so wealthy is the ruler of the Turks”.¹³⁸ The Byzantine embassy of 576, found a less friendly reception. Τούρξανθος, the brother of Tardu (575-603), Ishtemi’s successor, greeted Valentinus, the Byzantine ambassador, in full rage, venting his anger at Constantinople’s failure to attack Iran and berating the Byzantines for

¹³⁵ Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 1: 8 (*Zhou shu*).

¹³⁶ On this title of Ishtemi, see Dobrovits 2008, 67-78. *Sir* is from Sanskrit *śrī*. Western Türk coins, which use Sogdian, have the title as *cpghw gh'gh'n: jabghu qaghan*, see Babaiarov 2007, 26-8.

¹³⁷ Stark 2008, 43, 224. *Äk Tağ* is noted in the Tonyuquq Inscription (S 44). User (2010, 150) identifies it with the Tinsi Oğh chain in the western Altay.

¹³⁸ Menander 1985, 116-21.

“speaking with ten tongues” and lying with all of them.¹³⁹ The Türks then made their imperial pretensions known to Constantinople. In a letter dated perhaps to 595 from an unnamed Türk *qaghan* to the Emperor Maurice (582-602), the Türk ruler called himself “the Chagan, the great lord of seven races and master of seven zones of the world”.¹⁴⁰ This has strong echoes of Sasanid imperial ideology.¹⁴¹ Like their titlature, little of which was Turkic in origin,¹⁴² the Türks adopted and adapted the ideological displays of their imperial neighbours, China and Iran. Around 630, the Chinese Buddhist monk/traveler, Xuanzang (602-64), on his way to India, visited another Western Türk ruler, Tong Yabghu (619-30),¹⁴³ who held court near Sūyāb. This was the *qaghan*’s winter camp.¹⁴⁴ Sūyāb, most probably a Sogdian foundation, was an important Silk Road stop, with a Sogdian and Türk population.¹⁴⁵ Overtime, it became the virtual capital of the Western Türk Qaghanate.¹⁴⁶ According to Chinese accounts, the On Oq/Western Türk *qaghan* “has the custom” of nominating his chiefs north of north of Sūyāb, in the mountain of 羯丹 Jiedan (EMC *kiat tan*, LMC *kiat tan*), a region that may have been reminiscent of the Eastern Türk Ötüken Yish.¹⁴⁷

Xuanzang’s report confirms the picture of spectacular wealth noted in the Byzantine accounts. The *qaghan* “was covered with a robe of green satin” and bound his loose hair “with a silken band some ten feet in length”. His entourage of “200 officers” was attired in “brocade stuff” and accompanying “troops” were “clothed in furs and fine spun hair garments”. Astride their camels and horses, they were armed with “lances and bows and standards. The eye could not estimate their number.”¹⁴⁸ The *qaghans*’s large tent was “adorned with golden flower ornaments which blind the eye with their glitter”. His “officers”, all “clad in shining garments of embroidered silk”, sat on long mats, in two rows before him while his guard corps “stood

¹³⁹ Ibid., 173-5.

¹⁴⁰ Simocatta, 257, trans. 188. De la Vaissière 2010, 219-24, confirms the dating to 595 and, on the basis of a Sogdian inscription, identifies the *qaghan* with Niri Qaghan (588-604), one of the Ashina contestants for power in the Türk realm.

¹⁴¹ Widengren 1959, 245-50; Choksy 1988, 37, 42-5, 48.

¹⁴² Golden 2006, 50-7.

¹⁴³ Stark (2008, 193 n.1088) discusses the problems regarding the identity of this *qaghan*, as some sources place Tong Yabghu’s death in 628/9.

¹⁴⁴ Stark 2008, 34

¹⁴⁵ De la Vaissière 2005a, 114-16; Kyzlasov 2006, 219, 224-6. Kyzlasov’s etymology of the toponym as Turk. *su*, ‘water’ + Pers. *āb*, ‘water’, is unlikely.

¹⁴⁶ Sümer 2006, 20-2.

¹⁴⁷ Chavannes 1941, 10; Stark (2006-7, 164) places Jiedan “possibly in the Ili range north of Tokmak”. See Pulleyblank 1991, 154, 70.

¹⁴⁸ Huili 1911, 42.

behind them". Xuanzang was impressed that this "ruler of a wandering horde" had a "certain dignified arrangement about his surroundings".¹⁴⁹ The *qaghan* ordered wine and music for his guests to accompany a sumptuous meal of mutton and chicken.

A Muslim emissary from the Umayyad caliph, Hishām (724-43), sent to invite the *qaghan* to embrace Islam, encountered a similarly ostentatious display of military might (some 100,000 troops) on the part of the Western Türk/Türgesh ruler, often called 'Abū Muzāḥim' ('the rival') in Muslim accounts. He is 蘇祿 Sulu (EMC sɔ ləwk, LMC suɫ ləwk¹⁵⁰ r. 715-739) of the Chinese sources. The emissary found the *qaghan* "making a saddle by hand". When told that the visitor was an "envoy from the king of the Arabs", the *qaghan* inquired: "My slave?" The interpreter answered: "Yes." The emissary was then taken to another tent "where there was much meat but little bread". The *qaghan* rebuffed the invitation to convert.¹⁵¹ The account (abbreviated here) shows the official posture of the *qaghan* towards foreign monarchs: they were all subjects or potential subjects. At the same time, the *qaghan* continued to engage in the daily tasks of a nomad, even while holding court.

Among the things that particularly struck Xuanzang was a nature reserve that the *qaghan* kept to the west of Süyāb (probably in the summer pasturage of the Western Türk *qaghans* in the upper Talas), which held herds of deer, each wearing bells and accustomed to human contact. Anyone who dared to kill these deer would be executed.¹⁵² This was a *qoriğ*, 'an enclosed area' (especially one set off by the ruler). In modern Azeri *ğoruğ* means 'game reserve', 'prohibited area of forest or pasture' (cf. Osm. *Koru*, 'enclosed area of forest or pasture').¹⁵³ Al-Ṭabarī describes "a protected area", a *qoriğ*, of the Western Türk/Türgesh Qaghan 'Abu Muzāḥim'/Sulu "which no one drew near to or hunted in". The area, a "meadow and a mountain", also served as "a space for practicing warfare". Here, they pastured their herds,

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.; Stark 2008, 193-4.

¹⁵⁰ Pulleyblank 1991, 294, 201.

¹⁵¹ Yāqūt, 2: 24. See full discussion of this in Stark 2006-7, 159-62, with a translation of the Arabic account.

¹⁵² *Da Tang Xiyuji*, 1: 28; Stark 2008, 33-4.

¹⁵³ Clauson 1972, 652; Starostin, Dybo and Mudrak 2003, 1: 842-3. It was borrowed into Mongol as *qoria(n)*, 'courtyard', 'enclosed space'. For Kāshgharī, it denoted "the private property of chiefs". In fourteenth-century Khwarazmian Turkic *qoruğ* meant 'royal estate'. See Çağbayır 2007, 3: 2752: *koru* "Bakımlı ve korunaklı küçük orman; koruluk...korunan yer; korunak", *koruk* Çiğçilerin tarla kenarlarına, çobanların dağ tepelerine taşları birbiri üzerine koyarak yaptıkları işaret...Korunan ve bakımı yapılan tarla ya da ağaçlık yer"; ibid., 2753: *koruluk* "Koru halinde sık ağaçlı yer, sahibi olan toprak" etc. See also Allsen 2006, 44, 116-17.

prepared hides and “stocked up bows and arrows”.¹⁵⁴ This may have been located in the Kochkor Valley on the Upper Chu River, where a number of gravestones with runic inscriptions from the On Oq/Western Türks are found. Its earlier name was Yarışh.¹⁵⁵

Overall, the region between the Talas and Chu Rivers, dotted with Sogdian settlements and towns, whose rulers were under Türk overlordship, or themselves Türks, may have produced a larger Turkic presence in the towns than in Transoxania proper. Some sedentarisation of Turkic groups took place, which in time led to the Turkicisation of these regions.¹⁵⁶ At least one small town, some 10 *li* south of Talas had a Chinese population, which, according to Xuanzang, had been “violently carried off” by the Türks.¹⁵⁷ Cultic centres for the worship of the old Türk deities, *Tengri*, *Umay*, *Yer-Su*, etc. have recently been excavated at Zhaisan (Chu River Valley) and Merke (Jambul/Zhambıl oblast’ in southern Kazakhstan). Merke appears to have been one of the political centres of the Western Türks.¹⁵⁸

Although we lack such descriptions for the courts of the Eastern Türk *qaghans*, the Tang dynastic histories do mention the “wonderful treasures”¹⁵⁹ to be found at the court of Xieli (Ilig Qaghan, d. 630), the last of the Eastern *qaghans* of the first Türk Empire. And the Korean Buddhist pilgrim, Huichao, who journeyed through Central Asia in the 720s, basically repeats the already established Chinese ethnographic *topoi* regarding the Türks and other nomads since the Xiongnu era: they do not have walled cities or permanent residences, live in felt tents and wander in search of water and pasturages.¹⁶⁰

The Uighurs

The Uighurs took over the Eastern Qaghanate in 744, holding power until 840. Like the Türks, they recorded for posterity the deeds of their *qaghans* in a series of inscriptions. In the inscription for Böğü Qaghan (759-79), they noted that two earlier Uighur kingdoms had existed and claimed for them-

¹⁵⁴ Al-Ṭabarī (sub anno 119), 7: 113, trans. 132.

¹⁵⁵ Klyashtorny. 2002, 197-205.

¹⁵⁶ Stark 2008, 217-20.

¹⁵⁷ *Da Tang Xiyuji*, 1: 28.

¹⁵⁸ See Dosymbaeva 2006, 154. Mirkī (Merke) is noted by the tenth-century *Hudūd* (118, trans. 97, commentary 289), in the Qarluq country, but was a holy site going back to Western Türk times.

¹⁵⁹ Stark 2008, 194.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 34-5.

selves a distinguished royal lineage that antedated that of the Türks.¹⁶¹ Unlike the Türks, the Uighur realm presented a more urban profile. Although early Uighur rulers appear to have set up *ordus* with a throne (*örgin*) and stockade (*çit*) while on campaign, they also built cities early on, aided by Sogdian and Chinese craftsmen.¹⁶² First and foremost, they had a substantial capital, Ordu Baliq, known today by its later Mongol name Kharbalghas (Qarabalghasun, 'Black City'), which was established by El-Etmish Bilge Qaghan (747-59) on the left bank of the upper Orkhon River in 757 (see Fig. 3). The Chinggisid Qaraqorum is about 30-35 km away. Its spatial layout reflected both the traditional structure of the *ordu* and military arrangements, as well as Buddhist philosophical notions. The *qaghan's* palace was on high ground at the centre and the various dwellings and quarters radiated out from this centre. Fortified walls surrounded the whole of it.¹⁶³ At about the same time, El-Etmish Bilge Qaghan also ordered the construction of Bay Baliq ('Rich City') on the Selenge River, again using Chinese and Sogdian craftsmen (Shine Usu, W5).¹⁶⁴

In 821, Tamīm b. Baḥr, an Arab visitor to Ordu Baliq, arrived there by a system of relay horses (i.e. like the later Chinggisid *jam*), probably beginning in Lower Barskhān (apparently near Ṭarāz in modern Kazakhstan), and thence travelling 20 days through steppes devoid of settlements and then 20 days through cultivated lands and villages as he approached the capital.¹⁶⁵ There, he was impressed by its size, wealth and agricultural suburbs. The city was fortified with a series of walls. The *qaghan's* palace had its own walls, as did the city centre, which contained temples as well as administrative offices. The outer wall had 12 large iron gates leading into busy market streets filled with merchants, who were usually grouped together by product on the same streets. There were high towers to watch for invaders coming from the surrounding steppes. Nomadic traditions, however, remained. The Uighur *qaghan* had a golden tent, which stood

¹⁶¹ Tes Inscription, N1-3. See Kliashornyi 1985, 149-52; Kliashornyi 1987, 28-30; Moriyasu and Ochir 1999, 159-60.

¹⁶² Özcan (2008, 190-1) suggests that these urban developments, were "a response to religious activities, the duality of a sedentary and nomadic lifestyle and trading relationships between Turks and Chinese".

¹⁶³ Nagrodzka-Majchrzyk 1978, 21, 47-9; Moriyasu and Ochir 1999, 181-2, 185; Aydın 2007, 96; Özcan 2008, 190-1; Sümer 2006, 27-9.

¹⁶⁴ Aydın 2007, 54, 96-7. Bay Baliq is on the north bank of the Selenge. Today, it is identified by local Mongols with the ruins at Biybulağıyn Balgas, see <http://irq.kaznpu.kz/?l=B&wi=4&lang=r&mod=3> (accessed 2 December 2012). It is called Fuguicheng ('Rich City') in Chinese, a translation of the Uighur name. See Drompp 2005, 28-9.

¹⁶⁵ On the Turkic *barid/jam/yam* system, see Silverstein 2007, 97-8.

atop his castle and could be seen from miles away. The tent could accommodate 100 people. The Uighur *qaghan* maintained a standing army of 12,000 around the royal centre. His 17 chieftains, each commanding a force of 13,000, formed yet another protective circle around the inner core.¹⁶⁶ The Qırghız, who in 840 overthrew the Uighur Empire, swore that they would seize the ‘golden tent’, which was a symbol of imperial rule.¹⁶⁷

Ordu Baliq had a precursor. Recent work on what is believed to be an Uighur palace complex at Khökh Ordnung (Classical Mong. *Köke Ordun*, ‘Blue Palace’, in the eastern foothills of the Khangai Mountains in Mongolia), dating back, perhaps, to 650, may indicate that Ordu Baliq was not the Uighurs’ first urban experience with pretensions to imperial status. Indeed, Khökh Ordnung may have been the Uighur ‘capital’ before Ordu Baliq. The city consisted of structures made of white brick with pink-tinted gray roof tiles, organised along the lines of a nomadic encampment. The use of sun-baked white bricks by the nomads in their constructions of forts can be found as far west as the Balkans. Similar construction techniques were used in Ordu Baliq. Khökh Ordnung, however, a royal camp that was then transformed into a city in which the ruler lived for part of the year, was meant to awe outsiders. It was also the site of some kind of daily sun-worship by the ruler.¹⁶⁸ West of the Eg River, which included surrounding agricultural lands, there appear to have been other Uighur “true urban centers” to which “the Uighur elite courts and retinue moved on a regular basis”.¹⁶⁹ This pattern is not unlike that which we find among the Khazars (see below).

The Qarluqs

The Qarluqs were among the most important Turkic tribal groupings that entered the central zone of Central Asia following the fall of the Türk and Uighur empires. By 766 we found them in possession of Sūyāb, an important Western Türk political centre.¹⁷⁰ Like the other nomads coming into the region, they interacted with cities and towns, but appear to have developed only a few urban or proto-urban settlements. Ibn Khurdādhbih (writing ca. 846-7, revised ca. 885-6) mentions that the Turks had 16 cities (*madā'in*), but does not name them.¹⁷¹ Most of the towns of Central Asia

¹⁶⁶ Tamīm b. Baḥr, trans. 275-305.

¹⁶⁷ Mackerras 1972, 182 n. 296.

¹⁶⁸ Kolbas 2005, 303-27. The dating of this complex to the early Uighur era has been questioned. See Waugh 2010, 103.

¹⁶⁹ Waugh 2010, 101. The Eg River is a tributary of the Selenge, a core Uighur zone.

¹⁷⁰ Chavannes 1941, 85-6; Golden 1992, 196-9.

¹⁷¹ Ibn Khurdādhbih, 31. He also mentions (*ibid.*, 38) Turkic towns in Khurasan and Transoxania that pay taxes, but again does not name them.

actually noted by the Arabo-Persian geographers are Iranian foundations, in which various Turkic peoples, as the dominant political powers of the region, exercised some control through appointed officials and their own *tuduns* (administrative-financial officers). Ṭarāz, for example, became the seat of government for the Qarluqs at some point after 840. Their ruler, previously a *yabghu*, claimed to be “Qaghan of Qaghans”,¹⁷² having become the *de facto* heir of the Western Türk Qaghan. Ṭarāz/Talas already had a long history. It was held by the Iranian tribes of ‘Kangha’ (康居 Kangju in Chinese sources, Late Han *kʰaŋ kiə < kia*, MC *kʰaŋ kjwo*), an ill-defined area covering lands from Kyrgyzstan to Sogdiana and the Syr Darya zone, which came under Xiongnu control in the mid-first century BC.¹⁷³ The region remained largely the domain of Iranian tribes, although subject to the Hephthalites. It experienced the further ‘infiltration’ of Turkic tribes from the 560s onwards. It was under Western Türk control, functioning as a regional ‘capital’ and attracting, as a consequence, Sogdian elites, who built the city of *Jamukat[h] nearby.¹⁷⁴ It was associated with the Charuq tribe of the Arghu country between Balāsāghūn and Isfijāb. In Ibn Ḥawqal’s time, it had become “a trading post (*matjar*) for the Muslims among the Turks” and there were forts among the latter tied to the city. “None of the Muslims went beyond it [Ṭarāz] because in crossing through it, one entered the tents of the Qarluqs” (*kharkāhāt al-kharlukhiyya*),¹⁷⁵ i.e. hostile territory. In time, under Qarluq control, it came in and out of subordinate relationships with the Caliphate. It was finally taken by the Samanid Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad (892-907), who defeated the Qarluq ruler and converted Ṭarāz’s (Nestorian) church into a mosque.¹⁷⁶ By 999, it had fallen under Qarakhanid control.¹⁷⁷ Of the circumstances of the Qarluq court there, we know nothing. Senigova posits “a significant influx into the towns of Qarluq nomads”,

¹⁷² Al-Masʿūdī, I: 155; Pritsak 1951, 281.

¹⁷³ Schuessler 2009, 77 [3-12h], 46 [1-1c’]; Wakeman 1990, 643-5, n.1. Kliashtornyĭ (1964, 171-5) places it west of Semirech’e, in the middle Syr Darya region, with Talas and the lower Chu forming its eastern borders. See also Czeglédy 1983, 45-62, with a lengthy discussion of its boundaries and early history. In the glossary to the Hungarian original of this work, Czeglédy (1969, 143) identifies Kangju with Avestan Kangha and defines it as extending from the middle Syr Darya to the Talas and Chu Rivers and to the Ili Valley in the east.

¹⁷⁴ Narshakhī, 9, trans. 7, 106 n. 23, correcting the *Ḥamukat* of the text. The name is from the Sogdian *čamūk* (Chin. Zhaowu), the name of a Sogdian ruling house. See Yoshida 2003, 35-67, who views the name as of Hephthalite origin. Muqaddasī (363) notes a Jamukat in the Isbījāb (now Sayram) region.

¹⁷⁵ Ibn Ḥawqal, 2: 511 (in the Beirut ed.: 419).

¹⁷⁶ Narshakhī, 118-19, trans. 86-7, 150 n. 295.

¹⁷⁷ Kliashtornyĭ 1964, 173-4; Senigova 1972, 10-16; Barthold 1963-77a; Barthold 1963-77b, 33-4.

who quickened the pace of urban development in the region overall.¹⁷⁸ Qarluqs on the eve of the Mongol invasion were associated with the cities of Almalīq (somewhat northwest of Kulja) and Qayalīq (east of the Qaratal which flows into Lake Balkhash from the south).¹⁷⁹ How old these ‘cities’ were and when the Qarluqs founded them or became connected with them is unknown.

Mention can be made here of Barsghan/Barskhan, which the *Hudūd al-‘ālam* notes in the Qarluq country and ruled by a Qarluq, but whose inhabitants “are devoted to the Toghuzghuz”.¹⁸⁰ Kāshgharī remarks that Barskhān, his father’s natal town, was founded by Afrāsiyāb near the city of Yawghu (from the ancient Inner Asian title *yabghu*), Lake Isig [Issyk] Kul and a summer pasture called Tēz. He says of the people of Barsghān that they are the “worst people ... since they are unsociable and miserly”.¹⁸¹ Tamīm b. Baḥr reports that the “people of Nūshajān” (recte: Barskhān) and others from surrounding towns annually perform a religious ritual of circumambulation around this site.¹⁸² Clearly, the site was a ‘place of power’ and Kāshgharī’s frequent mention of it may have not only been because of family ties.

The Oghuz

Al-Muqaddasī mentions the city of Ordu (location uncertain), “a small (town) in which the king of the Türkmens lives”.¹⁸³ Whether this referred to Oghuz or Qarluq ‘Türkmens’, a term used at this stage for Turkic converts to Islam, is unclear. Presumably, the “king of the Türkmens” had an entourage that constituted his ‘court’, but our sources say nothing of it. The same is true of accounts of some towns that appear to have been founded by sedentarising nomads, e.g. the Oghuz who are associated with ‘New City’ or ‘New Town’ Yāngi/Yañi Kānt (Dih-i Nau/Madīnat al-Jadīda/Qaryat al-Ḥadītha), east of the Aral Sea. It had a Muslim population but was also

¹⁷⁸ Senigova 1972, 205.

¹⁷⁹ See in brief: Sümer 2006, 67–8.

¹⁸⁰ *Hudūd*, 83, trans. 98 and Minorsky’s discussion (commentary 292–3) of the Barskhans and their locations—in this case near Issyk Kul. Toquz Oghuz usually denotes Uighurs in the Muslim geographies of this era, pointing here, perhaps, to Manichaean or Buddhist influences.

¹⁸¹ Kāshgharī, 1: 330–1, 2: 164, 211, 217, 364. Gardīzī (564–5; see Martinez 1982, 131–2) has a lengthy account of the founding of the town by Alexander the Great. He settled skilled Persian hostages there who subsequently brought in Chinese artisans to help build towns in the area. Barskhan he derives from ‘Pārs khān’ (‘Prince of the Persians’).

¹⁸² Tamīm b. Baḥr, 280, trans. 284.

¹⁸³ Al-Muqaddasī, 275.

the winter quarters of the Oghuz Yabghu.¹⁸⁴ Ibn Ḥawqal comments: "It is a gathering point of the Oghuz during times of peace and tranquility."¹⁸⁵ Kāshgharī calls Sabrān "one of the cities of the Oghuz".¹⁸⁶ Also noted as Ṣabrān, Sawrān, it was near Otrar on the Syr Darya. The *Ḥudūd* mentions it as the "resort" of Oghuz merchants.¹⁸⁷ The cities of Qarnāq, Qarachūq (Fārāb), Jand, Sughnāq (Sighnaq) and Sütkenđ were also associated with the Oghuz.¹⁸⁸ In Ibn Ḥawqal's time, the last was noted as a "gathering point for various tribes of the Turks who had Islamised". Of these he notes the Oghuz and Qarluqs.¹⁸⁹ While some Oghuz were drawing close to Muslim cities because of trading opportunities, many, nonetheless, disdained nomads who sedentarised. According to Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī, the Oghuz used a special term for them: *yatuq*, 'lazy'.¹⁹⁰

The Kimeks

According to the *Ḥudūd al-ālam*, the town of Namakiyya (نَمَكِيَّة) possibly a corruption of كِمَاكِيَّة Kīmākiyya or more probably Yamakiyya [Yemekiyya] يَمَكِيَّة, which lay some 80 days' journey from Ṭarāz, was the summer resi-

¹⁸⁴ Ibn Ḥawqal, 2: 512 (in the Beirut ed.: 419); *Ḥudūd*, 118, 122, 123, trans. 119, 121, 122. The Turkic form of the name appears in the thirteenth century (Sümer 1980, 34).

¹⁸⁵ Ibn Ḥawqal, 2: 511 (in the Beirut ed.: 418).

¹⁸⁶ Kāshgharī, 1: 329.

¹⁸⁷ *Ḥudūd*, 119, trans. 119, commentary 306, 358. It was part of the Isbijāb zone and also noted as a frontier outpost against the Kimeks and Oghuz, Muqaddasī, 274

¹⁸⁸ Kāshgharī, 1: 333 ("Sitkūn. A city of the Oghuz"—if this is not a corruption of Sutkend/Sütkenđ), 353 ("Qarnāq. A city of the Oghuz"—probably in the middle Syr Daya region), 352 ("Sughnāq. A city of the Oghuz") 362 ("Qarachūq. A name for al-Fārāb. It is one of the cities of the Oghuz"—evidence that Iranian cities were acquiring Turkic or Turkicised names); Sümer 1980, 38-9; Baypakov 2001, 143. Sughnāq appears in the *Ḥudūd* (118, trans. 119, commentary 358) as 'Sunākh', perhaps an earlier form of the name. 'Sughnāq', Sighnaq may be later, Turkicised forms of the toponym, cf. Turk. *siğün*, 'to take refuge in' (Clauson 1972, 813; *Ḥudūd*, commentary 358, where Minorsky comments that "in Turkish *siğnakh* means 'place of refuge'"). This would not point to the Turkic origins of the town, but to its subsequent close association with Turkic peoples.

¹⁸⁹ Ibn Ḥawqal, 2: 511 (in the Beirut ed.: 419). See also *Ḥudūd*, 117, trans. 118, which notes of "Sutkend" that its people "are warlike. It is the abode of trucial Turks. From their tribes many have turned Muslims."

¹⁹⁰ Kāshgharī, 2: 153, citing the expression *yatuq ney*: "something discarded, forgotten." Hence 'a lazy person' is called *yatuq kiši*. There is a class of Oghuz, in their land, who never nomadize or go on raiding expeditions; they are called *yatuq* meaning 'lazy ones, ones left behind.'" The term is from *yat*, 'to lie down' (Clauson 1972, 884); cf. non-Oghuz *yatġaq*, usually meaning "sleeping quarters ... permanent settlement, (night) guard" etc. (ibid., 887-8). In modern Kazakh, *žataq* (< *žat*-< *yat*-) denotes impoverished former nomads. See Syzdykova 2008, 310.

dence of the Kimek *qaghan*. It may have been located on the Irtysh River.¹⁹¹ Tamīm b. Baḥr endured 80 days of hard riding from the “two villages of Kwākḅ” (*Kuvēkat), which were seven farsakhs from Ṭarāz, to the residence of the Kimek *qaghan*. After traversing “vast” steppelands and deserts, he came to “villages and cultivated tracts” near the *qaghan*. The latter he describes as moving “from one place to another following the grass”.¹⁹² The *qaghan* clearly remained nomadic, but around his ‘capital’, it would appear there were settled and cultivated areas.

Al-Idrīsī (d. 1165) depicts the Kimek realm as containing some 16 cities, the first of which is a large city, ‘Qrñṭiyya’, built on the shore of a large lake, Ghāghān. (There is also a substantial, busy trading town of that name.) From here to the residence of the Kimek *qaghan* is 24 days’ travel. Al-Idrīsī reports that the *qaghan*’s city (called ‘Khāqān’) was surrounded by a wall with iron gates, with “many armies and soldiers” and much military equipment stored within. The surrounding rulers are in fear of him. He is attired in golden clothing and has a tall hat (*qalansuwa*) “adorned with gold”. He appears before the people four times a year. He has palaces and tall buildings with pleasant places in which to walk. The local population is very content. Gold dust was collected from the shores of the river of the Kimek. The *qaghan* took a tax on it and the rest was sold.¹⁹³ This is very rich material. The problem is that none of it has thus far been confirmed by other written sources and some elements appear to echo Tamīm b. Baḥr’s report on the Uighurs. However, archaeological discoveries point to the development of towns and settlements in north-eastern Semirech’e dating to the ninth-tenth centuries and further growth in the eleventh-thirteenth centuries. Nonetheless, as Kumekov’s study has shown, al-Idrīsī’s account has to be treated with caution.¹⁹⁴

The Qırghız

There are similarly tantalising hints in the *Ḥudūd* about Kmjkath (Kamijkath?) “where the Khirkhīz *khāqān* lives”. The *Ḥudūd* further adds:

¹⁹¹ *Ḥudūd*, 86, trans. 100, commentary 310; Göckenjan and Zimonyi 2001, 204 and n. 120.

¹⁹² Tamīm b. Baḥr, 281, trans., 284.

¹⁹³ Al-Idrīsī, 6: 712–21.

¹⁹⁴ See full discussion in Kumekov (1972, 99–108), who is wary (p. 103), that this may have come to the author from a Kimek informant who was anxious to present his homeland in the most favourable light. Other elements may have been taken out of context by al-Idrīsī, e.g. the 16 towns, which is strongly reminiscent of Ibn Khurdādhbih (31), see above. Some ‘Kimek’ towns are noted as Oghuz towns in other sources.

“Except at the residence of the *khāqān*, no class of the Khīrkhīz has any villages or towns at all.”¹⁹⁵ As with the *Hudūd*’s report on the Kimek, this may be little more than a literary stereotype that automatically assumed that all, or at least the great majority, of Turkic-speakers were steppe-dwelling pastoral nomadists. Clearly, towns could and did develop at rulers’ centres, which were also trading points. The Muslim geographers have much to say about routes and travel times to the various Central Asian Turkic peoples. It is unclear whether Kmjkath is to be associated with the Kem, the indigenous name for the Yenisei River on which the Qırghīz state was centred. Again, some kind of ‘court’ and officialdom, the latter especially associated with the collection of furs and ivory tusks from subject peoples, is presumed, but undocumented in our sources.

The Khazars

The Khazar Empire extended from the Middle Volga to the Crimea and from Kiev to the borders of Khwarazm. It was a successor state of the Western Türk Qaghanate, ruled by a sacralized *qaghan*, of probable Ashina origin,¹⁹⁶ who resided in his capital for at least part of the year (see below). This Türk connection is essential to any understanding of the workings of the Khazar Empire.

The Khazars, as the Volga Bulghārs, began as nomad polities, but developed a number of ‘native’ cities. These included Khazar Atil (Atıl/Ätil), their capital in the lower Volga (recently discovered, it would appear in Samosdelka in the lower Volga, about 40 km from Astrakhan),¹⁹⁷ a major international trading emporia. But our sources for the Khazar cities are confusing.¹⁹⁸ The Jayhānī tradition (Ibn Rusta, Gardīzī, the *Hudūd*, al-Bakrī, al-Marwazī, among others) notes a capital called *Sarīghshīn which included another city named either *Han Baliq [Khan Baliq], rendered in other sources (e.g. Ibn Khurdādhbih) as Khamlikh [< Khanmalikh < Khan Baliq] or Khutlugh (Qutlugh).¹⁹⁹ Atil (Ätil/Atıl), which also denotes the Volga River in Turkic and is still used today (cf. Tatar *Idel*), is the name of

¹⁹⁵ *Hudūd*, 80-1, trans. 97.

¹⁹⁶ The *Hudūd*, 193, trans. 161-2: آشينا or آشينا for آشا. The creation of the sacral kingship cannot be dated with certainty, but seems to have developed in the course of the ninth century. See Golden 2007a.

¹⁹⁷ See <http://www.khazaria.com/khazar-issues.html> (accessed 2 December 2012).

¹⁹⁸ See the lengthy discussion of the notices in Zakhoder 1962-7, 1: 167-202.

¹⁹⁹ E.g. Ibn Rusta, 139; see Golden 1980, 1: 230-4, 237-9, for all the forms found in the manuscripts. See also Göckenjan and Zimonyi 2001, 53, 167, 234-5, 250-1. Khutlugh can easily be a corruption of Khanbaligh/Khanbaliq.

the capital found in a wide array of Arabic, Hebrew, Greek and Armenian sources.²⁰⁰ Whether Sarīghshīn et al. were other names for Atil, districts within Atil or separate and distinct cities, is unclear. Al-Iṣṭakhrī, Ibn Ḥawqal and the *Hudūd* report that Atil was divided into eastern and western parts. The 'king' lived in the western part (which Ibn Ḥawqal calls "Khazarān"²⁰¹). Al-Iṣṭakhrī notes further that the *qaghan* had a golden throne and that his domiciles, whether his tent when he went forth²⁰² or his home in Atil, were always higher than that of the king. His castle in Atil was of brick, the only brick dwelling that was permitted. There were a small number of houses built of clay. Most of the inhabitants lived in tents,²⁰³ typical of nomad 'cities'. In winter, the Khazars, or more precisely the Khazar elite and their army of 10,000 [Ibn Rusta] or 12,000 troops [al-Iṣṭakhrī], consisting of both paid forces and warriors levied from the 'wealthy', i.e. tribal chieftains, lived in the dual city, but in the spring they went into the steppes, remaining there until the coming of winter.²⁰⁴ Al-Iṣṭakhrī reports that, in the summer, the people of Atil (probably the non-nomadising element) worked on large agricultural tracts outside the city. These pursuits must have included rice cultivation, as rice, along with fish, are noted as their 'nourishment' (*qūt*).²⁰⁵ We find some similarities here with the lifestyle of the Uighur elite and their capital city (see above). In the western Central Asian steppes, this form of semi-nomadism was practised by the Hungarians and later the western Jochids.²⁰⁶ The multi-confessional populace consisted of Jews, Christians, Muslims (the largest grouping—al-Iṣṭakhrī gives their number as over 10,000) and pagans.²⁰⁷ The *Ors*, of Khwarazmian origin, constituted a standing royal army. Al-Mas'ūdī says that they numbered 7,000. They were Muslims, as was the vizier of the Khazar government.²⁰⁸ The Khazar *qaghan*, his deputy 'king' and many of the Khazars were Judaised, a process that had begun during the time of Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd (r. 787-809), if

²⁰⁰ See the different ms. forms in Golden 1980, 1: 226-9.

²⁰¹ Ibn Ḥawqal, 2: 389 (in the Beirut ed.: 330). This is clearly the Persian plural of *Khazar*. *Hudūd*, 193, trans. 161-2: the Ṭarkhān Khāqān, a descendant of "Ānsā" (probably for Ashina (see n. 196), "lives with all his troops in the western half of the town ..."

²⁰² Al-Mas'ūdī (see Appendix below) says that he does not "ride forth" or "appear before the royal entourage or the common folk". Ibn Faḍlān (see Appendix below) reports that the *qaghan* did appear publicly four times a year. Al-Mas'ūdī's notice may reflect a further sacralisation of the *qaghan*.

²⁰³ Al-Iṣṭakhrī, 220, 224-5.

²⁰⁴ Ibn Rusta, 139-40; al-Iṣṭakhrī, 221.

²⁰⁵ Al-Iṣṭakhrī, 220.

²⁰⁶ Györfy 1975, 44-154.

²⁰⁷ Al-Iṣṭakhrī 1870, 220.

²⁰⁸ Al-Mas'ūdī, 1: 213. On this name, see Golden 1990, 39-46.

not earlier.²⁰⁹ According to al-Mas'ūdī, Atil was built on both banks of the Volga and the 'king' lived on an island, along with the offices of government. The island was connected to one of the riverbanks by a "bridge ... of boats".²¹⁰

The most striking aspect of the Khazar court was the institution of sacral kingship.²¹¹ The office of the *qaghanate* was limited to a special, charismatic clan. The *qaghan* reigned but did not rule. Day to day governance of the state was left in the care of another ruler who is termed the 'king' in Arabic (*malik*) and Hebrew (*melekh*) sources and bore several titles: *ishad*²¹², *beg* [*beh*] or *qaghan-beg* and *yilig* [*yeligh*, Common Turkic *ilig*]. He officiated at the investiture of the *qaghan*, which included ritual strangulation.²¹³ The *qaghan* appears to have been a descendant of the royal Türk Ashina as this is the only dynasty that practised ritual strangulation at enthronement. By the early tenth century (Ibn Faḍlān's account, see Appendix below), two other officials assisted the *qaghan* and *qaghan-beg*. The Khazar *qaghan* was a universal ruler who provided judges for each of the confessional groups of the state (a point noted by most of our sources²¹⁴). The *qaghan* was first and foremost the 'law king'. He was superior to the 'king' and had the ultimate power of life and death, but was not to be physically associated with the actual shedding of blood. The *qaghan* rarely appeared before the people or even the royal entourage except on a few occasions (once very four months). Only the *qaghan-beg* saw him daily. When the *qaghan* did show himself, all prostrated themselves before him. The 'king' also underwent purification rites before being admitted into the *qaghan*'s presence. This purification practice is only sporadically noted among the Turko-Mongolian steppe peoples. One of the most famous incidents is reported in connection with the death/martyrdom of the Rus' prince, Mikhail of Chernigov, in 1246.²¹⁵

The *qaghan*'s tomb, as Ibn Faḍlān describes it (see Appendix below) was an elaborate mausoleum containing 20 cells. It was considered holy ground, perpetually cleansed by water. Those who passed by were required

²⁰⁹ On Khazar Judaism, see Golden 2007b, 123-62.

²¹⁰ Al-Mas'ūdī, 1: 212.

²¹¹ Golden 2007a, 161-94.

²¹² This is a reconstruction of a title written variously in different sources, e.g. Ibn Rusta: *ishā*; Gardīzī: *ishād*. See relevant texts in the Appendix below.

²¹³ Al-Iṣṭakhri, 224.

²¹⁴ *Hudūd*, 193, trans. 162; al-Iṣṭakhri, 221; Dunlop 1954, 98; Ibn Ḥawqal, ed. 1964, 331.

²¹⁵ Apparently summoned to the court of Batu, Chinggis Khan's grandson, he was required to walk through the fires (a purification ritual) and bow to the idols. He refused to worship the latter and was killed. See discussion in Dimnik 2003, 368-70.

to fall prostrate before it. Ibn Faḍlān's account does not tell us where the royal tombs were located or whether they contained inscriptions.

Al-Mas'ūdī also has a lengthy account about the Khazar dual kingship (see also remarks of Ibn Rusta, both in Appendix below). The *qaghan* lived secluded together with his household (*ḥaram*) in the 'palace' (*qaṣr*) of the 'king' (*qaghan-beg*), legitimating the latter by his presence. The *qaghan* functioned as a heavenly mandated intermediary between the divine and his state and hence was a talisman for the good fortune of the state. His term of office had temporal limits (40 years—or some catastrophe), after which his spiritual power, his *qut*, was considered diminished. The life and the death of the sacral king have cosmic significance.²¹⁶ The light-reflecting tambourine or drum-shaped, sun-disk-like object (*shamsa*), noted by Ibn Rusta, which is paraded before the *ishad* when he sets forth on campaign, may point to a royal solar cult as well. Solar disks are well known as representations of the divinely bestowed power of the ruler (*χwarənah*, *farr*, etc.) in the Iranian world.²¹⁷ If this solar disk does indeed reflect such an emblem and is not merely a signaling device for indicating where the *ishad*—and hence the centre of the army—is, the question may well be asked: why does the *ishad*, a non-sacral figure, have this emblem? There are several possibilities. Ibn Rusta may have confused or conflated a practice actually associated with the Khazar *qaghan* during his infrequent processions from his chambers. Or, the disk-like solar emblem may have been borne before the *ishad* as a symbol of the divinely mandated power given to the *qaghan* in whose name the *ishad* commanded the army. Within the steppe world, the Khazar *qaghan* was a figure of awe and reverence.

The Volga Bulghārs

The Volga Bulghārs stemmed from the Oghuro-Turkic tribes that had entered the Pontic steppes by the 460s. By 480, the Bulghārs are noted in East Roman sources.²¹⁸ From the latter half of the sixth century until ca. 635, the Bulghārs came successively under the control of the European Avars, the Türks and again the Avars. A brief period of independence fol-

²¹⁶ See also discussion in Czeglédy 1966, 14; Ludwig 1982, 133; Golden 2007a, 161-94.

²¹⁷ See Soudavar 2003. According to Rashīd al-Dīn (1: 157-8), the Mongols had the custom of saying, when they saw the ruler, "I have seen the golden face of the emperor" (*rūy-yi zarīn-i pādīshāh dīdīm*), clearly a reference to the sun-like brilliance that shone forth from him. See Skrynnikova (1992, 81-2), who notes this fiery, glowing light as a sacral substance found in the head of a person, the ruler.

²¹⁸ Zlatarski 1994-2002, 1/i: 43.

lowed under Qubrat/Quvrat, who had ties with Constantinople. 'Magna Bulgaria', or παλαιά μεγάλη Βουλγαρία, as it was termed in Latin and Greek sources, was crushed in warfare with the Khazars after 650. By 679-80, one grouping of Bulghārs went to the Balkans, founding what became the Balkan Bulghār state. While substantial Bulghār groupings remained in their Kuban-Pontic territory under Khazar control, others, responding to the Arab-Khazar wars and later Pecheneg pressure, began to move northwards to the Middle Volga, establishing there over time the Volga Bulghār state in the latter part of the eighth century to early tenth century.²¹⁹

The disruption of the Khazar-dominated trade routes by Pechenegs and others gave an advantage to the Volga Bulghārs, whose international trade, especially between the forest peoples and Islamic Central Asia (Khwarazm and the Samanid realm), rivalled and probably surpassed that of Khazar Atil.²²⁰ The Volga Bulghār ruler, pushed into the forest and forest-steppe zone, was even more closely associated with settled life. The remains of some 170 towns and fortified areas have been found in Volga Bulghār territories. The location of the capital city remains contested. Some argue that Bulghār (the *Velikii Gorod*, 'Great City', of the Rus' sources) is to be identified with the *bolgarskoe gorodishche* south of Kazan'. Some recent studies associate the capital with the Biliar ruins, on the Malyi Cheremshan River in Tatarstan.²²¹

The Volga Bulghārs were ruled by a *yiltawār* (< Common Turkic *el-teber*, a title given by *qaghans* to the chieftains of subordinate peoples). Under the *yiltawār* was the *vuyrigh* (< Common Turkic *buyruq*, a title given to those who perform duties for the *qaghan*), who led the Sawār tribe, a sub-grouping of the Bulghār union. An unhappy Khazar vassal, the *yiltawār* Almush b. Shilki, had by the early 920s adopted Islam and invited a caliphal mission (in which Ibn Faḍlān participated) to come to his lands to assist in creating an Islamic infrastructure, as well as to help in the construction of defences—against the Khazars. The Khazars held Almush's son hostage in Atil and had designs on his daughters, one of whom had already died in Khazar custody.²²²

²¹⁹ See Zimonyi 1990.

²²⁰ Noonan 1984, 277-9; Noonan 1985, 179-204, on the impact of the 'silver crisis' of 870-900 and the migration of the Pechenegs into the Pontic steppes. See also Zimonyi 1990, 82, 156-7, 175, 179-83.

²²¹ Khuzin 1997, 51; Khuzin 2002-6, 152, 163ff. Bariev (2005, 86) identifies the *Velikii Gorod* of the Rus' chronicles with Biliar; Fedorov-Davydov (1987, 3-4) suggests that Bulghār gave way to Biliar in the twelfth century as the Volga Bulghārian capital city.

²²² Ibn Faḍlān, 22-3, 35, trans. 45-8, 80.

The *yiltawār* held court seated on a gold brocade-covered throne with his subordinate kings on his right side and his sons in front of him, in a large tent/pavillion (*qubba*) that held 1,000 people, in which Armenian carpets were laid out. The *yiltawār* could ride out without a retinue and the whole populace would make obeisance to him. This population still lived in tents.²²³ The *yiltawār* annually took one sable pelt in taxes from each family unit (which he, in turn, paid as a tax to his Khazar overlord). He also received a share of any booty taken during campaigns and raids.²²⁴ According to Ibn Rusta, the populace paid tribute to the ruler in “riding animals (*dawābb*) and the like”.²²⁵ He tithed goods coming from Khazaria (including one of every ten slaves brought by the Rus’) and received food and drink from every Bulghār wedding.²²⁶ The Bulghār tribal confederation, whose tribes were often immersed in conflict with one another, numbered some 500,000 households.²²⁷ Many engaged in agriculture as well as live-stock breeding. Ibn Faḍlān reports that millet and horsemeat were their primary foods, but there was also much wheat and barley. They were allowed to keep whatever they grew as the king could not take that in tax.²²⁸ Their mixed economy included, in addition to agriculture and livestock, bee-keeping and trading for furs with the peoples of the northern forests.²²⁹ The *yiltawār* was very much aware of the wider world. He even had a tailor from Baghdad in his service.²³⁰ When the Khazar Empire was destroyed by the Rus’, joined by the Oghuz, ca. 965-9, the Volga Bulghārs became one of the dominant sources for goods moving from the northern forests to the Islamic world. The Rus’ were sometimes their rivals for access to the furs of the northern forests.

CONCLUSION

Certain threads run through this survey. Whether on the imperial level or lower, the Pre-Chinggisid rulers held court in large tents or wooden halls in which there were rich trappings, especially of gold, a symbol of royalty. There was a seating order for both subjects (including members of the royal

²²³ Ibid., 20-1, 28, trans. 39-42, 63-4.

²²⁴ Ibid., 27, 35, trans. 60, 80.

²²⁵ Ibn Rusta, 141.

²²⁶ Ibn Faḍlān, 27, 35, trans. 60-1, 80.

²²⁷ Gardizī, 584; Bakrī, 1: 449, has “500 households”.

²²⁸ Ibn Faḍlān, 27, trans. 60.

²²⁹ Ibn Rusta, 141.

²³⁰ Ibn Faḍlān, 25, trans. 53.

family) and visitors. There was a great emphasis on the conspicuous consumption of food and alcoholic beverages. Royal women often had their own residences. Foreigners underwent purification rituals before being admitted to the *qaghan's* presence.²³¹ We have no information as to whether such a ceremony was required for an audience with rulers not of qaghanal rank. When it was a matter of admission to the presence of the sacralised Khazar *qaghan*, the purification ceremony was even required for the highest officer of the state below the *qaghan*. All of this was meant to awe those who came before the ruler.²³² The Türks, despite close cooperation with the urban-based Sogdians, never themselves built cities, although the Western Türk realm did periodically avail itself of Iranian-founded towns (e.g. Sūyāb), which could serve as temporary capital cities. Overall, they remained nomads, wary of the city and fearful that sedentarisation would undermine the basis of their military power. The Uighurs, while remaining predominantly nomadic, developed important urban centres. This proved disastrous in the wars with the Qırghız, which ended their empire. Their wealth was concentrated in cities, stationary targets that, following military defeat, were easily overrun. The surviving Uighurs left Mongolia for Xinjiang and Gansu and in time were transformed into merchants, culture-bearers to the nomadic world (the Mongol and thence Manchu script system is based on the Uighur variant of Aramaic-based Sogdian scripts) and in time agriculturalists. The Khazars and Bulghārs found it advantageous for mercantile reasons to create capital cities, as both became major players in east-west and north-south trade. The Khazars, whose capital, Atil, attracted an international population, and who ruled over some 25 peoples, nomads, agriculturalists and forest-folk, created one of the great trading emporia of the ninth-tenth century—and one of the largest states of the era. The Uighur and Khazar elites maintained elements of a nomadic existence, leaving their capitals, which most probably evolved from winter quarters, to nomadise or tend to their fields. Sedentarisation, certainly in Khazaria, proceeded apace. When Khazar trade revenue declined (syphoned off by the Volga Bulghārs), the economic base of the empire that supported their military might (which included hired professional soldiers, the Khwarazmian *Ors*) fell off. In this sense, sedentarisation, as with the Uighurs, proved fatal.

²³¹ These points are nicely summarised in Pohl 2008b, 108–12.

²³² Pohl 2008b, 116–17.

APPENDIX: TEXTS

Zhou-shu (Written ca. 629/636) on Türk Investiture

When a new ruler is chosen, the high officials carry him out from his nearest surroundings in a felt covering and turn him, then, in the direction of the sun nine times. With each turn, all of his subjects bow to him. After [the turning and] the bowing, they help the prince onto a horse and let him ride. Then, they strangle him with a silk scarf to the extent that he barely remains alive. Then, they loosen the neck binding and ask him hurriedly: 'How many years will you be our *qaghan*?' Since the *qaghan* is in a dazed state, he cannot say clearly the length of time. They then determine from the words he has blurted out in a muddled state the length of his term of office.²³³

Ibn Rusta (d. 913)

[The Khazars] have a king who is called *īshā*;²³⁴ the greater king, however, is the Khazar *khāqān*. [But,] he does not have the obedience (*tā'a*) of the Khazars except in name. The [full] extent of the [management of the] affairs of state is upon the *īshā* since, as concerns leadership and the armies, he is in a position in which he does not heed anyone who is above him. Their greater king is an adherent of Judaism, as is also the *īshā* and those from among the leaders and great ones who sympathise with his inclinations (*yamīlu maylahu*). The rest of them profess a faith similar to that of the Turks.²³⁵

The Ḥudūd al-ʿālam (987)

...the king, who is called Tarkhān Khāqān and is one of the descendants of Ansā.²³⁶ He lives with all his troops in the western half of the town, which possesses a wall. In the other half live Muslims and idol-worshippers. This king has in this town seven governors belonging to seven different creeds. At any hour when a more important litigation arises, they ask the king for instructions, or inform him of the decision (taken) on that litigation.²³⁷

²³³ Liu Mau-tsai 1958, 1: 8. For the dating of Zhoushu, see Wilkinson 2000, 504.

²³⁴ This is a corruption of *īshād*, a very high title of Iranian origin, in Türk *shad*; cf. also Sogd. *ʾgšyδ*, rendered into Arabic as إخشيد (*ikhshīdh*), also found as إخشاذ (*ikhshād*).

²³⁵ Ibn Rusta, 139. See also Dunlop 1954, 104-5, for a slightly different rendering; German trans. in Göckenjan and Zimonyi 2001, 52-3.

²³⁶ آنسا perhaps a corruption of Ashina (آشينا, or آشینا), the royal house of the Türks.

²³⁷ *Ḥudūd*, 193, trans. 161-2.

Gardīzī (Mid-eleventh Century)

They have a king, his name/title (*nām*) is **īshād*.²³⁸ There is a great king. They call the great king Khazar '*khāqān*'. He has the title and that is all (*wabas*). As for the central [control] of all the affairs of state and the entourage (*hasham*), this is incumbent on the **īshād*. There is no one greater than the **īshād*. Their greater chief is a Jew and the **īshād* is also a Jew. And whoever is inclined to [these] two, from among the commanders and great ones, is likewise. The rest profess a religion that resembles the religion of the Ghuzz Turks.²³⁹

al-Bakrī (1094)

Their king does not have their obedience (*tā'a*) except in name. The direction of (state) affairs is in the hands of the *Īrānshāh*.²⁴⁰ He is the one who commands their armies and he possesses their obedience... They bring their most obscure affairs to the attention of their great one who is called Khāqān Khazar. He is greater in power among them than the king.²⁴¹

Another cluster of information stems from the school of al-Balkhī (850-934),²⁴² preserved in the accounts of al-Iṣṭakhri (mid-tenth century) and Ibn Ḥawqal (wrote ca. 977) who closely follows him. These notices are much more detailed.

al-Iṣṭakhri (Writing Mid-tenth Century)

The king lives in the western part of [the capital]. The king is called in their tongue *beg* (بَك) and he is also called **yilig* [text: بَاك *bāk*, recte: يَلِك *ylk* = *yilig* 'prince' or 'junior king'²⁴³]... As concerns their governance and affairs of the kingdom among them, their supreme leader (*azīmuḥum*) is called 'Khāqān Khazar'. He is greater than the king of the Khazars except that the king of the Khazars is the one who installs him [in office]. When they want to install this 'Khāqān', they bring him to him [the king] and choke him with a silk [cord] until his breath is nearly cut off. They say to him, "For

²³⁸ In the most recent (1984) edition (Gardīzī, 580), this is mistakenly given as الشَاد (ʾIshād) (يشَاد) (ʾyshād). The latter reading is clear from the two extant mss. See Golden 1980, 1: 206-7.

²³⁹ Gardīzī, 580; see also Barthold 1963-77c, Pers. p. 36, Russ. p. 57; Martínez 1982, 152-3; Göckenjan and Zimonyi 2001, 166.

²⁴⁰ Obviously a garbling of *īshād*.

²⁴¹ Al-Bakrī, 1: 447-8; Göckenjan and Zimonyi 2001, 226, 227.

²⁴² Krachkovskii 1957, 194ff.; Zakhoder 1962-7, 1: 49-51; Kmoskó 1997, 73-4.

²⁴³ Türk *beg*, 'clan chief'. Türk *él(l)ig*, *élig*, 'having a realm', 'king', 'ruler', 'master', '(junior) king', 'prince' < *él*, 'state', 'realm'; cf. the Old Hungarian **yeleg* (Iéλεχ). See discussion in Golden 1975, 37-43.

how long a period do you wish [to have] the kingship?" And he says so many and so many years. If he dies before then [there is no problem]; he is not killed unless he reaches that year [that he named]. The *qaghanate* is not permitted [to any] among them except for the members of a house of notables (*ahl bayt ma'rūfīn*). He does not have the power to command or forbid anything. Nonetheless, he is held in esteem and they prostrate themselves before him when they go in to him. No one comes near him except for a group that goes [to him] such as the king and those of his stratum [in society]. The king does not go in to him, except for a [special] event (*hāditha*). When he goes in to him, he rolls in the dust, prostrates himself and stands at a distance until he is permitted to draw near. When great difficulties (*ḥazb azīm*) befall them, the *khāqān* is brought out into the open by him. Upon seeing him, the Turks and those of the various groups of unbelievers who are near them depart. They do not fight with him out of respect for him. When he dies and is buried, no one passes his tomb without dismounting and prostrating himself before it. He does not mount [again] until his tomb is lost from sight. Their obedience to their king is to such a degree that when it is required that one of them, perhaps, is to be killed and he is from among their great ones and the king does not want to kill him in a public fashion (*zāhīran*), he orders him to kill himself. He departs for his home and kills himself. The *qaghanate* is within a group of relatives (*qawm*). They do not have royal power or wealth. When the leadership falls to one of them, they award it to him without paying attention to his state.²⁴⁴

Al-Iṣṭakhrī notes further that the *qaghan*, and only the *qaghan*, had a golden throne and that his domiciles, whether his tent when he went forth or his home in Atil, were always higher than that of the king.²⁴⁵ He also notes the presence of seven religious judges, two each for the Jews, Muslims and Christians and one for the pagans.²⁴⁶ Ibn Ḥawqal's account is basically the same.²⁴⁷

Ibn Faḍlān (Writing in the 920s)

With Ibn Faḍlān, we have a report from a man who journeyed to Volga Bulghāria as part of a caliphal embassy to that uneasy vassal of the Khazar *qaghans* in 921-2. His lengthy account appears to be based on communications he received from local informants about Khazar customs and governance, and contains unique information.

As concerns the king of the Khazars, he is called *khāqān*. He does not appear [in public] except for once every four months for a promenade (*mutanaz-*

²⁴⁴ Al-Iṣṭakhrī, 220, 224; see also Dunlop 1954, 91, 97-8.

²⁴⁵ Al-Iṣṭakhrī, 224-5; Dunlop 1954, 98.

²⁴⁶ Al-Iṣṭakhrī, 221; Dunlop 1954, 93.

²⁴⁷ Ibn Ḥawqal, Beirut ed., 330, 334-5.

*zahan*²⁴⁸) [apart from the masses]. He is called the 'great *khāqān*' and his deputy (*khalīfatuhu*) is called the *khāqān-bāh*.²⁴⁹ The latter commands the armies and governs. He directs the affairs of state and manages it. He makes public appearances and goes on military campaigns. The neighbouring kings submit to him. Every day, he enters into the presence of the greater *khāqān*, humbly, showing humility and devout tranquillity (*sakīna*). He only enters his presence barefoot and has firewood in his hand. Having greeted him, he ignites the firewood in his hands. When the fuel is all consumed, he sits with the king, on his throne, on his right side. He has a deputy who is called **kündü khāqān*' [text: حَقَّانْ كُنْدُو recte:²⁵⁰ حَقَّابْ كُنْدُر]. This man also has a deputy, a man called *jāwshighr* جَوَشِغَر.²⁵¹ The customary practice of the greater king is that he does not sit (in meetings) with the people; he does not speak with them and no one enters his presence except for those whom we have mentioned. Sovereignty in the exercise of governmental power and the implementation of punishments and the direction of the kingdom rests with his deputy, the *khāqān-bāh*. It is the customary practice concerning the greater king that when he dies a great abode is built for him. In it are 20 cells²⁵² and a tomb is dug in each of the cells. The stones are broken until they become like pulverised kohl (antimony) and they are spread out over it and lime is thrown over that. Under the abode is a river. It is a great river that runs [under it]. They direct the river over that tomb and they say that it does not allow the Devil to draw near nor does it allow a man or a maggot or insects [to come near]. When he is buried, they cut the necks of those who buried him so that no one will know where his tomb is among those 20 cells. They call his tomb 'Paradise'. They say he has entered Paradise. They spread brocade sewn with gold over all the cells. It is the customary

²⁴⁸ The verb *tanazzaha*, 'to be far from something'; 'to go for a walk, promenade' < *nazuha*, 'to be far from, be untouched, unblemished', 'to refrain from, steer clear of' (see Baranov 2006, 2: 797; Wehr 1994, 1125), was understood in the sense of *nazuha* by Togan in his rendering of the passage. See Ibn Faḍlān, trans., 98, "entfernt (von den Massen)". It rather denotes the idea of a ceremonial progression by a figure who remains remote from the mass of people.

²⁴⁹ This is the *qaghan beg*. Ibn Faḍlān's *bāh* = Khazar *beh* < *bex* (cf. the πέχ Χαζάριας noted by Constantine Porphyrogenitus (182) < *beğ* < *beg*. The *beğ* form may have entered Hungarian: *beğ* > *beü*, *böü* > *bó*, 'full', 'rich', see Benkó 1967-76, 1: 356-7.

²⁵⁰ This is the title *kündü*, found among the Hungarians as *kende*, the title of the Hungarian sacral king; on this title, see Ligeti 1986, 49, 254, 368, 482, 484. The manuscripts all have *kndr*. See Golden 1980, 1: 200-2.

²⁵¹ The reading of this title is unclear. Kliashornyi (1997, 22-3) suggests reading جَاوَشَغَر *jav* < *shunghar* = *čav* (Old Turk. *čavlı*, 'falcon', 'hunting bird') and *shungqar*, 'falcon', 'gerfalcon'; cf. Qarakhanid *Čavlı Beg*, 'head of the royal falcon hunting', a high dignitary in the Qarakhanid state. Perhaps it is a garbling of جَاوَشَغِير **jawashgīr* < **yavash*, Common Turk. *yavash*, 'gentle', 'mild' < -*ghīr/ghur*, 'the one who makes peace'; cf. Uigh. Buddh. *yavash qil*, 'to make peace' (Clauson 1972, 880).

²⁵² *Bayt*, 'house', 'domicile', etc.; here, 'cell'. See. Dozy 1968, 1: 131, *bait*, 'alvéole'.

practice of the king of the Khazars to have 25 wives. Each wife is a daughter of the kings whom he has captured, taking them either voluntarily or under duress...When this king goes forth on horseback, the rest of the army rides out on horseback with him. They maintain a distance of one mile between him and the riders. None of his subjects sees him without dropping to the ground to prostrate himself in his presence and does not raise his head until he has passed by. The length of their kingship is 40 years. If he goes past that by one day, his subjects and entourage kill him. They say, 'His mind has become diminished and his good sense has become confused.'²⁵³

Ibn Faḍlān adds further that the *khāqān* has the power of life and death over his troops.²⁵⁴

al-Mas'ūdī (Writing 930s)

Al-Mas'ūdī has important data on Khazar governance. After a discussion of the *Ors*, the Khwarazmian guard/*comitatus* of the Khazar king, he notes that "the king of the Khazars has complete trust in them in his wars". They have special "arrangements" (*shurūt*) with the Khazar rulers, one of which is the provision that "the vizierate be from among them. The vizier, in our time, is one of them. He is Aḥmad b. Kūya (or Kūba)."²⁵⁵ Al-Mas'ūdī then adds:

Our report was not about the king of the Khazars, [rather], we mean here the *khāqān*; to be more precise, in the Khazar state there is a *khāqān*. It is his customary practice that he is in the hands [i.e. under the authority] of a king, other than him, [living] in his abode [i.e. that of the king]. And the *khāqān* is inside a castle. He is not allowed to ride forth or to appear before the royal entourage (*al-khāṣṣa*) or the common folk; nor is he allowed to go out from his residence (*maskan*). With him [i.e. there in the king's house] is his personal household (*ḥaramuhu*). He does not give orders, nor does he proscribe or manage anything of the affairs of state. The royal authority of the Khazars is not in order for the king unless the *khāqān* is with him in the capital of his kingdom, with him in his castle. When the land (*ard*) of the Khazars suffers from drought or some misfortune befalls their district or they face a war against other nations or some matter unexpectedly comes upon them, the common folk and the royal entourage rush to the king of the Khazars and say to him, "a bad omen has betaken us (*taṭayyaranā*) because of this *khāqān* and because of his reign; we expect [no good] from him. Kill him or hand him over to us so that we may kill him." Sometimes, he hands him over to them and they kill him. Sometimes, he takes [the task] of killing him upon himself. Sometimes, he shows him mercy, defends him

²⁵³ Ibn Faḍlān, 43-4, trans. 98-101. See also Dunlop 1954, 111-13.

²⁵⁴ Ibn Faḍlān, 44, trans. 101.

²⁵⁵ Al-Mas'ūdī, 1: 214.

[as being] free of [any] crime that would merit [his being killed], and not being guilty of any misdeed. This is the customary practice of the Khazars at this time. I have no knowledge whether this was the case in olden times or if it is an innovation. The dignity (*manṣib*) of their qaghanal office belongs to the members of a family from among their notables. I think that the kingship was among them in olden times.²⁵⁶

Letter of an Anonymous Khazar Jew (ca. 960)

There is a brief reference to the Khazar qaghanal office in the Hebrew *Letter of an Anonymous Khazar Jew* (the so-called Schechter Text, from the Cairo Geniza) dating to the latter half of the tenth century (960s) on the very eve of the fall of Khazaria. Here, the qaghanal office is set within a Judaised context in the aftermath of the conversion²⁵⁷ (or ‘return’ as the author puts it) of the Khazars to Judaism, transforming the *qaghan* into a judicial figure, perhaps harking back to the ‘judges’²⁵⁸ of pre-monarchic Israel, a biblical reference that might be more acceptable to Jewish norms and would be understood by his learned readers:²⁵⁹

The men of the land appointed over them one of the sages as judge. They call him in the language of the Qazars, כִּנֵּן (*k^ag^an*); for this reason the name given to the judges who arose after him has been *kagan* until this day...²⁶⁰

Letter of King Joseph (ca. 950-960)

The *Letter of King Joseph* written by a Khazar ruler (it is unclear if this comes from the *qaghan* or the *qaghan beg*), ca. 950-60, in response to a letter from Hasdai b. Shaprūt, the Jewish courtier of the Spanish Umayyads, recounts the Khazar conversion tale. According to it, Bulan, the lesser king (he is referred to as מֶלֶךְ *melek*, ‘king’ throughout), after an angelic visitation in a dream, asks the angel to appear to the Great Chief (הַשָּׂר הַגָּדוֹל *ha-sar ha-gadol*—clearly the *qaghan*) who then “gathered all his chiefs (שָׂרִי) and servitors and his whole people”. He lived on an island, along with the offices of government. The island was connected to one of the riverbanks by a “bridge ... of boats”.²⁶¹ He then holds a religious debate between represen-

²⁵⁶ Al-Mas‘ūdī, 1: 214-15.

²⁵⁷ Ibid., 1: 212, dates it to the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd (787-809).

²⁵⁸ See Shapira 1998-9, 236; the ‘judges’ of pre-monarchical Israel, who were subsequently ‘overshadowed’ by the kings. See also Kovalev 2005, 233.

²⁵⁹ Petrukhin 2004, 272.

²⁶⁰ See Golb and Pritsak 1982, 110-13.

²⁶¹ Al-Mas‘ūdī, 1: 212.

tatives of Judaism, Islam and Christianity, from which Judaism emerges the victor.²⁶²

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²⁶² Kokovtsov 1932, 21ff., 28ff. (Heb.), 75ff., 93ff (Russ.).

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CHAPTER TWO

SEDENTARY RULERS ON THE MOVE: THE TRAVELS OF THE EARLY GHAZNAVID SULTANS

Minoru Inaba

The Ghaznavid dynasty, which was once the most powerful state in the Muslim East, has its origin in the turmoil that marked the decline and fall of the Samanids (873-999). Around 962, the Turkish general Alp Tegin, defeated in the political strife over the succession to the throne in Bukhara, crossed the Hindu Kush with his army and settled in Ghazni, a city then of considerable importance in the eastern part of present-day Afghanistan. He was succeeded by his son, then, one after the other, by two Turkish *ghulāms* (military slave) with the rank of general, and finally by Sebük Tegin, another of his former *ghulāms*, who took control of Ghazni and thereafter conquered most of Khurasan. It is well known that Sebük Tegin and his descendants, the Ghaznavid sultans, were Turks, as was the backbone of the army that enabled them to conquer large parts of India and Iran. This being said, the Ghaznavid model of kingship is usually described as being derived from the Samanid's. In other words, the Ghaznavids are portrayed as Iranized Turks, propagating Iranian culture, and owing little to Inner Asian traditions.¹ For example, the members of the royal family seem not to have held any fief, at least in the early period, in contrast to what was customary among the royal families of the later Turko-Mongol dynasties.² This chapter aims to illustrate the nature of the Ghaznavid state by focussing on the way the rulers occupied and moved within their territories. Some scholars have explained the frequent travels of the later Turko-Mongol rulers in the Muslim East as being related to their nomadic background and tradition.³ However, as Charles Melville has highlighted in his article on the Ilkhan Öljeitü, itinerancy is a feature of various models of kingship and cannot be considered as a marker peculiar to 'nomadic'

¹ See Bosworth 1975, 180-1; Meisami 1999, 50-1. I use the expression "Inner Asian traditions" rather loosely. On this point, see Di Cosmo 1999, 7.

² See Bosworth 1973, 125.

³ See e.g. Honda 1991, 357 ff.

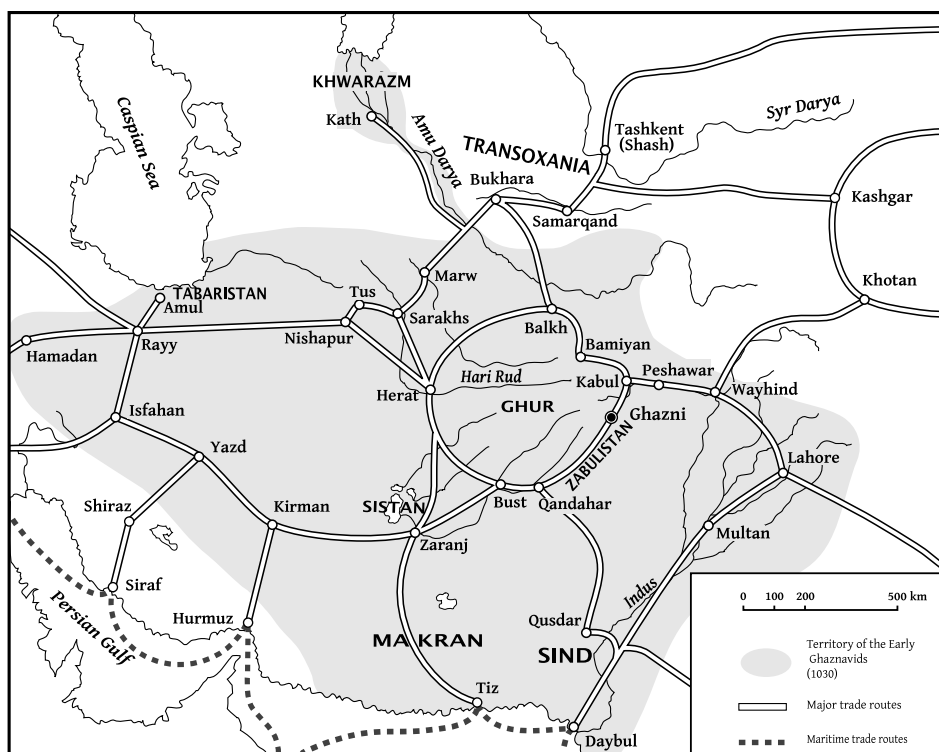


Fig. 1. The territory of the early Ghaznavids ca. 1030.

traditions.⁴ The issue is worth detailed investigation. In what follows, I will analyse first the travels of the early Ghaznavid rulers Maḥmūd and his son Masʿūd, as well as the role played by their capital Ghazni. In the second part, the reasons why the rulers travelled are examined, paying attention to the mode of contact between the rulers and the cities they visited. In the last part, these results are compared with other itinerant royal courts.

DESCRIPTION OF THE SULTANS' TRAVELS

Clifford Edmund Bosworth, the most eminent scholar on Ghaznavid history, has divided the history of the dynasty into two periods: the Early Ghaznavids from 977 to 1040, and the Later Ghaznavids from 1040 to 1187, the date of the dynasty's downfall.⁵ Here, the royal tours of the Early

⁴ Melville 1990, 55.

⁵ Bosworth 1975, 196.

Table 1. Travels of Maḥmūd. (Month or season of travel indicated after the year; M indicates travels planned for military purposes; Gard.: Gardīzī; Bayh.: Bayhaqī; Jurb.: Jurbādhaqānī)

No.	Departure	Destina- tion	Return	Description	Source	Routes (see Fig. 2)	Remark.
1		Ghazni	998 (spring)	Entry into Ghazni for the accession	Gard., 375; Ibn al-Athīr, 9: 130-1	3-1	
2	998 (early autumn)	Balkh, Nishāpūr	999 (spring)	Negotiation with the Samanids. Battle with Bektuzun and Fā'iq	Gard., 377, 378; Bayh., 866-8	1-3	
3	1000 (May)	Sistān	1000 (July)	Victory over the Saffarids	Jurb., 207; <i>T. Sistān</i> , 346	2-4	M
4	1000 (autum)	India	1001 (Jan.?)		Gard., 382	?	M
5	1001 (March)	Balkh, Nishāpūr	1001 (Sept.?)	Negotiation with the Qarakhanids at Balkh; Battle with Ismā'īl al-Muntaẓar	Gard., 382; Jurb., 186	1-3	
6	1001 (Oct.)	Wayhind	1002 (spring)	Battle with the Hindushah Jayapāla	ʿUtbī, 1: 365; Gard., 386; Jurb., 209; Ibn al-Athīr, 9: 169-70 <i>T. Sistān</i> , 354	1-5	M
7	1002 (Nov.)	Sistān	1002 (Dec.)			2-4	
8	1003 (spring)	India	1003 (summer)?		<i>T. Sistān</i> , 354	?	M
9	1003 (Sept.-Oct.)	Sistān	1004 (spring)		Gard., 387	2-4	
10	1004 (Oct.-Nov.)	Bhātinda (India)	1005 (May-June)	March through Wālishtān; return through the Kabul River Valley due to the rising of the Indus in Punjab?	ʿUtbī, 2: 67; Gard., 387; Jurb., 277	2-6-5-1	M
11	1006 (spring)	Multan	1006 (summer)?	March through the territory of the Hindushah Ānandapāla due to the rising of the Indus (changing from the southern to the northern route)	ʿUtbī, 2: 72-3; Gard., 388; Jurb., 279	1-5-6-2	M
12	1006 (summer)	Balkh		Rush to Balkh to intercept the Qarakhanid Ilig Naṣr	Jurb., 281-4	8-1-3 or 6-2-1-3	M
13	1007	Ghazni		Return to Ghazni after driving back Ilig Naṣr	Gard., 390	3-1	
14	1008 (Jan. 15)	Balkh		Battle with Ilig Naṣr at Dasht-i Kaṭār	ʿUtbī, 2: 94; Gard., 390; Jurb., 291	1-3	M
15	1008 (Feb.)	Multan	1008 (spring)	Subjugation of the rebellion at Multan	ʿUtbī, 2: 94; Gard., 390; Jurb., 291	8 or 2-6	M
16	1008 (Dec.)	Wayhind	1009 (July?)	Conquest of Wayhind (termination of the Hindushah dynasty)	Gard., 391	1-5	M
17	1009 (Sept.-Oct.)	Nārīn	1010 (spring)	Military expedition against Nārīn (Nārayanapur)	ʿUtbī, 2: 120-1; Jurb., 311-2; Ibn al-Athīr, 9: 213	1-5?	M

Table 1. Cont.

No.	Departure	Destina- tion	Return	Description	Source	Routes (see Fig. 2)	Remark.
18	1010 (Sept.- Oct.)	Multan	1011 (spring)		Gard., 391	8 or 2-6	M
19	1011 (spring)	Ghūr	1011 (Aug.?)	Expedition against Ghūr through Bust and Zamīn Dāwar	'Utbi, 2: 122-5; Bayh., 132; Jurb., 312-4	2-4	M
20	1011 (Dec.)	Quṣḍār	1012 (spring)	Expedition against Quṣḍār in Baluchistan	'Utbi, 2: 132-3; Jurb., 321-2	2-6	M
21	1013 (late Aut.)	Nandana	1013 (win- ter)	Expedition against Nandana (Punjab)	'Utbi, 2: 147; Jurb., 332; Ibn al-Athīr, 9: 244	1-5	M
22	1014 (spring)	Nandana	1014 (Aug.)	Expedition against Nandana	'Utbi, 2: 147; Bayh., 911; Jurb., 332	1-5	M
23	1014 (autumn)	Thānisār	1015 (spring)	Expedition against Thānisār (Punjab)	'Utbi, 2: 153-6; Gard., 392; Jurb., 335-6; Cf. Nazim 1971, 91	1-5	M
24	1015 (spring)	Khwābīn	1015 (early Sum.)	Expedition against Khwābīn in Ghūr	Bayh., 136-7	2-4	M
25	1015 (summer)	Balkh	1015 (early Aut.)	Marriage with the daugh- ter of Ilig Naṣr	Bayh., 275; Jurb., 367	1-3	
26	1015 (autumn)	Kashmir	1016 (spring)	Expedition against Kashmir (retreated due to snow)	Gard., 395; Ibn al-Athīr, 9: 260	1-5	M
27	1016 (Aut)	Balkh	1017 (April)	Wintering at Balkh	Bayh., 915, 918	1-3	
28	1017 (summer)	Khwarazm	1017 (autumn)	Conquest of Khwarazm	Gard., 395-6; Bayh., 923; Jurb., 374-6; Ibn al-Athīr, 9: 264-5	1-3	M
29	1018 (spring)	Bust	1018 (spring)	Preparation for the expe- dition against Kanauj at Bust	'Utbi, 2: 260; Jurb., 382	2-4	
30	1018 (Sept.)	Kanauj	1019 (April)	Expedition against Kanauj	Gard., 398; Jurb., 378, 382	1-5 or 2-6	M
31	1019 (summer)	Afghan	1019 (sum- mer)	Subjugation of Afghans to the south-east of Ghazni	Jurb., 389	2-6	M
32	1019 (autumn)	Kanauj	1020 (spring)	Expedition against Kanauj	Gard., 399	1-5 or 2-6	M
33	1020 (autumn)	Nūr, Qīrat	1020 (autumn)	Expedition against Nūr and Qīrat (Kafiristan)	Gard., 401	1-5	M
34	1021 (autumn)	Kashmir	1022 (spring)	Expedition against Kashmir	Gard., 402	1-5	M
35	1022 (autumn)	Gwaliyor, Kālinjar	1023 (Feb.- March)	Expedition against the central part of northern India	Gard., 402-3	1-5 or 2-6	M
36	1024 (autumn)	Balkh, Samarqand	1025 (summer)	Wintering at Balkh; meet- ing with Qādir Khan of the Qarakhanids at Samarqand	Gard., 404, 406-11; Bayh., 266	1-3	
37	1025 (Oct.)	Somnath	1026 (April)	Expedition against Somnath in Gujarat	Gard., 411-3; Ibn al-Athīr, 9: 127-9	2-6	M

Table 1. Cont.

No.	Departure	Destination	Return	Description	Source	Routes (see Fig. 2)	Remark.
38	1027 (spring)	Jāṭ	1027 (early summer)	Subjugation of the Jāṭ tribe (Sind)	Gard., 414-5	2-6	M
39	1028 (Feb.)	Rayy	1030 (spring)	March to Ṭūs through Bust; battle with the Saljuq Arslan Isrā'īl; expedition against Rayy; wintering at Balkh	Gard., 416, 418; Ibn al-Athīr, 9: 371	2-4-3-1	M

Table 2. Travels of Mas'ūd

No.	Departure	Destination	Return	Description	Sources	Routes (see Map 2)	Remark.
40		Ghazni	1031 (June)	Entry into Ghazni for the accession	Bayh., 26, 41, 54, 109, 333	3-1	
41	1031 (Oct.)	Balkh	1032 (May)	Negotiation for treaty with the Qarakhanids	Bayh., 376, 378, 454-5	1-3	
42	1032 (June)	Bust, Herat	1033 (spring)	Precautionary expedition to the northern frontier of Khurasan	Bayh., 460	2-4-3-1	
43	1034 (Sept.)	Gurgān	1036 (May)	Expedition against Gurgān through Bust, Herat and Nishāpūr; return through Balkh	Bayh., 558, 560, 574, 580, 585, 597, 607, 619, 644, 651	2-4-3-1	M
44	1036 (Oct.)	Bust	1037 (May)	Wintering at Bust; precau- tionary expedition to the frontier of Khurasan	Bayh., 659, 686	2-4	
45	1037 (Oct.)	Hānsī	1038 (Feb.)	Expedition against Hānsī (India)	Bayh., 702, 704	1-5	M
46	1038 (Oct.)	Balkh, Khurasan		Expedition against the Saljuqs	Bayh., 737 ff.	1-3	M
47	1040 (May)	Ghazni	1040 (June)	Defeat at Dandānaqān by the Saljuqs and retreat to Ghazni	Bayh., 829, 863	7	M
48	1040 (Nov.)	India		Defeat by Muḥammad at Mārigala (Taxila) and death in prison	Ibn al-Athīr, 9: 473	1-5	

Ghaznavids will be examined, as more material has survived concerning that period.⁶ Based on the primary sources, such as Bayhaqī's *Tārīkh*, al-'Utbi's *Kitāb al-yamīnī*, Gardīzī's *Zayn al-akhbār*, the anonymous *Tārīkh-i Sīstān* and Ibn al-Athīr's *al-Kāmil fi'l-ta'rīkh*, I have prepared lists indicating when, to which destination, how long and by which route Sultan Maḥmūd and his son Mas'ūd travelled (see tables 1 and 2).

Although such treatment of the data has certain limited validity as there is no guarantee that we have exhaustive documentation for the sultans' travels, these figures do at least indicate the approximate frequency and duration of their travels. Therefore, we can say that the two sultans moved around fairly frequently.

The Routes of the Travels

The routes by which the sultans moved around are shown in the seventh column of the tables and in Fig. 2 and Fig. 3. Though there are some cases in which the routes used could not be specified, the maps still give us a valid picture of the general patterns of the rulers' travels. Each number in the cells of column 7 of the tables corresponds to the number given in Fig. 2. For instance, when 1 and 5 are referred to together in a cell of the table, it means that the journey was made by these two routes. The squares attached to the arrows in Fig. 3 indicate the specific trips made by Maḥmūd and Mas'ūd by each route, and the numbers are those assigned to the routes listed in the tables.

Of the eight routes shown on the map in Fig. 2, six are the historical highways that had connected the East and the West from before the time of Alexander's conquest,⁷ and the itineraries of the Ghaznavid sultans using those routes are quite clear. Route No.1 joins Ghazni and Kabul. No.2 is the route between Ghazni and Tigīnābād/Qandahar. Route No.3 crosses the Hindu Kush to the north. No.4 heads towards Khurasan through the southern part of Afghanistan via Bust. No.5 is the route along the Kabul River heading for Punjab, which includes the route connecting present-day

⁶ The first ruler of the dynasty, Sebük Tegin, also travelled rather frequently. Especially significant are his conquests of the Kabul River Valley and Bust/Qandahar regions, which opened the two 'Gates of Hindūstān' for the Ghaznavids. See Minorsky 1970, 110, 112. Al-Bīrūnī (16, trans. 1: 22) states that the roads to India were opened by Sebük Tegin, which resulted in the remarkable success of his son Maḥmūd in India. However, we have insufficient information about the precise dates and durations of his journeys, especially for his early reign, and for this reason I have focussed on the reigns of his two successors.

⁷ Bombaci 1957.

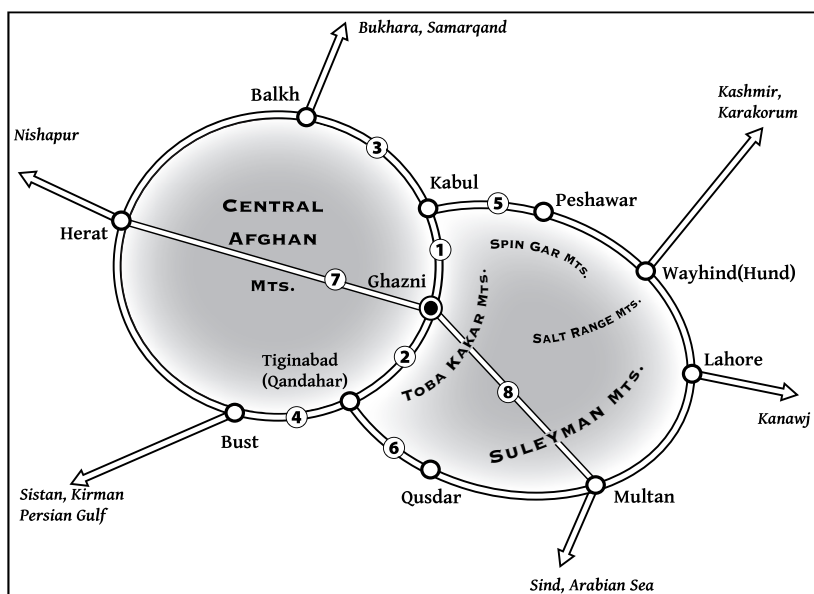


Fig. 2. The 'figure-eight' road network

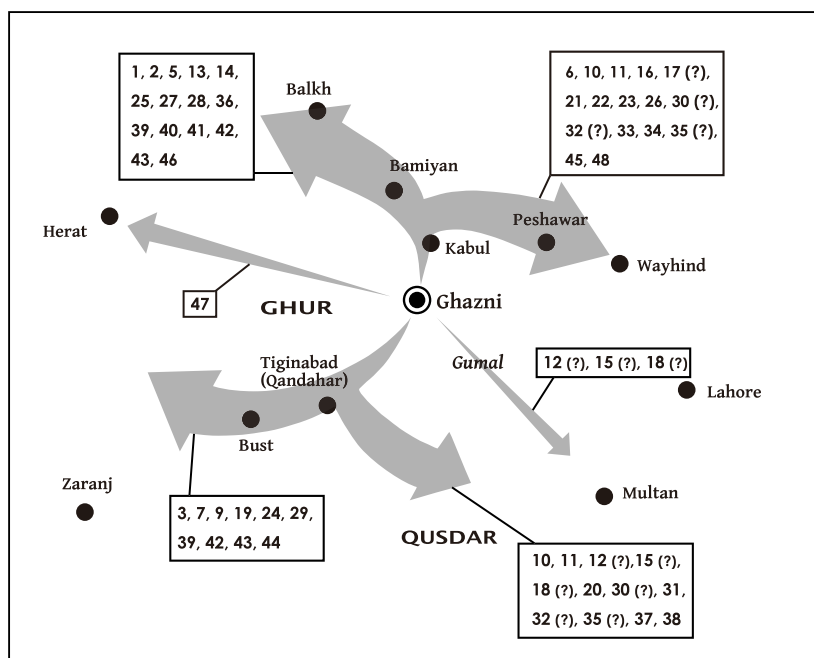


Fig. 3. Directions of the Ghaznavid Sultans' travels

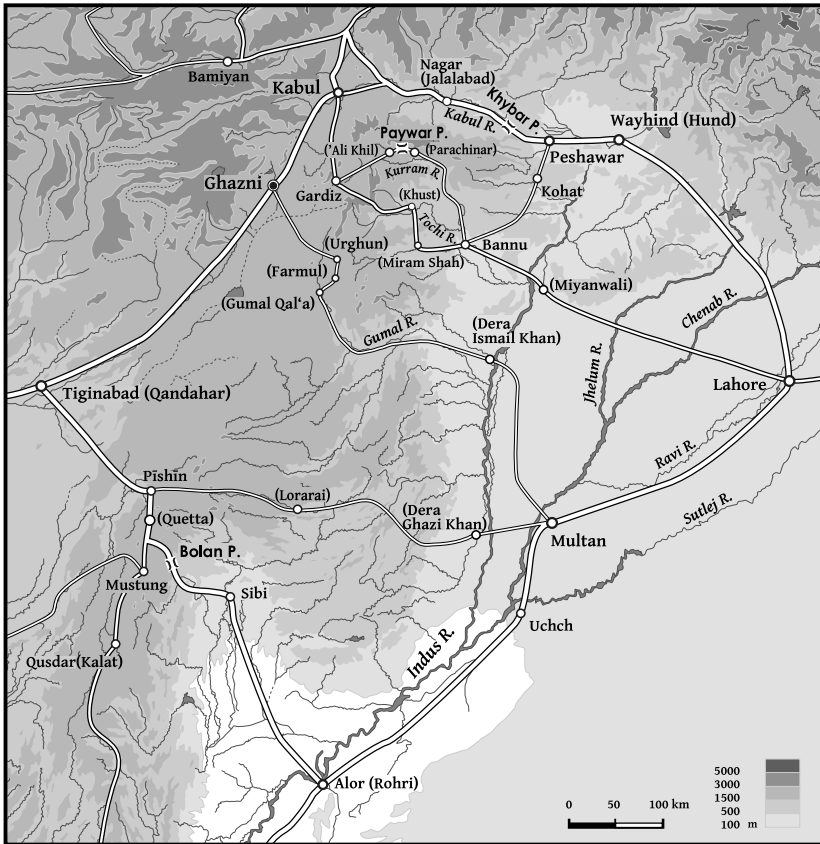


Fig. 4. Routes between the Indus Valley and the Western Uplands

Paktia and Bannū,⁸ bypassing Kabul and the Khyber Pass (see Fig. 4). Route No.6 connects Qandahar with the lower Indus Valley.

However, routes Nos. 7 and 8 need more detailed consideration. No.7 is the route extending westwards from Ghazni or Kabul, through the Hari Rud Valley, to Herat. In the eleventh century, it seems only to have been used in case of emergency and is mentioned in the *Tārīkh-i Bayhaqī* only

⁸ There are two routes that connect Paktia and the Bannū plain. The first is from Gardīz, via ‘Alī Khīl and Parāchīnār, to Bannū along the Kurram River. The second is from Urghun, Farmūl, and Mīram Shāh to Bannū along the Tochi River (see Fig. 4). The route Xuanzang followed in the first half of the seventh century must have been the latter. See Beal 1914, 193.

twice.⁹ The first is on the occasion when Mas'ūd sent an army led by Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Irāqī, a trusted secretary (*dabīr*) of Mas'ūd, to reinforce the army fighting against the Saljuqs in Khurasan. The second is when Mas'ūd fled to Ghazni after being defeated at Dandānqān,¹⁰ following the route along the Hari Rud River until he arrived at Ribāṭ-i Karwān.¹¹

Route No.8 goes through the Gūmāl River Valley toward the Mid-Indus Valley. This route is not explicitly mentioned in the Ghaznavid period, but there is a reference in *Ḥudūd al-'ālam* as follows:

SAUL, a pleasant village on a mountain. In it live Afghāns. And as you go thence to Ḥusaynān the road passes between two mountains, and on the road one must cross seventy-two torrents (*āb*). The road is full of dangers and terrors.¹²

Though Minorsky considers that the road described above is the one from Gardīz to Bannū, along the Tochi Valley, it seems more likely that it is the road along the Gūmāl River leading to present-day Dīra Ismā'il Khān (Dera-Isma'il Khan), because of the description found in *Bābur-nāma*, which reads:

Two roads were heard of as leading from where we were to Ghazni; one was the Tunnel-rock (Sang-i-sūrākh) road, passing Birk (Barak) and going on to Farmūl; the other was one along the Gūmāl, which also comes out at Farmūl but without touching Birk (Barak). As during our stay in the Plain¹³ rain had fallen incessantly, the Gūmāl was so swollen that it would have been difficult to cross at the ford we came to; moreover persons well-acquainted with the roads, represented that going by the Gūmāl road, this torrent must be crossed several times, that this was always difficult when

⁹ Analysing the description of Strabo, Alfred Foucher (1942-47, 213-15) argued that, of the three roads reported by Strabo as going from Areia (Herat) to India, one is the road that passes Bactra, crossing the Hindu Kush; the second is the road coming to the Kabul River Valley from Arachosia (Qandahar); and the third directly traverses the central mountains along the Hari Rud, eventually coming to the Kabul River Valley. Though the last one would be identical with road No.7 mentioned above, it does not appear to be an easy road at all, judging from the fact that Sayf al-Dīn Sūrī of the Ghurids became isolated in Ghazni and was killed because the heavy snowfall in the winter had prevented reinforcement from his homeland (Jūzjānī 1: 394).

¹⁰ Bayhaqī, 654, 851, trans. 2: 167, 330.

¹¹ Minorsky (*Ḥudūd*, trans., xxxviii-xxxix) suggests the identification of this place with 'Rabāt-Kerman' on the upper course of the Lal River. However, in my opinion, it should be identified with the area around present-day Yakaulang, on the upper course of the Band-i Amir River. I will discuss this issue in detail elsewhere.

¹² *Ḥudūd*, trans., 91.

¹³ 'Dasht' in the text. According to Verma (1978, 105, n. 35), Dasht is identical with present-day Tank to the north of Dera Isma'il Khan.

the waters were so high and that there was always uncertainty on the Gūmāl road.¹⁴

This road seems to have been in use again in the Ghurid period, when Tāj al-Dīn Yildīz of Ghazni and Quṭb al-Dīn Aybeg of Lahore fought each other. After being defeated by Quṭb al-Dīn, Tāj al-Dīn retreated to his territory in KRMAN which has been identified by Henry Raverty with Kurram.¹⁵ In 1215, hearing that Tāj al-Dīn was approaching with a well-equipped army, Quṭb al-Dīn returned to Lahore from Ghazni through 'Sank Sūrākh', which must have been a different route from that which goes through the Kurram River Valley or the Tochi River Valley. Most likely it is identical with the 'Sang-i Sūrākh' mentioned by Babur.¹⁶

Furthermore, some of the main routes, such as No. 3, seem to have several variants. In 1031, Mas'ūd travelled from Balkh to Ghazni by the route which passes Khulm, Pīrūz Nakhchīr, Baghlān, Darra-yi Zīraqān (sic), Darra-yi Ghūrvand, and Parwān, traverses the Khulm River Valley to the Kunduz River Valley, and proceeds through the Ghūrvand River Valley (see Fig. 5).¹⁷ In the autumn of the same year, starting from Ghazni, he passed Kabul, Parwān, Pazh-i Ghūzak, Chūghānī-yi Andarāb, and Walwālīj, reaching Balkh. This route goes through the Salang River Valley, crossing the mountain at present-day Salang Pass or Bajgah Pass, and meets the valley of the Andarāb River.¹⁸ The third journey was made in 1032 from Balkh, via Darra-yi Gaz, to Ghazni.¹⁹ This could be the road through the Balkhāb River Valley and Darra-yi Šūf, which is described by Thomas Holdich as the most direct route connecting Balkh and Bāmiyān in the late nineteenth century.²⁰

¹⁴ Babur, trans. Beveridge 235 (transliteration modified by me); cf. Babur, 230, trans. Mano 232.

¹⁵ Jūzjānī, trans. 498, n. 7; Raverty 1982, 82-4.

¹⁶ Inaba 2002. Michael Witzel identifies the 'Gomatī', found in Vedic texts, with the 'Gomal' River (Witzel 1999). According to him, this could relate to the migration route of the Aryans to the Indian Subcontinent (see also Witzel 2001). If so, the route along the Gūmāl River Valley must already have been one of the main routes connecting the Indus River Valley with the Afghan highlands in the second millennium BCE.

¹⁷ Bayhaqī, 319-21, trans. 1: 349-51.

¹⁸ Ibid., 376-8, trans. 1: 397-8. Parwān was at the mouth of the Salang River Valley or 'Parwān Darra', and Chūghānī was and is the name of the village near Khinjān on the Andarāb River. Therefore, Ghūzak pass must be identical with the present-day Salang pass, or the Bajgah pass to the east of the Salang pass, both of which one can reach going up the Salang River Valley from the south (See Fig. 5).

¹⁹ Bayhaqī, 454-5, trans. 1: 470-71.

²⁰ Holdich 1910, 257.

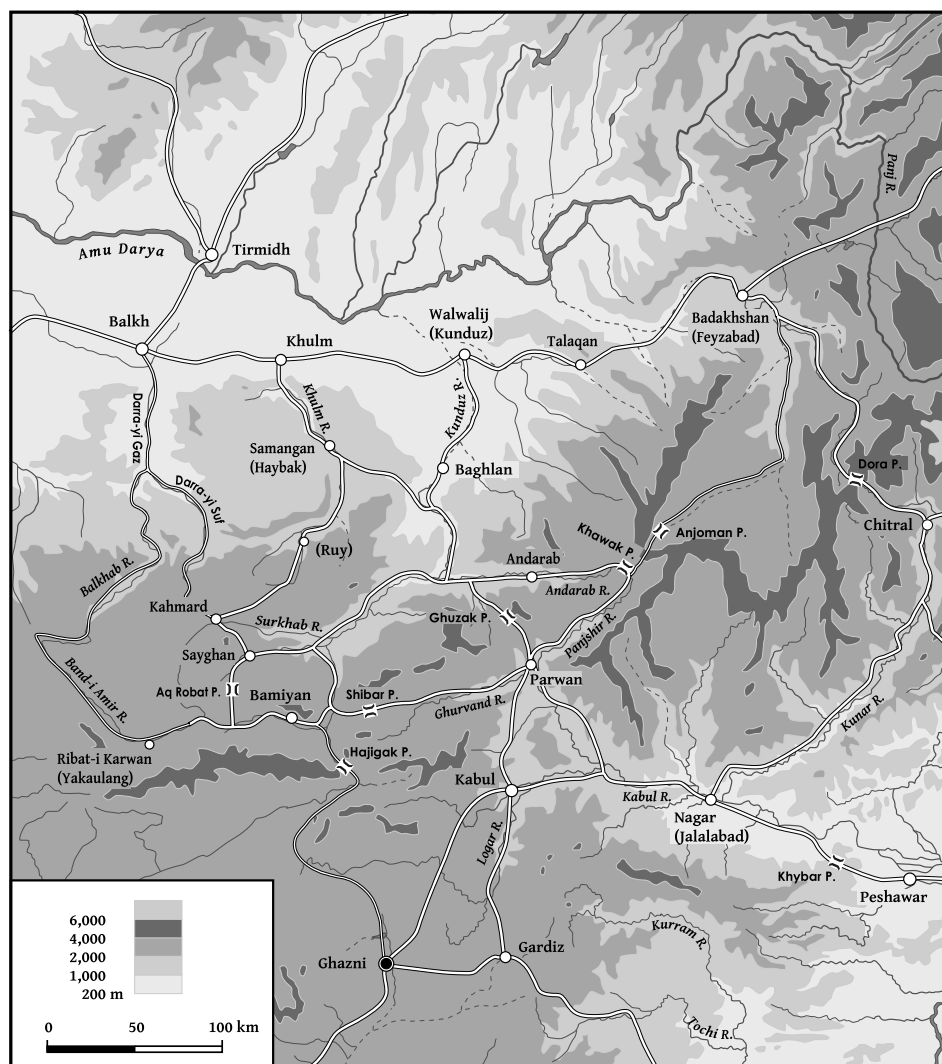


Fig. 5. Routes across the Hindu Kush

Ghazni and its Location

The special status Ghazni held for Maḥmūd and Masʿūd is indicated by the amount of time they spent there. Rough calculations from tables 1 and 2 give us the following figures. Maḥmūd reigned from March 998 to April 1030, which is 386 months. He probably stayed in Ghazni for approximately 165 months, which is 43% of his whole reign. His longest consecutive stay

at Ghazni was 20 months. However, the sources for Maḥmūd's reign do not seem to concern themselves with minor trips. Thus, the figures given here should be considered as indicating a minimum length of his absence from Ghazni. As for Mas'ūd, we can rely on the detailed account of Bayhaqī. His reign lasted from October 1030 to January 1040, which makes 124 months, during which he travelled nine times. He stayed in Ghazni for 44 months, which is about 35% of the whole reign. His longest consecutive stay in Ghazni was 12 months, but there is a lacuna in Bayhaqī's chronicle for a certain period in 1034, about which we have no information. Thus these figures for the reign of Mas'ūd should also be considered a minimum. The early Ghaznavids, despite all their campaigning, spent between a third and half of their reign in Ghazni.²¹ The special status of the city also is shown by other factors, such as the presence there of the royal household and the royal treasury.²² Gardīzī says that Maḥmūd had hoarded a considerable amount of treasure in the fortresses and mountain outposts not far from Ghazni.²³ As has already been noted by Bosworth, when Mas'ūd was about to move eastward to accede to the throne, Ḥurra-yi Khuttalī, his aunt, wrote to him from Ghazni that that city was the heart (*ʿaṣl*) of the state, Khurasan next in importance, and the rest subsidiary.²⁴ And when the same Mas'ūd prepared an expedition against the Saljuqs in 1038, he left his sons, wives and armies to guard Ghazni.²⁵

Ẓahīr al-Dīn Muḥammad Babur, the founder of the Moghul dynasty, wondered why the powerful Ghaznavid sultans chose Ghazni as their capital, which was in ruins in his time, even though they possessed several large cities in Khurasan.²⁶ The answer to this question is the city's excellent position for the sultans' frequent travels in various directions, as the tables and maps show well. Fig. 2 shows the frequently used routes for the travels, which form a 'figure-eight'. The western half of this 'figure-eight' is the road circling the Central Afghan Mountain Massif, which is called the "Old World's Eastern Roundabout" by Arnold Toynbee.²⁷ Several important trade routes join this circular road from Central Asia, South Asia, and West

²¹ David Durand-Guédy (2010, 75-76) employs a similar approach in discussing the relation between the Saljuq rulers and the city of Isfahan.

²² Durand-Guédy points out the presence of the treasury at Isfahan as a marking feature of the exalted status of the city as the royal capital of Malik-Shāh (Durand-Guédy 2010, 80-1).

²³ Gardīzī, 438, trans. 111. See Inaba 2004, 105.

²⁴ Bayhaqī, 13, trans. 1: 95; Bosworth 1973, 235.

²⁵ Bayhaqī, 736-7, trans. 2: 237.

²⁶ Babur, 214, trans. Mano 218, trans. Beveridge, 219. On the Ghazni of the pre- and early Islamic period, see Bombaci 1957; Bosworth 1973, 36ff.; Inaba 1994, 249ff.

²⁷ Toynbee 1961, 4.

Asia. The eastern half connects east Afghanistan with the Lower Indus Valley, Gandhara and Punjab, and this region seems to have become increasingly important after the western half was lost to the Saljuqs. This appears in an anecdote related by Fakhr-i Mudabbir (early thirteenth century). In his book dedicated to the sultan of Delhi Shams al-Dīn Iltutmush, Fakhr-i Mudabbir says that, in the reign of Sultan Ibrāhīm b. Mas'ūd (r. 1059-1099), there was a famine in Ghazni and the people fled from the city because of the lack of food and the steep rise in prices. The sultan ordered that the situation immediately be settled and the people unanimously answered that no one could do that but Sharīf Abu'l-Faraj, the great grandfather of Fakhr-i Mudabbir. However, Abu'l-Faraj was on his annual inspection tour around Ghaznavid territory at that time. His itinerary started from Bust and Tigīnābād, visiting Mustung, Quṣḍār, Sīwistān, Uchch, and Multan, and finally returning to Ghazni.²⁸ This itinerary roughly corresponds to the eastern half of the 'figure-eight'.

As is obvious from the map, the city of Ghazni is located midway on the road between Kabul and Bust, and that road connects the two circular roads. In his discussion on the imperial policy of the early Ghaznavids, Bosworth clearly shows that the dynasty employed different strategies towards its western and eastern territories, namely, collecting taxes in Khurasan while launching military expeditions to north-west India. Thus the zone connecting those two areas of disparate character that made up the Ghaznavid state was all the more significant—that is, the intersection of the 'figure-eight'.

The presence of the royal household and the treasure must have intensified the centripetal force of the royal capital Ghazni at the centre of the 'figure-eight' around which sultans, armies, merchants, etc. moved.

Royal Residences

To consider the relationship between the sultans' travels and the cities they visited, it is necessary to know something of the nature of the accommodation they used and their activities in their resting places. The case of Mas'ūd's travels will be examined here on the basis of the evidence provided by Bayhaqī.

Accommodation varied from city to city. In the places Mas'ūd visited for the purpose of a military expedition, he usually set up a large tent called *sarāparda* and stayed there.²⁹ The *sarāparda* was surrounded by smaller

²⁸ Fakhr-i Mudabbir, 103-8; cf. Shafi 1938, 200-3.

²⁹ The *sarāparda*, which is translated by Bosworth as 'camp enclosure', was usually set up at the first station on the road to the destination, before the sultan actually commenced

tents (*nīmṭark*) set up for *dīwāns*, so that the spot could function as the palace or headquarters. In the large cities of Khurasan, however, the places for the sultan's sojourn were almost always fixed. He stayed at the palace by 'Abd al-A'lā Gate in Balkh, at the palace in the Bāgh-i Shādyākh in Nīshāpūr, at the palace in the Bāgh-i 'Adnānī in Herat and at the famous palace of Lashkari Bazar in Bust, which is mentioned by Bayhaqī as the palace of Dasht-i Chūghān or Dasht-i Lughān, one *farsang* from Bust.³⁰

Regrettably, not much is known about the physical details of these residences or palaces. However, unlike the cases of later Turko-Mongol rulers who stayed in a great tent set up in *bāghs* outside the city walls, Mas'ūd seemed to have stayed in established buildings. Bayhaqī says that the sultan himself planned and designed the buildings for the palaces at Nīshāpūr, Balkh and Lashkari Bazar.³¹ The same was true of the palace of Ghazni. There, Mas'ūd built a new palace for himself and celebrated its completion sitting on the newly installed gold throne.³² Excavations at Ghazni and Lashkari Bazar have revealed magnificent palaces built of brick and stone.³³ The Persian words used by Bayhaqī to describe these residences are *binā'* and *kūshk*, which probably indicate an established and fixed construction.³⁴ The latter word is also used in an anecdote about Mas'ūd's secret pavilion, which he had built in Herat when he was a governor there as a royal prince.³⁵ This pavilion was furnished not only with a special device using water pipes to cool inside the room, but also with murals of various figures of men and women engaged in sexual intercourse.

As to the spatial relations between these palaces and the walled cities, our evidence is also limited. The palace of Mas'ūd III (r. 1099-1115) at Ghazni was located less than two kilometres to the northeast of the old walled city, beneath the Bala Hisar,³⁶ but we know nothing about where the palace of Mas'ūd I was situated. The site of Lashkari Bazar is about six kilometres

the journey. See Bayhaqī, 460, 659, trans. 1: 476, 2: 171. On *sarāparda*, see Durand-Guédy's contribution to this volume.

³⁰ Bayhaqī, 41, 54, 109, 181, 558, 659, trans. 1: 119, 130, 177, 236, 2: 87, 172. The site of Lashkari Bazar lies in the vicinity of present-day Lashkargāh (ancient Bust).

³¹ Ibid., 181, trans. 1: 236.

³² Ibid., 652-3, trans. 2: 166.

³³ On Ghazni see Sceratto 1959. On Lashkari Bazar, see Schlumberger et al. 1978. See also Terry Allen (1988; 1989; 1990) who discusses the *qal'a* of Bust together with the palace of Lashkari Bazar.

³⁴ Durand-Guédy (2010, 99) discusses the word *kūshk* as used in Saljuq Isfahan, and suggests that the *kūshk* there might be a light structure of one storey with a terrace.

³⁵ Bayhaqī, 145, trans. 1: 205.

³⁶ Bombaci 1959, 18-20; Scerrato 1959, figs. 16, 17.

(nearly one *farsang*) from the site of Qal'a-yi Bust. As Shādyākh at that time was also outside the walled city of Nishāpūr,³⁷ we may assume that royal palaces, or royal constructions, in big cities were generally outside the city wall. Be that as it may, at least in the Early Ghaznavids period, the sultans resided in palaces, either inside the city, or outside, or both.

THE PURPOSES OF THE SULTANS' TRAVELS

In tables 1 and 2, 'M' in the right-hand column indicates journeys that were planned for, or resulted in, military conquests and warfare. A glance will tell us that most of the sultans' travels were undertaken with military intentions in mind. Two reasons can be adduced. First, this was a period of expansion for the Early Ghaznavids, as their consecutive triumphs in the east and west stimulated and encouraged further military expeditions.³⁸ Second, the sources, particularly for the reign of Maḥmūd, seem to concentrate on military achievements, or more precisely, on Muslim triumphs over infidels. As mentioned above, the records of Maḥmūd's minor trips have not come down to us, so that the proportion of military expeditions to the total number of his travels seems particularly high.³⁹

Seasonal migration also seems to be included among the travels mentioned in the tables. Wintering in places other than Ghazni was probably the purpose of journeys 27, 36 (by Maḥmūd) and 44 (by Mas'ūd). Military purposes and seasonal migrations may have been combined in the case of Indian expeditions, which, as the tables show, set off in autumn or early winter and finished in spring. The average temperature in Ghazni drops to below zero in winter. Avoiding this freezing climate and staying in much more moderate conditions at Balkh, or in the southern part of Afghanistan, which is called *garmsīr* ('warm place') in the sources, or in Gandhara and Punjab, fighting the Indians, seems to have been common in the Early Ghaznavid period.

This pattern of migration was not peculiar to the Early Ghaznavids and is also found to have been followed by earlier dynasties in the region. From the account of the Chinese monk Xuanzang who visited these parts in the first half of the seventh century, it appears that the rulers of the Kāpīśī

³⁷ The excavation at Shādyakh, a few kilometres south of modern Nishāpūr, has been on-going since 2000. It is reported that "some architectural works related to government mansions together with their decorations" have been uncovered (Kangī et al. 2007, 184). The exact locations of the constructions at Balkh and Herat are not yet known.

³⁸ Inaba 1994, 210.

³⁹ These military expeditions have been dealt with thoroughly by Nazim (1971, 42-122).

dynasty used to winter in India and spend the summer on the plain north of Kabul.⁴⁰ Almost 80 years after Xuanzang, when the Korean monk Huichao visited these regions, the Turkshahs of Kabul had replaced the Kāpīśī dynasty in the Kabul River Valley. Huichao reports that the king stayed at Kabul in summer and in Gandhara (at Wayhind—present-day Hund) in winter.⁴¹ And, on the basis of al-Balādhurī's description, the ruler of the kingdom of Zābulistān, which emerged almost simultaneously with the Turkshah kingdom, also seems to have migrated seasonally between Ghazni and Qandahar.⁴²

These pieces of evidence bespeak two historical patterns of seasonal migration in East Afghanistan: one in the east-west direction between the plain of Kabul and Gandhara, the other in the north-south direction between Ghazni and Qandahar. Johannes Humlum reports that the same two kinds of migration pattern could be observed in the Ghilzai tribe in the mid-twentieth century.⁴³ While there is no clear evidence of east-west seasonal migration in the sources on the Ghaznavids, migration between Ghazni and the eastern *garmsīr* (Bust, Qandahar area) can be inferred from the very existence of Lashkari Bazar. The huge remains of the palatial complex clearly indicate the importance of that area for the Early Ghaznavids.

During his travels, Mas'ūd hosted parties and enjoyed 'sightseeing' (Bayhaqī uses the term *tamāshā*) and hunting. Bayhaqī also shows him granting audiences to the local people. The most detailed account of such an audience is given on the occasions of Mas'ūd's trip from Rayy to Ghazni to make his accession to the throne. At Nishāpūr, Herat and Balkh local notables came ahead of him with plenty of donations (*nithār*) and were awarded expensive robes of honour (*khil'a*).⁴⁴

Islamic festivals such as *'īd al-fitr* and *'īd al-aḍḥā*, and Iranian festivals such as *nawrūz*, *mihragān* and *sada* were celebrated *en route*, so frequent were the sultans' travels. In addition, in the cities through which the royal

⁴⁰ See Beal 1983, 1: 56-7. Xuanzang quotes a legend dealing with the time of Kanishka the Great, but it can probably be interpreted as a reflection of the custom of the Kāpīśī dynasty of Xuanzang's time. Kāpīśī is the old name of the Koh Daman plain to the north of Kabul, at the foot of the Hindu Kush. The capital of ancient Kāpīśī has been identified with the site of Begram. See e.g. Fussman 2008, 119.

⁴¹ Kuwayama 1992, 40; Yang Han-sung et al. 1984, 50-1.

⁴² al-Balādhurī, 494, trans. 2:153. The ruler is named as Rutbil in the Islamic sources, which must be a corrupted form of *eltābār*. See Inaba 2005, 2.

⁴³ Humlum 1959, 283, 288.

⁴⁴ Bayhaqī, 50, 54, 110, trans. 1: 126, 130, 177.

cortege passed, ceremonies were held in which local people not only participated but for which they also bore the responsibility to prepare. For instance, when Mas'ūd entered Nīshāpūr in 1030, it was the local people, on their own initiative, who prepared the welcome ceremony for the embassy from the Caliphate. Bayhaqī relates:

The people of the city came along to the Judge (*qādī*) Šā'id and said that when they had heard that the Amīr [Mas'ūd] had reached the neighbourhood of Nīshāpūr, they had wanted to erect festival platforms with arches and make a very joyful occasion. But the mayor had said, "That would not be fitting, for a great calamity has befallen the Amīr through the death of Sultan Maḥmūd, may God illuminate his proof. However desirable such celebrations might seem—and I am telling you this at his express command—it must be left to another occasion." But a sufficient amount of time had passed, and every day things were improving and turning out better; and now the envoy from Baghdad was approaching with all our wishes in tow. "If the Judge (*qādī*) sees fit," they said, "let him request the Amīr to bring joy to the hearts of the masses of people by the lord's revoking his previous ban and allowing a celebration to be prepared on an unlimited scale."⁴⁵

At the request of Qadi Šā'id, Mas'ūd gave his permission. The townspeople then decorated the whole street with arches and domes from the gate of the city to the Friday mosque. And when the caliphal embassy passed along that street, they scattered money and sweets, while acrobats (*bāzīgarān*) performed on the street. Moreover, they brought 20,000 dirhams of silver to the guesthouse (*sarāy*) where the embassy was staying as a gift. Mas'ūd, being extremely pleased, gave 200,000 dirhams to the poor people of Nīshāpūr.

Another instance is the welcome ceremony for the bride who arrived from Gurgān to Nīshāpūr where Sultan Mas'ūd was staying in May 1033. Bayhaqī says:

'Abd al-Jabbār, the Grand Vizier's son, arrived with the bride and the stipulated tribute, having successfully exacted all the demands and having concluded a satisfactory contractual agreement with Bā Kālījār; and the Amīr was very favourably impressed by him. He ordered that the envoys from Gurgān should be received that very day with due decorum. The womenfolk of the leading citizens of Nīshāpūr, including those of the *ra'īs*, *qadis*, *faqīhs*, the notables and the *'amils*, were taken in well-arranged litters to where the litter bearing Bā Kālījār's daughter had been stationed, about half-a-parasang from the town, and the Gurgānis, including her *khādīms*, were brought into

⁴⁵ Ibid., 48-9, trans. 1: 125.

the town in a courteously ceremonial fashion ... The next day, the Amir gave orders that a large quantity of gold, jewels and other rare and precious things should be brought there. There were sumptuous festive gatherings and the womenfolk of the leading citizens of Nīshāpūr were all conveyed there. They offered their presents and dined there, and then they returned home, but the bride, who remained inside the litter, was shielded from all....⁴⁶

The same kind of ceremony took place when the daughter of the Qarakhanid ruler Qādir Khān came to Ghazni as a bride in September 1034, when many women of the notable families of the city attended.⁴⁷

Allowing that the principal objective of Bayhaqī was the description of extraordinary events, it must not have been uncommon for the sultan to celebrate ceremonies and festivals on his journeys, especially in the cities that he visited regularly. Although there are some anecdotes about the direct complaints of the people to the Ghaznavid sultans through the *maẓālim* court,⁴⁸ we have very few signs in the contemporary sources of direct contact between the mass of local people and the sultan except during these ceremonies.

Royal travel was also an occasion for raising taxes. It has been pointed out by Barthold and Bosworth that the Early Ghaznavid sultans paid great attention to the steady and smooth raising of taxes from Khurasan, to which the frequent travels of the sultans may have made a significant contribution.⁴⁹ This remind us of the system known as *poliudie* ('rounds') of the Kievan Rus' in the tenth century. The Kievan prince made annual rounds through the subordinated lands of the Slavs in winter to collect tributes.⁵⁰

This kind of itinerant royal court has a long history in Eurasia and the periodic movements of the Achaemenid emperors represent one of the oldest known examples.⁵¹ Although classical authors such as Strabo and Diodorus explain these travels as being for climatic reasons, Pierre Briant rightly underlines the political intention behind them.⁵² Noteworthy, for

⁴⁶ Ibid., 507-8, trans. 2: 43-4 (transliteration modified).

⁴⁷ Ibid., 547-9, trans. 2: 78-80.

⁴⁸ See for instance, Nizām al-Mulk, 62, 86-87, 97-98, 112, 326-327, trans. 46-47, 64-65, 72, 83-84, 241-242; 'Awfī, 371, 383.

⁴⁹ Barthold 1977, 287; Bosworth 1973, 86.

⁵⁰ Constantine, 63; cf. Martin 1995, 12. Ibn Rusta (145) and Gardīzī (591) also report that the Rūs' were constantly raiding the Saqlāvs to requisition food supplies (as well as taking captives).

⁵¹ There are many instances of itinerant royal court other than those referred to here. For the Ottonian and Salian cases, see Bernhardt 1993, 45 ff.; for Charlemagne, see McKittrick 2008, 139 ff. Cf. also Melville 1990; Durand-Guédy 2011, 228 & n. 44.

⁵² Briant 1988, 270.

instance, is the ritual exchange of gifts between the emperor and the people of the Zagros. The latter gave presents and tributes to the emperor, who in exchange donated more valuable royal gifts to them, through which relations between the two parties were annually renewed.⁵³ Despite the great separation in time and/or in space, such comparisons are not completely meaningless.⁵⁴ The rituals performed by the Achaemenid emperors depicted by Briant well remind us of the Ghaznavid examples mentioned above, such as welcome ceremonies for embassies and royal brides, and general audiences in which local people participated with donations (*nithār*) and were rewarded with valuable robes of honour. Briant compares the spectacles of the Achaemenid emperors' entry to the big cities to the 'entrée royale' of the French kings of the sixteenth century. The enthusiasm and excitement of the people on the occasions of the 'entrée royale' of both the Achaemenid emperors and the French kings resemble those of the people of Nīshāpūr who welcomed Mas'ūd in 1030.

What can be deduced from such comparisons is some kind of common factor underlying contact between the government and the people. As for Renaissance France, the kings governed their territory through the connections they had established with various 'intermediary corporations', by according them privileges. Holding an itinerant royal court could have served the purpose of directly reasserting the king's position and power over the people.⁵⁵ Briant quotes Xenophon saying that the periodic movements of the Persian emperors was "a remedy for the immenseness of the Empire", that is, they travelled to assure real control of the vast territory and win over the people.⁵⁶

Likewise early Ghaznavid sultans must have continuously moved around and shown their power in order to establish control in their vast territories. Significantly, when the Saljuqs in Khurasan became problematic for the Ghaznavids, Mas'ūd had been intending to lead an expedition against the Indian fort of Hānsī,⁵⁷ but several high-ranking officers strongly objected and proposed that he move toward Khurasan instead of India.⁵⁸ As seen in several accounts of Bayhaqī, the personal presence of the sultan was probably believed to be the best remedy for disturbances in the prov-

⁵³ Ibid., 256-7, 271.

⁵⁴ Bernhardt (1993, 46) describes the common characteristics observed in societies that had the 'itinerant kingship'.

⁵⁵ Cf. Solnon 1987, 56-7; Koyama 2006, 52-4.

⁵⁶ Briant 1988, 270.

⁵⁷ Probably identical with present-day city of Hansi in Haryana Province, India.

⁵⁸ Bayhaqī, 700, trans. 2: 205.

inces.⁵⁹ The importance of the physical presence of the ruler can be linked to the perception of the rulers as special human beings endowed with divine power.⁶⁰

Concluding Remarks

The *poliudie* of Kievan Rus' were performed before the establishment of powerful royal authority.⁶¹ The itinerant royal courts in France took place on the eve of the institution of the absolute monarchy. These points suggest that the 'itinerant royal court' is to be seen as related not only to the (possible) nomadic background of the rulers, but also to the process of state formation and the development of social structure in the medieval period.

In the case of dynasties of nomadic origin, the nomadic tradition or mentality occupied an important place in the purposes of the royal travels. For example a study on the imperial tours of the Northern Wei, a dynasty established by the ex-nomadic Tuoba clan of the Xianbei tribe in fourth-century China, shows that, until the mid-fifth century, discernible nomadic elements were included among the purposes of the tours.⁶² Nevertheless, we must not overlook the fact that, in various polities whose origins had little relation to either nomadic society or tribal tradition, fairly frequent travels on the part of the rulers and the courts are observed. Broader examination of the examples, paying equal attention to both nomadic and non-nomadic facets, will open up the possibility of further comparative study of this 'itinerant royal court' model.⁶³ For instance, like the Northern Wei

⁵⁹ Ibid., 685, trans. ii, 193.

⁶⁰ The relationship between kingship and prophethood (and between *mulk* and *imāma* in the Islamic world from the ninth century onward) have been discussed by scholars such as Marlow (1995), Al-Azmeh (2001, especially in Chap. 7), and Crone (2004, esp. 145-64). As these authors clearly point out, kingship (*mulk*) became so exalted that state servants such as Bayhaqī and Nizām al-Mulk omitted to mention even the existence of caliphs in their writings. See Bayhaqī, 104-5; Nizām al-Mulk, 11-2. For Bayhaqī, prophets (not caliphs!) and kings were equally important, both being endowed with powers bestowed by God. See Bayhaqī, 117-8; cf. Bosworth 1977, 63; Meisami 1989: 67 ff.; Marlow 1995, 107.

⁶¹ This system had been implemented in the earliest stage of formation of the state of Kievan Rus', but was abandoned by Olga, the grandmother of Vladimir I as early as the mid-tenth century.

⁶² Sato 1984. Sato discusses whether the process of sinification of the dynasty is reflected in the change in the frequency and purposes of the expeditions, and connects the basic character of the rulers' travels with their Inner Asian tradition.

⁶³ In this respect, it may be necessary to compare the Early Ghaznavids with the Later Ghaznavids, whose history has already been described in detail by Bosworth (1977). However, apart from a number of military conquests achieved by the sultans, we have little information about the travels of rulers and their courts in the Later Ghaznavid period. From

rulers mentioned above, the emperors of the Tang dynasty also made frequent travels, among which special importance was given to the regular visits to the subsidiary capital, Luoyan. It has been argued that the Tang emperors had to make these visits because their royal capital, Chang'an, was rather poorly supplied with goods, including food, compared with Luoyan, where supplies from the south was readily available thanks to the river transport system developed by previous dynasties. In addition, transportation between the two capitals was not without difficulties.⁶⁴ Interestingly, this financial need for the ruler to travel can be discerned in the medieval European itinerant royal court too. Instead of ordering local people to transport foodstuffs to the capital, sixteenth-century French kings toured their territory to be entertained and supplied with essential goods by local lords and notables.⁶⁵ Reinforcing the need for such trips was the undeveloped domestic transportation system, as well as poor security on the roads. Analysis of the provision and transportation of supplies has the potential to add an interesting perspective to further research on itinerant royal courts in the pre-modern Islamic world.

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the inspection tour of Abu'l-Faraj in the reign of Ibrāhīm, mentioned above, it can be understood that some of the functions of rulers' travels that have been discussed above were delegated to a high-ranking officer. Be that as it may, we still know nothing about the ceremonial and ritual aspects of royal tours in that period.

⁶⁴ See Chen 2001, 162. Shi Yuntao (1994) draws attention to the correlation between natural disasters, such as drought and famine, which frequently occurred in Guanzhong, and the emperors' visits to Luoyang.

⁶⁵ See Solnon 1987, 59; Koyama 2006, 43. See also McKitterick (2008, 171-78) examination of the economic background of the royal travels in Early Medieval Europe.

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CHAPTER THREE

FROM TENTS TO CITY. THE ROYAL COURT OF THE WESTERN QARAKHANIDS BETWEEN BUKHARA AND SAMARQAND

Yury Karev

The Qarakhanids (999-1212) were the first Turkic dynasty after the Arab conquest to come from the steppe and take control of the old urban centres of Transoxania. The question addressed in this article is how and where these new rulers settled. We shall deal with the Western Qaghanate (1040-1212) and the situation in its two major cities, Bukhara and Samarqand.

Ten years ago, little was known about the physical reality of court life in Samarqand, the major city of Transoxania (*Māwarā' al-nahr*) under the Qarakhanids (see Fig. 1). The excavations on the lower terrace of the citadel of old Samarqand on the Afrasiab (*Afrāsiyāb*) site undertaken by the French-Uzbek archaeological mission (dir. Franz Grenet and Muhammad-zhon Isamiddinov) have provided an unexpected amount of information on the subject, ranging from the type of settlement established by the ruling clan within a given space in the city's fortress to outstanding depictions of the Qarakhanid khan.

I shall base my analysis on the main results of the excavations I have directed on this site since 1991 as a member of the French-Uzbek archaeological mission, in collaboration with Anvar Atakhodzhaev, member of the Samarqand Institute of Archaeology. As is usual, the introduction of new original (and not fully published) material permits a re-analysis of the data already available, both written and archaeological, from a new perspective. This chapter also aims to retrace a particular aspect of the history of the Western Qarakhanids: their moving towards and into the city. This process took quite some time, starting generations after the conquest, and came to an end only in the very last generation of Qarakhanid rule in Transoxania. Generally speaking, the Qarakhanids initially ruled 'from the outside', then constructed lightly built residences in suburban areas (attested for Bukhara and highly probable in Samarqand), and later moved into the cities and even into the citadel (attested for both cities). Methodologically, the

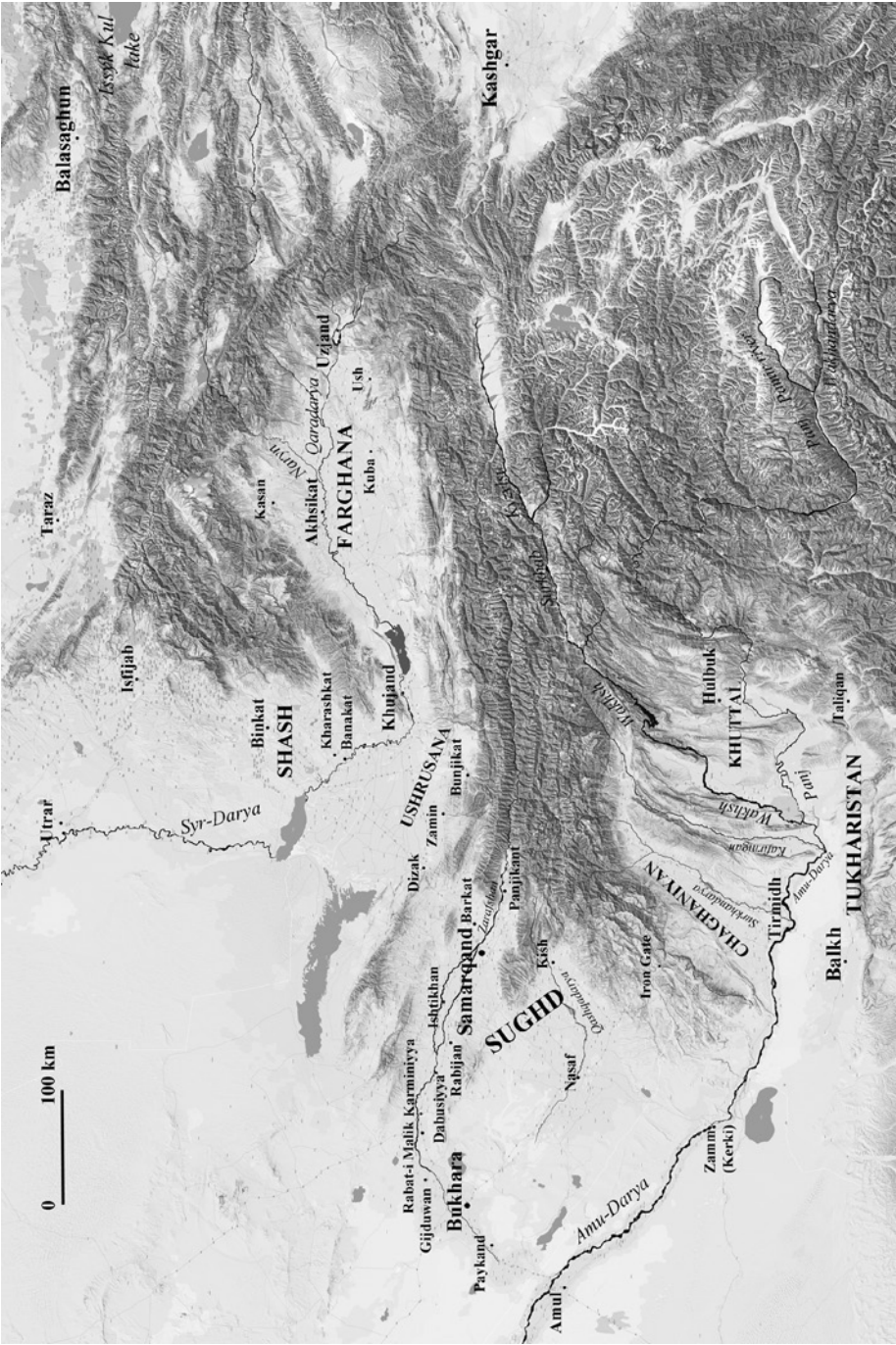


Fig. 1. Map of Transoxania/Mawarā' al-nahr (8th-13th centuries).

chapter uses both archaeological sources (mostly from excavations in Samarqand) and textual sources (including *belles-lettres*, *waqf* documents and poetry). It will retrace the chronology of Qarakhanid building activity with a particular focus on the question of where the Qarakhanid rulers resided.

The starting point for the analysis is determined by one established fact: that the intensive use by the Qarakhanid ruling clan of the Samarqand citadel as their residence within the urban structure began in the second half of the twelfth century, i.e. a century and a half after the leaders of the tribal confederation, mainly Qarluq, conquered central Transoxania. This is not the place to go into detail about more than two centuries of Qarakhanid history,¹ but some new observations on what may be called 'vectors of residential movement' will be made. In addition, the essential study by the late Boris Kochnev on the numismatic history of the dynasty, published in 2006,² fills an enormous gap in our patchy knowledge of the internal organisation of the ruling Qarakhanid clans, their political relations, the international context and the chronology of events.

It should be stated from the beginning that we do not possess sufficient direct information on the nomadic way of life in the Qarakhanid territories. In other words, we do not have a complete and detailed description of seasonal movements, or of the division of the occupied territories between different nomadic groups and their livestock. Nor do we have a coherent picture of the 'arborescent' structure of the tribes that constituted the confederation under Qarakhanid dominion and, in particular, we do not know how they interacted during and after the conquest of Transoxania. It is virtually impossible, for example, to make a prosopographic analysis such as can be done for a much earlier period—the eighth century, when Arab tribes colonized central Transoxania. On the one hand, we may assume that a considerable part of the population that would come under Qarakhanid rule at the end of the tenth century were practising pastoral nomadism. On the other, the migration that accompanied the military conquest may also have involved non-nomadic populations in the regions from the Chu valley and Eastern Turkistan, who were interacting with

¹ The bibliography on the Qarakhanids is growing constantly. For an excellent overview of previous and current studies, see Paul 2001 (see also the other contributions and the general bibliography). For a general introduction, see Davidovich, 1998; Paul, 2002.

² Kochnev 2006. See also Kochnev, 1995b and 1997. Compared with other dynasties, numismatic evidence is of more primary importance for Qarakhanid history and is in many cases the only source available.

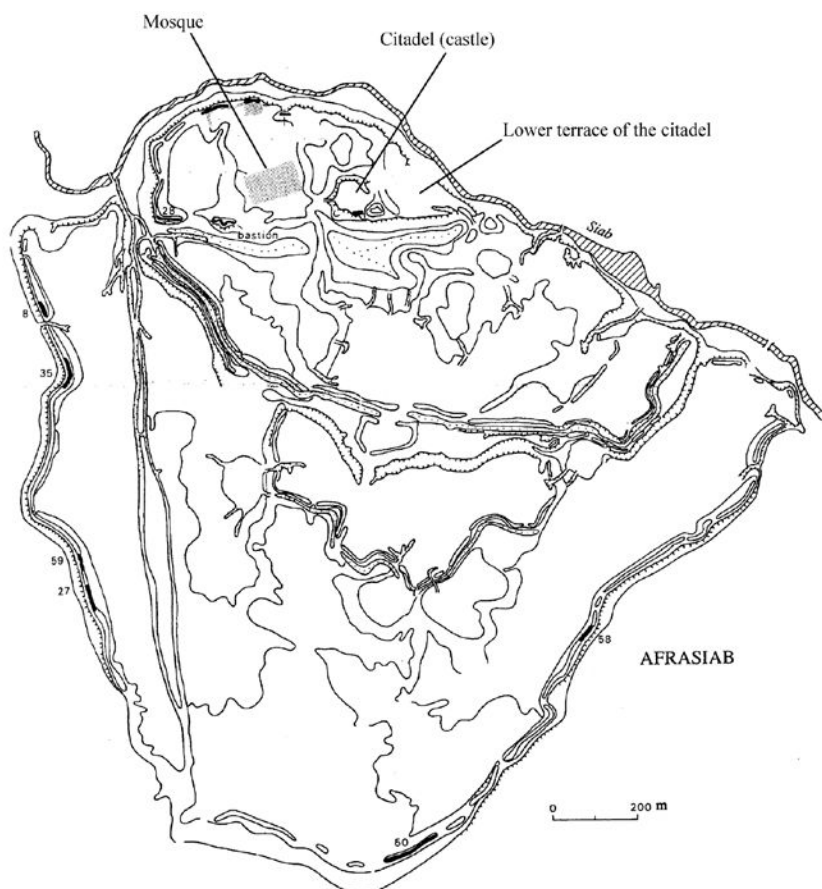


Fig. 2. Afrasiab site, general plan based on the 1885 plan by Vasil'ev and Kuzmin. (Drawing by Guy Lecuyot, courtesy of Bernard et al. 1990, 357)

various nomadic leaders much earlier than the arrival on the political scene of the ancestors of the Qarakhanids. The proportions of the various social strata under early Qarakhanid rule are, however, very difficult to assess.³ That being said, a thorough analysis of all available data allows us to retrace

³ Much needed research about the relationship between the Qarakhanids and the urban population should take into account the situation in the Eastern Qaghanate (Kashgar, Balāsāghūn, etc.), and particularly the available data on Turkic tribes before and after Islam, in order to make a comparative analysis within a much broader historical context, e.g. the Türgesh and the cities in Semirech'e/Yetisu, the Saljuqs in the lower reaches of Syr Darya and later in Khurasan).



Fig. 3. Satellite photo of the Afrasiab site. (Google Earth)

at least the main stages in the process of transition of the Qarakhanid ruling clan from the nomadic to the sedentary mode of life.

A NEW SOURCE OF INFORMATION: ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXCAVATIONS IN THE CITADEL OF SAMARQAND

Right from its foundation between the seventh and sixth centuries BC, the site of Afrasiab (old Samarkand) occupied an area of almost 220 hectares (see Figs 2 and 3). A distinguishable northern part of the site formed, from the beginning, the administrative and religious centre of the old city (see Figs 4 and 5). Since this part was protected by a special line of walls—the existing topographical relief clearly indicates one particularly high structure with steep slopes—its function as a citadel castle is not in doubt. The citadel itself is divided into two parts: a donjon situated on the highest point of the site and a lower area or terrace to the east of the castle (see



Fig. 4. Northern part of the Afrasiab site studied/excavated by the French-Uzbek Archaeological Mission in Samarkand. (Different plans unified by Cl. Rapin, MAFOuz de Sogdiane)

1. 'Sacred area' with the complex of the eighth century and the mosque above it. 2. Citadel/donjon. 3. Lower terrace of the citadel with the Abū Muslim palace from the middle of the eighth century.



Fig. 5. Satellite photo of the northern part. (Google Earth)

Figs 6, 7, 8). This type of structure, with a two-part citadel, is well known from other sites in Central Asia and this functional feature already existed in pre-Islamic times. In Penjikent (Panjikant) and Warakhshā (Farakhshā), for example, the royal palaces were constructed near the donjon.⁴

At this point, I need to emphasise briefly the functional meaning of the place where our excavations started in 1991, and continue until now. The city is obviously a dynamic structure. The same site within the city walls may have been occupied, at various points in history, by completely different social groups ranging from the local aristocracy to craftsmen. The prestigious and expensive city quarters in the centre might become less attractive to wealthy citizens over time, leading them to move to the suburbs, and vice-versa. However, there is at least one place whose initial function rarely changes, regardless of the historical period: the citadel. It

⁴ This fact was the main reason for starting our excavation on the lower terrace of the citadel on the Afrasiab site. The initial idea was put forward by Ol'ga Inevatkina and Paul Bernard, who considered this site as a place where the palace of the Achaemenid satrap may have been situated (for references see Karev 2000, 274).



Fig. 7. View of the citadel from the north. (Photo Y. Karev, MAFOuz de Sogdiane)



Fig. 8. View of the lower terrace of the citadel from the east. (Photo Y. Karev, MAFOuz de Sogdiane)

is the most secure part of the town's fortification system, designed to protect the authorities and the townsfolk from external threats. (The last time the citadel of old Samarqand served as a final stronghold for the defenders of the city was in 1220, when it was besieged by Chinggis Khan's troops.⁵) On another level, a citadel is also built to ensure the loyalty of the city's population. Technically, however, the citadel's inner space could have been used in a variety of ways. The pre-Islamic Sogdian kings, the Arab governors, the Samanid emirs, and finally the Qarakhanid khans, lived in different political and social environments, and their approach to the city's fortification depended directly on how far the state was exposed to external and internal threats at any given time.

This is why the area in question can provide new data on political power not only through 'positive' archaeology (discovery of the remains of palace or administrative buildings), but also from 'negative' archaeology (the lack of construction activity, periods of disuse characterised by the formation of enormous holes filled with debris or layers dominated by a particular kind of artefact, may inform us about the seat of government more than in other places in the city, where their presence and characteristics tend to be more random). To a certain extent, this particular element of the city's fortification can provide a 'material quintessence' of the historical processes, retraceable by archaeological methods.

It is worth mentioning the first discovery we made on this site: a huge administrative palace, constructed most probably by Abū Muslim, the leader of the Abbasid movement, between 751 and 753 (see Fig. 9). The building measured 75 m by 65 m and the use of massive octagonal columns (2 m in diameter) in both courts (the central and the western) is one of its most distinctive features. All the building's external walls were 3.5 m thick. Symbolically, the palace in Samarqand was a visible manifestation of the newly established Abbasid power.⁶

In the tenth century, the Abū Muslim palace was definitely abandoned. In the late Samanid period, not only were no new buildings constructed comparable to the old palace, but quite the reverse: in the second half of the tenth century the central area of the lower terrace became an enormous rubbish dump—although it was not a simple one. Amongst a huge amount of ceramic shards there were dozens of broken ewers, each with a small hole deliberately made in the bottom. The size and shape of these holes clearly indicate their function. They correspond exactly to the diameter of

⁵ Juwaynī, I: 94-5, trans. I: 120-1.

⁶ See Karev 2000, 2002, 2004.

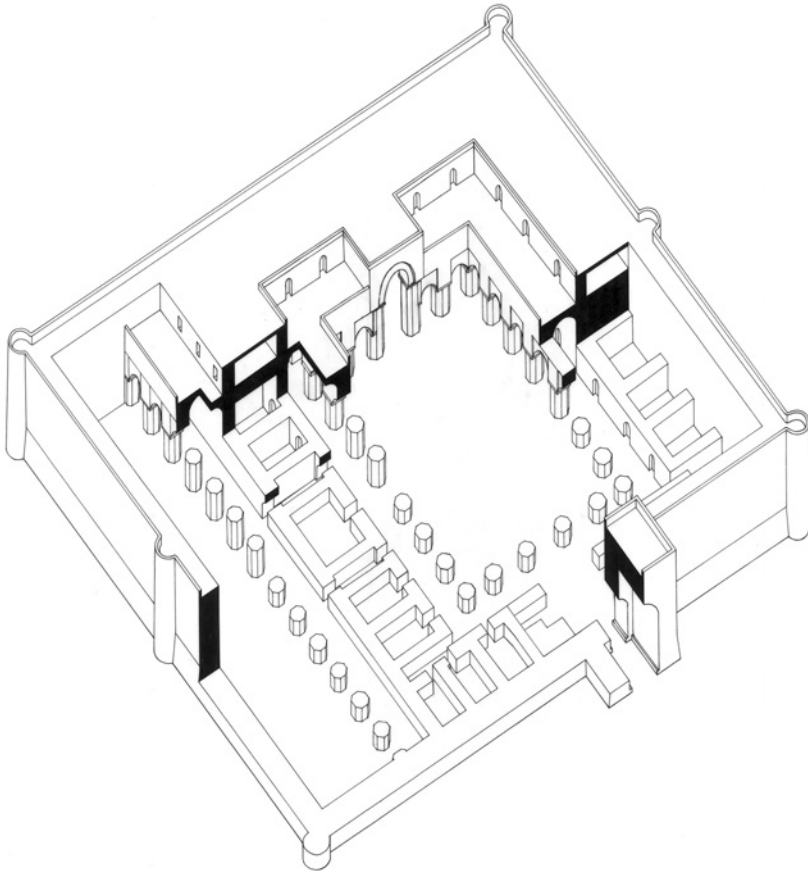


Fig. 9. Reconstruction of the Abū Muslim palace (mid-eighth century). (Drawing by E. Kurkina, MAFOuz de Sogdiane)

the Samanid dirhams or *fulūs*. The ewers served as moneyboxes. There is no doubt that here we are dealing with evidence related to the fiscal services of the Samanid state which were functional until at least the mid tenth century. However, no tangible architectural remains were found that might be interpreted as indicating a large scale simultaneous reorganisation of the inner space on the lower terrace of the citadel, such as we observed for the Abbasid and Qarakhanid periods (see below). It seems that the late Samanids did not use the citadel as their residence. Contextually, this corroborates the information transmitted by Ibn Ḥawqal:

around 358/968-9 he noticed that the *dār al-imāra* in the citadel (*kuhandiz*) had fallen into ruins.⁷ The reason was certainly not only the transfer of the capital city from Samarqand to Bukhara during the reign of the Samanid Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad (r. 279/892-3-295/907). Ibn Ḥawqal also mentions that the Samanid governmental buildings (*dūr al-imāra*) were situated in the *madīna* of Samarqand, in the place called Asfīzār.⁸ It may be possible that some Samanid rulers, particularly in periods of relative stability for the state, were giving less consideration to maintaining the citadel as a 'centre of gravity' in the urban environment. The famous phrase of Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad: "While I live, I am the wall of the district of Bukhara" (*tā man zinda bāsham bāra-yi wilāyat-i Bukhārā man bāsham*)⁹ should not, however, be taken as a direct indication of a widespread policy of abandoning the fortifications within Samanid territories. Ismāʿīl was referring to the huge wall of the Bukhara oasis (known as Kanpirak), maintenance of which had become an enormous burden for the population. While such walls made it possible to 'canalise' the movement of nomad incursions, Ismāʿīl at the height of his power was able to keep his territories safe without them. The fortification of the cities themselves (with the walls of the *rabaḍ*, *madīna/shahristān*, citadel) is another issue that cannot be analysed here. We may note, though, that the Samanids move palace buildings and diwans from the citadel to the city or to the suburbs when the political and economic context allowed. For this reason, the space inside the citadel may have been left partially unoccupied while the stronghold itself continued to play its initial fortification role.

The change of the ruling dynasty from the Samanids to the Qarakhanids in around 1000 AD did not immediately affect the seat of power in Samarqand. Unlike what happened during the eleventh century, from which no traces of simultaneously organised construction activity remain, at least inside the lower terrace, a change occurred in the second half of the twelfth century. The overall plan of the architectural constructions on the lower terrace was radically modified in comparison with those of the Abbasid and Samanid periods. During a period of over 15 years of excavation, we discovered nine architectural units (households), seven of which belonging to one period (second and last in order) (see Fig. 6). We have conventionally called these architectural units 'pavilions'. Their walls were built using a framework technique (*Fachwerk*) and were only 30 cm thick.

⁷ Ibn Ḥawqal, 392.

⁸ Ibid., 393.

⁹ Narshakhī, 48, trans. Frye, 34.

They could be with or without porticoes, but were always focused upon a courtyard with a water drain (called *tashnäu* by the locals) installed in the centre. Auxiliary rooms and living rooms were built around each pavilion. These units were linked together, forming a group of buildings separated by paved streets and, in some cases, walls.

The largest pavilion was built in the northern section of the lower terrace (see Figs 10, 11, 12). It had four porticoes opening onto a square courtyard (6 m by 6 m), entirely paved with square baked bricks of excellent quality. The galleries of the porticoes were 3 m wide. The overall size of the pavilion centred on the inner courtyard is thus 12 m by 12 m. The roof of the porticoes must have rested upon the columns situated at the four corners of the courtyard. A niche, or more likely a small iwan, looking out onto the courtyard, was built in the eastern wall. This was certainly a place of honour where the ruler could have been seated during a reception or a feast. The ceramics and monetary finds in the pavilion can be dated to no earlier than to the second half of the twelfth century, and more plausibly towards the end of that century.¹⁰

This is the only pavilion of those excavated that was decorated with paintings, which leave no doubt about the master of the place. What follows is a very short description of the main elements of the artistic project, leaving aside all questions of art history.¹¹

More than 700 fragments of mural paintings were found scattered on the floor of the pavilion. A team of restorers, headed by M. Reutova (Samarqand Institute of Archaeology), in collaboration with specialists from Russia (V. Fominykh, Hermitage State Museum) and France (G. Fray), are carrying out the meticulous work of restoration, which is far from finished.¹² The main scenes, however, are entirely restored and mounted. Although more than 70% of the paintings are lost, it is possible to reconstruct the key scenes and to understand that the whole artistic project was aimed at exalting the royal figure and the magnificence of his court. From a technical point of view, the painters used an established set of images inserted in a geometrically calculated layout that was transferred onto the walls. To enhance the visual effect of the main figurative scenes painted

¹⁰ On dating, see Karev 2005, 69. All numismatic finds were treated and studied by the co-director of the excavation, A. Atakhodzhaev.

¹¹ For details, see Karev 2003, 2004, 2009.

¹² The first fragments were found when the excavation of the lower terrace received financial support (in 2000-2) from the Max van Berchem Foundation (Switzerland). A breakthrough in the restoration process became possible in 2010-11, thanks to the financial support of the Gerda Henkel Foundation (Germany).

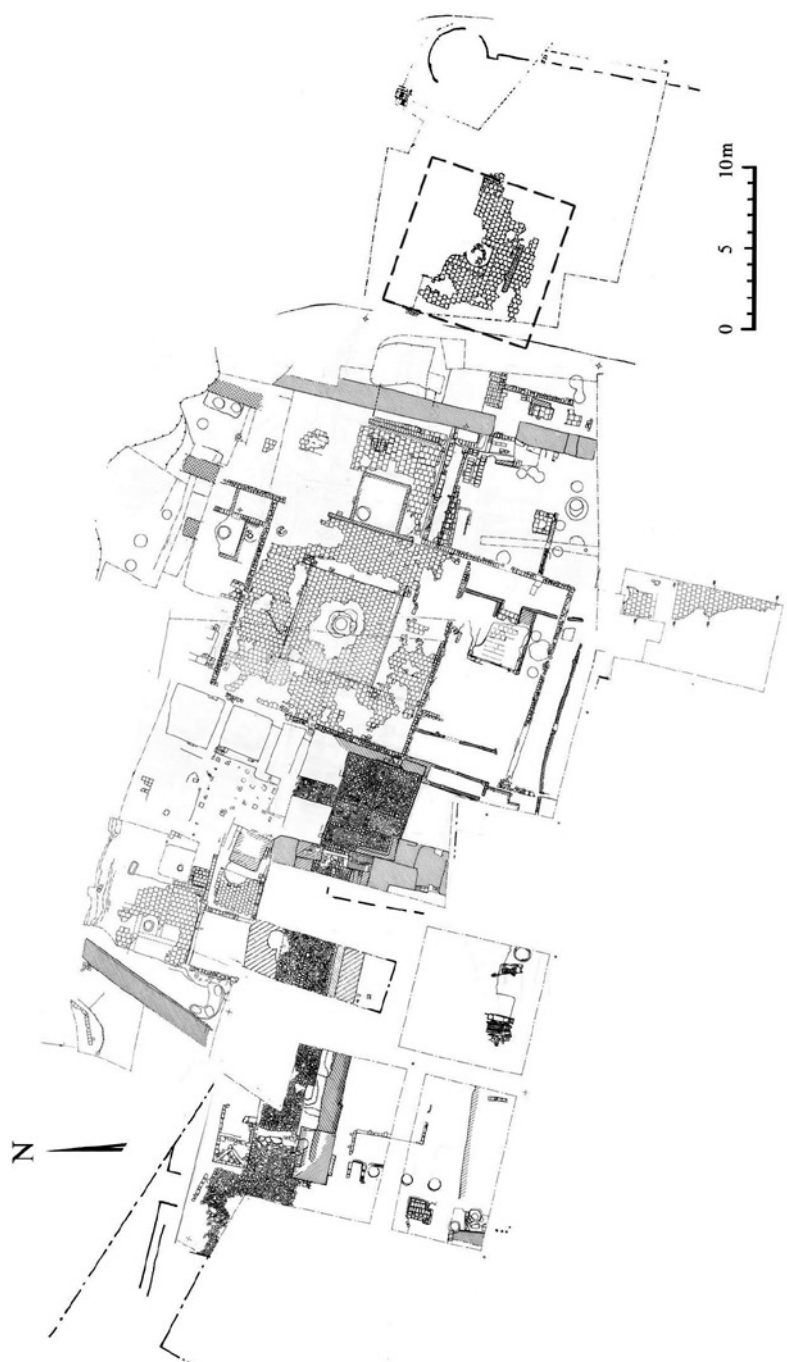


Fig. 10. Main pavilion decorated with paintings, plan of the architectural complex. (Drawing by E. Kurkina and O. Zaitseva, MAFOuz de Sogdiane)



Fig. 11. View of the pavilion from above. (Photo Y. Karev, MAFOuz de Sogdiane)

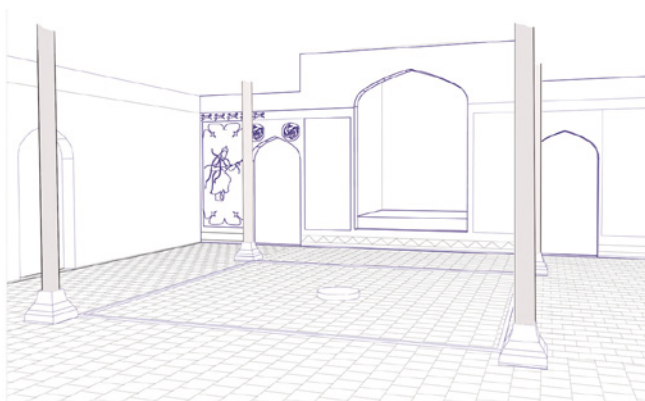


Fig. 12. Reconstruction of the main pavilion, with view of the eastern wall and the throne niche. (Drawing by Y. Karev and O. Zaitseva, MAFOuz de Sogdiane)



Fig. 13. Throne scene. (Drawing by V. Fominykh, MAFOuz de Sogdiane)

within rectangular frames, a number of decorative registers were added. They could be filled with representations of running animals, floral motifs, etc. (see Figs 17, 18, 19). Bands of inscriptions written in monumental *naskh* (some of them being courtly poems in Persian) played an important role in the project (see Fig. 20).

One of the main scenes from the northern wall represents the ruler sitting cross-legged on a throne (see Figs 13, 14). He is the only person to have the privilege of being painted full-face; all the dignitaries and courtiers on both sides and above the throne are in three-quarters view, turning their faces toward the ruler. They are of two different sizes, but all smaller than



Fig. 14. Fragment with the ruler's face (symbolically disfigured). (Photo Y. Karev, MAFOuz de Sogdiane)

their sovereign (a very ancient method of conveying the idea of social hierarchy).

There was no need to paint a throne scene on the eastern wall, as the niche (or iwan) at its centre was designed as the focus of the pavilion: a seat for the real ruler (see Fig. 12). According to our analysis of the preserved fragments and architectural elements of the plan, the eastern wall included four rectangular frames, two on each side, each representing a different human figure moving toward the central throne niche. Four painted attendants might thus 'serve' the actual ruler, sitting inside the iwan. Only one representation of these attendants is fully preserved and the decorative frame (1.5 m by 3 m) within which the figure is painted provides the key measurements for calculating the overall proportions (see Fig. 15). Like the ruler in the throne scene on the northern wall, he is delicately holding an arrow with a double pointed head—without doubt one of the main 'royal' attributes of the Samarqand paintings. He is represented alone, in a stand-



Fig. 15. Representation of the arrow bearer in his frame. (Drawing by M. Reutova, MAFOuz de Sogdiane)



Fig. 16. Fragment with the peri-like figure and band of inscription (Photo Y. Karev, MAFOuz de Sogdiane)



Fig. 17. Fragment representing a hunting dog (detail). (Photo Y. Karev, MAFOuz de Sogdiane)

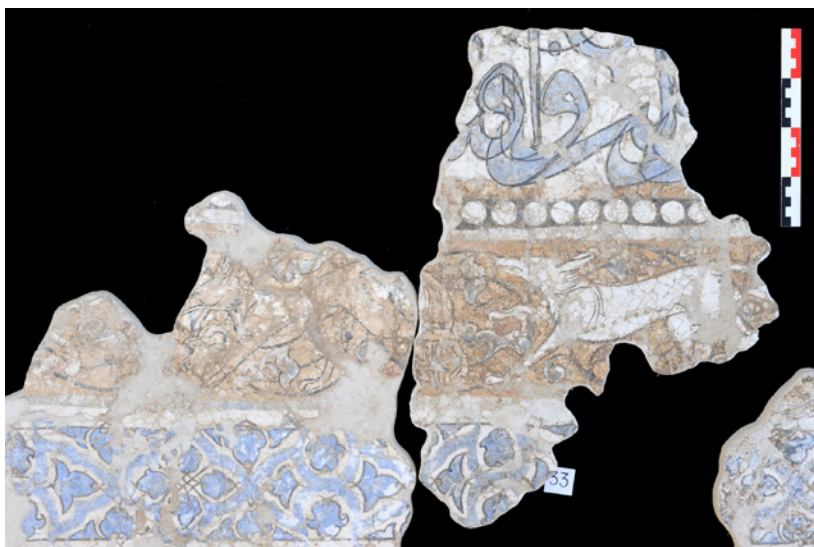


Fig. 18. Bands of inscription with running animals. (Photo Y. Karev, MAFOuz de Sogdiane)



Fig. 19. Medallion with fighting birds. (Photo Y. Karev, MAFOuz de Sogdiane)

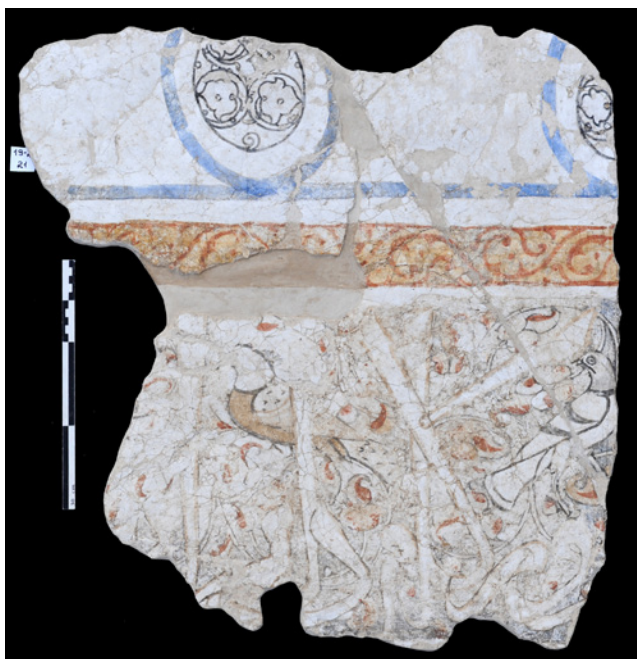


Fig. 20. Band of inscription containing a fragment of poetry reading *kām-i dīl*. (Photo Y. Karev, MAFOuz de Sogdiane)

ing position, with one leg slightly raised to the right. At about 130 cm. high, the figure is a little smaller (about three-quarters) than life-size.

The overall artistic project was not limited to scenes from the prince's everyday life but also included illustrations of mythological themes, such as the representation of a royal eagle sitting on a rock, in front of which is depicted a fantastic creature with a female head. The fragment on which the *peri* (fairy)-like figure is represented is particularly important (see Fig. 16). The flying *peri* is touching an inscribed band, about which some deductions can be made. Three letters can be read with certainty—*ʿayn*, *wāw* and *dāl*, *ʿayn* being preceded by a tooth of the previous letter, with the beginning of the curve of another tooth, very likely a *sīn*. This combination of letters has a limited number of corresponding words in Arabic and Persian. One of the most likely words seems to be the name '[Ma]s'ūd'. For the moment this provides the only hint, however slight, of the name of the painting's patron—Mas'ūd b. Ḥasan (556/1160-1-566/1170-1) or his son Muḥammad b. Mas'ūd (566/1170-1-574/1178-9). However, we cannot exclude the possibility that the two last Qarakhanid rulers—Ibrāhīm b.

al-Ḥusayn and/or his son, ʿUthmān b. Ibrāhīm, were patrons of this construction.

In the Samarqand pavilion, the painter depicted a large number of details of court *realia*. The physical appearance, costumes and fabrics, and the emphasis on arrows, among other elements, are, to a considerable degree, related to Turkic culture, although from an iconographical point of view, many features originate in local traditions, while some are likely to have come from Chinese Turkestan.

The general layout of the plan clearly shows that access to the main pavilion was purposefully limited and well protected (Fig. 10). The complex was closed on the southern side. The main portal entrance was situated more than 20 m to the west and guards would have been assigned to control the western gate. A long corridor-like passage led to the second door, after which the visitor entered a paved vestibule. Only then could he reach the pavilion.

This complex was provided with all necessary facilities (baths, kitchen, private room for the ruler, etc.). It was undoubtedly a private residence of the Qarakhanid ruler and his family and not a place for solemn receptions. Public audiences were probably held in the main palace, which could have been situated outside the citadel or—although this is less plausible—in the donjon. However, the pavilion could have served for less formal receptions for the closest members of the court and/or special guests, and it may be that grandiose and solemn official ceremonial formalities were deliberately ‘assigned’ to the walls, where they were visually depicted, making room for easy and unconstrained social receptions.

To conclude this section, I want to stress that the depictions of the main personages have been deliberately defaced, their eyes gouged out and, in the case of the ruler on the throne, the throat symbolically cut. We cannot exclude the possibility that this action was related to the dramatic events of the year 1212, when Samarqand was taken by the Khwarazmshah Muḥammad b. Tekish.

WESTERN QARAKHANIDS AND THEIR RESIDENCES IN BUKHARA AND SAMARQAND: A HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

Textual data on the material culture (architecture, urban structure, etc.) of the eleventh-twelfth centuries in Central Transoxania is very scarce, with one notable exception: the additions made to Narshakhī’s *Tārīkh-i Bukhārā* (written in 332/943-4) by Aḥmad al-Qubāwī (in 522/1128) and

Muḥammad b. Zufar (in 574/1178-9). This outstanding resource is by far the best existing source of information on the building works of the Qarakhanids, as it is the only text that gives a short but coherent description of the palaces, mosques and walls erected by several rulers, mainly between the years 1070 and 1170. Unfortunately, neither the *Kitāb al-Qand fī dhikr ‘ulamā’ Samarqand* by ‘Umar b. Muḥammad al-Nasafi, nor the Persian *Qandīyya* (which gives us an idea of what the lost descriptive introduction of the original Arabic was like) provides any substantial material on buildings in Samarqand.¹³ Although Nasafi mentions a number of buildings in the city in his biographies of various traditionists, such as the madrasa of Tafghaj Khan and others presumably of the Qarakhanid period, nothing can be deduced with regard to the actual Qarakhanid policy on residential construction. Likewise we cannot rely on contemporary geographical sources: the Golden Age of Arab geography (with works by Ibn al-Faḳīh, al-Iṣṭakhrī, Ibn Ḥawqal and al-Muqaddasī/Maqdisī) ends with the Samanid period, and writers who followed (such as Yāqūt and Zakariyyā’ al-Qazwīnī) did not substantially update their sources on the cities of Transoxania, but repeated tenth-century descriptions, which were by then no longer accurate, particularly after the Mongol invasion. Other narrative sources, such as ‘Awfi’s *Jawāmi‘ al-ḥikāyāt* and Ibn al-Athīr’s *al-Kāmil fī l-ta’rīkh*, may help to fill the gap, but only to a very limited degree, as we shall see below. This situation leads to the mistaken impression that the Qarakhanids were not very active builders in Samarqand, their capital city. It should be noted, however, that we would have no knowledge of the Qarakhanid residences in Bukhara if they had not been described by Qubāwī and Muḥammad b. Zufar. None of them has been preserved or found by archaeologists. In fact, Bukhara is less ‘fortunate’ than Samarqand from an archaeological point of view: unlike old Samarqand, abandoned after 1220 and gradually becoming the site later called Afrasiab, ‘old’ Bukhara has been continuously inhabited up to the present time and its citadel (now a museum) continued to function until the beginning of the twentieth century, which makes excavation for remains of the early periods very difficult to conduct on a sufficiently large scale.¹⁴ It is highly probable that the Qarakhanids built as much in Samarqand as in Bukhara, and from that perspective we cannot underestimate the importance of the new archaeological data described above. In sum, archaeological and textual

¹³ Weinberger 1986; Paul 1993.

¹⁴ All the periods are obviously present there, ‘stratigraphically’ speaking, see Nekrasova 1999, 37-54; *ibid.* 2011, 453-509.

information regarding the main cities of Transoxania complement each other.

Samarqand is rarely mentioned in the sources in connection with the first Qarakhanid campaigns in Transoxania, and the city is overshadowed by Bukhara, the capital of the Samanid state. Interestingly, the first two Qarakhanid conquerors both stayed in the Samanid palaces: in Rabi' I 382/7 May-5 June 992, when Bughra Khan Ḥasan (alias Hārūn b. Sulaymān) took Bukhara for the first time, he chose the suburban palace residence in Jūy-i Mūliyān, famous thanks to Rūdakī's immortal poem.¹⁵ And, in 389/999, the Qarakhanid leader who definitively crushed the Samanids, Naṣr b. 'Alī, also "stayed in the government palace" of Bukhara.¹⁶ This decision was certainly not motivated by the practical need to find a dwelling but rather by the desire symbolically to affirm the fall of the failing Samanid dynasty. New coins were minted in Bukhara to declare the advent of the new dynasty but Naṣr b. 'Alī, who ruled in Central Transoxania until his death in 403/1012-13, chose neither Samarqand nor Bukhara for his residence. Being third in the Qarakhanid clan hierarchy (with the title of *ilīg*)—after the supreme *qaghan* (*khāqān*) Aḥmad b. 'Alī who resided in Balāsāghūn, and the *qaghan* 'second in command' Qādir Khan Yūsuf b. Hārūn in Kashgar—Naṣr b. 'Alī established his capital in Ūzjand (Özkend) in Farghāna.¹⁷ Initially, there was no plan to personally replace the Samanids in their capitals, but this situation changed quickly as the various branches of the Qarakhanid ruling family grew further apart.

'Alī Tegin (r. 411/1020-1-426/1034-5), the brother of the *qaghan* of Kashgar, was apparently the first to make an attempt to take Samarqand and Bukhara as his appanage, regardless of the Qarakhanid clan's rules of succession. His actions caused such trouble to the supreme leaders of the Qarakhanid family that they even formed an alliance with Maḥmūd of Ghazna in order to defeat their relative, although they found only limited success: the numismatic evidence shows that 'Alī Tegin held Bukhara and Samarqand until his death in 426/1034-5.¹⁸ It was during his reign that Samarqand became the capital city of central Transoxania again, while

¹⁵ Gardīzī, 369; Barthold 1968, 259. For the description of the quarter, see Narshakhī, 39.

¹⁶ Gardīzī, 378 (*bi-sarāy-i imārāt furūd āmad*); al-'Utbi, 179 (*nazala dār al-imāra*).

¹⁷ Kochnev 2006, 159. According to Jamāl al-Qarshī (CXLVII, trans., 105), he died and was buried in Ūzjand

¹⁸ See Gardīzī, 404; Kochnev 2006, 174-6.

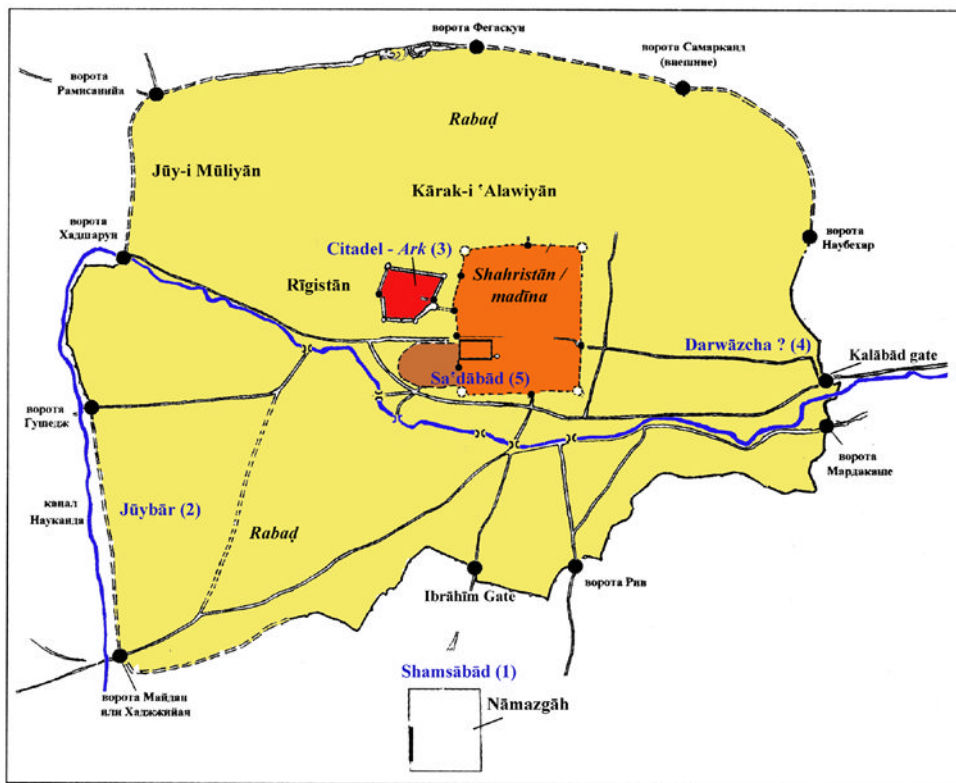


Fig. 21. Plan of the city of Bukhara in the eighth-thirteenth centuries, with location of five Qarakhanid palaces built in succession. (Drawing based on Elizaveta Nekrasova 2011, 482, Fig. 3)

Bukhara, for the first time since the days of the Samanid Ismā'īl b. Aḥmad, lost its status as capital when the son of 'Alī Tegin ruled there.¹⁹

Five years later, in 431/1039-40, the Qarakhanid qaghanate split into two parts, Western and Eastern.²⁰ The founder of the Western Qaghanate was Ibrāhīm b. Naṣr, the son of the Ilig Naṣr b. 'Alī. As Boris Kochnev has established, Samarqand became the capital of the descendants of Ibrāhīm b. Naṣr from that date (431/1039-40) to the end of the dynasty in 1212.²¹

Ibrāhīm b. Naṣr (also known as Tabghach or Tafghaj Khan) definitely made Samarqand the centre of his realm, even after he succeeded in estab-

¹⁹ Ibid., 187; Kochnev 1998, 26.

²⁰ Davidovich 1968; Kochnev 2006, 192-3.

²¹ Kochnev 2006, 250.

lishing his power in Shāsh, Farghāna, and in the capital of the Eastern Qaghanate, Balāsāghūn.²² He radically changed the ranking and appanage system of the complex clan hierarchy of the semi-independent khans, and became the only supreme ruler of his state. As Boris Kochnev has also pointed out, Ibrāhīm b. Naṣr changed the order of succession to the throne, which became direct, from father to son, thus bringing the nomadic order into line with the sedentary practice.²³

Almost 30 years of relative stability (until 460/1068) had a positive effect on the country as a whole²⁴ and it is in fact only for this period that the sources give more consistent accounts on the internal policy of the Qarakhanid rulers in the old urban centres of Samarqand and Bukhara. Ibrāhīm b. Naṣr was reputed to be a pious (*mutadayyin*) ruler who did not take any property (*māl*) without the agreement of the *fuqahā*.²⁵ ‘Awfī relates several anecdotal stories highlighting specific efforts by the khan to establish justice, social order and security in the cities of his realm (including the elimination of thieves in Samarqand,²⁶ and the prevention of an attempt to increase the price of meat²⁷). There is no obvious reason to dismiss these stories as exaggeration or simply the *topoi* of a ‘good’ ruler. The introductory sections of two *waqf* documents (in Arabic) make the same assertion of the righteousness and devotion of the khan. On the one hand, these documents clearly indicate that Ibrāhīm b. Naṣr “owned and controlled” (*fī mulki-hi wa taḥta taṣarrufi-hi*) numerous rentable properties (*mustaghall*, pl. *mustaghallāt*)²⁸ in Samarqand, mostly situated in the main city market (*sūq Sughd Samarqand*),²⁹ as well as *khāns*, various buildings and shops, baths, etc., but, on the other, the *waqfs* were established to

²² Ibid., 208–9.

²³ Ibid., 251. On the tribal hierarchy based on seniority of status within the ruling clan, see the short “note additionnelle” in Kochnev 1998, 32–3. A more detailed analysis appears in chapter 5 of his major study. See Kochnev 2006, 244–70. See also Pritsak 1950; ibid. 1954; Davidovich 1968.

²⁴ Kochnev 2006, 251.

²⁵ Ibn al-Athīr, 9: 212; Barthold 1968, 311–14.

²⁶ ‘Awfī (*Jawāmi‘ al-ḥikāyāt*) in Barthold 1898, 86–7.

²⁷ Ibid., 85.

²⁸ For the meaning of this term, particularly in the Central Asian context, see Belenitskij et al. 1973, 312–13.

²⁹ This area was close to the southern gates (*bāb al-Ḥadīd* or *bāb al-Kishsh*) of the *madīna* (also a city quarter of Ra’s al-Ṭāq—the place where the old aqueduct brought water to the *madīna*—Ibn Ḥawqal, 492–3). The main city bazaar has remained in more or less the same location until today.

maintain a madrasa with a mosque and a hospital.³⁰ All this shows that the khan's concern for the stable functioning of the urban system, as referred to by 'Awfī, was motivated not only religiously but also out of economic interest. The khan's properties in Samarqand certainly consisted of more than the generous donation mentioned in the *waqf* document and, furthermore, archaeologists also attribute the expansion of the old Samanid congregational mosque in the northern part of Samarqand to Ibrāhīm b. Naṣr.³¹

Nevertheless, we have no clear indication of where Ibrāhīm b. Naṣr had his residence. Narshakhī states that the Samanid palaces in Bukhara, one of which the Qarakhanids had occupied for a very short period just after the conquest (in Jūy-i Mūliyān), fell into ruins (*ān sarāy-hā kharāb shud*), going on to say that "in Bukhara there was no fixed royal residence (*dār al-mulk*), only the citadel (*hiṣār*)".³² This is a clear indication that, although the rulers' court might move or even disappear, the citadel, even if it was not actively used, remained the primary location for the exercise of government. Narshakhī adds that this situation changed in the time of Naṣr b. Ibrāhīm's son, Shams al-Mulk. Although there is no direct account of this phenomenon in Samarqand, we may assume that the general tendency was similar.

Evidence related to the life of Shams al-Mulk Naṣr b. Ibrāhīm shows that the Qarakhanids of the eleventh century, despite important social and political changes, remained attached to seasonal mobility. According to a story recounted by 'Awfī, Shams al-Mulk once decided to winter in the region of Bukhara and to make his temporary residence (*maqām*) there. He set up a military camp (*lashkargāh*) in Samarqand, indicating that, in order to prepare to move from the main residence (where he spent most of the year) to the second main city of the realm, the khan gathered his troops together, certainly in the city's environs. Because of the severe winter conditions on the steppe (*ṣaḥrā*), the great chamberlain (*ḥājib*) suggested to the khan that, once at Bukhara, the soldiers (*lashkariyān*) should stay inside the city, meaning billeting them with the townsfolk. Shams al-Mulk did not approve of this and taught the *ḥājib* a lesson. He sent 60 horsemen to stay in the *ḥājib*'s palace (*sarāy*), to show that such a burden

³⁰ Khadr 1967; Bol'shakov 1971, 170-8; Buniatov and Gasanov 1994, 48-63. Nemtseva (1974 and 1977) identifies the madrasa with the architectural remains she excavated in the northern parts of the Shāh-i Zinda complex.

³¹ Buriakov et al. 1975, 96-7.

³² Narshakhī, 40. In this case, *hiṣār* must mean the citadel, not the walls of the *madīna*.

was hardly bearable even for a dignitary with a huge mansion, let alone for the rest of the city's inhabitants. The moral of the story is that the khan's concern was to protect the city's population. Shams al-Mulk himself spent the whole winter "on the steppe at the gate of Bukhara" (*bi-dar-i Bukhārā dar ṣaḥrā binishast*), "all his dignitaries set up the tents" (*hama-yi arkān-i dawlat-i ū khayma-hā bizadand*) and the soldiers (*lashkariyān*) were prohibited from staying in the city after sunset.³³

That being said, the sources also show that Shams al-Mulk's building activity surpassed that of his father's, both inside the cities (as in the reconstruction of the congregational mosque in Bukhara³⁴) and outside them. Ribāt-i Malik, a huge baked brick architectural complex near Karmīniyya (Kermine—present day Navoiy) is probably the most famous of his 'surviving' constructions, notably its portal gate (the general layout was recently restored after excavations). Judging by the architectural plan established for two early periods by Nina Nemtseva (see Fig. 22), it was definitely not an ordinary caravanserai, but a royal residence (the second period is dated to the twelfth century).³⁵ In my opinion, the regular travels of the early Qarakhanids between Samarqand and Bukhara could explain the reason for such a building mid-way along the route between the two cities.³⁶

It is, however, difficult to assess how this system of seasonal movements worked in practice ('Awfi only shows that the ruling Qarakhanid and their military elite used to live in tents without entering the city). The early Qarakhanids may have been involved in pastoral nomadism and moved between the pastures at their disposal in central Transoxania. But the Western Qarakhanid khans no longer lived in the Chu valley/Semirech'e region or in Kashgar and an adjustment to the new environment was cer-

³³ 'Awfi (*Jawāmi' al-ḥikāyāt*) in Barthold 1898, 85; Barthold 1968, 315.

³⁴ It is interesting to note that the *maqṣūra*, the *minbar* and the *mihrāb* of that mosque were "carved and decorated (*tarāshidand wa munaqash kardand*) in Samarqand and brought to Bukhara" (Narshakhī, 70, Frye's trans., 51), indicating that the Qarakhanids had in their capital the best artists, who were able to execute any construction project that the khans ordered to be undertaken.

³⁵ The attribution of this complex to Shams al-Mulk and its function have been extensively debated. Even if the mention of a Ribāt-i Malik in the sources (Mullā-zāda, 20; al-Qarshī, CXLVI, trans., 104.) refers to another complex (never found) near Samarqand, the excavations led by N. Nemtseva permit us to date the first period of construction of the Ribāt-i Malik of Karmīniyya to the end of the eleventh century, which does not exclude Shams al-Mulk as a potential patron of the project. See Barthold 1968, 248 (n. 3) and 315; Umniakov 1927, 179-92; Semenov 1951, 21-7; Nemtseva 2002, 227-42. See also Nemtseva 2009, the most recent publication on Ribāt-i Malik.

³⁶ *Stricto sensu* the story narrated by 'Awfi describes Shams al-Mulk's movement from Samarqand to Bukhara. We can presume that this took place on a more or less regular basis.

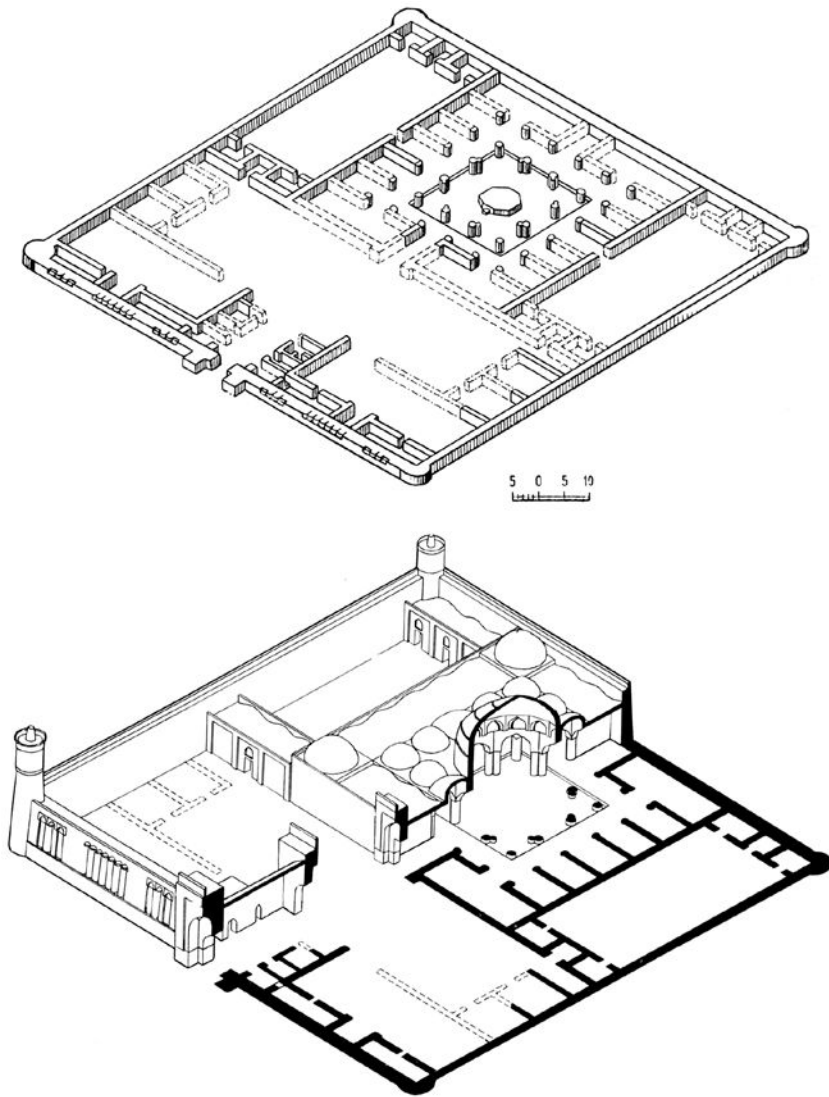


Fig. 22. Axonometric plan and reconstruction of Ribāt-i Malik (second constructional period). (Drawing from Nemtseva 1983, 128)

tainly unavoidable, so they had to adapt their previous pattern of seasonal migration. Although both Samarqand and Bukhara could be very suitable summer residences, both were also very cold during the winter, as was the

whole of Transoxania.³⁷ Travel to Bukhara was therefore not motivated by climatic considerations, but rather by a combination of various other economic and political factors, such as the necessity to control the main urban centres and the borders (to the east, Bukhara was the closest oasis to the Amu Darya River, which, roughly speaking, given all the political fluctuations, was the natural limit of the Qarakhanid domains).³⁸ We do not know what sort of troops used to accompany the khan during peace time (there was probably no need to mobilise all the tribes of the realm or soldiers from the cities to come to the Bukhara oasis to spend the winter) but the important point for us is the fact that, at that time, the khan shared the same mode of life as his soldiers, even in winter. This meant there was a huge difference between an ordinary military camp set up by a sedentary ruler outside the city walls and the camp of the eleventh century Qarakhanid khan in Transoxania. Being still a nomadic ruler, Shams al-Mulk, in the beginning of his reign, did not view the city as a 'natural' environment for his court.

Whatever implications we can draw from 'Awfī's story, other sources show that important changes were afoot during Shams al-Mulk's reign. He was the first khan to build a royal residence outside the *rabaḍ* of Bukhara and he named it after himself, Shamsābād. It was located 1.3-1.5 km south of the citadel, at a place called Namāzgāh from the time of Arslan Khan up to the twentieth century (see Fig. 21).³⁹ At first sight, such a suburban royal estate was not fundamentally different from that of the Samanids, who, at least in tenth century, did not use the Samarqand citadel as their permanent residence. However, they were dissimilar, first, in that the Samanid palaces were situated outside the *shahristān/madīna*, but inside the *rabaḍ* (Jūy-i Mūliyān and Kārak-i 'Alawiyān—see below), and, second, in that their administrative buildings were in the city centre area (in front of the main entrance to the citadel on its western side, in a place known as Rīgistān).⁴⁰ In Samarqand the Samanid government buildings (*dūr*

³⁷ One should notice, however, that later dynasties such as the Shībanids did winter in the region of Bukhara, mostly in the Qaraköl district. My thanks are due to Jürgen Paul for this information. The question of the post-Mongol residencies would require a systematic comparison of the existing information on seasonal migration in Central Transoxania in that period.

³⁸ Kochnev 2001, 44-5.

³⁹ Sukhareva 1958, 36-7.

⁴⁰ Narshakhī, 36. This palace complex, which also included ten main state diwans, was built by Naṣr b. Aḥmad b. Ismā'īl (913-43). Later, it was burned down twice. After the second fire in the early sixties of the tenth century, Maṣṣūr b. Nuḥ (961-77) moved to Jūy-i Mūliyān.

al-imāra) were also located in the *madīna* (at the place known as Asfīzār; while the old *dār al-imāra* in the citadel (*quhandīz*) had fallen into ruins, at least by the late 960s.⁴¹ Shams al-Mulk chose a more distant position. Judging by the example of the later Qarakhanid residence in Jūybār, which is also called *dār al-mulk* (see below), the royal chancellery when the court was in Bukhara must have been also in Shamsābād.

In a certain sense we may consider Shams al-Mulk's construction of this new residence as a first stage in the Qarakhanids' movement towards the city. He did not move inside the city, but bought estates/lands (*diyā'*) outside the walls, close to one of the gates of the *rabad* (the Gate of Ibrāhīm). Remarkably, the possibility of using the old Samanid palace complexes, or at least the areas in which they were situated (outside the *shahristān*), is not even mentioned. For instance, at the place called Kārak-i 'Alawiyān (see Fig. 21), the Samanid amir, Maṣṣūr b. Nūḥ, had built a splendid palace (*kūshk*) in 356/966-7. It was apparently the last Samanid edifice to have remained a royal property (*mamlaka-yi sulṭānī*) up to the reign of Shams al-Mulk,⁴² but it was given by the Qarakhanid khan to the religious scholars (*ahl-i 'ilm*). The reason given for this was that the position of the building near the city (north of the *shahristān*) made it well-suited for the *fuqahā'* to engage in farming, transforming the royal estate into cultivated lands.⁴³ The khan took for himself other land, farther from the city.

Shamsābād is also interesting because of another difference. Shams al-Mulk not only spent a lot of money on the buildings and the beautiful gardens, but also set aside a special pasture area, protected by the walls, for horses (and also wild animals), known as *ghurūq*. This was a direct remnant of the ancient practice of Turkic rulers, though on a relatively small scale. An example is the special territory of the Türgesh qaghan Sulu somewhere in the Chu valley in 119/737. The "protected meadow and mountain" (*marj wa jabal ḥim^{an}*) areas served particularly as a reserve (mainly used for pasture and hunting) for livestock being prepared for military campaigns and no one could approach or hunt there.⁴⁴

⁴¹ Ibn Hawqal, 492-3.

⁴² There is no direct information how the Qarakhanids, as the new owners of the expropriated Samanid property, used this estate, but the next phrase clearly indicates that it also fell into disuse.

⁴³ Narshakhī, 40 (... *Naṣr Khān b. Ṭāmghāj Khān ... īn diyā' ahl-i 'ilm rā dād az ānki bi-shahr nazdiktār būd tā fuqahā' rā kishāwarzī āsāntar buwad*).

⁴⁴ Ṭabarī, 2: 1594. On this particular *qoriğ*, see Golden (chap. 1) in this volume. These royal reserves were not peculiar to the nomadic rulers' way of life, although in the sedentary world since Antiquity they were apparently more used for hunting than for pasturing horses

In sum, Shams al-Mulk did not aim to establish his mobile royal court inside the city, but built a seasonal residence for himself, which was an effective compromise solution between living in the tents on the steppe and living inside the city.

However, we know that, when there were military confrontations, even the Qarakhanids (including the early khans) were sometimes constrained by the situation and stayed within the cities' fortifications. Shams al-Mulk himself, at the very beginning of his reign (after 460/1067-8), was challenged by his brother Shu'ayth (alias Tughan Khan), who besieged him in Samarqand.⁴⁵ The townsfolk declared that they did not want to be involved in this sibling rivalry, despite the destruction Shu'ayth caused to their properties (doubtless in the suburbs). Shams al-Mulk made a night sortie with 500 *ghulāms*, certainly his elite detachment, and succeeded in defeating his brother, who was caught off-guard. Slightly later in the same year, the situation was reversed when Shu'ayth was besieged in the citadel (*hiṣār*) of Bukhara. An important point from our perspective is that, before the siege, Shu'ayth had strengthened the citadel (*hiṣār-i Bukhārā ustūwār kard*).⁴⁶ Shams al-Mulk managed to take the citadel, although the congregational mosque was burned down during the military operation (important reconstruction work was carried out afterwards).⁴⁷ It is very possible that, when he was besieged in Samarqand, Shams al-Mulk also stayed in the citadel. In fact, the archaeological evidence shows, unfortunately on the basis of too limited an excavation to indicate the overall architectural layout, that in the second half of the eleventh century the Qarakhanids started to erect several, presumably imposing, buildings in the citadel's donjon (but not on its lower terrace), and to strengthen the fortification's walls.⁴⁸ At this time we see evidence of the first glazed bricks (mainly blue-coloured), an expensive material for decoration, which also indicates the privileged character of the place. In short, textual sources for Bukhara and archaeological findings in Samarqand show that the early Qarakhanids did pay attention to the citadel, but that it was not yet used as a residence.

(the one does not exclude the other, however). The best-known episode is the hunt organised by Alexander the Great in a special royal reserve near Samarqand (see Bernard 2012).

⁴⁵ Ibn al-Athīr, 9: 212. Barthold 1968, 314.

⁴⁶ Interestingly he struck coins in Bukhara, see Kochnev 2006, 211.

⁴⁷ Narshakhi, 70. This is also an indication, again, that *hiṣār* here refers to the citadel, because the mosque was situated nearby (the minaret was also used as a firing point).

⁴⁸ Inevatkina 1999, 86.

Shamsābād was still in use in the time of Shams al-Mulk's brother, Khidr b. Ibrāhīm (r. 473/1080-479/1087⁴⁹), who is said to have erected many beautiful buildings (*imārāt-hā*) there. Under his son Aḥmad (r. 480/1087-8-482/1089-90 and 485/1092-488/1095⁵⁰), however, the place fell into disuse. He seems to have spent more time in Samarqand. It was there that he was captured by the Saljuq sultan Malik-Shāh in 482/1089-90, after a long siege during which Aḥmad Khan assumed the defence of the city walls.⁵¹ The citadel itself is not explicitly mentioned in the sources (which say that the khan tried eventually to hide in the house of a simple townsman to escape the Saljuqs). This siege marks a very important moment in Western Qarakhanid history. For the first time, their capital was subjected to a full siege, including the use of catapults, and was conquered. After his return from Isfahan, where he had spent two or three years as a prisoner of Malik-Shāh, Aḥmad Khan decided to build a new palace (*sarāy*) near Bukhara, in a place known as Jūybār, while Shamsābād had definitely fallen into ruin (*tamām wirān shuda būd*).⁵² Jūybār became a royal residence (*dār al-mulk*) in Bukhara for the next 30 years (from approximately 485/1092-3 to 515/1121-2, if we are to believe the source). We do not know where exactly this palace was situated, but the Jūybār area was in the south-western corner of the *rabad* (see Fig. 21). In other words, Aḥmad Khan was now resident within the suburbs of the city. This was another stage in the move from the steppe to the city.

In 495/1101-2 Arslan Khan Muḥammad b. Sulaymān (r. 495/1101-524/1129-30) became khan with Sanjar's help. The *Tārīkh-i Bukhārā* states that he used to stay in Jūybār whenever he came to Bukhara,⁵³ but the source adds immediately after: "After that, [Arslan Khan] considered it right/appropriate to order that [the workers] dismantle this palace (*sarāy*) and transfer it into the citadel (*ḥisār*). That site remained in ruins".⁵⁴ We approach here another important point in our short overview of Qarakhanid 'residential' history. The reason for this move inside the citadel was certainly not the need to make expensive repairs in Jūybār. It looks like a well-thought-out

⁴⁹ Kochnev 2006, 212.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 212, 215.

⁵¹ Ibn al-Athīr, 10: 113-14.

⁵² Narshakhī, 41.

⁵³ Narshakhī, 41, Frye's trans., 29-30.

⁵⁴ Narshakhī, 41 (*bā'd az ān chanān šawāb dīd ki [wirān kunand] farmūd tā ān sarāy rā bar dāshtand wa bi ḥiṣār burdand wa ān mawḍa' kharāb bimānad*). I have slightly modified Frye's translation (30), which reads "after the time he thought it wise to order the court dismantled and carried inside the citadel. The site remained in ruins".

reaction by the Qarakhanids to the changing political and social context. Another passage in the *Tārikh-i Bukhārā* confirms that,

In the time of the translator, this citadel (*hiṣār*) was in ruins. Several years later, Arslan Khan ordered it rebuilt [or: made habitable– *ābādān kardan*] and made it his residence (*jāy-nishast-i khūd anjā sākht*). He made a great amir the keeper of the citadel to guard it according to instructions. This citadel had a great reputation in the eyes of the people.⁵⁵

The citadel served as a residence for only “a few years” (*chand sāl*). Indeed, Arslan Khan later built another palace (*sarāy*) in the Darwāzja (Darwāzcha) quarter, on Bū Layth street. According to Elizaveta Nekrasova, this quarter might have been situated in the eastern part of the *rabaḍ*, close to the Kalābād gate (see Fig. 21).⁵⁶ For “many years” (*sālḥā-yi bisyār*), it served as a royal residence (*dār al-mulk*) in Bukhara. Later, Arslan Khan ordered the palace to be made into a madrasa, giving it to *fuqahā*’ and establishing for its maintenance a special *waqf* based on the revenues from royal baths and several villages. In 513/1119–20, he also built a *namāzghāh* in Shamsābād, which contributed towards the transformation of this former royal residence into a religious establishment.⁵⁷

Another palace built for the exclusive use of the khan (*sarāy-i khāss-i khūd*) was built at the Sa’dābād gate of the *shahristān/madīna* of Bukhara (see Fig. 21). According to Nekrasova’s observations and field study, Arslan Khan undertook considerable redevelopment of the old *shahristān*, enlarging the territory westwards at its south-western corner.⁵⁸ The Sa’dābād palace was thus situated close to the south-western corner of the congregational mosque newly built by the khan (in 515/1121–2). It was the first Qarakhanid residence inside the *shahristān*.

Thus, Arslan Khan changed the location of his residence four times, moving to all the main parts of the city: starting with the existing palace of Jūybār in the *rabaḍ*, then into the residence he built for himself inside the citadel, then back to the *rabaḍ*, and finally into the *shahristān/madīna*. Technically and chronologically, it is difficult to believe that these three new residences (in the citadel, in Darwāzja and near the Sa’dābād gate) could have been built and occupied one after another during the last ten years of Arslan Khan’s reign (he died in Balkh in 524/1129–30), but Jūybār

⁵⁵ Narshakhī, 34, Frye’s trans., 24. I have replaced the word ‘fortress’ (*hiṣār*) with ‘citadel’.

⁵⁶ Narshakhī, Russian trans., 256, n. 17.

⁵⁷ Narshakhī, 72, Frye’s trans., 53.

⁵⁸ Nekrasova 2000, 231; Nekrasova 2003, 102–4.

may have been abandoned earlier than 1122 as it is implied in the *Tārīkh-i Bukhārā*.

None of the Qarakhanids engaged as intensively in building activities in Bukhara and the surrounding region as Arslan Khan.⁵⁹ These three palaces should be added to the aforementioned new congregational mosque with its still extant minaret, as well as the walls of the *rabaḍ*, the huge reconstruction project in Paykand, and the bridge, mosque and *ribāt* in Shargh.⁶⁰ Does the transfer of the royal court into the Bukhara citadel and *shahristān* mean that Arslan Khan Muḥammad b. Sulaymān completely abandoned the nomadic aspects evident in the mode of life of Shams al-Mulk? Not necessarily, but doubts begin to arise since we do not have any direct evidence of his living in tents in peacetime (military campaigns are naturally not to be taken into consideration⁶¹). Whatever the case may be, the projects of Arslan Khan Muḥammad b. Sulaymān may be considered as the second important stage in the process we are analysing: the Qarakhanids definitely moved into the city, and apparently into Bukhara earlier than into Samarqand.

Significantly, there is no more data about Qarakhanid royal residences in the *Tārīkh-i Bukhārā* after the report of Arslan Khan building Sa'dābād (i.e. after 1130). However, there is some evidence about the citadel up to 560/1164-5, for we have two additional phases described by a later copyist about the Khwarazmshah and Chinggis Khan at the beginning of the thirteenth century:

When the Khwarazmshah arrived in Bukhara in the year 534/1139-40, the Amir Zengi [b.] 'Alī was the vice-regent (*khalīfa būd*). He was governor (*wālī*) of Bukhara by order of Sultan Sanjar. [The Khwarazmshah] seized him and killed him, and destroyed the citadel (*ḥiṣār*). It remained ruined for two years till 536/1141-2, when Alp Tegin became governor (*wālī*) for the *gürkhan* [i.e. the Qarakhitai ruler]. In this year, he ordered the citadel rebuilt [or: made habitable—*ābādān kardand*] and built here the place for his stay (*jāy-i bāshish-i khūd ānjā sākht*).⁶² The citadel was better than it had been before. In the month of Ramaḍān of 538 (8 March-6 April 1144), the Ghuzz army (*hasham*) came to Bukhara. 'Ayn al-Dawla Qaracha Beg, and Shihāb Wazīr were besieged.⁶³ After a struggle and great tribulation, the Ghuzz army took the citadel and killed Shihāb Wazīr. They destroyed the citadel

⁵⁹ Barthold 1968, 319-20.

⁶⁰ See Narshakhī, 70-1 (minaret), 49 (walls), 26 (Paykand), 21 (Shargh).

⁶¹ Barthold 1968, 319-20.

⁶² Here Frye's translation (25) reads: "In this year he ordered the fortress rebuilt and made his residence."

⁶³ On these events, see Frye's translation 123, notes 117 and 118.

and it remained in ruins. When in the year 560/1164-5 they wanted to raise the *rabaḍ* [i.e. the walls] of Bukhara, baked bricks (*khisht pukhta*) were necessary for the foundation (*kadwāda*) of the *rabaḍ*. The foundation of the citadel and its towers, which had been made of baked bricks, were demolished (*bāz kardand*), and they used [those bricks] for the *rabaḍ* of the city (*shahr*) of Bukhara. The citadel was completely destroyed and no sign of that castle (*kākh*) and [other] buildings (*‘imārat*) remained.⁶⁴

One cannot help being struck by the fact that the Qarakhanids are not the main actors in these events, except in the last episode. From the death of Arslan Khan in 524/1129-30, until the accession to power of Mas‘ūd b. Ḥasan in 556/1160-1, Transoxania witnessed several political upheavals, with the campaigns of the Khwarazmshah,⁶⁵ then of the Saljuq sultan Sanjar (he took Samarqand again in 524/1129-30),⁶⁶ and finally the Qarakhitai conquest in 536/1141.⁶⁷ After some stabilisation under Mas‘ūd b. Ḥasan (556/1160-1-566/1170-1⁶⁸), the relationship of the ruling clan in the Western Qaghanate to the city of Bukhara underwent fundamental changes. On the one hand, Mas‘ūd b. Ḥasan affirmed his authority by ordering in 560/1164-5 the construction of a new fortification wall in addition to the old ones.⁶⁹ But on the other, the same khan let the people dismantle the parts of the citadel that were made of baked bricks and reuse the bricks elsewhere, a policy very different from that of Arslan Khan!

Judging by the construction activity of the early Qarakhanids in Bukhara, particularly with regard to the number of their periodically changing residences, it seems that this city occupied a very special place in their political system. Although the Western Khans led many campaigns in an effort to expand their territory from the Amu Darya to the Chu valley (the numismatic evidence shows a constantly changing picture of their successes and failures), the core of the realm remained between Bukhara and Samarqand. Although the Qarakhanids were able to keep this region in exchange for

⁶⁴ Narshakhī, 35; Frye's trans., 25. The rendering of the proper names have been edited. The Persian words in transliteration, as well as text between brackets, were added by me. 'Fortress' has been changed to 'citadel' and 'the walls' to *rabaḍ*. In the third and in the last sentences I have made modifications to Frye's translation.

⁶⁵ On the history and internal organisation of Khwarazmshah's state, see Buniatov 1986.

⁶⁶ On the history of the Saljuqs in Central Asia, see Agadzhanov 1991, and esp. for the Sanjar period, chapters 3 and 4. A more detailed analysis of Saljuq rule in Khurasan and Transoxania during Sanjar's reign is very much needed.

⁶⁷ See Biran 2005, 41-7.

⁶⁸ Kochnev 2006, 226-7.

⁶⁹ Narshakhī, 49.

recognition of Saljuq and later Qarakhitai supremacy, permanent external threats certainly undermined the court's pattern of travel between Bukhara and Samarqand to a considerable degree. The years after 524/1130 seem to mark the end of this period. The authority of the ruler was often limited by conflicts and tensions, some stirred up by external interference and discord between members of the ruling clan and others due to the growing power of the *şadrs* of Bukhara, the Burhān family.⁷⁰ In the second half of the twelfth century, the most powerful Qarakhanid rulers still came to Bukhara as sovereigns and struck coins (e.g. Muḥammad b. Mas'ūd in 574/1178-9 and Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥusayn between 574/1178-9 and 599/1202-3).⁷¹ Although Bukhara remained the second most important city of the Western Qaghanate, the factors mentioned above meant that their life was not particularly comfortable there. The khans had fewer reasons (and also diminished means) to maintain the extent of their splendid palace buildings. Mas'ūd b. Ḥasan helped the inhabitants to protect the city, but he decided to demolish its main stronghold which, taking into account the already changed political context, could potentially be used against him. It was only at the beginning of the thirteenth century that the Khwarazmshah Muḥammad b. Tekish made an attempt to fortify the citadel of Bukhara.

Absent, in terms of an active residential presence in Bukhara, the Qarakhanids of the second half of the twelfth century did exactly the opposite in Samarqand—they installed the royal court in the citadel. This period represents the third stage in the move of the Qarakhanid ruling clan toward the city. This is proven and documented by the complete reorganisation of the interior space on the lower terrace of the citadel described in the first part of this chapter. In Samarqand, we are dealing, for the first time, with extensive archaeological evidence that gives us precise knowledge of how the members of the royal Qarakhanid family organised their living space in their seat of power. Technically, their buildings were not meant to be monuments that resisted time for centuries. Rather, what we see is 'light' constructions that could be erected quickly. This is confirmed by the fact that seven of the pavilions that have been discovered were not the first to have been built on the terrace. At least two pavilions (including the one with paintings) were built above previous ones, purposely razed to the ground when the area was cleared for new buildings. It means that the

⁷⁰ The power of the Burhān family grew during Arslan Khan's reign (495/1101-2-524/1129-30). They later enjoyed a very considerable degree of autonomy in internal and even external affairs. See Pritsak 1952; Kochnev 2006, 237-43.

⁷¹ Kochnev 2006, 239.

pavilions could be easily replaced, if needed, by new ones.⁷² This kind of construction would fit well the way the palaces built in Bukhara were used in the *Tārīkh-i Bukhārā*: they were settled, occupied, dismantled and abandoned much more quickly than was necessary for the monumental massive baked brick architecture, which is designed to last a considerable time and represents too serious a level of expenditure for the state or the ruler's treasury to be so easily and rapidly taken apart for re-use.

The fact that no archaeological evidence of the Qarakhanid palaces has been found in Bukhara cannot be used to draw decisive conclusions about the type of architecture that was employed. Nevertheless, it is difficult not to take note of the preservation of the massive Qarakhanid residential complex of Ribāṭ-i Malik up to the beginning of the twentieth century. This complex was in use (later as a caravanserai) for at least 700 years, until the end of the eighteenth century, while the palaces in Shamsābād and Jūybār fell into ruins only 20-30 years after their construction. It is therefore highly possible that these royal residences in Bukhara were relatively light constructions, technically comparable to those in Samarqand (although in a completely different environment). This may have been a deliberately chosen type of residence, different, in terms of monumentality, from, for example, the huge palace complex of the Ghaznavid and Ghurid period in Lashkari Bazar at Bust. In other words, a same term used by medieval authors (such as *sarāy*, *qaṣr*, *kākh*) may refer to very different types of architecture. In the case of the Qarakhanids, some connections with their nomadic past are not impossible: to build beautifully but fast, to settle down but to move on if needed without much trouble. The gardens, and particularly the protected area for pasture (*ghurūq*), were indispensable elements of the layout in suburban residences. In the citadel, the space was obviously very limited and organised as the most protected residential quarters of the ruling clan.

It is very significant that a comparable system existed in Central Asia under the Manghīts (1747-1920) until 1920, as we can judge from the old plan of the Bukhara citadel and the information gathered by Mikhail Andreev (see Fig. 23).⁷³ Unlike Samarqand, the citadel (*ark*) in Bukhara does not have a donjon/lower terrace system and the space is relatively flat. However, there are two distinct sections: the public buildings in the western part, including a mosque, an open throne hall (the largest construction in the citadel), a *salām-khāna* ('greetings' room for receptions), the

⁷² Cf. the 'light' palaces (*kūshk*) of the Saljuqs in Western Iran. See Durand-Guédy in this volume (chapter 4).

⁷³ Andreev and Chekhovich 1972.



Fig. 23. Plan of the Bukhara citadel/ark (beginning of the twentieth century). (Drawing from Andreev 1972, Fig. 1)

rooms for the diwans, the treasury room, the mint, etc.); and another section comprising more than three-quarters of the space, which was reserved for private use: harem and houses for the members of the amir's family (some confined as lifelong prisoners), the guards, the servants, etc. Many households were also organised around their own central courtyard. Each room had its particular style of decoration. The majority of the buildings were made using more or less the same framework technique.⁷⁴

⁷⁴ Ibid., 17-18. In 1940, 20 years after the fire caused by the Bolshevik assault in 1917, almost all the buildings in the eastern part of the citadel had disappeared completely, but without having been deliberately razed to the ground (ibid., 16, 18).

The general layout of the royal quarters on the lower terrace of the Samarqand citadel might be considered a precursor to this type of settlement, not observed widely in earlier times (seventh-tenth centuries). The framework construction technique was also very widespread in the Qarakhanid period.

The Qarakhanid 'retreat' to Samarqand in the mid-twelfth century was one of the main reasons behind the subsequent installation of the royal court in the citadel. The external threats may have been a factor. The Saljuqs had disappeared from the political scene in Central Asia in the mid-twelfth century, but were replaced later by the growing power of the Khwarazmshahs. In addition, the perennial rivalry and conflicts between Qarakhanid princes weakened, sometimes considerably, the stability of the Western Qaghanate. However, there is another factor that could have played a crucial role in the process: the evolving relationship between the Qarakhanid ruling elite and influential nomadic military groups.

Modern scholars have long since noted an on-going conflict between the Qarluqs and the Qarakhanid rulers in the second third of the twelfth century.⁷⁵ The famous battle fought on the Qatwān steppe in 536/1141 between a coalition of Muslim rulers led by Sultan Sanjar against the non-Muslim Qarakhitais was actually preceded—and, according to one version, provoked—by the struggle between the Qarluqs and Maḥmūd Khan, the son of Arslan Khan Muḥammad b. Sulaymān (r. ca. 530/1135–536/1142⁷⁶).⁷⁷ In 550/1155–6, the Qarluqs killed Khan Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad and threw his body on the steppe.⁷⁸ Chaghri Khan Jalāl al-Dīn 'Alī b. Ḥasan succeeded in pursuing the Qarluqs and killed their leader, Payghu Khan. Once again, this internal conflict resulted in the arrival of an external force, namely the Khwarazmshah Il-Arslan, who in 553/1158 made peace with the Qarakhanids, under condition "that the Qarluq amirs should be restored with honour to their function".⁷⁹ Another account refers to the Qarakhitai overlord, who presumably demanded that the Qarakhanid khan should oblige the Qarluqs to leave the provinces of Bukhara and Samarqand for Kashgar. The Qarakhitais purpose was to disarm the warriors and even, rather unbelievably, to make them engage in farming or some similar activity.⁸⁰ This

⁷⁵ Barthold 1968, 321, 326, 333–4.

⁷⁶ Kochnev 2006, 221.

⁷⁷ Ibn al-Athīr, 11: 56; Barthold 1968, 326; Biran 2005, 42.

⁷⁸ Barthold 1968, 333.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 334.

⁸⁰ See the whole story in Barthold 1968, 334.

clearly shows that these Qarluqs were nomads. We do not know exactly how the Qarakhanids, who probably originated from one of the tribal branches of the Qarluq confederation,⁸¹ were related to these twelfth-century Qarluqs. Some of the Qarluqs tribes could have come into Transoxania after the Qarakhanids conquered the region—the migration might have taken place in several waves. On the other hand, a significant number of the Qarluqs were certainly not newcomers from the steppe, but descendants of the old influential military group that had previously supported the dynasty. Ibn al-Athīr clearly states that there were two kinds of Turks in the army (*jund*) of Arslan Khan Muḥammad b. Sulaymān: Qarluqs and Oghuz.⁸² The Qarluqs were without doubt one of the dynasty's main military contingents. The important point for our study is that this series of Qarluq revolts against the Qarakhanid rulers might be considered a historical marker. In other words, it seems that the distance between those Qarluqs who were still attached to the nomadic way of life and the khans who were receptive to the influence of urban culture came to threaten the internal and external stability of the Qarakhanid state. The leading forces of the Western Qaghanate were about to split. The fact that the aforementioned Mas'ūd b. Ḥasan finally succeeded in suppressing the rebels shows that the Qarakhanids had probably managed to find sufficient military support in an already changed social environment. Their own mode of life would also have undergone important changes.

The second half of the twelfth century is actually the period in which we may notice, for the first time in the history of the Western Qaghanate, an intensification of intellectual activity closely related to the court as a centre of patronage. Sūzanī Samarqandī (d. 569/1173-4) is the only poet of the Qarakhanid court whose *divan* has survived. The majority of his poems are dedicated to Qarakhanid rulers, princes or dignitaries. Beyond the usual literary clichés, they provide a lot of details about the Qarakhanid court in

⁸¹ This question is still debatable. Pritsak (1954, 21-22) enumerates seven hypotheses put forward by scholars before the mid-twentieth century: according to them, the Qarakhanids might have been related to the Uighurs, Türkmens, Qarluqs and their subgroups the Chigil and Yaghma. Pritsak was the first to study this question in detail and his hypothesis about the Qarluq origins of the dynasty was very influential in the second half of the twentieth century. See Pritsak, 1951. Karaev (1983, 74-80) has proposed the Chigil affiliation, the Chigils being one of the Qarluq tribes. Kochnev (1996, 352-7) has put forward a hypothesis, based on the numismatic evidence, that the Qarakhanids stemmed from a subgroup of the Qarluq confederation—the Egdhish/Edhgish; later (2006, 148) he refers to them as part of the Chigils. J. Oda, in an article entitled: "Which is the Origin of the Karakhanids, Uighurs or Karluks?" (2002), favours the Uighurs.

⁸² Ibn al-Athīr, 11: 54.

general and about Samarqand in particular. “The mighty khan, the shah of the Orient Rukn al-Dīn”, Mas‘ūd b. Ḥasan is praised for having made Samarqand “a paradise on Earth”.⁸³ The numerous references to Samarqand as the best place on earth (*bar rūy-i zamīn*) are not only expressions of local patriotism or flattery, but reflect the self-identification of the townspeople (*samarqandīyān*, *ahl-i Samarqand*) as subjects of the ‘kingdom of Samarqand’ (*mulk-i Samarqand*), which was ruled for a century and a half by the Qarakhanid dynasty. As Suzanī says of one of the khan’s generals (*sipahsālār*):

Through your justice in Turkistān every Samarqandi knows that Turkistān [is] Samarqand and Samarqand is Turkistān.⁸⁴

The reference to ‘Turkistān’ is quite remarkable and we may take this poem as containing one of the characteristic cultural references of the time. To a certain extent, it may reflect an important element of the internal ‘political’ ideology of the Western Qaghanate and its ruling class. One century before Sūzanī, Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī (writing ca. 469/1077) tried to provide it with a ‘linguistic’ basis (ignoring the Sogdian past):

Now proof that all of Transoxania, from Baykand eastward, is part of the Turk lands are the names: Semizkend for Samarqand, Tashkend for Shāsh, Özkend, Tunkend—the names of all these cities are Turkic. *Kend* in Turkic is ‘city’ (*balda*). They built these cities and gave them these names, and the names have remained as they were. But when the Persians began to multiply in them they became like Iranian cities (*bilād al-‘ajam*).⁸⁵

A native of the Eastern part of the Qarakhanid dominion and probably a relative of the ruling family, Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī obviously did not focus his attention on Samarqand in particular, but he did not use the notion of Turkistān either. In the next phrase he mentions one city, Ūzjand, as a landmark:

At the present time the boundaries of the Turk lands are reckoned from: Ūzjand to Şīn and from Rūm to Şīn, with their extremities bounded by the sea which is called the Sea of Āsbigūn [the Caspian Sea].⁸⁶

⁸³ Suzanī, 10 (*Khudāyghān-i jahān shāh-i sharq Rukn ad-Dīn, k-az-ū-st shahr-i Samarqand jannat-i dunyā*).

⁸⁴ Ibid., 361 (*Samarqandī zi ‘adl-i tū bi-Turkistān chanān dānad; ki Turkistān Samarqand wa Samarqand-ast Turkistān*).

⁸⁵ Kāshgharī, trans. Dankoff, part II, p. 225, with diacritics modified. This passage is also discussed by Golden in this volume (chapter 1).

⁸⁶ Ibid.

For the poet Sūzanī Samarqandī, who mentions Turkistān at least five times, the gaze was shifted westward—toward another centre of the Turkic lands—the capital of the Western Qarakhanids. He deals in imagery and that image was certainly appreciated at the court for which he was creating poetry in the second half of the twelfth century—whatever may have been the reality of Samarqand's 'centrality' for other Turkic sovereigns. Other elements of the cultural legitimisation of the dynasty drawn from local men of letters were also transmitted by Sūzanī in answer to the court's demands (particularly in the light of the issues of Tūrān vs. Īrān and Afrāsiyāb vs. Kayanids). Significantly the symbols of supreme power used by Sūzanī in his poems find a very close correspondence in what we see in the Samarqand paintings—for example, the elements of a bow (string, bow tip, along with finger tab, etc.) and an arrow (point, shaft, fletching). These two unique sources from the same period complement each other.

This demand for intellectual and artistic production is also confirmed by several works written in Persian at the time of Ma'sūd b. Ḥasan (556/1160-1-566/1170-1) and Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥusayn (574/1178-9 and 599/1202-3). Among those that are preserved, one should mention the didactic treatise *Aghrād al-siyāsa fi i'rāḍ al-riyāsa* and the parable narrative *Sindhbād-nāma*, both written by Muḥammad b. 'Alī Ṣahīrī Samarqandī, the head of Mas'ūd b. Ḥasan's chancellery. Besides these works that are directly connected to the 'Mirrors for Princes' genre, it is necessary to stress a significant cultural event in this period: the very first attempt to compose works on history such as a *Tārīkh-i Turkistān* and a *Tārīkh-i Khitāy* written for Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥusayn by Muḥammad b. 'Adnān (both are lost but some excerpts are preserved).⁸⁷ In other words, two centuries were needed for the idea of recording and attempting to comprehend the historical past and its continuity to appear at the court of Samarqand.

The cultural context of Central Transoxania in the second half of the twelfth century would need a special study, but these few remarks show that, unlike their predecessors of the eleventh century, the Qarakhanids of the twelfth century were much more strongly involved in the cultural environment of the urban centres, particularly in their capital city, Samarqand. Significantly, Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥusayn and his son, 'Uthmān b. Ibrāhīm, are the only Qarakhanid rulers mentioned by 'Awfi in his treatise on poets who wrote in Persian.⁸⁸ Both of them, but particularly 'Uthmān, used to compose poetry. He was also famous, at least if we are to believe

⁸⁷ Barthold 1968, 17-18; Storey 1972, 1312.

⁸⁸ 'Awfi, *Lubāb*, 43, 45-6.

‘Awfi, as an outstanding calligrapher. The high artistic standard of the Samarqand paintings, particularly the monumental calligraphy, certainly corresponds to the level of princely education of the later Qarakhanids, regardless of which of them was the patron of the painter’s work.

The only direct account on the palace construction activity of the Qarakhanids in Samarqand is found in a story in ‘Awfi’s *Jawāmi‘ al-ḥikāyāt* about the rule of the penultimate Qarakhanid ruler, Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥusayn (574/1178-9 and 599/1202-3). According to this anecdote (*ḥikāyat*), the khan wanted to build a palace (*qaṣr*) “in a quarter” (*dar maḥallat*) called Kūkhmītan, almost certainly situated in the city’s *rabaḍ*.⁸⁹ The palace is praised as a construction “which was to remind posterity of the fame of the khan, as the Pharos lighthouse was the monument of Alexander of Macedon and the palace of Ṭāq-i Kistrā that of Khusraw Anūshirwān.”⁹⁰ The khan supervised the construction process in person. However, unlike the *īwān* of the huge palace complex of Ṭāq-i Kistrā in Sasanid Ctesiphon (near modern Baghdad), nothing of the palace of Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥusayn has been preserved or is even mentioned in other sources. It is highly probable that this complex was built as a relatively light construction, using similar building techniques to those employed for the contemporary residences in the Samarqand citadel. No matter how much this architectural complex was intended to stand as a monument, one thing is not in doubt—it required highly skilled professionals to construct it, particularly for the decoration of the building’s interior. The paintings from the Samarqand citadel show the level of artistic ambition that was in play by the end of the twelfth century.

The important point to stress is that the last Qarakhanids built two types of residence in the same period: one—certainly more pleasant in terms of the natural environment—outside the *madīna*, in the city’s suburbs, and

⁸⁹ The name of this place is problematic. Barthold (1968, 90, 315), who used relatively late manuscripts of the *Jawāmi‘ al-ḥikāyāt* reads it as Gurjīmīn/Karjūmīn, but this name does not occur anywhere else in the sources. Fedorov (1965, 240) has suggested that the citadel might be within this area. But, as Kochnev (1995a, 22-3) has pointed out, the citadel could definitely not be a part of a *maḥallat*. Thanks to information provided by Nasafi in his *Kitāb al-Qand*, and an early fourteenth-century manuscript of the *Jawāmi‘ al-ḥikāyāt*, the name can be read Kūjmīthan/Kūjmītan or Kūkhmīthan/Kūkhmītan (compare Nasafi, ed. al-Hādī, 702, art. ‘al-Kūjmīthani’ and the Paris manuscript, fol. 149a ‘Kūhmīti’), although this name is not mentioned in geographical sources. The closest is Khumītan, referred to by al-Sam’ānī (179) as one of the villages of Samarqand, but they may be two different locations. Be that as it may, Kūkhmītan was without doubt a village that was integrated into Samarqand’s *rabaḍ* as a city quarter.

⁹⁰ Barthold 1968, 315; Barthold 1898, 87.

the other, on the lower terrace of the citadel. It seems that this combination was characteristic of virtually all rulers, regardless of time and culture, who governed from the city. In other words, Kūkhmītan was functionally not identical to Shamsābād; Kūkhmītan was a suburban residence of the ruler, who otherwise lived in the citadel, whereas the earlier construction was both the royal headquarters and the residence of the nomadic ruler in the city's immediate environs, with an protected space to hunt and keep animals.

Unlike their predecessors in the eleventh century, the last Qarakhanids used the city's main fortress not only as a temporary refuge, but also as a residence. They could continue to build palaces in the city proper or its suburbs, but they made use of an additional option: they could move at any moment, and could stay for an indefinite amount of time in a designated and well-prepared area within the city's most impregnable stronghold.

I would like to conclude with a final episode highlighting the function of the citadel. In 1212, the last Qarakhanid ruler of Samarqand, 'Uthmān b. Ibrāhīm, decided to get rid of his wife, the Khwarazmian princess Khān-Sulṭān, and all the Khwarazmians in the town.⁹¹ Ibn al-Athīr's account makes clear an important element: 'Uthmān was not in the citadel when he started to carry out the massacre. On the contrary, he proceeded toward the citadel (*qal'a*) to kill Khān-Sulṭān. There is no indication that she sought refuge in the *qal'a* to escape at the last moment from the enraged crowd of Samarqandis. On the contrary, all the indications are that she was living there before the uprising began. That is how she had time to shut the gates (*abwāb*) of the citadel to protect herself. Ibn al-Athīr adds that she remained there with her maidservants (*jawārī-hā*) ready to offer resistance, but there were probably other members of her Khwarazmian entourage (perhaps eunuchs) on whom she would also have relied. The entourage was evidently obeying her, and not 'Uthmān—otherwise she would not have been able to lock herself in. This event allows us to conclude that the citadel was definitely the place where the Qarakhanid harem was settled. And this corresponds precisely to what we have excavated on the lower terrace of the citadel.

It is worth mentioning 'Uthmān's family situation. Regardless of Juwaynī's romantic hyperbole about 'Uthmān's marriage to the daughters of the Khwarazmshah and the Qarakhitai *gürkhan*, there is no reason to doubt the double matrimonial connection of the ruler of Samarqand. More

⁹¹ Ibn al-Athīr, 12: 177-8; Juwaynī 2: 122-6, trans. 2: 392-6. Barthold 1968, 365-6.

importantly, his account fully confirms the personal animosity between ‘Uthmān and his Khwarazmian wife. Juwaynī explains this by referring to ‘Uthmān’s long affection for the Qarakhitai beauty. Profoundly offended by the *gürkhan*’s refusal to give him his daughter in marriage, ‘Uthmān betrayed his Qarakhitai suzerain and recognised the suzerainty of his mighty coreligionist, the Muslim ruler Muḥammad b. Tekish, by marrying his daughter. The dynastic marriage between ‘Uthmān and Khān-Sulṭān was supposed to strengthen the political union.

After his return to Khwarazm, the sultan [Muḥammad b. Tekish] intended to increase the rank of his son-in-law daily, but messengers came from his daughter describing how Sultan ‘Uthmān had turned against her father, and was again in league with the *gürkhan*, and how he had mocked her by causing her to appear at a festive occasion as attendant upon a maiden he had now received in marriage from the *gürkhan*.⁹²

There were certainly other reasons for ‘Uthmān to play the two mighty political rivals against each other, but they are less important for our present concern. It is quite possible that, at that time ‘Uthmān was not living in the citadel for one simple reason: it was the most appropriate place to keep his spurned wife confined, isolated and under control. Otherwise, there would have been no need to send anybody to the citadel to get rid of her. If the citadel had been his own permanent residence, Khān-Sulṭān would have been the first person to be eliminated.

Khān-Sulṭān managed to stop her husband from disgracing himself by trying to kill a woman who had done nothing to deserve such treatment—she obviously did not tell him of her correspondence with her father. ‘Uthmān, however, appointed someone to keep an eye on her. No resistance is mentioned and we may suppose that he took control of the citadel without much trouble. We do not know where ‘Uthmān spent his time with the *gürkhan*’s daughter, but the most plausible possibility is one of the residences in the city’s suburbs, of which only one is known—his father’s, in Kūkhmītan. This story is apparently the only clear example of the vicissitudes of life at the Qarakhanid court that led to the prince’s choice of where to live being determined by family reasons.

The young Qarakhanid prince paid a heavy price for his inconsistent policy, excessive cruelty, and giving personal offence to his father-in-law. In 1212 the Khwarazmshah took Samarqand, plundered it and perpetrated a general massacre. Significantly, ‘Uthmān found his last refuge in the same

⁹² Juwaynī, trans. 394-5.

place where his wife was previously confined: the citadel. He was not able to withstand the assaults for long and was executed shortly after his surrender. (According to Juwaynī, Khān-Sultān played a decisive role in his execution.) Unlike the Saljuqs and the Qarakhitais, the Khwarazmshah Muḥammad b. Tekish no longer wanted the Qarakhanids' fealty: he "killed with ['Uthmān] a group of his relatives and no one remained of those who stemmed from the House of the Qarakhanids (*khāniyya*)".⁹³ Thus, the citadel of Samarqand was the place where the whole story of Qarakhanid rule over Transoxania came to an end.

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⁹³ Ibn al-Athīr, 12: 178.

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CHAPTER FOUR

THE TENTS OF THE SALJUQS

David Durand-Guédy

As the leading family of a group of pastoral nomads, the Saljuqs lived before the conquest of Iran like their followers: in tents.¹ Their tented encampments appear regularly in the sources, especially when the various political leaders of the time tried to confront them. When reporting that the Saljuqs were in a certain place, the sources often say that they were camping (*khayyama*) there.² What happened, then, after they took control of Iran and its large cities? In 1938, Pope felt intuitively that the Saljuqs had remained loyal to the tent.³ His brilliant intuition, however, has not been developed. While the role played by the tents of the following Turko-Mongol dynasties has been the subject of many studies, it has remained *terra incognita* as far as the Saljuqs are concerned. In his impressive research published in 1999, Peter Andrews has analysed in depth the connections between nomadic traditions and princely tentage, a tradition of which Tamerlane's huge pavilion set up near Samarqand in 1404 was the "epitome".⁴ But Andrews skips directly from the Qarakhanids to the Khitans and the Mongols.⁵ Nor are the Saljuqs referred to in the relevant entry of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* or the *Grove Dictionary of Art*.⁶

¹ I am very grateful to Jürgen Paul and Peter Andrews for reading earlier versions of this article and making valuable suggestions.

² E.g. Ibn al-Athir, 9: 477: in 426/1030 Toghril Beg, Chaghri and their uncle Mūsā Yabghu "camped near Khwarazm" (*khayyamū bi-ṣāhir Khwārazm*).

³ See Pope 1938, 1412: Iran was "at repeated intervals invaded by peoples who retained nomadic habits and had continued to be tent dwellers ... [the Saljuqs and the Mongols] scorned the debilitating sedentary life of those whom they conquered and made the retention of their own nomadic forms of living a point of policy and of pride".

⁴ Andrews 1999, 1: 698.

⁵ Andrews (1999, 1: 556-7) mentions the Saljuqs once, *en passant*, in his section on Mongol princely tentage, but in a rather anecdotal and (just the once won't hurt) unconvincing way, see below n. 63.

⁶ The article "khayma" in *EI*² (Bosworth 1978) jumps directly from the Ghaznavids to the Mongols. Likewise Peter Andrews, in his article "Tent. III Court and Ceremonial" in the *Grove Dictionary*, jumps directly from the caliphs to the Mongols; see Blair and Bloom 2009, 3: 282-4 (which does not name the contributor). In a recent article on the tents of the

This lack of interest was largely due to the idea that the Saljuqs were 'Iranised' Turks, and that the question of their dwellings is therefore irrelevant. While, historians writing on the Saljuqs in the first half of the twentieth century (such as Sanaullah) had been much more cautious, Ann Lambton subsequently argued that "the Saljuqs did not, like the Mongols, live in tented encampments".⁷ Such an assertion is surprising, given the origins of the Saljuqs, and all the more surprising given the numerous references to their tents in the chronicles, not to speak of the panegyric poetry composed about them. This idea spread all the more easily as Lambton was considered an authority on the period, as Saljuq studies had remained an underdeveloped field (except in Turkey) and, moreover, as the very people who could have focused on the tents of the Saljuqs (and here I mean historians of art and techniques such as Andrews) were hampered by the lack of iconography and the difficulty of dealing with a bilingual corpus of sources (Arabic and Persian) which, furthermore, has not been translated until recently.

The present contribution is part of a larger research project started in 2006, concerned with the issue of the location of rule in pre-Mongol Iran. The main results obtained so far can be summarised as follows. First, the Saljuqs were very mobile and their travels were not merely motivated by military or political considerations. Even in peace time, the sultans used to follow an itinerant way of life, moving from one pasture to another. Second, the Saljuqs kept their distance from the city proper and stayed instead with their amirs in a military camp (Per. *lashkargāh*, Ar. *'askar/mu'askar*) outside the city walls.⁸ This article aims to document more closely the subject of their dwellings.

I have organised my essay in three parts. The first aims to define as precisely as possible the various elements of Saljuq royal tentage as it appears in the sources.⁹ The second part emphasises the symbolic dimen-

Ayyubids, Jean-Michel Mouton (2009) insists on their link with the tents of the Crusaders, without alluding to those of the Saljuqs.

⁷ Lambton 1973, 111, repeated in Lambton 1988, 6 and 26. Compare with Sanaullah 1938, 7-8. See Durand-Guédy 2012, 326-7.

⁸ I have dealt with these issues in two complementary articles, see Durand-Guédy 2012 and Durand-Guédy 2011b. The former outlines the aims of the project, its starting hypothesis and some preliminary results; the latter is a case-study focusing on the reign of a particular sultan.

⁹ I follow Peter Andrews (1997, 1: 3) in his understanding of a tent: "provided a structure has covering which can be separated from its supports, and both can be transported, it is for the purpose of this book a tent".

sion of the tent in the Great Saljuq sultanate. Finally, the third part seeks to establish to what extent the tent remained a key feature in the lifestyle of the Saljuqs generation after generation.¹⁰ I argue that the tent remained the dwelling of the Saljuqs throughout the 156 years of their rule in Iran, as well as the symbol of their kingship, and that from that perspective this dynasty falls fully within the Turko-Mongol tradition.

THE CONSTITUENT ELEMENTS OF THE SALJUQ ROYAL TENTAGE

The Question of the Sources

Any research on the Saljuqs' dwellings comes up against three problems posed by the sources. First, we are hampered by several grave deficiencies. Archaeological evidence is lacking: we have no examples of Saljuq tentage and no Saljuq palace has been excavated in Iran. There is also a lack of iconography, since we have only one painting representing the felt tent of the Turks that may date from the pre-Mongol period.¹¹

The surviving artefacts are not more helpful. Representations of tents are extremely rare, and virtually nonexistent. Of the around 1,000 artefacts in the Metropolitan Museum identified as being produced between 1000 and 1400 (exceeding by far the Saljuq period *sensu stricto*), I have been unable to identify a single representation of either a tent or a palace.¹² Lastly, we have to do without the descriptions by foreign observers that are so often informative on artefacts and buildings mentioned, but not described, by local writers. For the Saljuqs of Iran, there is nothing comparable to the accounts of the Byzantine Zemarchos on the court of the Türk Qaghan Ishtemi in 568AD, of Tamīm b. Baḥr on the Uighur court at Ordu Baliq at the beginning of the third/ninth century, of the Abbasid envoy Ibn Faḍlān on the Bulghar court in 310/922, or, for the later Turko-Mongol

¹⁰ The case of the Saljuqs of Anatolia is analysed in detail by Andrew Peacock in this volume (chapter 5).

¹¹ The painting, which shows a trellis tent and a pavilion, is in the Saint Petersburg manuscript of Ḥarīrī's *Maqāmāt* (Iraq, ca. 1225-35). It is reproduced in Grabar 1984, plate 3, no. B9; Andrews 1999, 2: plate no. 77; Blair and Bloom 2009, 2: 283. Andrews (1999, 2: plate no. 80) also adduces a painting from the Topkapı manuscript of *Warqa wa Gulshāh* (Rūm Saljuq sultanate, ca. 1250).

¹² Result of an inquiry on the 1,092 artefacts displayed online on the site of the Metropolitan Museum under the category Iran AD 1000-1400. (<http://www.metmuseum.org/collections/search-the-collections>; last accessed 4 December 2012). For a rare example of a thirteenth-century representation of a tent, see "the goblet with *Shāh-nāma* scenes" reproduced in Grabar 1968, plate 7(b).

courts, of Clavijo on Temür's court at Samarqand in 1404 and Michele Membré on Shah Ṭahmāsp's in Western Iran in 1540.

A second problem is the vagueness of the sources' vocabulary related to dwellings. Even the most basic terms can have different meanings. For example, in the Persian sources the terms *wuthāq* and *khāna* can designate a permanent structure or a tent, depending on the context. To complicate matters, the same applied in Turkic languages, where the key-word "*kārākū* meant 'tent' (*khibā*) among the Türkmens, and 'winter house' (*bayt shatwī*) among the settled folk".¹³ At another level, a word such as *khayma* can be used as a generic term for tent, but may also to refer to a specific type of tent: the 'guyed tent', i.e. a tent held up by 'guy ropes'. Most of the time, it is impossible to say whether the word is used specifically or generically. Andrews' thoroughness in defining as precisely as possible what type of tent is meant by particular words in particular texts clearly demonstrates how sensitive this work is. His approach is not unlike that of prehistorians trying to arrive at a complete picture from the analysis of a single molar. As with prehistory, it is often impossible to reach a confident answer. That is why translations produced by historians, notwithstanding their great usefulness, are often misleading when it comes to technical terms.¹⁴

The third problem, which amplifies the second, is that the lack of precision concerning dwellings increases with the authors' distance in space and in time from the Saljuq courts. A simple example will clarify the problem. In 529/1135, Sultan Mas'ūd b. Muḥammad captured the Abbasid caliph and took him to Azarbaijan. Shortly afterwards, while the royal camp was set near Marāgha, the caliph was killed in his tent (the murder was blamed on the Ismailis). The sources are more or less consistent with regard to the sequence of events, but details about the setting differ greatly. I have noted in a table the relevant passages in three of the main sources (see Table 1). The various terms used in these sources will be explained in the following section. What is important to note at this point is the variation in precision between the various texts. How can we explain these differences? Ṣāḥīr al-Dīn, the author of the *Saljūq-nāma*, had apparently entered the service of Mas'ūd (d. 547/1152) at the end of his reign. He was therefore able to hear first-hand witnesses. Moreover, since he was himself living at

¹³ Kāshgharī, 1: 336.

¹⁴ Examples of such mistranslations are given throughout this article. I have, however, benefited too much from these translations to be too hard on their authors.

Table 1. The assassination of the Caliph al-Mustarshid in 529/1135

Subject	Ẓahīr al-Dīn, 75, § 3	‘Imād al-Dīn, 203 ⁺¹ (> Bundārī, 177-8)	Ibn al-Athīr, 11: 27
The setting of the caliph	they put up a <i>nawbatī</i> tent and a <i>sarāparda</i> and they put [the caliph] with respect into this place whose access was restricted (<i>ḥaram</i>), and they arranged a kitchen tent (<i>maṭbakh</i>) and a <i>sharāb-khāna</i>	They made [the caliph] stay in a tent (<i>anzalūhu fī khaymat^m</i>) which had been put up for his misfortune in a secret and distant place (<i>qad ḍaribat li-nakbihi fī sirr al-ghayb</i>) ... he remained like this in the tent encampment (<i>mukhayyam</i>) of Mas‘ūd, travelling with him ... until the camp (<i>‘askar</i>) was pitched near Marāgha	[Mas‘ūd] made the caliph stay in a tent (<i>khayma</i>) ...
The murder of the caliph	They went into the <i>nawbatī</i> tent, stabbed him and killed him	... The caliph was killed inside his <i>surādiq</i>	... his tent (<i>khayma</i>) was isolated from the rest of the camp (<i>‘askar</i>), then twenty four Ismailis came on him and killed him

the Saljuq court, he was able to grasp the differences (in form and function) between the types of tentage. And since the recipient of his chronicle (Toghriīl b. Arslan) was himself a Saljuq prince, these details made sense and had their proper place in this otherwise rather short text. ‘Imād al-Dīn wrote his chronicle in Syria, for the Ayyubids. But he was an Iranian and had direct knowledge of the Saljuq court. His account of the murder of the caliph is actually a translation from a lost Persian source. However, we can identify the key pair of terms, *khayma/surādiq*, that refer to the royal tentage (see below) and this source is thus perfectly consistent with Ẓahīr al-Dīn’s account. In contrast, in Ibn al-Athīr’s text, the setting is reduced to its simplest form, and is designated by the term *khayma*.

Post-Saljuq authors who relied on earlier sources should be dealt with even more carefully: it is sometimes difficult to say how or why they ‘updated’ the technical terms. This problem is made particularly clear if we consider the *Saljūq-nāma*, a text for which we have both the original and the post-Saljuq versions. For example, in the version given in Rashīd al-Dīn’s *Jāmi‘ al-tawārīkh*, the word *kūshk* has been changed to *qaṣrī* ... *sakht ‘ālī*.¹⁵ The latter formulation conveys the idea of an imposing castle, which

¹⁵ Compare Ẓahīr al-Dīn, 94, §5 with Rashīd al-Dīn, 146, line 11.

Table 2. Degree of reliability of the sources with regard to tents (*: lost sources; b.: born)

Years AH	A-level sources: written for the Saljuqs by authors familiar with the Saljuq court	B-level sources: written by authors contemporary with the Saljuqs	C-level sources: later sources
400-450	<i>Malik-nāma</i> * [used by <i>Akhbār</i> , Ibn al-Athīr and Mirkhwānd]	Bayhaqī	Sibt Ibn al-Jawzī (b. 581) 'Aṭā Malik Juwaynī (b. 623)
450-500	Nizām al-Mulk Mu'izzī	Ḥilāl al-Ṣābi* [used by Sibt]	Rashīd al-Dīn (b. 645) Mirkhwānd (b. 836-7)
500-550	Anwārī Anūshirwān b. Khālīd* [used by 'Imād al-Dīn]	Ibn Funduq Bayhaqī Ibn al-Jawzī Nizāmī 'Arūḍī 'Imād al-Dīn	
550-600	Zahīr al-Dīn Nishāpūrī Najm al-Dīn Qumī some documents from <i>al-Mukhtārāt min al-rasā'il</i> Rāwandī	Abū Ḥamid (maybe A-level source) some documents from <i>al-Mukhtārāt min al-rasā'il</i> Ibn al-Athīr (b. 555)	

is very misleading when one considers what a Saljuq *kūshk* really was. It is probable that Rashīd al-Dīn was swayed by the huge architectural projects launched by his masters, the Ilkhans.¹⁶

These introductory remarks are sufficient to show how much the sources vary in reliability, depending on their position relative to the Saljuq court, and on the relation of the author to the recipient. I have distinguished three kinds of text: A-level texts are those addressed to Saljuqs, thus not only written during their rule, but somehow validated by them from the point of technical accuracy; B-level texts are those written by authors contemporary with the Saljuqs, and often (but not always) familiar with their court; finally, C-level texts are written in a post-Saljuq context. Table 2 shows the authors whose works are used as sources for this article, according to this classification.

A text drawn from an A-level source, the story of the assassination of Majd al-Mulk in the *Saljūq-nāma*, may serve as an excellent introduction

¹⁶ Similar shifts in meaning are discernible even within the Mongol period: for example, Andrews notes that, in the first-hand description made by Juwaynī (3: 101, lines 3-4; trans. 2: 614) of the camp of Hülegü near Balkh in 1256, the royal tent was a "large canvas tent ornamented with graceful designs" (*khayma-yi buzurg az karbās-i munaqqash bā-naqsh-hā-yi laṭīf*). However, in Rashīd al-Dīn's later version this simple tent becomes "a tent of state with a thousand pegs, of gold upon gold" (*zar andar zar*), probably because, as Andrews remarks, a "tent of *karbās* was not worthy of so powerful a prince". See Andrews 1999, 1: 572. For another example (the tent of the Uighur *qaghan*), see *ibid.*, 146.

to the subject. The scene takes place in 492/1099 in the camp of Berk-Yaruq (d. 498/1105). The sultan has just lost a battle against his brother Muḥammad. Berk-Yaruq's great amirs then decide to kill his vizier, Majd al-Mulk:

They made for the *khayma* of Majd al-Mulk. He ran away and came into the *nawbatī* of the sultan. They plundered the *khayl-khāna* of Majd al-Mulk. After that they sent a message to the sultan: "Hand him over to us." The sultan did not accept. Majd al-Mulk said: "O Lord, since you know that it is in the interest of the realm to do so, let me go out so that they may do what they desire." The sultan did not authorise him [to leave]. The army had all mounted and drawn up in ranks around the *sarāparda*. They plundered the *pāyghāh* and the treasure (*khazāna*). There they reduced to nothing the fearful respect that the sultan inspired (*angāh ḥishmat bar dāshtand*). They went into the *nawbatī* and pulled Majd al-Mulk from before the sultan to the door by his beard and cut him to pieces.

When the sultan saw this, he ran out the *sharaj* of the *sarāparda*. He headed for the *khayma* of Ākhur Beg. Ākhur Beg came before the sultan and kissed the earth. The sultan said: "What sort of violation (*bi-rasmī*) is this? They destroyed the inviolability of my *ḥaram* (*ḥurmat-i ḥaram*) and the dignity of the sultanate (*nāmus-i saltānat*) is gone. Mount and shout to these nobodies and ask them what they want." Ākhur Beg sat the sultan in the *khayma* and mounted. He was in fact with them. [Ākhur Beg then advised the sultan to leave the place] ... The sultan left the camp (*lashkargāh*) with ten, fifteen *ghulāms* and went toward Rayy.¹⁷

In the translation given above, I have deliberately left in transliteration the various terms referring to royal tentage (*sarāparda*, *nawbatī*, etc.). The aim of this first section will be to define them.

Trellis Tents and Guyed Tents

As far as the tents are concerned, only the combination of a qualitative and quantitative approach can make up for the paucity and imprecision of our sources. A table of the various types of tent associated with the Saljuqs in the sources can be found in the Appendix. As this shows, one of the most frequently used terms is *khargāh*. It is found in texts about the first Saljuq sultan (Toghrīl Beg) as well as the last Saljuq sultan in Khurasan (Sanjar), and beyond that about their epigones such as the Khwarazmshahs.

What is a *khargāh*? Luther, an excellent specialist in the Saljuqs, translates it "pavilion".¹⁸ But 'pavilion' is an ambiguous term. It may designate

¹⁷ Zāhīr al-Dīn, 40-1.

¹⁸ Rashīd al-Dīn, 65, line 11; trans. 71.

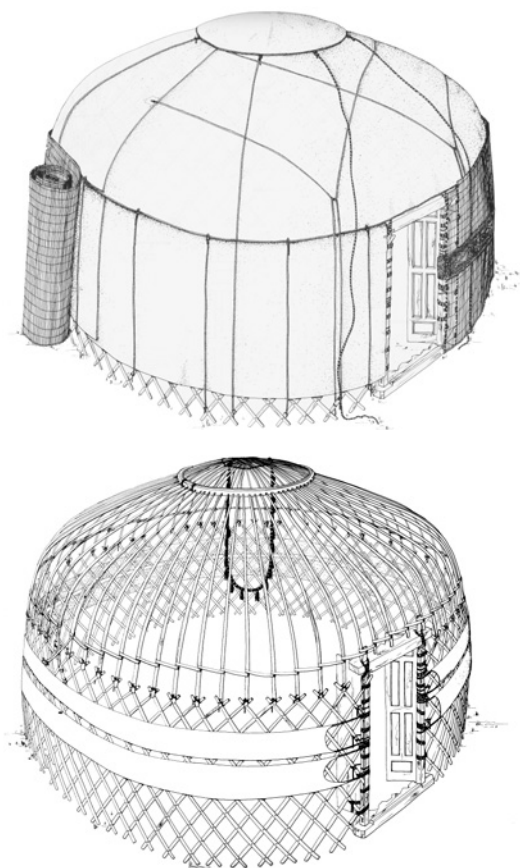


Fig. 1. Structure of a trellis tent. Based on field observation among the Yomut Türkmens of Iran. (Courtesy of P.A. Andrews 1997, 1: plate a2)

a certain type of tent (a tent, with a central pillar, crowned by a disk supporting the gores that form the roof and walls¹⁹) but it may also mean, by extension, a fixed building. Neither meaning is satisfactory, however, since *khargāh*, in the pre-Mongol sources on the Saljuqs, seems rather to designate a trellis tent, that is a tent made of a folding wooden structure (a lattice, or trellis) and a felt covering (see Fig. 1).²⁰

¹⁹ Pavilion tents are well known in the Western princely tradition. To visualise them, one has only to look at the illustrations of the famous meeting between François I and Henry VIII on the Field of Cloth of Gold ('Camp du Drap d'Or') in 1520.

²⁰ This type of tent is commonly called a 'yurt' in English and most European languages. We will avoid this term, however, since in Turkish *yurt* never means a tent. As Andrews

Andrews has concluded that the Persian term *khargāh* can only be defined beyond doubt as a trellis tent in the late Ilkhanid period.²¹ My conviction is that this was already true for the Saljuq period. Three types of arguments can be advanced. First, fifth/eleventh-century sources associate the *khargāh* with the Saljuqs at the beginning of their rise to power. Bayhaqī reports that in 432/1040-1 the Saljuqs, led by Toghril Beg, “arrived at the borders of Khwarazm with a large army and countless *khargāhs*, camels, horses and sheep”.²² The *Malik-nāma* (a source based on an oral account by a Saljuq amir) may also have spoken of the Saljuqs’ *khargāh*.²³ This indicates that the *khargāh* belonged to nomadic tentage. Now since Andrews has shown that the tent of the nomadic Turks in general, and of the Oghuz (who formed the main body of the Saljuqs) in particular, was the trellis tent, we can surmise an equivalence between *khargāh* and trellis tent.²⁴

At another level, a comprehensive lexicographical treatment of pre-Mongol sources, including the poetry, has led me to conclude that the term *khargāh* at that time already referred exclusively to the round trellis tent of Turkic nomads. To sum up the argument, which cannot be set out in full here, *khargāh* first appears in Muslim sources at the beginning of the fourth/tenth century, that is to say precisely when peoples of eastern

reminds us, “the real Turkic names for the tent, *ev*, *öy*, or *üy* simply mean ‘dwelling’, just as Mongolian *ger* does”, and for this very reason he has defined the Turkish nomadic tent by “its most characteristic element, the trellis” (Andrews 1997, 1: 3).

²¹ See Andrews 1999, 1: 539.

²² Bayhaqī, 930, line 5-6. The camel (and more precisely a hybrid from a Bactrian male and a female dromedary) was essential to carry the trellis tent and all its contents. On this see Andrews 1997, 1: 73; Bulliet 2010, 112-13.

²³ The lost *Malik-nāma* has come down to us through Ibn al-Athīr’s *Kāmil* (esp. sub anno 432), the *Akhhbār al-dawla al-saljūqīyya*, and Mirkhwānd’s *Rawḍat al-ṣafā’*. The *Akhhbār* (3) says that in 416/1025 Maḥmūd of Ghazna “came up against the clans (*aḥyā*) of this tribe (*qabīla*) known as the Qīnīq and their *khargāhs*”. Ibn al-Athīr (9: 475) and Mirkhwānd (6: 3127) formulate their text differently and do not refer to tents, so we cannot tell with certainty whether the term *khargāh* was in the original version (or rather versions, as Peacock has shown, see Peacock 2010, 42-4).

²⁴ For the diffusion of the trellis tent among pastoral Altaic groups from the eighth century onwards, see Andrews 1999, 1: 106-218, esp. 109-19 (Türks), 172-3, 230-3 (Khitans/Liao), 208-14 (Qarakhanids). The use of the trellis tent by the Oghuz is first attested in al-Ya’qūbī (295, trans. 113). When describing the arrival of the Oghuz in Western Iran and Mesopotamia, Ibn al-Athīr speaks twice of their *khargāhs*: in 420/1029 a group of Oghuz who had camped near Isfahan “struck their *khargāhs*” after being attacked by the locals (Ibn al-Athīr, 9: 378) and in the same year the Arabs defeated the same group of Oghuz near Mosul and “seized the encampments and their *khargāhs*” (*malaka al-‘Arab ḥilal al-Ghuzz wa kharkāhātahum*) (ibid., 390).

Eurasia explicitly associated with the trellis tent (Qarluqs, Oghuz and Kimeks) settled in Central Asia, in contact with Muslims or within Muslim lands. Rūdakī (d. ca. 329/940), a poet of the Samanids, whose army soon became dependent on the Turks, seems to be the first writer to use *khargāh* in Persian. And in Arabic, it is also an Iranian, Iṣṭakhrī (mid. fourth/tenth century), who used it first. This is probably not a coincidence.²⁵ Moreover it is very possible that '*khargāh*' is a Persian adaptation of *kerege/kārākū*, the Turkic word for trellis tent.²⁶

A last argument to identify *khargāh* with the trellis tent might be inferred from a passage in the *Saljūq-nāma* that mentions a particular type of *khargāh*. Ṣāḥib al-Dīn writes that "Berk Yaruq, on a hot afternoon (*garmgāh*), was resting in a *khargāh-i khīsh-khāna*".²⁷ *Khīsh* meaning cotton, this *khīsh-khāna* can be understood to be a structure of some sort covered with cotton fabric. This would fit very well with what the trellis tent is, namely a wooden structure, whose cover is adjusted to create the perfect temperature in any season: in winter it is covered with felt (several layers if necessary); in spring or autumn, the felt is raised during the day, and during the summer, it can be removed altogether. Maybe it is possible to imagine that, during the hottest hours of the summer days, the royal *khargāh* would be covered with a cotton fabric that servants sprayed with water to keep it cool.²⁸ This is all the more plausible since Tha'ālibī (d. 429/1038), speaking of the Caliph al-Manṣūr, refers to a cool summer pavilion made of wet canvas stretched over a dome-shaped wooden frame.²⁹

Use of the trellis tent was not the privilege of the sultan alone. For a start, the Türkmens continued to use it and many sources refer to the *khargāh* of Iranian servants of the Saljuqs (e.g. the vizier Sa'd al-Mulk Abu'l-Maḥāsin, see Appendix). But on campaign, it was probably the lucky few who would be accommodated in a trellis tent, while the bulk of the army used simple guyed tents, less sophisticated but also less heavy and

²⁵ This kind of analysis is made possible thanks to historical and literary databases that enable word-searches through the huge corpus of Islamic sources. The presentation of the method employed and the full analysis of the results would take too much space to be incorporated in this essay and will be included in a future publication.

²⁶ On the *kerege* used by the Türks, see Andrews 1999, 1: 109.

²⁷ Ṣāḥib al-Dīn, 42, §9.

²⁸ According to Peter Andrews (email 28 December 2012), "there is ample pictorial evidence that from the Timurid period, if not the Mongol, woven fabrics were substituted for the felt, at least in summer, for princely tents. This was mainly for prestige, but it may also have had a practical purpose since felts are heavy for transport."

²⁹ Al-Tha'ālibī, trans. 48-9, quoted by Necipoğlu (1993: 10) who adds: "after that, the practice arose of using a suspended matting of woven reeds, and the use became general".

therefore more portable, or else simplified versions of the *khargāh*, which dispensed with the trellis for lightness.³⁰

The Royal Enclosure (Sarāparda and Surādiq)

The second term that often comes up in descriptions of Saljuq tentage is *sarāparda* (var.: *sarātyparda*, *parda-sarā*). Literally, *sarāparda* is a palace (*sarāy*) made of cloth/curtain (*parda*). Many historians and specialists in literature have understood *sarāparda* as a large tent. For example Browne and Lazard have translated it “pavilion”³¹, Barthold “tent”³² and Luther “large royal tent” or simply “royal tent”.³³ Bosworth seems to have realised that this meaning was inadequate to translate one passage in Gardīzī, and for that occasion he chose “whole series of tents”.³⁴ However, the *sarāparda* was not a tent, or series of tents, but a cloth enclosure *inside* which other tents were erected. It has been discussed with regard to the Timurid period by historians of art and crafts.³⁵ For the Saljuq period, this can be argued on several grounds. First, the sources clearly distinguish the *sarāparda* from other types of tent. Bayhaqī speaks of the camp of the Khwarazmshah in which “a *khayma*, a *khargāh* and a large *sarāparda*” had been pitched.³⁶ The *Malik-nāma* says that, when Mas‘ūd of Ghazna tried to appease the Saljuqs, he sent them “forty bows, one hundred *khargāh*, three luxurious *sarāparda*, and three standards”.³⁷

³⁰ At least, this is what is suggested by the story of Majd al-Mulk's murder, in which the tents of the vizier and amirs are called *khayma*. There was, in any case, a great deal of difference between the well-appointed trellis tents used by nomadic leaders and those of the ordinary nomads, which were generally drab.

³¹ See Nizāmī ‘Arūḍī, 42, trans. 47. Lazard 2002, 44 (trans. from Bayhaqī, 208-9).

³² See Barthold 1968, 282 (trans. from Gardīzī, 405 = Barthold 1900, 1: 15-6). Hereafter the sign ‘=’ is used to refer to another edition/author when the text in hand is identical.

³³ See Rashīd al-Dīn, 59, line 10 (= Ṣāḥīr al-Dīn, 38, §5), trans. 67; Rashīd al-Dīn, 61, line 16 (= Ṣāḥīr al-Dīn, 39, §7), trans. 69; Rashīd al-Dīn, 65, line 7 (= Ṣāḥīr al-Dīn, 42), trans. 71; Rashīd al-Dīn, 81, line 10 (= Ṣāḥīr al-Dīn, 55), trans. 82; Rashīd al-Dīn, 114, line 11 (= Ṣāḥīr al-Dīn, 75, §3), trans. 106; Rashīd al-Dīn, 145, line 11 (= Ṣāḥīr al-Dīn, 93, §4), trans. 128.

³⁴ Bosworth 1978, 1150. In his recent translation of Bayhaqī and Gardīzī, Bosworth has finally accepted considering the *sarāparda* as a camp enclosure, but still not in every case. See Bayhaqī, trans. 1: lxiv-lxv (glossary) and *ibid.*, 3: 9-10. In his translation of the *Saljūq-nāma*, Luther has also translated *sarāparda* as “enclosure” on one occasion (Rashīd al-Dīn, 63, line 5 = Ṣāḥīr al-Dīn, 40; trans. 69). This makes all the more incomprehensible his consistent translation of the term as “broad tent” in all other instances.

³⁵ See O’Kane 1993, 251; Andrews 1997, 1: 669.

³⁶ Bayhaqī, 449, lines 7-8.

³⁷ Mirkhwānd, 6: 3133.

My second argument is that the *sarāparda* is much larger than a tent. Ẓahīr al-Dīn mentions twice a *sarāparda* around which the army “had drawn up in ranks” (*ṣaffzada*), either to threaten it or to protect it.³⁸ Such a deployment is possible around a tent, but is best understood if one imagines an enclosure. This is confirmed by a passage in Gardīzī in which Maḥmūd of Ghazna, on his coming into Transoxania, ordered the erection of a “great *sarāparda* which could contain 10,000 riders”.³⁹ The maximum capacity of the largest portable trellis tents (those erected by the Mongols at the height of their power) seems to have been 250 to 300 people.⁴⁰ Even the huge tent of the king of the Bulghars described by Ibn Faḍlān could accommodate ‘only’ 1,000 people, and it was probably not even mobile.⁴¹ It is clear that in this case *sarāparda* cannot designate a tent.

The last argument, which is decisive, is that some sources indicate explicitly that the trellis tent was *inside* the *sarāparda*. In Bayhaqī’s chronicle, we read that, one day, Sebük-Tegin, “during the heat of the day, was inside the *sarāparda* in its *khargāh* (*dar sarāparda bi-khargāh*) in the plain of Bust”.⁴² If one agrees that the *khargāh* is a trellis tent, then the *sarāparda* must be not a tent but an enclosure.⁴³

The question of the *sarāparda* is closely linked to that of the *surādiq*, but the connection between the two terms has never been established. Bosworth translates *surādiq* as “royal tent” or “ceremonial great tent”, but without explaining why.⁴⁴ Everything points to the Arabic term *surādiq*

³⁸ Ẓahīr al-Dīn, 40 (Berk-Yaruq’s camp); *ibid.*, 93, §4 (Sulaymān’s camp).

³⁹ Gardīzī, 405: *amīr farmūd tā sarāy-parda-yi buzurg bīzadand chinānki dah hazār sawār andar ān sarāy-parda jāy buwad.*

⁴⁰ Andrews 1999, 1: 189.

⁴¹ Ibn Faḍlān, 28 [Arabic text], line 17.

⁴² Bayhaqī, 582, lines 5-6. Referring to the same passage, Anwarī (1994, 35) concludes that the *sarāparda* contained the *khargāh*, which is correct, but goes completely off track by proposing that the *khargāh* was a small wooden room placed in the middle of the tent.

⁴³ An additional proof might be Ẓahīr al-Dīn’s (38, §5; *ibid.*, 55, §2) calling the *sarāparda* of the Great Saljuqs *jahrumī*, in reference to Jahrum, a region of Fārs renowned for its fabrics. Significantly, Jahrum was famous for its curtains or *sutūr* (see Maqdisī 442, line 12). Since *sarāparda* is basically made of curtains, the reference of the *sarāparda jahrumī* makes all the more sense.

We note that the earliest reference to a *sarāparda* from Jahrum is made by a son of Nizām al-Mulk, addressing a sultan. Since Fārs was conquered for the Saljuqs by Nizām al-Mulk, and since we know the vizier had maintained strong positions there (such as the fortress of Khūrshāh), it is likely that the *sarāparda* of the *jahrumī* type was introduced to the Saljuq court by Nizām al-Mulk himself.

⁴⁴ See Akhbār, 38, trans. 31 (“royal tent”); *ibid.*, 62, trans. 89 (“ceremonial great tent”). Cf. ‘Imād al-Dīn, *Fath*, 25 (*dakhala al-surādiq*), trans. Massé 28: “il se retira sous sa tente”. *Ibid.* 221.

being an equivalent of the Persian *sarāparda*. *Surādiq* is a Qur'anic word and Ibn Manẓūr (d. 711/1311), the compiler of *Lisān al-'Arab*, defines it as "something which surrounds a building" (*mā aḥāta bi l-binā*).⁴⁵ This evokes more an enclosure than a tent. Then we note that these terms are mutually exclusive: *sarāparda* is not used in Arabic sources and *surādiq* is not used in Persian sources (see Appendix⁴⁶). This would be consistent with both terms designating the same thing. But a more convincing argument is that the function of the *surādiq* in the Arabic sources is similar to that of the *sarāparda* in the Persian sources. For example, Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597/1200) says that, for the wedding of Toghrīl Beg to the caliph's daughter in 455/1063, "a *surādiq* was put up for her from the Tigris up to *Dār al-mamlaka* (*min al-Dijla ilā Dār al-mamlaka*)".⁴⁷ *Surādiq* here cannot mean a tent and evokes rather something delimiting a given space.

Two texts remove any doubt. The first is from Ibn Jubayr's *Travels to Mecca*: the Westerner traveller describes the camp of an amir which was surrounded by a "*surādiq* like a cotton wall" (*surādiq ka l-sūr min al-kattān*).⁴⁸ This *surādiq* had a "square-shape" (*jawānibuhu al-arba'a kullahā ashkāl dharī'a*) and "trellis tents were pitched inside" (*wa fī dakhilihi al-qibāb al-maḍrūba*).⁴⁹ The other text is even more relevant because it portrays a Saljuq ruler. Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī uses the first-hand account given by the vizier Ibn Fūrak to describe a meeting between Toghrīl Beg and the caliph. In 451/1059, the caliph had been forced to abandon his palace after the pro-Fatimid amir Basāsīrī had taken Baghdad. When Toghrīl Beg arrived, he hurried to send the caliph "many *surādīqs*, several tents (*khīyam*), *khargāhs*, objects (*ālāt*) and carpets".⁵⁰ Ibn Fūrak had "the *surādīqs* and the tents"

⁴⁵ Ibn Manẓūr, 6: 234. In the Qur'an, *surādiq* appears once: *innā a'tadnā li-l-ẓālimīna nāran aḥāta bi-him surādīquhā* (18: 29). Arberry (1996, 319-20) has translated *surādiq* literally as pavilion: "Surely We have prepared for the evildoers a fire, whose pavilion encompasses them", which seems to me to be a mistake.

⁴⁶ The only exception is a passage in the version of the *Malik-nāma* in Mīrkhwānd, which says that the Saljuqs "ordered the destruction of the bows and *surādīqs*" sent as a gift by Mas'ūd of Ghazna, while earlier in the text the same gift was described as "bows, *khargāhs*, and luxurious *sarāpardas*". It is not possible to deduce from this context what kind of tentage *surādiq* meant here, although this might be the author demonstrating his sophistication by using synonyms.

⁴⁷ Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, 98, line 21 (= Ibn al-Jawzī, 8: 229).

⁴⁸ Ibn Jubayr, 175.

⁴⁹ Ibid. Broadhurst (181) translates *qubba* by pavilions, but *qubba* evokes rather a dome. Al-Ya'qūbī (295, trans. 113) speaks of *al-qubba al-turkiyya al-muḍalla'* (lit.: ribbed Turkish dome) of the Turkish military in Baghdad. Andrews (1999, 1: 182) has shown that trellis tents were meant both here and by other Arab authors.

⁵⁰ Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, 59, lines 20-1.

pitched. The next day, on 24 Dhu'l-Hijja (31 January 1060), the sultan visited the caliph. At the end of the meeting, Toghril Beg asked the caliph to grant authorisation for his amirs to see him: "We opened the *surādiq*, the caliph was in the *khargāh*, and they came forward, saw him and kissed the ground."⁵¹ This clearly indicates that the *khargāh* was *inside* the *surādiq*. Therefore, if it is agreed that the first term means a trellis tent, the second cannot be a tent. (I am not aware of any example of nested tents.) The couple *khargāh/surādiq* appears here exactly as did the pair *khargāh/sarāparda* in the passage in Bayhaqī referred to above.

Other equivalences can also be found in the sources. 'Imād al-Dīn speaks of soldiers closing ranks around the *surādiq*, exactly as Ḥāhīr al-Dīn speaks of soldiers closed ranks around the *sarāparda*.⁵² And we shall see in the next section that the *surādiq* is named as an attribute of the sultanate in the Arabic sources, exactly like the *sarāparda* in Persian sources. For all these reasons, I believe that in the Arabic sources on the Saljuqs, *surādiq* is the term designating the royal enclosure.⁵³

The function of the *sarāparda/surādiq* was to mark out spaces, and first and foremost to separate the space dedicated to the ruler (khan or sultan) from the rest of the camp. This is a recurring element in the princely tentage of Turkic rulers. In the *Adab al-ḥarb wa'l-shujā'a* (written ca. 1228), *sarāparda* designates a royal precinct in the context of the Mongol camp.⁵⁴ The *Liao shi*, which is the main source on the Khitans (Liao) of northern China, says that the imperial tent (*ya-chang*) was surrounded by an enclosure supported by lances planted in the ground. Such a disposition is consistently visible in the paintings on the Wen-chi scrolls (which, Andrews demonstrates, represent the daily life of the Khitans). The chief's tent is installed in the middle of an enclosure of screens, which have no defensive function (see Fig. 2). This type of enclosure was probably introduced in

⁵¹ Ibid., 61, lines 9-10.

⁵² 'Imād al-Dīn, *Nuṣra*, fol. 300 (= Bundārī, 272, line 15): "He saw the soldiers placed in rows around the private *surādiq* of Sonqur (*surādiq Sonqur al-khāṣṣ*)." Cf. Ḥāhīr al-Dīn quoted above. See also 'Imād al-Dīn, *Faṭḥ*, 81, 380 and Mouton 2009, 188, n. 23.

⁵³ The equivalence between *surādiq* and *sarāparda* does not perhaps hold true for other periods. In commenting on a passage in Ibn 'Arabshāh describing Temür's camp, Andrews (1999, 1: 762) translates *surādiqat* (sic) as "royal tent". Here, this definition seems justified since the author also refers to a *sūr* ('wall') in the camp, a term obviously designating the royal enclosure.

⁵⁴ See Andrews 1999, 1: 348 and pl. 81 showing the "Encampment of the Infidels of Khitay". The plan shows that here a 'precinct' must be meant, though this does not exclude the sense of 'enclosure', from which it derives.

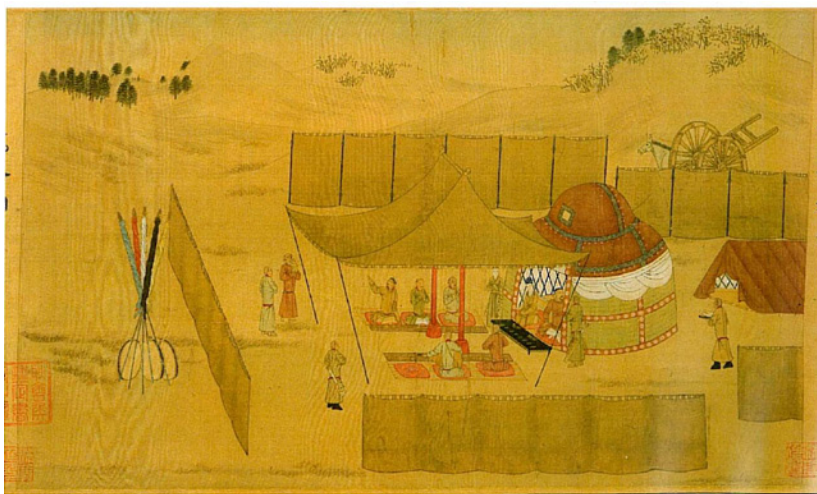


Fig. 2. The camp of the Khitans/Liao (twelfth century) in a painting copied from the Wen-chi scrolls. Trellis tent of the large type with a ridged reception tent, a wedge tent, and enclosure screens. A flat-bed cart in the background. (Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of the Dillon Fund, 1973, 1973.120.3. Legend by Andrews 1999, 2: planche 72)

Central Asia at the time of the Türk Qaghanate, but the Saljuqs in any case emulated the Ghaznavids, for whom the *sarāparda* was an essential part of the royal camp.⁵⁵

The Tents of State (Nawbatī and Bārgāh)

A third term for tentage associated with the Saljuqs is *nawbatī*, and it is no better defined than the others. From the account of the killing of Majd al-Mulk (see above p. 155), we understand that it was a tent. Indeed, the amirs pulled the vizier through the ‘door’ of the *nawbatī* by his beard.⁵⁶ In his dictionary of the Persian language, Mu‘īn defines *nawbatī* as “a large tent in which the guards take turn”.⁵⁷ But in a Saljuq context the

⁵⁵ The passage in Gardīzī about the huge *sarāparda* pitched by Maḥmūd in 416/1025 (see above) is the best known example. Bayhaqī (449, line 8, and 935, line 8) also mentions twice the *sarāparda* of the Khwarazmshah. No less significant is the frequency with which *sarāparda* occurs in Firdawsī’s *Shāh-nāma* (completed in 1010): no less than 83 times, very often in combination with *khargāh*. In his *Glossar*, Wolff (1935, 515-6) distinguishes two meanings for *sarāparda*: an enclosure (“Zeltvorhang”, “Zeltlagerein”) and a royal tent (“Königzelt”, “Fürstenzelt”), but without explaining on what grounds.

⁵⁶ Ṣāḥir al-Dīn, 40.

⁵⁷ Mu‘īn 1966, 4: 4842 (*nawbatī: khayma-ī buzurg ki pāsbanān dar ān bi-nawbat bāshand*). It is probably on this basis that Luther has systematically translated *nawbatī* as “guard tent”,

nawba was also the military salute played for important personages and it was the privilege of the sultan to be given five *nawbas*. In the account of Majd al-Mulk's murder, since the *nawbatī* appears to be close to the sultan's *sarāparda*, I understand *nawbatī* to be a tent set up in front of the royal *sarāparda*, where the *ghulāms* in charge of the 'security' and/or the *nawbas* lodged. Matters are complicated by the fact that *nawbatī* is also used figuratively. For example, when Bayhaqī speaks of the *sarāparda-yi nawbatī* of Mas'ūd of Ghazna, *nawbatī* is used metonymically to mean 'royal'.⁵⁸ Steingass goes as far as saying that the *nawbatī* could mean the tent of audience.⁵⁹ However, given the lack of information, we cannot be so sure. And it is even less likely that the sources use the term *bārgāh* for the place of audience, which is its literal meaning.⁶⁰

The throne itself could be installed in various settings: in a fixed building as was probably the case in Hamadan;⁶¹ under a sort of canopy, like those in numerous paintings of the Mongol and Timurid era (see Fig. 3); or inside a tent. This last option is mentioned by Ibn al-Balkhī (mid-sixth/twelfth century), who speaks of the *khayma-yi bārgāh* of the Kayanid king Kay-Khusraw.⁶² Used alone, however, *bārgāh* usually means simply the 'presence of the king', nearly synonymous with *ḥaḍrat* (as in the *inshā'* collections or diwans of poetry, where *bārgāh* is used to rhyme with *dargāh*), and no tent can be inferred.

Unlike Andrews, I would not take into consideration the references to the "*Saljuq bārgāh*" found in Ilkhanid sources.⁶³ What I have defined as

see Rashid al-Dīn, 59, line 10 (= Ṣāḥir al-Dīn, 38), trans. 67; *ibid.* 61, line 15 (= Ṣāḥir al-Dīn, 39), trans. 69; Rashid al-Dīn, 62, line 16 (= Ṣāḥir al-Dīn, 40), trans. 67; Rashid al-Dīn, 114, line 11 (= Ṣāḥir al-Dīn, 75, §3), trans. 106.

⁵⁸ Bayhaqī, 573, line 7. Bosworth (trans. 2: 100) has understood this passage differently and translated it "great marquee".

⁵⁹ Steingass 1892, 1431 ("*naubatī*, He who beats the kettle-drum called *naubat*; the great tent of audience").

⁶⁰ "Place (*gāh*) of audience (*bār*)", from *bār dādan*, to hold audience.

⁶¹ The 'old *kūshk*' of Hamadan was also called the *sarāy-i bār* (literally, 'palace for audience'), which may mean that there was no *bārgāh* tent when the camp was in Hamadan. This was not the configuration in the Saljuq camp pitched during the siege of Baghdad in 552/1157, however, since Ṣāḥir al-Dīn mentions a *bārgāh* tent as well as a *sarāy* and a *sarāparda*. He also refers to a *dihlīz*, which normally means a tent used as a vestibule for public audiences, but for which I have found references too contradictory to deal with in this very preliminary essay.

⁶² Ibn al-Balkhī, 46, line 11 (*pas dar khayma-yi bārgāh binshast*). *Bārgāh* is used here as a determiner (Pers: *wābasti-yi ism*) for the tent of the king.

⁶³ Rashid al-Dīn (32, trans. 48) says that, shortly before Manzikert, Sultan Alp Arslan was captured by the Byzantines while on a hunt. To keep his disappearance secret and prevent the breaking up of the army, his vizier Nizām al-Mulk ordered that no one should



Fig. 3. A royal audience under an awning. (Painting from a Timurid MS. of *Kalīla wa Dimna*, ca. 1485, reproduced in Soudavar 1992, 112)

A-level sources clearly mention a space called *bārgāh* in the camp. Ṣāḥir al-Dīn uses the term three times. During the hasty evacuation of the Saljuq camp from the western bank of the Tigris in 552/1157, Ṣāḥir al-Dīn says that “the *sarāparda*, luggage (*buna*), the *bārgāh*, the treasury (*khazāna*) ... and all the goods of the sultan” were abandoned.⁶⁴ In 561/1166, the Atabeg Pahlawān mourned the death of the amir Girdbāzū for three days in his

be allowed into the *bārgāh*. This anecdote is not in Ṣāḥir al-Dīn’s original version. Similarly, Juwaynī (3: 204, trans. 2: 677) says that Nizām al-Mulk was stabbed to death while going back “from the *bārgāh* [of Malik-Shāh] to his private trellis tent” (*az bārgāh bā khargāh-i ḥaram*), but the earlier accounts on which Juwaynī obviously relies do not refer to the *bārgāh* of Malik-Shāh. Ibn al-Athīr (9: 205) simply speaks of *khayma ḥuramihi* and Ibn al-ʿAdīm (86, line 15) of *miḍrab ḥuramihi*. See also Ibn al-Jawzī, 9: 66-7. Andrews (1999, 1: 577) relies on these examples to infer that the *bārgāh* tent existed in the Saljuq courts, but all they in fact prove is the importance of the *bārgāh* in the Mongol period.

⁶⁴ Ṣāḥir al-Dīn, 97 (passage quoted in full below p. 179).

bārgāh.⁶⁵ And in 549/1154-5, the *bārgāh* of Sulaymān b. Maḥmūd and other components of his camp (including the treasure and the royal insignia) “had not been moved” (*bar jāy bimānad*) after his departure and were subsequently looted by the army.⁶⁶ From the last two examples it can be inferred that the ruler had a tent called a *bārgāh* and that it could normally be moved. In addition ‘Imād al-Dīn tells us that, when Sultan Maḥmūd was in the presence of his uncle Sanjar, he was expected “to walk from the *bārgāh* to the *sarāparda* (*surādiq*) [of Sanjar]”.⁶⁷ From this we may surmise that the *bārgāh* was not within or even contiguous with the *sarāparda*.

To summarise this section, the sources show that a cloth enclosure called a *sarāparda* delimited a space to which access was limited, and inside which the tents of the sultan and his family were pitched. The sultan himself was accommodated in a trellis tent. A *nawbatī* tent was pitched immediately outside the *sarāparda*. The *bārgāh* tent, in which audiences were held, was pitched further off. The amirs placed their tents around the royal *sarāparda* in an unknown pattern.

THE SYMBOLIC DIMENSION OF ROYAL TENTAGE

The Symbols of the Sultanate

In the account of the murder of Majd al-Mulk in Berk-Yaruq’s camp, the sultan seems less affected by the loss of his vizier than by the fact that he was killed while he was in the *nawbatī* tent, immediately next to the *sarāparda*: “What sort of violation (*bī-rasmī*) is this? They have destroyed the inviolability of my sanctuary (*ḥurmat-i ḥaram*) and the dignity of the sultanate (*nāmūs-i salṭānat*) is gone.”⁶⁸ The words *ḥurmat*, *ḥaram* and *nāmūs* that Ṣāḥib al-Dīn puts in the mouth of Berk-Yaruq’s indicate that a certain type of conduct was required in the *sarāparda* and the *nawbatī* and that they were not just tents for the sultan, but also symbols of sultan’s power.

This symbolic dimension appears even more clearly in another passage in the *Saljūq-nāma*. In 492/1099, the amir Öner was encouraged by a son of Niẓām al-Mulk to claim the sultanate for himself. Öner was not an ordinary amir. Not only was he the military governor of Isfahan, the capital of

⁶⁵ Ibid., 112, §7.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 93, §4.

⁶⁷ ‘Imād al-Dīn, *Nuṣra*, fol. 135 (= Bundārī, 129, lines 3-4 and *Akhbār*, 89).

⁶⁸ See the full extract quoted above p. 153.

the empire, but he was also the adopted son of Malik-Shāh. The first thing Zāhīr al-Dīn says he did was to erect tents:

Öner fell into the trap. The ambition to be king filled his mind. He ordered the *nawbatī* tent to be set up, as well as the red *sarāparda*, with his name and his titles (*alqāb*) [inscribed on it].⁶⁹

It is not important to know whether the accusation against Nizām al-Mulk's family is true. The key point here is that political struggle is expressed through the 'language of tents'. This text also proves that the dedicatee of the *Saljūq-nāma*, the young Sultan Toghrīl b. Arslan, was expected to understand this language. A hundred-and-sixty years after the founding of the Saljuq sultanate, the tent was still clearly a powerful symbol, as it had always been in the history of the Türks. Öner's seizure of the royal tent in Isfahan echoes Chaghri's seizure of the *sarāparda* of Mas'ūd the Ghaznavid after the decisive Saljuq victory at Dandānqān, or the Qirghiz swearing that they would seize the 'Golden Tent' of the Uighur *qaghan* at Ordu Baliq.⁷⁰

The sources show that, on a number of occasions, the Saljuqs offered tents to honour guests or allies. For example, during the campaign in Mesopotamia in 449/1057, Toghrīl Beg tried to win over the Arab amirs Dubays and Quraysh by "sending a great tent (*khayma*) to accommodate them as a token of respect".⁷¹ But while we have seen that Mas'ūd of Ghazna had tried to win over the Saljuqs by sending them three *sarāparda* (obviously one for each of the leaders), in the following period the Saljuq sultans never gave *sarāparda* or *nawbatī* to anyone except members of the Abbasid family (Toghrīl Beg gave a *sarāparda* to al-Qā'im, and Mas'ūd b. Muḥammad a *sarāparda* and a *nawbatī* to al-Mustarshid⁷²), which is a clear indication of their unique position within the Saljuq state. The special status of the royal tent is also seen through the *qaṣīdas* of Mu'izzī, the court poet of Malik-Shāh, Berk-Yaruq and Sanjar: while in his poems the *khargāh* is associated with other persons than the ruler (starting with Mu'izzī himself, who complains to one of his patrons that he has no *khargāh*), the way he refers to the *sarāparda* is more exclusive. The *sarāparda* appears five times in his diwan, four of them related directly to the sultan: Malik-Shāh

⁶⁹ Zāhīr al-Dīn, 39, §7.

⁷⁰ For Mas'ūd of Ghazna's *sarāparda*, see *Akḥbār*, 12, and Ibn al-Athīr, 9: 483. For the Golden Tent of the Uighurs, see Mackerras 1973, 182 (quoted and analysed by Andrews 1999, 1: 144).

⁷¹ Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, 18, line 19 (*ba'atha al-sultān khayma kabīra yanzulūnahā ikrāman lahum wa tashrifan*).

⁷² See Appendix and Table 1 for references.

(two occurrences), Berk-Yaruq and one unidentified sultan. The fifth case concerns the “*sarāparda* and palace” of Nizām al-Mulk. Since this is the only reference to the *sarāparda* of a Saljuq vizier in all the written sources, it cannot be taken to refute the exclusivity of the *sarāparda* to the ruler, but rather reflects the exceptional standing enjoyed by Nizām al-Mulk during Malik-Shāh’s reign.⁷³

In the period following the death of Malik-Shāh and Nizām al-Mulk in 485/1092, the *sarāparda* and the *nawbatī* tent are explicitly mentioned as an element of the royal appurtenances. For example, Ṣahīr al-Dīn says that, to obtain the vizierate, a son of Nizām al-Mulk gave Sultan Berk-Yaruq “the *sarāparda* and the royal umbrella which are royal insignia” (*ālāt-i saltanat az sarāparda wa chatr*).⁷⁴ Likewise ‘Imād al-Dīn reports that in 548/1153-4, the all-powerful amir Khāṣṣ Beg handed over the new sultan Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd what he had kept during the interregnum, that is “the regalia of kingship (*ālāt al-mulk wa adāwātihī*) with its hidden treasures (*mukhab-bayāt al-māl wa mudhakhkharātihī*), its tents (*khiyam*) and *sarāpardas* (*surādiqāt*), its horses (*ṣawāfin*), its servants (*mihān*) and its armours (*jawāshin, muzarradiyyāt*).⁷⁵ In his account of the succession of Berk-Yaruq, Ibn al-Athīr does not use the word *ālāt* (apparatus), but the status of the *sarāparda* is similar: in 498/1104 the Atabeg Ayaz ordered that the remains of the deceased sultan be brought back to Isfahan and then he “brought the *sarāpardas* (*surādiqāt*), tents (*khiyām*), royal parasol (*chatr*) and royal diadem (*shamsa*) and all that was required for a sultan and put it at the disposal of his son Malik-Shāh”.⁷⁶

The most telling example, however, is the meeting between Sanjar and Maḥmūd in 513/1119. After the death of Muḥammad b. Malik-Shāh in

⁷³ See Mu‘izzī, 443, verse 19 (*sarāparda* of Malik-Shāh), 310, verse 1 (~ Berk-Yaruq), 698, verse 16 (~ a ‘sultan’); 579, verse 18 (~ Nizām al-Mulk); 46, verse 8 (metaphor to speak of Malik-Shāh). Such political metaphors based on tents are just another example of the shift of paradigm in the political culture. The material is too extensive to be presented and analysed in this essay.

⁷⁴ Ṣahīr al-Dīn, 42, §9. One-hundred-and-forty years later, Bahā’ al-Dīn Juwaynī (the father of the author of *Tārīkh-i Jahān-gushā*) gave Körgüz, the Mongol governor of Khurasan, two luxurious tents “with all the requisite apparatus (*ālāt*).” See Juwaynī, 2: 237, trans. 2: 500 (quoted by Andrews 1999, 1: 567).

⁷⁵ ‘Imād al-Dīn, *Nuṣra*, fols 254^v, 255. Significantly Bundārī (229, lines 19-20) has deleted from ‘Imād al-Dīn’s text two words of Persian origin (*jawāshin* and *muzarradiyyāt*). The list goes on, but the other items handed over by Khāṣṣ-Beg (i.e. the Arab horses, the clothes) do not belong to the regalia.

⁷⁶ Ibn al-Athīr, 10: 380. The *shamsa* was not a diadem properly speaking, but a kind of crown studded of precious stones (and thus shining like the sun, *shams* in Arabic), which was suspended over the head of the king.

511/1118, his brother Sanjar sought to have his authority recognised by the rest of the Saljuq family (in Iran at least). He left Khurasan and came into Western Iran to challenge his nephew Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad, who had crowned himself sultan. After his victory, Sanjar set some rules to enforce his pre-eminence in the future. These are set out by two A-level sources, Ṣāḥib al-Dīn and ʿImād al-Dīn, which are independent of one another and both based on first-hand accounts.⁷⁷ Here is how ʿImād al-Dīn reports the positions taken by the advisers of Sanjar and Maḥmūd after they met “to establish the status of Sultan Maḥmūd and the manner in which he could rule”:

[Maḥmūd] had to abandon the royal practices (*rasm al-saltāna*) out of respect for his uncle. He had to stay with him as long as he would decide. When Sanjar would welcome him at his side, [Maḥmūd] had to hold his stirrup to show his respect (*adab*). He had to abandon his red *nawbatī* tent and choose instead a black and white one. He had to forbid having the drums (*ṭabl*) beaten for him while he was staying in the shadow [of Sanjar] and “clinging to his rope”. Upon entering where his uncle was, he had to throw himself to the ground (*inqaḍḍa*) and kiss it, and then to stand beside him for this most befits [Sanjar’s] greatness (*fa-dhalika aḥyaq bi-ʿuẓmihi*). And he had to walk beside his uncle’s stirrup from the seat of audience (*bārgāh*) to the *sarāparda* (*surādiq*), and in this manner the respect [due to Sanjar] (*ḥifẓ al-adab*) was shown. And yet he could not move into an [independent] *sarāparda*, but had instead to stay close to the tent [of Sanjar] where his children and his wives were [installed].⁷⁸

Ṣāḥib al-Dīn’s account is different but generally consistent.⁷⁹ In both sources the “royal practices” (*rasm al-saltāna*) concern the same elements: the *nawba* (ʿImād al-Dīn speaks of drums, *ṭabl*, while Ṣāḥib al-Dīn has Turkish trumpet, *būq-i turkī*); the gestures (kissing the ground in the presence of Sanjar, accompanying him on foot when he was riding, holding the stirrup when he was dismounting); and the position (remaining in the orbit of the sultan). Because the tents were essential elements of the camp, many of these measures concern them directly. Very logically, the prohibition

⁷⁷ The passage in ʿImād al-Dīn’s *Nuṣra* is based on the memoirs of Anūshirwān b. Khālīd, a Kāshānī who occupied at the time of the events the position of *ʿarīḍ* in Maḥmūd’s diwan. Maḥmūd even sent him as an ambassador to the court of Sanjar in Khurasan to dissuade him from coming to Western Iran. See Ibn al-Athīr, 10: 550. Ṣāḥib al-Dīn does not mention his source, but since he joined Masʿūd’s court around 544/1150, he would have been able to hear eyewitness accounts of the events.

⁷⁸ ʿImād al-Dīn, *Nuṣra*, fols 134^v-135 (more elaborated than Bundārī, 128-9). *Akḥbār* (89) is based on the *Nuṣra*. Bosworth’s rendering of this passage is riddled with approximations or mistakes. See Durand-Guédy 2013b.

⁷⁹ Ṣāḥib al-Dīn, 55, §2.

on Maḥmūd's having a fanfare played for him is coupled with the prohibition of having a *nawbatī* similar to the sultan's. Maḥmūd's submission is made visible to all through his escorting Sanjar from the *bārgāh* to the *sarāparda*. Finally, Maḥmūd's lack of independence is emphasised primarily by his being prohibited from having his own *sarāparda* and being obliged to stay in Sanjar's instead.

Red, the Royal Colour

The mention of a red *nawbatī* as privilege of the sultan deserves closer attention. In at least four texts from A and B-level sources, red is associated with the sultan's tents (see Table 3).

Red is the colour of various items. In case no. 2, it is a red *nawbatī*.⁸⁰ In case no. 3, it is a red *sarāparda*. In case no. 4 (the rules imposed by Sanjar to Maḥmūd), red is the colour of either the *nawbatī* or the *sarāparda*, depending on the source (the *nawbatī* in 'Imād al-Dīn; the *sarāparda* in Ḍahīr al-Dīn). This apparent confusion can be easily explained. We have seen that the *nawbatī* tent was probably set up near the *sarāparda*: by metonymy the red could be 'transferred' from the *nawbatī* to the *sarāparda* or vice versa. In any case, the difference is not significant, for, as we have just seen, the *nawbatī* and the *sarāparda* were both the prerogative of the sultan. We are left with case no. 1: an inhabitant of Baghdad complains to Malik-Shāh about a robbery he has suffered at the hands of some amirs;

Table 3. The red tents of the Saljuqs

Nos.	Context	Reference to the colour red	Source
1	479, 484 or 485: camp of Malik-Shāh in Baghdad	<i>qubba ḥamrā'</i>	Ibn al-Jawzī, 9: 70, line 13
2	488: gift to Berk Yaruq	<i>nawbatī-yi atlasī</i>	Ḍahīr al-Dīn, 38, §5
3	492: rebellion of Öner against Berk Yaruq	<i>nawbatī wa sarāparda-yi surkh</i>	Ḍahīr al-Dīn, 39, §7
4	513: protocol rules	<i>nawbatī al-ḥamrā'</i>	'Imād al-Dīn, fol. 135 (=
4bis	imposed on Maḥmūd by Sanjar	<i>sarāparda-yi surkh</i>	Bundārī, 129; <i>Akhbār</i> , 89) Ḍahīr al-Dīn, 55, §2

⁸⁰ Ḍahīr al-Dīn speaks of *nawbatī-yi atlas*. *Atlas* has several meanings. Luther has understood it as 'satin' (Rashīd al-Dīn, 59, line 10, trans. 67), but it is more logical to understand it as meaning the colour purple-red. See Dikhudā, 2877 (*atlasī: surkh-i tīra-rang*). Moreover, satin does not seem to be a fabric very suited to a trellis tent, which is what is referred to here.

the sultan tells him to go to the camp and to wait for his return near the “red *qubba*”. *Qubba* could designate the royal parasol (*chatr*) or a dome-shaped tent (we know that Toghrīl Beg entered Nishāpūr under a red parasol⁸¹) but here it most probably refers to a tent. Third/ninth century Arab authors used regularly the word *qubba* to speak of the trellis tent and, in the sixth/twelfth century, ‘Imād al-Dīn also uses *qubba* to speak of the tents in Saladin’s camp during the siege of Beirut.⁸² Since the *qubba* referred to by Malik-Shāh in case no. 1 is red, there is every reason to believe that it was the *nawbatī* tent.⁸³

The colour red was a legacy from the dynasties the Saljuqs had mixed with at their inception. Red was already a royal colour for the Qarakhanids. The petty ruler of Transoxania ‘Alī-Tegin (d. 425/1034) had a red standard next to his parasol (*chatr*).⁸⁴ Likewise, a Mirror for Princes dedicated to the Qarakhanid lord of Kashgar also mentions the red umbrella as a royal emblem.⁸⁵ The same was true of the Ghaznavids: next to the large *sarāparda* pitched for the army in 416/1025 (see above p. 160), Maḥmūd of Ghazna had also set up for his private use a *sarāparda* of red brocade from Shushtar (*az dībā-yi shushtarī-yi la’l*).⁸⁶ Several centuries after the Saljuqs, red was still the colour that signified the royal space in the encampment.⁸⁷ But red does not seem to derive from Turkish tradition. In Eastern Asia, the imperial colour was gold, or sometimes yellow. The great tent of the Uighur *qaghans* was golden (*min al-dhahab*),⁸⁸ and the imperial Mongol camp of Ögödei at Örmügetü was called *Sīra Ordu*, that is the ‘yellow camp’.⁸⁹ This special status given to yellow/gold derived either from the Chinese system of cardinal colours, which had gold as the centre, or from an earlier, common source.⁹⁰ Other colours are mentioned in connection with the tents

⁸¹ Andrews 1993, 193a.

⁸² ‘Imād al-Dīn, *Fath*, 104, trans. 40. See Mouton 2009, 185 n. 5.

⁸³ The two other possibilities can be discarded: it cannot be the *sarāparda* (since *qubba* evokes a dome) and it cannot be the personal trellis tent of the sultan, which was *ḥaram* and definitely inaccessible to a simple subject like the Baghdadi.

⁸⁴ Bayhaqī, quoted by Barthold 1968, 295.

⁸⁵ Yūsuf Khāṣṣ Ḥājib’s *Kutadgu Bilig*, quoted by Bosworth 1971, 1115a. Cf. Andrews 1999, 1: 216.

⁸⁶ Gardizī, 405; paraphrased by Barthold 1968, 282-3 (= Teksty, 15-6).

⁸⁷ In the Qajar summer camp at Sulṭāniyya in 1809, the shah’s quarters were surrounded by red canvas screens called *khānāt* or *parda*. See Brydges’ report quoted by Kondo in this volume (chap. 11, p. 398).

⁸⁸ See Tamīm b. Bahr, 279, §5, trans. 283.

⁸⁹ See Boyle 1971: 63. See also Masuya in this volume, p. 234.

⁹⁰ See Andrews 1999, 1: 507. If the Mongol *ulus* of Jochi was later called *Zolotaya Orda* (“Golden Horde”) in the Russian sources, this is because the gold designated the centre under the Chinese system (similarly we have *Sīra Ordo*).

of the Turko-Mongol rulers: for example the tents of the Khitans/Liao before their migration westward were blue;⁹¹ the large tent of Güyük, seen by Carpini in 1246, was in “white velvet” (*alba purpura*);⁹² and the colours of the three *ordus* of the descendants of Jochi were, in order of importance, white, blue and grey.⁹³ Red, on the other hand, is said to be the colour of only one of the three ceremonial tents of Güyük (Carpini speaks of *purpura ruffa*).⁹⁴ It is therefore possible that red as a royal colour derived not from a Turkic, but rather from an Iranian tradition.⁹⁵ However that may be, by forbidding his nephew to have a red *sarāparda*, Sanjar was saying: “I am the sultan”, just as Öner, by erecting a red *sarāparda* and a *nawbatī* tent, was saying “I am the sultan”. In both cases, the tent was used as a symbol of kingship.

TENT OR PALACE?

The Saljuqs were not sedentary rulers. It can be said that, until the end of the dynasty, they pursued an itinerant lifestyle, not from town to town, but rather from pasture to pasture. A very good proof of this is Ṣāḥir al-Dīn’s account of Arslan b. Toghrīl’s reign, in which he lists some of the royal pastures in the provinces of Isfahan and Zanjān.⁹⁶ The case of Toghrīl b. Arslan (Toghrīl III) is even more remarkable. This sultan was, according to all sources, the most ‘Iranised’ of all the Saljuqs.⁹⁷ Rāwandī, who served him for several years, reports that Toghrīl III composed Persian poetry and was very fond of calligraphy. But he also says that, with the arrival of the spring, Toghrīl used to change pasture.⁹⁸ Significantly, Rāwandī uses the word *kūch*, derived from the Turkic *köç*, which is linked to pastoral nomad-

⁹¹ *Liao Shi*, quoted by Andrews 1999, 1: 228.

⁹² Carpini, translated in Andrews 1999, 1: 506.

⁹³ See Ibn Faḍlān, trans. 182 and Golden 1992, 297 (quoted in Andrews 1999, 1: 560). The hierarchy of colour for the tents of the three khans (white, blue and grey) derived from the Turko-Mongol evaluation of white as auspicious, and grey as less so, white being the colour of milk products and therefore beneficial.

⁹⁴ Translated in Andrews 1999, 1: 509. See *ibid.*, 511-12.

⁹⁵ Red/purple (i.e. *aṭlasī*) has been identified as the colour of the warrior class (*artešārān*) among Indo-Europeans. See Tafazzoli 2000. Red is also the royal colour of the Ayyubids, see Mouton 2009, 185.

⁹⁶ Ṣāḥir al-Dīn, 116, §12; Durand-Guédy 2012, 332.

⁹⁷ On the last Saljuq sultan in Iran, see Durand-Guédy 2013a.

⁹⁸ Rāwandī, 352, line 12: the sultan stayed near Hamadan “until the time of moving to the meadow of Sak arrived” (... *tā ‘azīmat-i kūch wa ‘alaf-khwār-i marghzār-i Sak pīsh āmad*).

ism. It goes without saying that during the *kūch*, and naturally also during military campaigns, the Saljuqs lived in tents. The reign of Sultan Mas'ūd provides ample proof of this.⁹⁹ For example, in 529/1135, Mas'ūd captured the caliph in a meadow near Bisutūn and then encamped near Marāgha. Since the caliph was killed inside a tent (see Table 1), we may deduce that the sultan was also living in a tent. Immediately after the killing, the camp was moved near Khūy. There the Arab amir Dubays was killed at “the entrance of the *sarāparda*” of Mas'ūd.¹⁰⁰

What really matters, therefore, is to know where the Saljuqs lived when they settled in places where buildings were available. This means first and foremost the vicinity of Baghdad, Isfahan, Hamadan and Marw (see Fig. 4). As far as the first Saljuqs are concerned, I think that we can say with confidence that they continued to live in tents. For example, we know that, after the capture of Marw, the first major city to fall into their hands, Toghrīl Beg and Chaghri Beg remained in their camp.¹⁰¹ The same occurred after the capture of Isfahan, which marked the end of military operations in Jibāl,¹⁰² and again in Baghdad.¹⁰³ For Alp Arslan, whose reign was spent in nearly continual military operations, there was no alternative to the tent, but this was not the case with Malik-Shāh. This sultan enjoyed unparalleled authority during his long reign and had walled gardens (*bāgh*) and buildings called *kūshks* constructed for his own use on the outskirts of Isfahan, as well as a large fortress on a nearby peak.¹⁰⁴ Nevertheless, everything indicates that Malik-Shāh continued to live in tents. Not only does no source ever refer to him being in a palace, but a direct witness explicitly refers to the sultan's *sarāparda* at a time when the camp was near Isfahan. Nizāmī 'Arūḍī reports that Mu'izzī had told him that, upon the death of his father, himself a court poet, he thought of leaving the royal camp to

⁹⁹ See Durand-Guédy 201b, esp. 239-40.

¹⁰⁰ Ibn al-Athīr, 11: 30 (instead of Khunj, read Khūy; see Durand-Guédy 201b, 242). The formulation chosen by 'Imād al-Dīn (*Nuṣra*, fol. 204 = Bundārī, 178, lines 19-20) merely says that Dubays was killed in the presence of Mas'ūd (*wa kāna Dubays ... haḍara bārkhā al-sultān wa huwa jālis*). *Bārkhā al-sultān* may refer to the tent of audience, but this cannot be proven.

¹⁰¹ See Mīrkhwānd, 3139, based on the *Malik-nāma*: the people of Nishāpūr, to whom the Saljuqs have sent a letter, answer by sending a delegation carrying gifts to Toghrīl's camp (*ordu*). We do not know whether the word *ordu* was in the fifth/eleventh-century versions of the text or if it was added (as I think) by Mīrkhwānd.

¹⁰² See Durand-Guédy (2010, 94) quoting the poet Gurgānī.

¹⁰³ Several examples in Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī: returning from the Jazīra to Baghdad in Shawwāl 449/1057, Toghrīl “set up his camp in front of the Gate of Takrīt” (*nazala 'alā Bāb Takrīt*) (Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, 23, line 17); in 451/1059, the caliph wanted to pitch his tent near Toghrīl's (ibid., 61, line 10).

¹⁰⁴ See Durand-Guédy 2010, 91-2 (on the fortress), 98-9 (on the *bāghs* and *kūshks*).



Fig. 4. Territories ruled by the Saljuqs.

return to Khurasan. A courtier close to Malik-Shāh took him under his protection and arranged an impromptu meeting with the sultan: at sunset, Mu'izzī was to be present at the gate of the *sarāparda*. As scheduled “at sun-down the sultan came forth from the *sarāparda*”.¹⁰⁵ In 484/1091, Malik-Shāh inaugurated a new travel pattern and undertook to winter at Baghdad. He launched a huge construction project north of the caliphal city, where the Saljuq camp was usually set up, but nothing indicates that he modified his lifestyle before his sudden death.

The volume and the nature of the data available for the following century are different. The sixth/twelfth century Saljuqs appear repeatedly in buildings called *dār* in Arabic sources, *sarāy* or *kūshk* in Persian sources. Does this reflect an evolution “from tents to pavilions”, to quote O’Kane’s article about the Timurids and the early Safavids?¹⁰⁶ Answering this question first requires an understanding of what these terms mean.

¹⁰⁵ See Nizāmī ‘Arūḍī, 42; passage translated in full in Durand-Guédy 2010, 96 (Browne’s translation of the technical terms is not reliable).

¹⁰⁶ O’Kane 1993.

Form and Function of the Saljuq Kūshk

In the *Saljūq-nāma*, *kūshk* and *sarāy* come up 17 and 13 times respectively, and there is nothing to differentiate between the meanings of the two terms. However, since Ṣahīr al-Dīn notes that the *kūshk* of Sāwa is “known as the *sarāy* of the Daylamis (*sarāy-i Daylamān*)”, it can be inferred that *kūshk* was a technical term and *sarāy* an honorific one.¹⁰⁷ In other words, buildings of the *kūshk* type might be called *sarāy* (but not all *sarāys* were *kūshks*).

The best-documented *kūshks* are, thanks to Ṣahīr al-Dīn, the two royal *kūshks* at Hamadan. The “old *kūshk*” was built by Sultan Mas‘ūd and the other by Sultan Muḥammad II b. Maḥmūd in 549/1154-5.¹⁰⁸ Neither is described, but a passage in the *Saljūq-nāma* provides some incidental information about the overall appearance of the “old *kūshk*”. After the death of Mas‘ūd, says Ṣahīr al-Dīn, his nephew Muḥammad II arrived at Hamadan and his first concern was to get rid of Khāṣṣ Beg, an amir who had gained huge influence during the previous decade. A solemn reception was first organised in the meadow of Qara-Tegin (probably in the plain of Malāyir),¹⁰⁹ a second reception was held the next day in the *kūshk* built by Mas‘ūd.¹¹⁰ It was there that Khāṣṣ Beg was captured and beheaded. According to the precise description of Ṣahīr al-Dīn (probably an eye-witness), we understand that the *kūshk* had at least two storeys (an amir “came down from the *kūshk*”: *az kūshk bi-zīr āmad*) and also a roof (the heads of the two murdered amirs were thrown “from the roof of the *kūshk*”: *az bām-i kūshk bi-zīr*). There is also a reference to a ‘room’ (*khāna*) (the amirs “grabbed [Khāṣṣ Beg] and took him into a room”: *ū-rā bigiriftand u dar khāna burdand*). This passage suggests a building with a terrace, and at least one room. This possible model is consistent with the building known as *kōşk* in the Saljuq capital of Konya (extensively ruined during the twentieth

¹⁰⁷ Ṣahīr al-Dīn, 114, §9. We have confirmation that *kūshk* is a technical term in that it is hardly used in poetry: it does not occur at all in Mu‘izzī’s diwan, compared with five occurrences for *sarāy*, 10 for *kākh*, 43 for *gunbad* and 52 for *aywān*, which is the term most often used for a royal palace.

¹⁰⁸ See Ṣahīr al-Dīn, 85, §15 (Mas‘ūd’s *kūshk*, probably identical to the *kūshk-i kuhan* mentioned later in the text) and 94, §4 (Muḥammad’s *kūshk*). On the problem of identification, see Durand-Guédy 201b, 234, n. 74.

¹⁰⁹ See Durand-Guédy 201b, 253.

¹¹⁰ Ṣahīr al-Dīn, 89, §2. The event took place in “the *kūshk* of the meadow at the gate of Hamadan”, but at that time only the “old *kūshk*” built by Mas‘ūd could be meant.



Fig. 5. The Saljuq *köşk* in Konya. (Courtesy of the Foundation Max Van Bercherm, Geneva)

century). This was primarily a place built to provide a vantage point (see Fig. 5).¹¹¹

The sources also speak of *kūshks* for the amirs, but in Hamadan these were obviously much more basic structures—it would not otherwise be feasible that, for the wedding of Muḥammad II in 554/1159, “five hundred

¹¹¹ Although we should very careful about assuming continuity between the Ottoman and Saljuq use of *köşk*, we may note before considering the subject further, that in Ottoman Istanbul the Bağdat Köşkü built in 1638 inside the Topkapı palace is another example of a beautiful building not meant for residential purposes, but for the pleasure of the view, or for feasting, or for passing a pleasant afternoon. Similarly, the Alay Köşk near the Bab-i Humayun was intended specifically to provide a view of processions below. In Saljuq Marw, however, the buildings known today as ‘köşk’ seem to have been more substantial. See Herrmann 1999, 141–69 and *passim*. But in the absence of written evidence, there is no proof that these buildings were called *kūshk* during the Saljuq period.

Table 4. Presence of the Saljuqs inside permanent buildings.

Context	Saljuq sultan (location of the permanent building, Bag.: Baghdad, Ham.: Hamadan, Isf.: Isfahan, ×2: 2 occurrences)
Enthronement ceremony	Arslan ×2 (Ham., Isf.), Toghrīl III (Ham.)
Wedding ceremony	Toghrīl Beg (Bag.)
Feast	Alp Arslan (Rayy), Muḥammad (Bag.)
Death	Toghrīl Beg (Tajrisht/Rayy), Arslan (Ham.)
Public audience (esp. <i>Maẓālim</i>)	Toghrīl Beg (Nishāpūr), Muḥammad (Isf.), Masʿūd (Bag.), Dāʿūd (Bag.)
Meeting with vizier	Toghrīl Beg (Bag.), Masʿūd ×2 (Bag.)
Meeting with amirs	Berk Yaruq (Isf.), Sanjar (Marw?), Masʿūd (Bag.), Sulaymān (Ham.), Toghrīl III ×2 (Ham.)
Dwelling	Muḥammad (Isf.)?, Sanjar (Tirmidh), Toghrīl III (Ham.)
<i>nazala fī dār</i> (P.: <i>nuzūl k.</i> <i>dar kūshk/dar, furūd āmad</i> <i>bi~</i>)	Toghrīl Beg (Bag.), Malik-Shāh (Bag.), Sanjar (Marw), Saljūq-Shāh (Bag.), Masʿūd ×2 (Bag., Ham.), Arslan (Rayy), Toghrīl III (Ham.)

kūshks had been put up in Hamadan” (*ziyādat-i pānšad kūshk zāda būdand*).¹¹² The data is given by Ṣāḥīr al-Dīn, very probably an eyewitness. Significantly, he employs the verb *zadan*, which is used for pitching tents, not for building solid structures. These *kūshks* should therefore be understood as pavilion tents in the medieval sense of the term.¹¹³

Let us come back to the royal palace and deal with its function. Given the very unsatisfactory level of our information on the daily life of the Saljuqs, a single reference in a credible source to a sultan actually living in a building would be sufficient to support the proposal that this was a regular practice. Is that in fact so? For Masʿūd, whose case I have investigated in detail, the answer is no. The numerous references to the *dār al-sultān* in Baghdad during that sultan’s reign do not lead to the conclusion that the sultan actually lived in the building.¹¹⁴ On a much larger scale, I have searched all the events involving the Saljuqs for which the sources document a building called *dār*, *kūshk* or *sarāy* and have found 30 relevant events, which are listed in Table 4 according to their various contexts.

Four main categories can be distinguished. In the first are the key moments of the reign, that is enthronement, marriage and death. In the second are audiences, either public (almost exclusively the *maẓālim*) or

¹¹² Ṣāḥīr al-Dīn, 98, §9.

¹¹³ See above p. 156.

¹¹⁴ See Durand-Guédy 2011c, 237-8 (Table 4).

private (for the viziers and/or the amirs). In the third, the expression *nazala fi dār* (Pers.: *dar kūshk nuzūl kard*) is used, but no specific activity is mentioned. We will return to this later. In the fourth and final category, a *dār/kūshk/sarāy* seems to be the sultan's residence. It applies to only three cases: Muḥammad in a *sarāy* in Isfahan in 500/1107; Sanjar in the fortress of Tirmidh in 551/1156; and Toghril III in the *sarāy* of the *ra'īs* of Hamadan in 583/1187-8.

The context of the two last cases can be said to be exceptional. In 551/1156, Sanjar had just escaped from the hands of the Türkmens, who had kept him prisoner for three years, and he took refuge in the stronghold of Tirmidh, on the north bank of the Oxus. At this critical moment, the walls of the fortress provided security that the military forces at his disposal were no longer able to offer.¹¹⁵ As for Toghril III, Rāwandī says that he was trapped by snow inside Hamadan: "Snow fell in quantity. The sultan went to town. Amir Sayyid Fakhr al-Dīn 'Alā' al-Dawla kissed the ground; he gave the *sarāy* of the *ra'īs* (*sarāy-i riyāsat*) to the sultan for him to stay in (*nuzūl*)."¹¹⁶ Significantly, Rāwandī makes no reference to the *kūshks* that were available in the royal camp and states that the sultan took up residence *inside* the city. This is further evidence that the *kūshk* was not designed to serve as a permanent dwelling, and that it was probably only in town that solid buildings worthy of the sultan's rank could be found.

The case of Muḥammad b. Malik-Shāh in 500/1107 is different, for no 'exceptional' circumstances can be invoked. At that time, Muḥammad was in Isfahan and determined to regain control of the royal fortress of Shāhdiz, which had been held by the Ismailis for a decade. However, the siege dragged on and Muḥammad appears to have been ready to give safe-conduct to the Ismailis provided they evacuated the stronghold. Such a compromise was unacceptable to the heads of the pro-Saljuq networks in Isfahan, the *ra'īs* Khujandī and the Qadi Khaṭībī, and they decided to undermine the negotiations by blaming the vizier.¹¹⁷ According to Ṣahīr al-Dīn, as soon as the *ra'īs* Ṣadr al-Dīn Khujandī got proof of the vizier's collusion with the Ismailis, "he did not lose a moment, and that night he went to the gate of the palace of the sultan" (*ham dar shab bi-dar-i sarāy-i sulṭān āmad*).¹¹⁸ If Sultan Muḥammad could be found at night in a *sarāy*, it would

¹¹⁵ *Akhbār*, 124. Compare with the withdrawal of the last Qarakhanids into the fortress of Samarqand as analysed by Karev in this volume (chapter 3).

¹¹⁶ Rāwandī, 343, line 9.

¹¹⁷ On these events, see Durand-Guédy 2010, 174-80.

¹¹⁸ Ṣahīr al-Dīn, 49, §6.

be a clear indication that he actually lived in a *sarāy*. This reference cannot be dismissed out of hand but neither should it be too overstated. The first possible objection is the quality of the source itself: Ẓahīr al-Dīn is an excellent informant for the period after 544/1150, but is far less precise and reliable for the period before, especially before 511/1118. The second objection is that Muḥammad's life-style may have been different from that of his forefathers. After all, he was the first sultan to winter regularly near Baghdad (Malik-Shāh had only sketched this migratory pattern) and may therefore have been more influenced by the model of kingship represented by the Abbasid caliphate. But this does not necessarily mean that his successors had to emulate him. The third reason is that the building referred to as *sarāy* in this text was probably one of the *kūshks* built by Malik-Shāh. We have already seen that it seems very unlikely that these could have served as residences. But, and this is the key issue, the reference to a *kūshk* does not preclude the presence of tents and might in fact integrated with the royal tentage as we are going to see now.

The Kūshk-Sarāparda Complex

The joint and simultaneous use of tents and *kūshks* appears plainly in the account of the siege of Baghdad by the Saljuqs in 552/1157. Ẓahīr al-Dīn, again probably an eyewitness, reports that Sultan Muḥammad II settled on the western bank of the Tigris. As the siege dragged on, news of the capture of the capital, Hamadan, by amirs hostile to Muḥammad II reached Baghdad. The sultan's camp was soon overtaken by panic:

The sultan was in the *sarāy* of Sa'd al-Dawla with ten to fifteen elite soldiers (*jāndār*). He boarded a boat of the *shabbāra* type and crossed [the river]. The *sarāparda*, the luggage (*buna*), the *bargāh* [tent], [...] and all the goods of the sultan remained on the west bank.¹¹⁹

The *sarāy* in question was that of Sa'd al-Dawla Yürün-Qush al-Zakawī (d. 540/1145-6), the former Saljuq *shihna* of Baghdad, and it was located on the west bank of the river.¹²⁰ What is interesting is the simultaneous reference to a *sarāy* and a *sarāparda*. Unless we assume that this *sarāparda* was not for the sultan (which would conflict with all the sources), this implies that

¹¹⁹ Ẓahīr al-Dīn, 97.

¹²⁰ On Sa'd al-Dawla, see Durand-Guédy 2010, 324-5. 'Imād al-Dīn (fol. 278 = Bundārī, 248, lines 6-7) writes that the sultan "came and settled by [the canal] al-Ṣarā in the palace of Yürün-Qush al-Zakawī" (*'alā al-Ṣarā bi-dār Yurunqush*). According to Vanessa van Renterghem (email 6 December 2012), it is highly probable that this palace was located by the Tigris, at the mouth of this canal, in the district of al-Tustariyya.

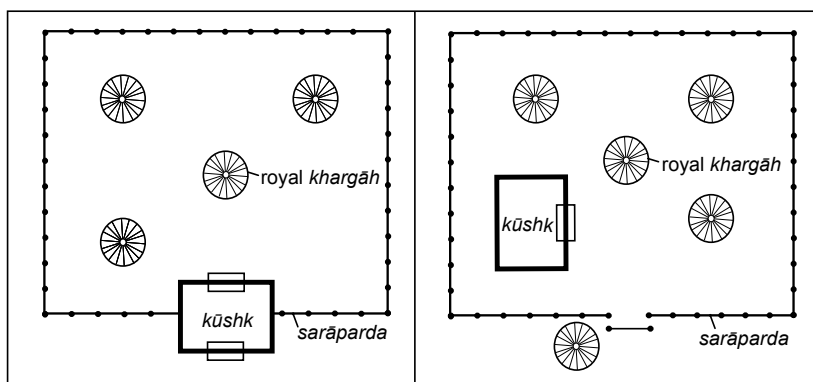


Fig. 6. Reconstruction of a *kūshk-sarāparda* complex.

the sultan used both the *sarāy* and the *sarāparda*. A second example allows similar conclusions. The chronicler Abū Ḥāmid says that, in 587/1191, Atabeg “Qizil Arslan was found murdered at the old *kūshk* at the gate of Hamadan”.¹²¹ According to Rāwandī, “Inanch Khātūn and the amirs of ‘Irāq murdered Qizil Arslan while he was dead drunk in his tent (*khayma*)”.¹²² Now not only both were authors contemporaneous with the events, but they were probably also present in Hamadan at the time. The apparent contradiction disappears if we cease to oppose tent and *kūshk* and accept instead the idea of a complex *kūshk-sarāparda*.

How the tentage and the solid structure could be integrated remains entirely hypothetical. One solution is to imagine the *sarāparda* pitched in such a way as to integrate the *kūshk*, the latter serving as the entry to the former (see Fig. 6, left side).¹²³ This would explain very well why Qizil Arslan is said to have been killed in a tent or in a *kūshk* according to the sources. Another, more probable, solution is to imagine the *sarāparda* pitched around the *kūshk* and the sultan’s tents (see Fig. 6, right side). If we replace the *sarāparda* with a wall, we can find an illustration of this kind of disposition in a Timurid painting that shows the Sultan Ḥusayn Bayqara (d. 1506) presiding over a banquet. It takes place in a walled compound containing a two-storey light structure, a least two trellis tent and a large awning under which the sultan is seated (see Fig. 7).

¹²¹ Abū Ḥāmid in Rashīd al-Dīn, 435, line 2, trans. 160.

¹²² Rāwandī, 363, line 17.

¹²³ According to Peter Andrews (personal communication), a direct parallel would be the wooden travelling pavilion used by the Tughluq, not so distant in time from the Saljuqs, and those later used by the Moghul emperors Hūmāyūn and Akbar in camp (the latter a *du ashīyana manzil*). Another was used by Qubilai, carried on four well-trained elephants!



Fig. 7. Sultan Ḥusayn Bayqara between a treillis tent and a *kūshk*-like building. (Painting from Sa'dī's *Būstān* MS. in Dār al-Kutub (Cairo), *Adab Fārsī* 908, fol. 2a, reproduced in Lentz and Lowry 1989).

Later sources about Turko-Mongol dynasties in Iran provide plenty of examples of tents juxtaposed to solid buildings. The most famous may be Clavijo's visit to the court of Timur in 1404. Upon his departure, Clavijo went to see his host one last time. He found him in the "palace" (referring here to one of the madrasas of Samarqand). Timur came out of a tent set up in the courtyard of the madrasa and took part in a banquet. About a century later, a descendant of Timur, Babur, is invited to a banquet in a

madrasa in Herat where tents have been set up.¹²⁴ These two examples show in the clearest way possible that the presence of the royal tent could transform any building into a “palace”.

The joint use of *kūshk* and tents leads us to reconsider how the Arabic expression *nazala bi-dār*, and its Persian equivalent *nuzūl kardan bi-dār/sarāy/kūshk* (var. *furūd āmadan bi-*) are to be understood in a Saljuq context. As shown in Table 4, the expression is used mainly in the context of Baghdad, where the Saljuqs inherited the palace built by the Buyid ruler ‘Aḍud al-Dawla (d. 372/983), north of the caliphal city, and called *dār al-sultān* in the Saljuq sources. Unlike the *kūshks* of Isfahan and Hamadan, we know that the *dār al-sultān* of Baghdad could indeed serve as a residence since the Buyids had lived there permanently. But the use the Saljuqs made of these buildings is not known. In a rare reference to the elements of the palace, local notables summoned by Toghril Beg are led into the “decorated rooms (*buyūt*) where the trousseau [of his niece] had been laid out”. Even if *buyūt* does refer to solid buildings (which is not self-evident as we have already noted), they are here merely described as storerooms.¹²⁵ Maybe the sultan had his tent pitched in the middle of the *dār*. This would explain why, in 528/1134, the caliph “ordered [Mas‘ūd’s] tents to be pitched in front of the Khalifa Gate” and a few months later the same Mas‘ūd is said to have “settled by the Gharba gate”.¹²⁶ For a text on the Mongols, no one would translate *nuzūl kardan* otherwise than “to make camp”. I would do the same in reference to the Saljuqs.¹²⁷

¹²⁴ These two examples are given by O’Kane 1993: 251 (with full references). The court of the Aqqoyunlu ruler Uzun Ḥasan (d. 1478) in Tabriz provides another example of combined use of tents and *kūshks* in post-Mongol Iran, see Babaie 2009, 39.

¹²⁵ Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, 2, lines 17-9 (*udkhilū ilā buyūtin muzayyinatin qad ‘ubīyya fihā al-jihāzu*). For *buyūt* meaning tents sheltering artifacts, see Mouton 2009, 185.

¹²⁶ Ibn al-Athīr, 11: 19. Ibn al-Jawzī, 10: 41, line 15.

¹²⁷ When Ibn Faḍlān passed through Khwarazm in the fourth/tenth century, he spent the winter in a *bayt* in which there was a Turkish tent. See Ibn Faḍlān 8, line 11. Andrews (1999, 1: 187) comments on this with a reference to the Qaraqalpaqs, Turkish-speaking people who arrived in the same region ten centuries later and also kept felt tents in their courtyards. Significantly, Khwarazm is also the first region in which the Saljuqs are found in the sources. However, Peter Andrews informs me that this pattern seems to be characteristic of peoples who undertake short migrations, and therefore have closer ties to a fixed abode. (The Ersarī Türkmens in northern Afghanistan do the same.)

The Reasons for Permanence

Why did the tent retain its interest for the Saljuqs? Only a comprehensive treatment of the two issues of the location of rule and the identity of the Saljuq monarchy will make a full answer to this question possible.

A first reason might be technical. Since the Saljuqs followed a peripatetic life-style for most of the year, for which they had to live in tents, they might do not wish to change their habits when they were close to their capitals, even near Baghdad, where a real palace could accommodate them outside the city walls. Besides, given the practical conditions of the time, the tent offered an ideal dwelling. As Andrews reminds us, "it is clear that [the trelis tent] forms the warmest, driest, most draught-free and comfortable environment available, at night and by day".¹²⁸ This was all the more relevant given that one of the advantages of this peripatetic lifestyle was to enjoy the different seasons of the year in a series of places when each was at its best.

The fundamental reason for the persistence of the tent was the very structure of power in Saljuq Iran, which was one that inherently generated conflicts within the ruling family. It is striking to see that the name 'Saljuq' retains its aura throughout the period up to the Mongols, despite the fact that individual Saljuq sultans were continuously threatened during their reign. Remaining in contact with the military was essential both for establishing power and for retaining it.

As far as dwellings are concerned, the influence of a model of sedentary kingship, wherever it may have come from, could only have been limited. It cannot be claimed that the Buyids exerted any influence on the Saljuqs. The Kakuyids may have had a little more, but it would still have been slight. What about the Abbasids? The Saljuqs sought to confine them in their palace and, significantly, the only reference to a palace (*dār*) built by the Saljuqs in Isfahan is to one intended not for them, but for the caliph!¹²⁹ The most obvious model of kingship for the Saljuqs was that of the Ghaznavids whom they had replaced on the Iranian highlands.

Another element that should be considered is the Saljuqs' relationship to the Türkmens. Everything indicates that the Saljuqs, unlike the Atabegs of Azarbaijan, regarded the Türkmens as relatives, perhaps distant but not

¹²⁸ Andrews 1999, 1: 157.

¹²⁹ Zahir al-Din, 35, § 2. The construction of the *dār al-khilāfa wa ḥaram* in Isfahan was initiated at the end of Malik-Shāh's reign, when the merging of the Abbasid line with the Saljuqs appeared a real possibility. Significantly Zahir al-Din does not use the term *kūshk* on this occasion.

to be ashamed of.¹³⁰ For example, Sultan Toghrīl III, the last and the most versed in Iranian culture, did not hesitate to build marriage ties and military alliances with them.¹³¹ For this reason, there are no grounds for supposing that the tent may have been perceived as a primitive kind of dwelling, not fit for a king. This may have been the opinion of the Iranian courtiers who frequented the Saljuq court, such as Nizāmī ‘Arūḍī, who wrote, after a stay at Sanjar’s court: “the Saljuqs are nomads (*biyābān-nishūn*), ignorant of the conduct of affairs and the high achievement of kings; most of the royal customs became obsolete in their time.”¹³² But this dismissive assessment would not have been the view the Saljuqs held of themselves.

When Sanjar came to Western Iran for the second time in 521/1127-8, he invited all his nephews to come to his court near Rayy. ‘Imād al-Dīn, who relies here on a first-hand account, says that the gathering took place in a *khargāh*.¹³³ He also reports a prediction made by a bold Iranian present at the scene: “Those kinsmen (*uṣba*) who gathered in this *khargāh* will be responsible for great wars and misfortunes.”¹³⁴ It is difficult to find a more telling example of the significance the tent had for the Saljuqs. The Saljuqs in Western Iran were in practice independent of Sanjar, but the power and also the aura of the last Great Saljuq sultan was considerable. Sanjar embodied the hope that, even in the sixth/twelfth century, Saljuq sultans could be as strong as their predecessors Alp Arslan and Malik-Shāh, and also maybe harboured the idea that to be strong, a Saljuq should live like them, outside the city walls and in a tent.

Saljuq tentage is clearly an important key link between what we know of Turkic and Mongol tentage. The tent was one of the symbols of the sultanate and it appears that the Saljuqs lived in tents most of the time. What might seem a merely technical matter is actually very informative with regard to the nature of Saljuq kingship itself. Remaining loyal to their tents was not, for the Saljuqs, a question of principle. It was not only a matter of preference, but also—for the last generations at least—a matter of survival. The distribution of power precluded them from living like urban Iranians. A subject for future research would be to investigate further, and from a broader perspective than the purely geographical, the nature of the

¹³⁰ See Durand-Guédy 2011a, esp. 41-2.

¹³¹ See Durand-Guédy 2013a.

¹³² Nizāmī ‘Arūḍī, 24, trans. 26. On Sanjar spending time in royal pastures, see Durand-Guédy 2012, 331.

¹³³ ‘Imād al-Dīn, *Nuṣra*, fol. 181 (= Bundārī 154, line 20).

¹³⁴ ‘Imād al-Dīn, *Nuṣra*, fol. 181¹¹ (= Bundārī, 155, lines 4-6).

process of acculturation, the areas in which it took place, at what pace, and for what reasons.

APPENDIX
TERMS FOR TENTAGE ASSOCIATED WITH THE SALJUQS

Terms of tentage	Source
<i>sarāparda</i>	Ẓahīr al-Dīn, 38 [gift to Berk Yaruq], 39 [Öner], 40 [Berk Yaruq], 42 §9 [Berk Yaruq: A.S.], 55 §2 [Sanjar: A.S.], 75 [al-Mustarshid], 93 §4 [Sulaymān], 97 [Muḥammad II] Nizāmī 'Arūḍī, 42 [Malik-Shāh] Mirkhwānd, 3133 [Mas'ūd of Ghazna's gift to Toghrīl and Chaghri]
<i>surādiq</i> (pl.: ~āt)	Ibn al-Jawzī, 8: 229 [al-Qā'im's daughter] Sibt, 3, line 7 [Chaghri's daughter], 59, line 20, and 61, lines 9-10 [Toghrīl's gift to al-Qā'im], 98, line 21 [al-Qā'im's daughter], 173, line 11 [Gawhar Khātūn b. Chaghri] Bundārī, 17, line 4 [Toghrīl's gift to al-Qā'im], 125, line 16 [Maḥmūd], 178, line 1 [al-Mustarshid], 200, line 12 [Mas'ūd], 229, line 20 [Muḥammad II: <i>khiyam wa ~āt</i>], <i>Akhhār</i> , 38 [Alp Arslan], 45 [king of Shakkī in the Caucasus], 89 [Sanjar] Ibn al-Athīr, 10: 291 [Berk Yaruq], 10: 381 [Berk Yaruq: A.S.], 11: 30 [Mas'ūd] Mirkhwānd, 3133 [Mas'ūd of Ghazna's gift to Toghrīl and Chaghri] Bundārī, 60, line 1 [Sayyid al-Ru'asā], 272, lines 2 and 15 [Sonqur] Qumī, 112 [vizier Kamāl al-Dīn Thābit]
<i>khargāh</i> (Ar.: <i>kharkāh</i>)	Ẓahīr al-Dīn, 42, §9 (×2) [Berk Yaruq: ~ <i>i khīsh-khāna</i>] Bundārī, 154, line 20 [Sanjar] Sibt, 24, line 7 [Toghrīl], 59, line 20, and 61, lines 9-10 [given by Toghrīl to al-Qā'im] Mirkhwānd, 3133 [Mas'ūd of Ghazna's gift to Toghrīl and Chaghri] Ibn al-Athīr, 10: 295 [vizier Abu'l-Maḥāsin: <i>khiyam wa ~</i>]
<i>qubba</i>	Ibn al-Jawzī, 10: 70, line 13 [Malik-Shāh]
<i>nawbatī</i>	Ẓahīr al-Dīn, 38 [gift to Berk Yaruq], 39 [Öner], 40 (×2) [Berk Yaruq], 75, §3 [al-Mustarshid] Bundārī, 129, line 1 [Sanjar: A.S.]
<i>bārgāh</i> (= <i>bārgah</i>)	Ẓahīr al-Dīn, 93 §4 [Sulaymān], 97 [Muḥammad II], 112 §7 [Atabeg Pahlawān] Rashīd al-Dīn, 278, line 13 [Alp Arslan] (addenda to Ẓahīr al-Dīn's <i>Saljūq-nāma</i>) <i>Akhhār</i> , 89 [Sanjar] Juwaynī, 3: 204, line 10 [Malik-Shāh]

Terms of tentage	Source
<i>dihlīz</i>	Ẓahīr al-Dīn, 98, §8 [Muḥammad II] Rashīd al-Dīn, 307, lines 15-16 [Berk Yaruq], 360, line 12 [al-Mustarshid] (addenda to Ẓahīr al-Dīn's <i>Saljūq-nāma</i>) Bundārī, 274, line 5 [Sanjar: ~ <i>dār al-sultān</i>]
<i>khayma</i> (pl. : <i>khiyām</i> or <i>khi- yam</i>)	Ẓahīr al-Dīn, 94 §6 [Eldigüz], 115 §11 [Īnanch] Bundārī, 77, line 15 [al-Mustarshid], 229, line 20 [Muḥammad II: <i>khiyam wa kharkahāt</i>] <i>Akhbār</i> , 100 [Toghrīl II], 178 [Toghrīl III for the vizier of the caliph] Ibn al-Athīr, 10: 40 [Alp Arslan: <i>khiyām</i>], 10: 73 [Alp Arslan], 10: 381 [Berk Yaruq: A.S.], 11: 27 [al-Mustarshid] Rāwandī, 363, line 17 [Qizil Arslan] Sibt, 61, line 10 [al-Qā'im]; ed. KSA, 185 [Malik-Shāh] <i>Akhbār</i> , 89 [Sanjar] Ẓahīr al-Dīn, 40 [vizier Majd al-Mulk], 40 [Ākhur-Beg], 115, §11 [Īnanch] Bundārī, 17, line 8 [vizier Kundurī] Sibt, 21, lines 8 and 12 [Ibrāhīm Īnal] Ibn al-Athīr, 10: 323 [Muḥammad b. Dushmanziyār: <i>khiyam wa khargāh</i>], 10: 335 [Abu'l-Mahāsīn]
<i>miḍrab</i> (pl. <i>miḍārib</i>)	Ibn al-Jawzī, 9: 67, line 1 [vizier Nizām al-Mulk] Bundārī, 184, line 20 [Mas'ūd's amirs] Ibn al-'Adīm, 86, line 15 [Nizām al-Mulk: ~ <i>ḥuramihi</i>]
<i>wiṭāq</i>	<i>Akhbār</i> , 89 [Maḥmūd]
<i>wuthāq</i>	Rāwandī, 41, line 17 [Toghrīl III's amirs] Rāwandī, 386, line 11 [Yūnis Khān]
<i>chüb-khāna</i>	Ẓahīr al-Dīn, 97 (×2) [Muḥammad II]
<i>khayl-khāna</i>	Ẓahīr al-Dīn, 40 [vizier Majd al-Mulk], 97 [amirs of Muḥammad II]
<i>maṭbakh</i>	Ẓahīr al-Dīn, 75, §3 [al-Mustarshid]
<i>sharāb-khāna</i>	Ẓahīr al-Dīn, 75, §3 [al-Mustarshid]

Legend: “*qubba*: Ibn al-Jawzī, 9: 70, line 13 [Malik-Shāh]” means that the term *qubba* is mentioned in Ibn al-Jawzī in relation to Malik-Shāh. “A.S.” means that the term is explicitly mentioned as an attribute of the sultanate.

Note: only the oldest source of information is mentioned, e.g. *Akhbār* is not mentioned when it repeats 'Imād al-Dīn; likewise Rāwandī and Rashīd al-Dīn when they repeat Ẓahīr al-Dīn. When relevant, references to persons who were not Saljuqs or did not belong to a ruling family have also been given.

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CHAPTER FIVE

COURT AND NOMADIC LIFE IN SALJUQ ANATOLIA

A.C.S. Peacock

The gradual Islamisation and Turkicisation of Anatolia (Rûm) under the Saljuq dynasty (473/1081-707/1307) was accompanied by urban revival and development.¹ Although all these processes are still poorly understood, from the late sixth/twelfth century an increasingly sophisticated, urban, Persianate culture began to flourish.² A western visitor in the 1240s was amazed at the wealth of the Saljuq lands, which contained about 100 cities, quite apart from castles and smaller towns.³ The sultans encouraged trade and built themselves palaces and pleasure gardens, while adopting names redolent of the *Shāh-nāma* such as Kay-Khusraw and Kay-Qubād. Verses from Firdawsī's epic were even inscribed on the walls of the capital, Konya,⁴ which immigrant men of learning helped transform into a centre of Perso-Islamic culture. Anatolia is claimed by some to have turned into a "second Iran" as a result of these processes,⁵ a transformation that is said to underlie a growing rupture between the Saljuqs of Rûm and their nomadic subjects, just as is sometimes thought to have happened with their cousins, the Great Saljuqs in Iran, Iraq and Central Asia.⁶ Thus, while the sultans, as good Islamic monarchs, sought to make their lands flourish through building programmes,⁷ the nomads settled lands beyond the rulers' effective control—the peripheries of the Saljuq realm known as the *ūj*, where

¹ See Redford 2011. I am very grateful to Scott Redford and Sara Nur Yıldız for comments on earlier drafts of this paper. They are not, of course, accountable for errors of fact or interpretation.

² Cahen 1988, 208-24; Hillenbrand 2005.

³ Simon de Saint-Quentin, 66.

⁴ Ibn Bibī, 254.

⁵ Cahen 1977, 453; Hillenbrand 2005, 168.

⁶ Vryonis 1971, 266-7: "Once their leaders in Asia Minor settled down in the cities and became monarchs of sedentary society, the same splitting between the sultans and the tribesmen appears [as in Saljūq Iran]." For a different view of the Great Saljuqs and nomads, see Peacock 2010; Durand-Guédy 2011.

⁷ Vryonis 1975, 60: "The sultans and emirs, though ultimately of tribal origin, became rulers according to the traditional Islamic patterns; that is, they abandoned tribalism as the basis of society and assumed the traditional sedentary patterns. These they gradually

their depredations were a constant nuisance to the Saljuqs' Byzantine neighbours.⁸ According to this line of argument, Anatolia was divided between sedentary societies—Saljuq and Byzantine—on the one hand, and on the other their nomadic enemies, who were kept at arm's length by fortifications, city walls and programmes of deportation and resettlement.⁹

Mediaeval authors, as well as modern ones, drew a sharp distinction between the Saljuq dynasty and the nomads. This is most explicitly stated by William of Tyre, the twelfth-century historian of the Crusades, who wrote:

In order to distinguish, in name at least, between those tribes which established a king over them and thereby won great renown and those which still retained their rude and primitive way of life, the former are called Turks while the latter are known by their original name, the Turkomans.¹⁰

Muslim authors, especially those close to the court like our principal source for Saljuq Anatolia, Ibn Bībī, prefer to avoid mentioning the Türkmens if at all possible, a factor that not only inhibits research, but also underlines the impression of a rift between two opposing sides. This impression is reinforced by the tendency in scholarship to apply assumptions (often themselves not proven) about the Great Saljuqs to Rūm, doubtless a result of the propensity to view Anatolia as a "second Iran". Claude Cahen saw this opposition between Saljuq and nomad as deriving precisely from the sultans' efforts to institute the kind of Perso-Islamic state that he believed the Great Saljuqs of Iran had created,¹¹ and similar views are widespread in Turkish scholarship.¹² The great Türkmen revolt in Anatolia known as the Bābā Rasūl rebellion that began in 638/1240 has been compared to that of the Oghuz of Central Asia against Sanjar, the Great Saljuq sultan, in

implanted throughout most of Anatolia by the building of towns, palaces, mosques, madrasas, imarats, turbes, caravanserays, hospitals, and the like."

⁸ Vryonis 1971, 192-3; Vryonis 1975. For further references to the *ūj*, see Zachariadou 2000.

⁹ Vryonis 1971, 279, 281-6.

¹⁰ William of Tyre, Vol. 1, Book 1, §7.

¹¹ Cahen 1960, 21: "Il est connu que l'histoire de l'Asie Mineure turque pendant la période selgukide s'organise en part autour de l'opposition entre la dynastie selgukide, qui essaie d'instituer un Etat du même type irano-musulman que celui de ses cousins maîtres de vieux pays islamisés, et les Turcomans, rebelles à toute intégration dans un quelconque système policé..." Cahen's views on the Türkmens in Anatolia in the pre-Mongol period are set out in Cahen 1951b, Cahen 1960 and Cahen 1968.

¹² See Polat 2004, 185, for an example of the tendency in the work of one of the few Turkish scholars to examine Saljuq nomadism in depth.

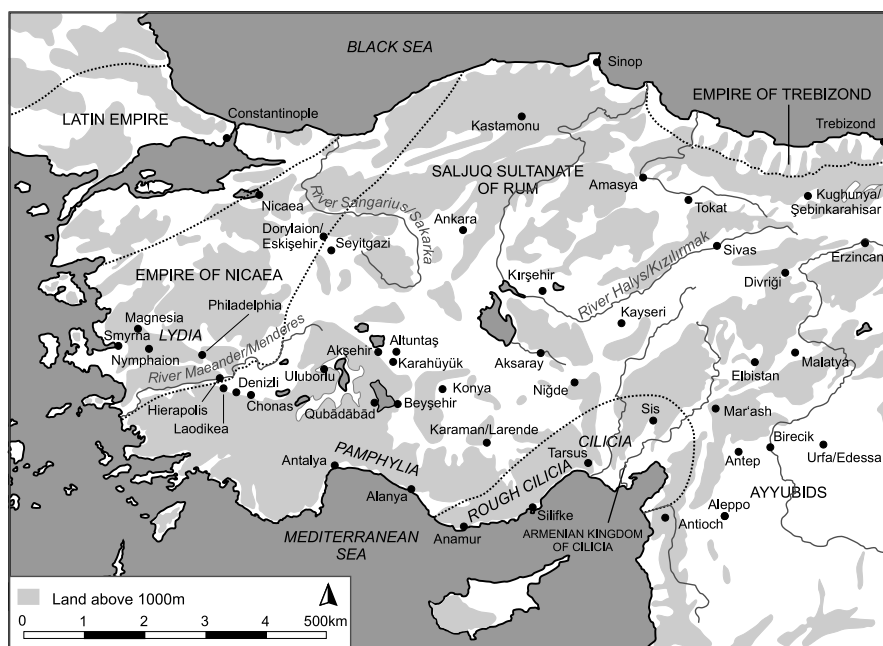


Fig. 1. Map of Anatolia in the reign of 'Alā' al-Dīn Kay-Qubād (1219-37).

548/1153,¹³ despite the existence of religious factors in Anatolia that were absent from the Central Asian uprising. The overlay of Persian culture in centres like Konya should not mask the fact that Anatolia was no more similar to Iran than was India. Influences from the Ayyubid and Byzantine lands also played an important role in shaping the character of the Saljuq sultanate of Rūm. Seeking parallels for Anatolian history in the very different—and to date little understood—situation in the Great Saljuq empire of Iran and Central Asia a century or so earlier risks obscuring the distinctive features of life in Rūm.

The relationship between the Saljuq rulers, the built environment they created and their nomadic subjects was much more complex than scholarship has to date credited. In this essay, I shall propose that, even at the dynasty's zenith in the early seventh/thirteenth century, the sultans maintained a close relationship with at least some groups of Türkmens. I shall

¹³ Ocak 1989, 73: "Dans les deux cas, on trouve un motif identique: l'hostilité des Turcomans, indissolublement attachés à leur propres traditions, contre un Etat qui devenait de plus en plus étranger."

first examine where exactly the sultans lived, and show that, while they had multiple residences, both urban and rural, Konya held a special importance for them as home to the dynastic burial ground. Yet there was no rigid division between the areas where sultans and Türkmens lived, for both shared the same territories: areas such as Pamphylia on the Mediterranean coast and the Konya plain itself were heavily populated by nomads but also saw extensive sultanic building activity beyond the city walls. Indeed, I shall demonstrate that, far from sheltering behind their urban fortifications, the Saljuq rulers followed an itinerant existence that frequently, and intentionally, brought them into contact with their Türkmen subjects. This pattern of behaviour was replicated among rulers of the Greek periphery, testimony to the importance to Anatolian rulers, irrespective of ethnicity or culture, of maintaining influence with, and exerting their authority over, these nomadic groups which seem to have been growing in strength during the seventh/thirteenth century. Finally, I shall suggest that, though practical political considerations were the predominant factor in determining these rulers' itinerant lifestyles, at least among the Saljuqs there is evidence that Turkish and even specifically nomadic culture retained a certain cachet at court. The link between the dynasty and the Türkmens was far from completely broken.

SALJUQ CITIES AND PALACES

The Saljuq dynasty is traditionally associated with the central Anatolian city of Konya; Christian sources, both western and eastern, often call the ruler "the sultan of Konya". Konya is generally said to have been adopted by sultan Qilij Arslan I (485/1092-500/1107) as his capital sometime following the fall of the first short-lived Saljuq base, Nicaea, to the Crusaders in 1096.¹⁴ Yet the extent to which either Nicaea or Konya in these early days performed the tasks one might conventionally associate with a capital—an administrative centre and principal residence of the ruler—rather than serving largely as military bases, is unclear. No evidence of Saljuq construction activity in Konya survives from before the mid sixth/twelfth century,¹⁵ while the only remains from the brief occupation of Nicaea (1081-96) are the tombstones of a handful of settled Iranians who accompanied the early migrants to Anatolia.¹⁶ Indeed, given the lack of any Saljuq coinage from

¹⁴ Turan 1971, 104.

¹⁵ See Redford 1991, 56 for the earliest evidence of Saljuq architecture in Konya.

¹⁶ Foss 1998.

this period, we may doubt the extent to which formal administrative structures and institutions existed. Certainly Qīlīj Arslan I had no compunction in abandoning Konya in the face of the Crusader advance in 1097 without the least attempt to defend it,¹⁷ suggesting that the city contained little that was indispensable to a Saljuq ruler. The few fragments of evidence for the dynasty's lifestyle that we have from this early period point to a close relationship between the Anatolian Saljuqs and their nomadic followers. Sulaymān b. Qutlumush, founder of the Anatolian Saljuq dynasty, appealed to the Nāwakīya Türkmens in Syria, who chose him as their leader owing to the prestige of his Saljuq descent.¹⁸ According to the anonymous history of the Saljuqs (eighth/fourteenth century), Sulaymān was also supported by a group of "Türkmens of Khurasan" (*Turkmānān-i Khurāsān rīy bā ū nihādand*) about whom we have no further information.¹⁹ The Ilkhanid-period historian Āqsarā'ī describes Qīlīj Arslan I as having winter and summer pastures around Bīra (modern Birecik), Edessa, the Diyār Bakr, and the banks of the Euphrates.²⁰

Perhaps, as in Iran, court life in these early "capitals" of Nicaea and Konya was based on the peripheries of town in the military camp (*mu'askar*),²¹ as is suggested by the apparent lack of any more durable structures that can be associated with the first century of Saljuq rule. On the other hand, there were apparently royal quarters in or near the city wall of Nicaea, for it was from these that Qīlīj Arslan's wife had to escape the Crusader onslaught.²² Just as churches were turned into mosques during the sixth/twelfth century,²³ existing fortifications and administrative buildings were probably called into service as residences for the sultan and his family. Yet the early sultans' constant campaigning, whether against Byzantines, Crusaders, or other Muslims, must have necessitated a lifestyle that was in large part peripatetic.

The earliest evidence for Saljuq palace construction comes in fact from Byzantium. In the mid-sixth/twelfth century a "Persian House" was built near the heart of the imperial palace in Byzantium, apparently a pavilion-

¹⁷ Turan 1971, 103.

¹⁸ Peacock 2010, 61-2. See also Sümer 1960 and Peacock 2010, 53-60 on sedentaries among the early Türkmens. On Sulaymān, the Nāwakīya and their activities in Rūm, see Peacock 2013.

¹⁹ *Tārīkh-i āl-i Saljūq*, 79.

²⁰ Āqsarā'ī, 27.

²¹ Cf. Durand-Guédy 2010, 93-101.

²² William of Tyre, Vol. 1, Book 2, §8. The earlier supposition that a passage in Anna Comnena indicates that Sulaymān built a palace in Nicaea has now been demolished; the relevant term means, in fact, that he made the city his capital. See Foss 1996, 204.

²³ Redford 1991, 57.

like structure with *muqarnas*-style decoration.²⁴ Around 1167, Alexios Axouches, a Byzantine official of Turkish descent, was disgraced after the emperor got wind that he had decorated his palace with pictures of the Saljuq sultan Qīlij Arslan II (r. 551/1156-c. 581/1185) and the latter's exploits in warfare and the hunt.²⁵ If such architectural and decorative models were popular in Byzantium, they may well have had antecedents or parallels in Anatolia, or at least been known there (we cannot exclude the possibility of direct Iranian or Abbasid influence on the Byzantines). Although little evidence for comparable buildings has survived from Saljuq Anatolia, by the second half of the sixth/twelfth century the process of adorning the newly-prosperous city of Konya with structures worthy of a capital had begun.²⁶ Qīlij Arslan II initiated construction of the great mosque, palace and funerary complex on the citadel hill in the city centre, which was added to substantially by his successors. Qīlij Arslan II is also said to have founded another central Anatolian city, Aksaray, although, given the existence of earlier settlements, it must have actually been more a case of refoundation or expansion.²⁷

Thus, despite the lack of archaeological remains—a single, now lost, fragmentary inscription represents the sum total of the material evidence for Qīlij Arslan II's Konya palace²⁸—by the mid-sixth/twelfth century, urban palaces decorated in a distinctively Islamic style would probably have been familiar to the Saljuq elite. It is unclear how widespread such structures were at this comparatively early date. Towards the end of Qīlij Arslan II's reign, the Saljuq realms temporarily fragmented, with the sultan's 11 sons establishing themselves as *maliks* in provincial centres. Some, like *malik* Muḥyī l-Dīn b. Qīlij Arslan of Ankara, patronised Persian literature and culture, but there is little evidence for extensive palace building.²⁹ The lack of evidence, however, may not reflect the reality, and there certainly was a building known as “the royal palace” (*sarā-yi pādishāhī*) in Ankara in 609/1213,³⁰ although whether this represented any more than

²⁴ Hunt 1984, 141-2; Asutay-Effenberger 2004. For a view of Saljuq palaces derived largely from Islamic literary sources, see Merçil 2011.

²⁵ Hunt 1984, 139-40.

²⁶ For the rise in Konya's prosperity by c. 1150, see Roche 2008, 144-5; cf. Cahen 1988, 148-50; Redford 1991, 56.

²⁷ Āqsarā'ī, 30. For an overview of Aksaray in the period, see Topal 2009.

²⁸ Sarre 1967, 27, 96, 105; Akok 1968; Merçil 2011, 35.

²⁹ For Ankara in this period, see Wittek 1932.

³⁰ It was from here that 'Alā' al-Dīn Kay-Qubād I was taken when his brother 'Izz al-Dīn Kay-Kā'ūs I (608/1211-616/1219) seized Ankara in 609/1213. See Ibn Bībī, 138: *malik 'Alā' al-Dīn-rā az sarā-yi pādishāhī ... naql kardand*.

the reuse of an existing Byzantine structure, most probably part of the castle, is an open question.

The great age of Saljuq palace building was the early seventh/thirteenth century, especially the reign of ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Kay-Qubād I (616/1219-634/1237). As well as completing Qilij Arslan II’s palace-mosque complex in Konya citadel, Kay-Qubād I built “so many palaces and pavilions (*sarāy wa kūshk*) that they cannot be described”, as the anonymous historian of the Saljuq dynasty put it.³¹ Palaces inside cities, generally in the citadel, were accompanied by nearby suburban or rural pavilions, as was the case at both Alanya and Antalya.³² A palace in Aksaray is also mentioned in the second half of the seventh/thirteenth century, while there was a royal hunting lodge (*shikārgāh*) in the vicinity at Ekecek Dağ.³³ Outside Konya was the palace of Fīlūbād, in addition to the royal pavilions and gardens that surrounded the city and the palace complex in the citadel, while Kayseri too had a citadel palace, as well as Kayqubādīya and Kaykhusrawīya outside of town.³⁴ The most famous of ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Kay-Qubād I’s palaces was Qubādābād, on the shores of Lake Beyşehir,³⁵ remote from any major urban centre,³⁶ but sharing, like the rural palaces of Pamphylia and Kayqubādīya, a view of mountains and water (see Fig. 2). Archaeological remains of some rural pavilions and palaces have survived, but citadel palaces have fared less well, with only the scantiest remains at Alanya and Konya extant. However, a description of the palace (*dār al-salṭana*) in Kayseri citadel in a Mamluk account dating to the sultan Baybars’ capture of the city in 675/1277 gives some impression of the building’s opulence, claiming it was decorated with Qāshān tiles and beautiful carvings, and surrounded by gardens. The palace at Kayseri was also an important symbol of legitimate rule; when Baybars laid claim to rulership of Anatolia, he did so by scrupulously preserving Saljuq court ceremonial: his entry into the palace at Kayseri was greeted by the Saljuq *nawba* (fanfare), he was accompanied by the Saljuq *chatr* (royal parasol), and he sat on the Saljuq throne.³⁷

³¹ *Tārīkh-i āl-i Saljūq*, 89.

³² On these see Redford 2000; see also Merçil 2011, 35-43, for an overview of palaces dated to this period.

³³ For the palace, see Āqsarā’ī, 86: *sulṭān tā bi-sarā-yi khwud bi-Āqsarā āmad*; for Ekecek, see Ibn Bibī, 604.

³⁴ Redford 2000, 63-9; Merçil 2011, 37-8.

³⁵ See Redford 2000, 67-77; also Arık 2000 and Merçil 2011, 38-9.

³⁶ Qubādābād may, however, have been rather less isolated than it seems today, as there is archaeological evidence of surrounding settlements, which require further investigation. See Arık 2000.

³⁷ Qalqashandī, 14: 154-5; Sümer 1985, 122-3.



Fig. 2. View of Qubādābād today, with Lake Beyşehir in the background, illustrating the view of water and mountains characteristic of Saljuq palaces.

Yet for all this, Konya maintained its primacy among Saljuq towns. It was, as Ibn Bibī put it, the the “home to the throne of the state” (*mustaqarr-i sarīr-i dawlat*),³⁸ even if in practice there might be Saljuq thrones and thronerooms elsewhere, as the example of Kayseri suggests. During the civil war that ensued after Qīlīj Arslan II’s death, his son Rukn al-Dīn “suffered a burning passion for Ikonion [i.e. Konya], the paternal seat of government”.³⁹ In the late seventh/thirteenth century, the pretender Jimrī’s entry to Konya citadel and installation in the *dawlat-khāna* of the palace marked his formal usurpation of power.⁴⁰ Simon de Saint-Quentin describes it as “the royal city of Konya” (*civitatem regiam Yconium*).⁴¹ The source of this importance was probably not purely practical. Although Konya was centrally located and commanded trade routes running west-

³⁸ Ibn Bibī, 211.

³⁹ Niketas Choniates, 286.

⁴⁰ Ibn Bibī, 691, 696-7. Exactly what is meant by the term *dawlatkhāna* is unclear, but it appears to have been a room or structure in the heart of the palace used for official or ceremonial purposes. The *dawlatkhāna* in Kayseri seems to have been used for enthronement ceremonies (Ibn Bibī, 461)

⁴¹ Simon de Saint-Quentin, 78.

east,⁴² it was not necessarily any more, and quite possibly rather less, of a commercial centre than Kayseri, which also lay on the main north-south routes connecting the Black Sea to the Middle East.⁴³ The royal treasury was based in Alanya, at least according to Simon de Saint-Quentin,⁴⁴ although one might imagine that in practice treasuries were housed in a variety of politically important locations. It was rather Konya's role as home to the mausoleum of the Saljuq family that assured its special importance for the dynasty. This is indicated by the efforts made to return Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kay-Khusraw I's body to Konya for burial alongside his ancestors after his death at the hands of the Greeks near Philadelphia in 608/1211.⁴⁵ The symbolic importance of Konya as a royal burial ground is also suggested by the actions of 'Alā' al-Dīn Kay-Qubād I, who removed the remains of his brother and bitter rival, 'Izz al-Dīn Kay-Kā'ūs I, from the Konya mausoleum, to exile his corpse to Sivas, where it lay in isolation from the rest of the dynasty, and thus from the heart of the Saljuq state.⁴⁶

THE SALJUQS AND THE *Ūj*

The mosque-palace-mausoleum complex on the citadel thus affirmed Konya's place as the principal Saljuq city (see Fig. 3). Yet Konya did not exist in isolation from the surrounding plains where the Türkmens lived. Recent archaeological work on the Konya plain reveals an increasing population over the sixth/twelfth and seventh/thirteenth centuries, but one quite distinct from that of the Byzantine period, with much of the population now seasonal.⁴⁷ The literary sources confirm this. Simon de Saint-Quentin reports the fame of the Konya region for both goats' and sheeps' wool—typical nomadic pastoralists' products—which were sold as far away as England and France.⁴⁸ The region north of Konya between Akşehir and Aksaray was occupied from at least the late seventh/thirteenth century by the tribe of Turgut, and a significant nomadic population, mainly involved in horse-raising, is attested in tenth/sixteenth-century Ottoman

⁴² Cahen 1951a, 92, 99; Darkot 1967, 844.

⁴³ The greatest trade-fair of mediaeval Anatolia was at Yabanlu Pazar near Kayseri. See Sümer 1985.

⁴⁴ Simon de Saint-Quentin, 71-2.

⁴⁵ Ibn Bibi, 111; cf. Redford 1991, 69-70.

⁴⁶ Redford 1991, 71-2.

⁴⁷ Baird 2001, 275. More detail on this will appear in the full publication of Douglas Baird's Konya Plains Survey.

⁴⁸ Simon de Saint-Quentin, 69.



Fig. 3. View of the ruins of the Saljuq mosque-mausoleum-palace complex on Konya citadel in the nineteenth century. (Texier 1839-49)

tax registers.⁴⁹ There were still large numbers of nomads in the Akşehir-Konya-Aksaray axis when the English antiquary, William Hamilton, passed through in the early nineteenth century.⁵⁰ The nomadic presence in the area is also suggested by Ibn Bibī's remark that 'Alā' al-Dīn Kay-Qubād I came to Konya at the start of his reign "to take control of that province and that of the *ūj*".⁵¹ Thus the *ūj* was not necessarily some remote frontier, but could be spaces inhabited by Türkmens even in the vicinity of the capital. Indeed Ibn Sa'īd, who wrote a description of Anatolia in roughly the mid seventh/thirteenth century, states simply that "the Türkmens are the ones called the *ūj*".⁵² While etymologically the word does imply a periphery, by this date it seems to have become more generally used for nomads, and no longer had an exclusively geographical sense.

⁴⁹ Leiser 2000; the nomadic population of the area in the thirteenth-sixteenth centuries is discussed in Linder 1983, 75-103, which, however, should be consulted in conjunction with Beldiceanu-Steinherr 1987. See also Vryonis 1971, 187.

⁵⁰ Hamilton 1847, 2: 214, 217-22, 234, 239.

⁵¹ Ibn Bibī, 210: *jihat-i kifāyat-i ān wilāyat wa nawāhī-yi ūj bidān šawb* [i.e. Konya] *tawajjuh namūd*.

⁵² Ibn Sa'īd, 185: ... *al-Turkamān, wa-hum alladhīna yuqālu lahum al-ūj*.

That *ūj* could mean any Türkmen-inhabited area is reinforced by evidence from the Mediterranean coast, the plain of Pamphylia that lies between Antalya and Alanya. Toponyms are suggestive of the scale of the Türkmen presence in Pamphylia: with the exception of Antalya itself, not a single Byzantine or Antique name survives on the coastal plain.⁵³ Although the easternmost parts of Pamphylia adjoined Armenian Cilicia,⁵⁴ and until the early seventh/thirteenth century Antalya and Alanya had been under Byzantine and Armenian control respectively, Pamphylia continues to be described as an *ūj* long after it had been fully incorporated in the Saljuq state. The area became a favourite winter-quarters for the sultans, who built hunting pavilions, gardens, palaces and caravanserais there. They also restored some of Pamphylia's rich heritage of Antique ruins, such as the Roman bridge and even the great theatre at Aspendos, perhaps using the latter as a palace or caravanserai.⁵⁵ Āqsarā'ī several times refers to Pamphylia as the *ūj*, and indeed, despite the extensive Saljuq investment in the region, it was there that the Türkmens, under Qaramanid leadership, raised the banner of revolt against the Saljuqs in the later seventh/thirteenth century.⁵⁶

Yet the sources give no reason to think such revolts were a regular feature of life in earlier times: in Pamphylia and the Konya plains, nomads and their rulers apparently coexisted peacefully. Cities and the surrounding nomads could have a relationship of mutual dependence, and sometimes a nomadic presence could be positively beneficial to agriculture.⁵⁷ William of Tyre says that Antalya, while still under Byzantine rule, relied on the surrounding nomads for foodstuffs.⁵⁸ The image of nomads as a destructive force hostile to urbanism is challenged by the archaeological evidence, which rarely presents a picture of sudden disruption. Even in the Maeander river region, the heavily Türkmen-populated frontier with Byzantium and its successor the Nicaean Empire in south-western Anatolia, excavations at the important cities of Hierapolis and Sardis have shown

⁵³ De Planhol 1958, 102.

⁵⁴ On the Saljuq-Cilician border and the Türkmens there, see Yıldız 2005; the conquest of Alanya by 'Alā' al-Dīn Kay-Qubād I in c. 616/1219 was assisted by Türkmens. See Ibn Bībī, 239, where the sultan summons men from *atrāf-i ūj*, i.e. the Türkmen lands, to participate in the Alanya campaign.

⁵⁵ See Redford 2000, especially for the Alanya region. For Saljuq activity at Aspendos, see, for example, Kessener and Piras 1998; Merçil 2011, 40.

⁵⁶ On the Antalya-Alanya region as an *ūj*, see Āqsarā'ī, 66, 71, 89; Ibn Sa'īd, 185; Fleming 1964, 9, 21.

⁵⁷ Hendy 1985, 117.

⁵⁸ William of Tyre, 2, Book 16, § 26; cf. Hendy 1985, 116.

the continuity between the Byzantine and Saljuq periods, which are difficult if not impossible to distinguish archaeologically.⁵⁹ Archaeology suggests that at Hierapolis pastoralists pitched their tents near the city centre,⁶⁰ but it is far from clear that this was at the expense of the existing population. It was a period of significant shifts in settlement patterns; on the Maeander, Hierapolis and Laodikea were losing their importance and were replaced by Denizli and a second Laodikea, the precise location of which is unknown. Despite the massive nomadic presence in the region, urbanism was not abandoned, but rather adapted to the new environment.⁶¹ Trade routes, the source of Saljuq Anatolia's wealth, could also be shared by nomads, whose seasonal encampments might lie alongside caravanserais constructed by the agents of the state.⁶²

Nor were even the frontier regions of the Saljuq state areas devoid of sultanic authority. The Byzantine historian Niketas Choniates records that when Qïlj Arslan II sought an alliance with Byzantium around 1162-7, he claimed to be unable to control the Türkmens. Niketas, himself a native of the Maeander region, expressed his extreme scepticism at these protestations, believing the sultan was fully responsible for the Türkmens' actions.⁶³ Ibn Sa'îd said fear of the sultan restrained the Türkmens from attacking border areas,⁶⁴ while Akropolites' account of the capture and robbing of Michael Palaeologus, a key ally of 'Izz al-Dîn Kay-Kâ'ûs II, as he passed through the Sangarius border area of north western Anatolia, suggests the limits of sultanic authority. Despite 'Izz al-Dîn's positive relationship with some nomads, as discussed below, his entreaties to the group that held Michael's possessions and men were in vain.⁶⁵

The extent of sultanic authority over the Türkmens probably fluctuated according to the physical proximity of the sultan, but the Saljuqs tried to influence and control them in a variety of ways. A Byzantine notable who had defected to the Saljuqs, Manuel Maurozomes, was given control of the sensitive Maeander frontier and thus its nomadic population, for whom

⁵⁹ Paul 2006, 85; Foss 1976, 83, 91-2.

⁶⁰ Paul 2006, 53-4, 136.

⁶¹ See Paul 2006 for an overview with references to the literature. Much further work, especially archaeological, is needed to understand the complex changes in Anatolian urbanism over the mediaeval period generally, but especially in the Saljuq territories. For the Maeander and some comments on the role of nomads there, see Thoneman 2011.

⁶² Cribb 1991, 162-3.

⁶³ Niketas Choniates, trans. 70.

⁶⁴ Ibn Sa'îd, 185: *wa mā yaşuddhum 'anhum illā 'aḍud al-hudna wa-qahr al-sultān*.

⁶⁵ Akropolites, 315-6.

he seems to have acted as a traditional tribal chief leading his followers to plunder: "Marching out with the Turks he plundered and laid waste the land watered by the Maeander River."⁶⁶ The walls of Dorylaion/Eskişehir, close to a summer pasture that had been a bone of contention between the Türkmens and the Byzantines until 1176, were demolished at sultanic command so that the nomads' enjoyment of the pastures could not be threatened, and the area was put under the governorship of a Saljuq, Mas'ūd b. Qilij Arslan.⁶⁷ Following the Saljuq conquest of the last territories of the rival Turkish Danishmendids in the late sixth/twelfth century, members of the vanquished dynasty held Saljuq appointments to administer the Türkmens. The sons of the Danishmendid ruler Yaghībasan—Muẓaffar al-Dīn Maḥmūd, Ẓahīr al-Dīn Īlī and Badr al-Dīn Yūsuf—were made "commanders of the *ūj* provinces" (*sarwar wa farmān-rawā wa sarlashkar-i wilāyāt-i ūj*), i.e. the Türkmens. We are told that "all the *amīrs* and commanders of those regions followed their policy and their banner".⁶⁸ As is often the case, the term *amīr* is probably used as an equivalent for the Turkish *beg*, the tribal chief. All these appointments suggest that, far from washing their hands of the *ūj*, the Saljuqs used officials, sometimes even members of the Saljuq dynasty itself, to deal with the nomads, doubtless in part hoping at least to control them, or to channel their energies to useful ends, but partly perhaps to try to secure their loyalty.

Saljuq efforts to secure influence with the Türkmens are most evident in the field of religion, for the dynasty patronised cults of holymen in frontier areas. In the east, a large complex based around the cult of the *Aṣḥāb al-Kahf* (Seven Sleepers) grew up at Afşin near Elbistan, in the Türkmen heartland of the Malatya region. Founded by a Saljuq governor of Mar'ash (modern Kahramanmaraş) in the early seventh/thirteenth century, the shrine was a recipient of 'Alā' al-Dīn Kay-Qubād I's patronage.⁶⁹ Likewise, the warrior Baṭṭāl Ghāzī is still commemorated by a complex at Seyitgazi that was begun under the Saljuq sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kay-Khusraw I in the first years of the seventh/thirteenth century at a site near the summer pastures of Dorylaion. Tradition also associates 'Alā' al-Dīn Kay-Qubād I with patronage of Seyitgazi and, according to local legend, his mother was

⁶⁶ Niketas Choniates, trans. 343, 350; on the tribal chief's duty to supply his followers with plunder, see Peacock 2010, 60-2, 144-50 (with detailed references). For a detailed study of Maurozomes and his family, see Yıldız 2011.

⁶⁷ Niketas Choniates, 689 (omitted in the English translation); cf. Kinnamos, 220; Niketas Choniates, trans. 99-100; Hendy 1985, 126-30; Roche 2008, 147-9.

⁶⁸ Ibn Bibī, 76-7.

⁶⁹ Pancaroğlu 2005, 270-1.

buried in the shrine there.⁷⁰ Further research is needed to elucidate these connections, but the sultanic patronage of these important religious centres in two of the major regions of Türkmen settlement can hardly be coincidental.

Far from leaving the Türkmens to their own devices, the Saljuqs were profoundly engaged with the nomadic population. Furthermore, there was no rigid dichotomy between a Türkmen-populated periphery and a settled, urban and agricultural centre. In this context, we need not see the development and prestige of Konya as signalling a rejection of the Türkmens. In its growth we may see an earlier Anatolian parallel to the “pastoral city” Jean Aubin identified in Mongol Iran.⁷¹ These were cities founded or revitalised by nomads, and which were closely associated with neighbouring pastures as well as being important commercial centres. The idea of pastoral cities has been modified by Haneda, who argues that they also served as mausoleum cities, housing the tombs of their founders, who thus aspired to win the prayers of both settled and nomadic populations. A key characteristic of these cities was greenery, the suburban *bāgh* (gardens) where the nomadic rulers would pitch their tents.⁷² All these features were present at Konya. The *bāgh* is often mentioned by mediaeval authors.⁷³ Ansbert, chronicler of Frederick Barbarossa’s crusade, specifically mentions the existence of the sultan’s garden and pleasure ground (*viridarium*) outside the city walls.⁷⁴ Thus, Konya fulfilled admirably the conditions for being a classic nomads’ city, with its gardens, mausoleums, palaces and commercial importance. It is probably no coincidence either that the first Saljuq capital of Nicaea was located in what would become the early Ottoman heart-

⁷⁰ See Dedes 1996, 16–17 on the complex.

⁷¹ Aubin 1970.

⁷² Haneda 1996, 149, 151–3, 161.

⁷³ On the pre-modern gardens of Konya, see Önder 1971, 480–6; Redford 2000, 63–5.

⁷⁴ Ansbert, 84, writes of the German army’s entry to Konya: “When we entered among the royal garden and pleasure ground, we found a great abundance of pasture and water” (*ingressi itaque intra hortum et viridarium regium multam habundantiam graminis et aquarum invenimus*). When the army left the city a few days later, it retreated to the extramural royal pleasure ground: “The army therefore on 23 May left Konya and camped next to the royal garden as before, where we found a market, which sold sufficient [produce], although expensively” (*exercitus ergo X. kal. iunii exivit Yconium et iuxta regium hortum sicut et prius castra metatus fuit, ubi forum, tasmetsi care venderetur, tamen ad sufficientiam invenimus*) (Ansbert, 88). The *Tārīkh-i āl-i Saljūq* (83) rather oddly states that the Frankish army “built palaces and gardens” when they took Konya (*sarāyhā u bāghhā sākht*). Surely this must be a copyist’s error and the text should be emended to read *sarāyhā u bāghhā sūkht*, “burnt down palaces and gardens”, for the text goes on to refer to the destruction caused by the Franks.

land of Bithynia, an attractive area for nomads with its ample pastureland.⁷⁵ Sultans and nomads coexisted in the same space; the suburban and countryside palaces and pavilions in both Pamphylia and around Konya, two areas we know to have had a heavy nomadic presence, strongly argue against the image of sedentarised elites sheltering behind the walls of their new urban centres from the depredations of their disgruntled erstwhile followers.

THE ITINERANT COURT

For all Konya's undoubted symbolic importance, the sultans did not necessarily spend much time there. Evidence is too fragmentary to compile a comprehensive picture of the lifestyle and itineraries of many sultans, but the comparatively well-documented reign of 'Alā' al-Dīn Kay-Qubād I illustrates court life during the golden age of the sultanate: winter was spent on the Mediterranean coast, spring and summer in central Anatolia (see Appendix). Konya mainly appears as a halt between Kayseri—the base for spring campaigns—and the winter quarters of the Mediterranean. It was a centre for ceremonies celebrating the accession of the sultan, but despite its symbolic importance, its role as an administrative centre was limited, and probably restricted entirely to the times when the sultan and his court were passing through. State functions such as receiving foreign envoys could be undertaken equally well at other locations, such as the palace in Alanya.

The sultan's itinerant lifestyle did not cease when the sultan reached his destination, for, as we have seen, there were also rural palaces and pavilions where the sultan seems to have spent at least as much time as in the city, whether for hunting or for pleasure. Just to cover the distances involved, the sultan must have been on the road for a good part of the year. His journeys might be protracted by the frequent stops: "[the sultan] decided to set off for the coast, and all the way making merry and hunting, he pitched his tent by every lake", says Ibn Bībī.⁷⁶ The sultan of course needed to travel in style, and we are told he was accompanied by "mobile pavilions" (*kūshkhā-yi rawān*).⁷⁷ What exactly these were is never specified. If, as it seems, they were distinct from even the most elaborate tents,

⁷⁵ See Lindner 1983, 10–36.

⁷⁶ Ibn Bībī, 352: *'aẓm-i sāhil muṣammam gardānīd wa hama-yi rāh ẓarab-sāz wa nakhchūr-gīr khayma bar kinār-i har ābgūrī mīgirišt*.

⁷⁷ Ibid, 214: *mawkib-i humāyūn ... bā kūshkhā-yi rawān sū-yi shahr rawāna shudand*.

perhaps they were wooden structures that could be easily dismantled and transported.⁷⁸ The tents themselves could be designed to replicate palace life. Ibn Bibī describes the court of tents with which ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Kay-Qubād I honoured his ally the Ayyubid al-Malik al-Ashraf before the great battle against the Khwarazmians at Yassī Chaman, near Erzincan, in 625/1230. On a meadow by a river-bank, the complex contained all the apartments one would expect in a palace—a *farrāsh-khāna*, *sharab-khāna*, treasury, kitchen and so on. The sleeping tent was particularly luxurious, with bejewelled and golden furnishings and even a “travelling *ḥammām*” (*ḥammām-i safarī*).⁷⁹ Elaborate ceremony attended the feasting that took place in these tents, with the approach of the sultan heralded by a fanfare played on golden pipes.⁸⁰ Ibn Bibī’s description suggests an arrangement reminiscent of Ottoman times, when a whole city of tents would be brought on campaign, emulating the imperial palace itself and “reproducing all the important structures of the Palace, each in the form of a tent”.⁸¹ Equally, when the Byzantine emperor decamped to the countryside, on campaign for instance, every effort was made to replicate the court of Constantinople, and as with the Saljuqs paraphernalia right down to mobile bathhouses was brought along.⁸²

The Saljuqs did not just use tents on campaign and when travelling. Redford has suggested that tents were probably pitched in the palace compounds.⁸³ Tents might thus have a ceremonial use; rather as in Ottoman times they could serve as a sort of stage to accommodate official feasts, audiences, and even ceremonies of accession to the throne.⁸⁴ Such a ceremonial use is suggested by Ibn Bibī’s account of the Saljuq reception of the Mengüjekid ruler of Erzincan, ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Dā’ūd-Shāh. Kay-Qubād I had effectively annexed the Mengüjekid principality in 625/1228, and Dā’ūd-Shāh was obliged to accompany his new overlord back to the Saljuq heartlands in central Anatolia. As the party neared Kayseri, Kay-Qubād headed off to Kayqubādiya, while Dā’ūd-Shāh set up camp in the nearby

⁷⁸ In Saljuq western Iran, a *kūshk* seems to have implied “a light structure of one storey” (Durand-Guédy 2010, 99). Ibn Bibī also refers to *kūshkhā-yi sākin*, presumably fixed pavilions. Cf. David Durand-Guédy’s chapter in this volume. On the occasion of ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Kay-Qubād’s entry to Konya at the beginning of his reign, 200 mobile (*rawān*) and 300 fixed (*sākin*) *kūshks* were set up, decorated with unusual weapons (Ibn Bibī, 214)

⁷⁹ *Ḥammām* tents were also known under the Ottomans. See Atasoy 2000, 52, 103-4.

⁸⁰ Ibn Bibī, 386-91.

⁸¹ Atasoy 2000, 56.

⁸² Morris 2003, 247.

⁸³ Redford 2000, 69.

⁸⁴ Atasoy 2000, 16-17.

plain of Mashhad. The Mengüjekid had brought with him from Erzincan a tent of satin with tent-ropes of silk, where he played host to the feasting of the next few days.⁸⁵ Thus despite the two rulers' proximity to one of the major towns of the Saljuq state, and to the palace of Kayqubādiya, the tent was still Dā'ūd-Shāh's preferred accommodation. Yet this was probably not the result of some atavistic longing for the nomadic past. The Mengüjekid was apparently an expert calligrapher, and knowledgeable in medicine, mathematics and other arts,⁸⁶ which would scarcely be the forte of a traditional nomad. Kay-Qubād himself sometimes preferred a tent at Kayqubādiya, an elaborate contraption with a triple-roof (*sarāparda-yi sih-sarī*).⁸⁷ The ceremonial and symbolic importance of these tents is suggested by Muḥyī l-Dīn Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir's account of the Mamluk occupation of Kayseri. "The reception hall (*dihlīz*), tents and symbols of the Sultanate of Rūm were erected on a flat piece of ground near the pavilion (*jawsaq*) and garden known as Kay-Khusraw (sic)."⁸⁸ Thus, tents seem to be numbered among the symbols of the state, and indeed were among the valuables sent for safekeeping to Tokat with the sultan's wife at the time of the Mamluk invasion of 675/1277.⁸⁹ While this may in part reflect their value, we know from later examples that tents were considered a sign of sovereignty, and the Ottomans would put the tents of their vanquished enemies on display as symbols of the latter's subjugation.⁹⁰

The importance of tents is scarcely surprising, given the extent to which court life was defined by the sultans' itinerant lifestyle, seasonal migrations and addiction to rural pursuits. The question then arises of how this pattern of behaviour should be interpreted. A desire to escape from the bitter cold of the central Anatolian winter is eminently natural, and hunting was a love shared by almost all pre-modern rulers. Redford has remarked that the sultans in Alanya participated in a "shared chivalric garden culture" common to the Mediterranean and Islamic worlds,⁹¹ with a taste for rural pavilions to be found as far afield as Sicily. The sultans' aspirations to luxury are suggested by the elaborate tile work we find in these palaces and their sumptuously decorated *ḥammāms*. As the Ottoman parallels suggest, even the use of tents need not be suggestive of any nomadic incli-

⁸⁵ Ibn Bibī, 349.

⁸⁶ Ibid., 357.

⁸⁷ Ibid., 459.

⁸⁸ Qalqashandī, 14: 154; Sümer 1985, 82, 122.

⁸⁹ Qalqashandī, 14: 150; Sümer 1985, 118.

⁹⁰ Atasoy 2000, 58. See also Durand-Guédy's chapter in this volume.

⁹¹ Redford 2000, 108, 112.

nations. The early Abbasid caliphs had structures comparable to the Saljuqs' moveable pavilions (*kūshkhā-yi rawān*),⁹² while in Saljuq Anatolia it was not just the court but also the townsmen of Konya who made use of them.⁹³ Nor was the Saljuq proclivity for extramural palaces at all unusual. Out-of-town palaces are also known from Ghaznavid and Hamdanid examples,⁹⁴ while the Byzantine emperors too frequented extra-urban palaces, even if these tended to be located close to Constantinople.⁹⁵ Only Qubādābād, wholly isolated from any major settlement, seems anomalous in this respect.

It was more than the love of pleasure that drew the sultan to this itinerant lifestyle, and the rural palaces may also have been used as places where the army gathered before campaigns. Preparations for the annual spring campaigns from Kayseri may have actually been made at nearby Kayqubādīya, while Filūbād was near the army's Konya musterground at Rūzba.⁹⁶ Yet while pre-modern rulers may have preferred an itinerant lifestyle as a means of asserting their authority throughout their domains, that does not satisfactorily explain the situation in Saljuq Anatolia. Almost never do we read of 'Alā' al-Dīn Kay-Qubād I or other sultans visiting the major cities of north-central Anatolia. Amasya and Sivas do not appear as sultanic residences, although they were cities of considerable strategic importance. Kay-Qubād, for instance, commanded his amirs to rebuild the walls of Sivas at the beginning of his reign,⁹⁷ but never seems to have gone there subsequently, while the removal of 'Izz al-Dīn Kay-Kā'ūs I's tomb to the city was a calculated insult.

The only area of Anatolia to which the sultan consistently returned was the Kayseri-Konya-Beyşehir-Antalya-Alanya route. At least in the stretch between Beyşehir and Pamphylia, the sultan's movements emulated, indeed must have been synchronous with, those of the Türkmens between the coast and the mountains. The migrations of the twentieth century Türkmens of southern Anatolia, which must have followed ancient patterns, have been described in detail by Xavier de Planhol. Winters are spent

⁹² Necipoğlu 1993, 10.

⁹³ Ibn Bibi, 241: the notables of Konya are described as preparing 500 pavilions to receive 'Alā' al-Dīn Kay-Qubād I. From Ibn Bibi (212), it is seems that these pavilions were for the use of the army commanders and city dignitaries.

⁹⁴ Bacharach 1991, 121-2.

⁹⁵ Auzépy 1995.

⁹⁶ Redford 1993, 220, 221; Redford 2000, 63.

⁹⁷ Ibn Bibi, 253; *Tārīkh-i āl-i Saljūq*, 89. Only the *Tārīkh-i āl-i Saljūq* indicates Kay-Qubād went to Sivas; Ibn Bibi suggests it was just an order given by the sultan *in absentia*.

on the Pamphylian plain, the warm flat lands by the Mediterranean coast, while in summer the nomads move to the summer pastures (*yaylāq*, modern Turkish: *yayla*) of the mountains of the interior.⁹⁸ The mediaeval evidence for Türkmens in Pamphylia has been noted above. The Beyşehir region also had a substantial nomadic population. In modern times, mountains around the lake formed an important *yayla* in their own right, while Beyşehir also served as a late-autumn encampment for Türkmens heading south to their Pamphylian winter pastures (*qışlāq*, modern Turkish: *kışlak*).⁹⁹ Although the mediaeval evidence is slighter, it is still clear enough: late seventh/thirteenth century Beyşehir became the centre of a minor Türkmen principality, the Ashrafids (Eshrefids), and was on occasion a centre for recruiting Türkmen troops from the *ûj*.¹⁰⁰

Yet this coincidence between nomadic and sultanic itineraries need not imply that the sultans' seasonal movements were determined by memories of their nomadic heritage. To start with, Pamphylia had only been incorporated into the Saljuq realm in the early seventh/thirteenth century with the capture of Antalya (603/1207) and Alanya (c. 617/1221). Such territories would not have been available to the sixth/twelfth century sultans, whose movements cannot be reconstructed. Furthermore, the Saljuqs were not the only Anatolian dynasty to adopt patterns of seasonal travel, which also appear among the rulers of neighbouring Greek states, the offshoots of Byzantium. Although Byzantine emperors, except on campaign, traditionally resided in Constantinople itself, or in one of the nearby pleasure palaces,¹⁰¹ with the fall of Byzantium to the Fourth Crusade in 1204, the rulers of its Anatolian successor-states had to adapt to their new circumstances. The empire of Nicaea provides a good example of this. Despite the state's name, Nicaea was only the seat of the patriarch, whereas its political and economic centre lay in Lydia, on a line running between Philadelphia (Alaşehir), Nymphaion (Kemalpaşa) and Magnesia (Manisa). Almost from the inception of their empire, the Laskarid rulers of Nicaea made Nymphaion their winter capital, not moving to Nicaea before spring even in cases of apparent urgency, such as the death of a patriarch. It has been suggested that this seasonal presence in Nymphaion, relatively close to the

⁹⁸ De Planhol 1958, esp. 94-109, 195-9.

⁹⁹ De Planhol 1958, 115, 169, 174, 197-9.

¹⁰⁰ Âqsarā'ī, 204, 311 (the Gorgorum of the text is the Antique name for the Beyşehir region).

¹⁰¹ Auzépy 1995.

Maeander frontier region, was a response to the need to counter the Türkmens.¹⁰²

Even more striking is the case of Trebizond in north-eastern Anatolia, founded by the dynasty of the Grand Comneni in the wake of the fall of Constantinople in 1204. In the mid-eighth/fourteenth century, the Emperor Alexios III of Trebizond led a similarly itinerant existence, repeatedly wintering in the coastal plain around Limnia in an attempt to control or prevent its settlement by the Türkmens who shared the empire's territories. Sometimes, military force was used; but the Grand Comneni also counted nomads among their allies and, through intermarriage, their relatives. Relations were far from invariably hostile, but to control (or at least to exert influence over) the Türkmens, the Greek ruler had himself to adapt to their ways, and this might mean following the Türkmens' migration patterns, at least in certain times and places.¹⁰³ Thus, the Grand Comnenus did not act entirely as a traditional Greek ruler; in Anthony Bryer's words "he was simultaneously a Byzantine emperor and a Türkmen *melik* of a group of small emirates he had a hand in creating".¹⁰⁴

If on the Greek periphery rulers were obliged to adapt to take account of the seasonal migrations of the Türkmens—whether they were trying to hinder them, help them or simply protect their own lands—the Saljuqs are unlikely to have been entirely exempt. So, if the evidence does not allow us to propose that 'Alā' al-Dīn Kay-Qubād I was consciously emulating the migratory ways of his ancestors, the nomadic presence in his realm may have been so significant that good politics simply impelled him to do so, just as it did Alexios III of Trebizond. It is interesting to note in this connection that the numbers of nomads in Anatolia mentioned in our seventh/thirteenth-century sources are enormously larger than those in earlier periods; figures such as 100,000 or 200,000 are common, as opposed to the groups of 2,000, 5,000, or at most 10,000-20,000 of which we read in the fifth/eleventh century.¹⁰⁵ Clearly there were some new migrants to Anatolia, a consequence of the rise of Mongol power, but our knowledge of the processes and dates of migration is at the moment too limited to allow us to do more than draw attention to this discrepancy, which may suggest that

¹⁰² Hendy 1985, 116, 444-5; Akropolites, 87-8, 279.

¹⁰³ Bryer 1975, 128-33.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 127.

¹⁰⁵ Peacock 2010, 84-5; Ibn Sa'īd, 185: 200,000 Türkmen households (*bayt*) around Denizli; ibid., 186: 30,000 Türkmens around Ankara; ibid., 195: 100,000 Türkmen households near Kastamonu.

the circumstances of the seventh/thirteenth century, and therefore rulers' responses to them, were quite different from preceding eras.

Two passages in Ibn Bibī confirm that the sultan took advantage of the coincidence of his own movements with those of the Türkmens migrating between their Pisidian *yaylaqs* and Pamphylian *qışlaqs* to cement relations with the nomads. The historian writes of 'Alā' al-Dīn Kay-Qubād I that, at Qubādābād, "Chiefs of the *ūj* (*umarā'-i aṭrāf*, i.e. Türkmens *begs*) from every region came to the sultan bringing gifts and day and night the sultan provided feasts and occupied himself with ingratiating himself with his subjects (*banda-nawāzī*) and destroying enemies (*dushman-gudāzī*)."¹⁰⁶ Such encounters were thus far more than an opportunity to indulge in revelry. Feasting at Qubādābād allowed the sultan to strengthen alliances with the Türkmens who attended and presumably, through these reinforced relationships, to arrange the demise of his enemies—among them, perhaps, Türkmens who had not presented themselves.

Another instance of this coincidence of sultanic and nomadic interests and movements seems to be provided by Ibn Bibī's account Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kay-Khusraw II's proclamation of a *jihad* at the end of his reign in 643/1245, in the wake of the Mongols' crushing defeat of his armies at Köse Dagħ. His envoy, Šāhib Shams al-Dīn Işfahānī, who had been sent to seek peace terms with the Mongol Batu Khan, returned to Rūm to find the sultan encamped in at Karaöyük (presumably modern Karahüyük) in the heavily nomad-populated Akşehir region to the north of Lake Beyşehir. On receiving the Mongol terms, Kay-Khusraw II held a splendid banquet at Karahüyük, which he used as an occasion to announce a campaign against Christian Cilicia.¹⁰⁷ In all probability, his intended audience was also the Türkmens. We know that the Türkmens in the Cilicia region were restive around this date.¹⁰⁸ Recruitment to this campaign may have been intended to provide the nomads with plunder and pasture, just as the early Saljuq sultans

¹⁰⁶ Ibn Bibī, 418. *Aṭrāf* is a synonym for *ūj*. The identification of the "chiefs of the *ūj*" with the Türkmens is suggested by another passage in Ibn Bibī (185), where the sultan summons the chiefs of the *ūj*, who are described as having "their accustomed armies of bow-wielding Turks and many cavalry" (*umarā-yi ūj kih laskarhā-yi ma'hūd bā turkān-i kamāndār wa sawārān-i bişyār bi-khidmat-i paykār-i humāyūn da'wat kunad*). This strongly suggests a Türkmens host; the fact that these *umarā-yi ūj* are not named, whereas the preceding passage does identify other amirs who have been summoned by the sultan, strengthens the likelihood that Türkmens are meant, in keeping with Ibn Bibī's tendency to gloss over their activities as far as possible. See also Bombaci 1978, 346-8.

¹⁰⁷ Ibn Bibī, 543-5.

¹⁰⁸ Cahen 1988, 228-30.

Toghrīl and Alp Arslan had.¹⁰⁹ It may also have been aimed at consolidating the sultan's shaky position after his humiliation by the Mongols, through a successful campaign against a neighbouring non-Muslim state, as well as distracting these potentially disruptive Türkmens from causing trouble in the lands of the Rūm sultanate itself. Although relations between Kay-Khusraw II and the nomads are often thought to have been poor, as is suggested by the Türkmen-based Bābā Rasūl revolt, which he defeated only with great difficulty, evidently the break was not complete, for there were *ūjīs*, i.e. Türkmens, serving in the Saljuq ranks at Köse Dagħ.¹¹⁰

Karahüyük is a village lying on a plain bounded by mountains and Lake Akşehir. In this area, some of the most dramatic scenes in the history of the seventh/thirteenth century sultanate were played out. On Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kay-Khusraw II's death in 643/1245-6, his son, 'Izz al-Dīn Kay-Kā'ūs II, was brought to the village of Altuntaş near Karahüyük. There, he was seated on the throne to receive the allegiance of his half-brothers. It was in Karahüyük too that he distributed the financial gifts customarily presented to the soldiery on the new sultan's accession, and only after a few days did the royal procession set off for Konya to complete the ceremonies there.¹¹¹ Later, it was at Altuntaş and Karahüyük that the Saljuq and pursuing Mongol armies respectively established their winter quarters just before 'Izz al-Dīn Kay-Kā'ūs II was forced to flee into exile in Byzantium.¹¹² Altuntaş was also chosen as a base by the Qaramanid Türkmens in 675/1277, when doing battle with the pro-Mongol forces of Şāhib Fakhr al-Dīn.¹¹³ Yet then as today, Altuntaş and Karahüyük were no more than villages, otherwise scarcely known to history. Surely, as the Qaramanid presence suggests, these obscure villages' suitability for these great state occasions, such as declarations of war and even rituals of accession, derived from their location in the heart of the plains where the Türkmens were encamped. There seems no other obvious reason why 'Izz al-Dīn Kay-Kā'ūs II should have been enthroned at Altuntaş, given his father seems to have died on the

¹⁰⁹ Cf. Peacock 2010, 61, 144-50.

¹¹⁰ Ibn Bībī, 519, 525.

¹¹¹ Ibid., 549.

¹¹² Ibid., 637. Although much of our discussion has concentrated on the migrations between the coastal plain and the interior described by de Planhol and emulated by Kay-Qubād I, one should bear in mind there were many possible migrations and pastures available. Central Anatolia too might be used by some groups as winter quarters despite its harsh climate. Cf. Jürgen Paul's chapter in this volume.

¹¹³ Ibn Bībī, 698.

Mediterranean coast and was brought to Konya to be buried.¹¹⁴ Likewise, his brothers were in the remote fortress Uluborlu, on the south-western frontier with Nicaea, whence they were brought to show their allegiance at his accession in Altuntaş,¹¹⁵ doubtless alongside the Türkmen chiefs, whose assent and allegiance remained just as crucial politically.

Thus the sultan's itinerant lifestyle was motivated by politics as well as pleasure, offering the chance of cementing his relationship with the Türkmens, as well as "destroying enemies" (*dushman-gudāzī*), whether these were less pliant nomads or other threats that the sultan sought to avert with nomadic power. The coincidence of the sultan's spring and autumnal visits to Qubādābād with the migration of nomads in the same direction at the same time must have provided an opportunity to affirm both the might of the sultan through lavish banquets to which Türkmen chiefs were invited, the magnificence of the palace or palatial tents, or even tent-cities, in which these banquets would have been held, and the common interests of the sultan and his nomadic subjects. As the accession rituals, banqueting and declaration of war in the Karahüyük-Altuntaş region suggest, even great state occasions might be designed to accommodate this nomadic audience.

THE COURT AND NOMADIC CULTURE

We can rarely do more than speculate on the precise nature of the interests shared by Saljuqs and Türkmens. From the Saljuq perspective, Türkmens could prove to be a valuable military tool. It was Türkmen aid that brought Quṭb al-Dīn Malik-Shāh to the sultanate in 587/1191,¹¹⁶ and there were probably many other occasions when they exerted an influence our sources do not reveal to us. Exactly how the Saljuqs may have helped the Türkmens is harder to assess, but they must have in some sense facilitated nomadic life through ensuring the provision of at least adequate pasture, if not plunder, as Kay-Khusraw II's planned jihad suggests. A sense of common interest between Saljuqs and nomads was reinforced by the Mongol invasion. In the second half of the seventh/thirteenth century, as vast areas of

¹¹⁴ Turan 1971, 454.

¹¹⁵ Turan (1971, 459) interprets this passage quite differently, positing that 'Izz al-Dīn Kay-Kā'ūs II was in Uluborlu, but I believe the text leaves no room for ambiguity. Ibn Bibī, 549: *īshān-rā az qal'a-yi Burghlū bi-dih-i Altüntāsh az a'māl-i Āqshahr-i Qūnya burdand* (Āqshahr is modern Akşehir).

¹¹⁶ Cahen 1960.

central Anatolia were occupied by Mongol troops for pasture, the Türkmens were pushed further to the peripheries—places like Kastamonu and the Black Sea region and Rough Cilicia in the south. Not every member of the Saljuq dynasty acquiesced in Mongol hegemony, and for those who sought to rebel against their Mongol overlords, the Türkmens were an obvious source of support.

‘Izz al-Dīn Kay-Kā’ūs II affords the clearest example of this sultanic alliance with the Türkmens. Following the traditional route, he headed south from the central Anatolian plateau to seek Türkmens aid in 659/1261. “The seat of the sultanate, the abode of kingship, Konya, was abandoned (*mu’atṭal shuda*), and [‘Izz al-Dīn Kay-Kā’ūs II] made for Antalya; he stopped for a while in Qubādābād, in Gorgorum [i.e. the Beyşehir region].”¹¹⁷ On this occasion, though, the abandonment of the capital may have been intended to be more than purely seasonal, for on reaching Antalya the sultan is said to have “joined forces with the Turks of the *ūj*, plotting rebellion [against the Mongols],”¹¹⁸ which underlines the political significance of stopping at Qubādābād en route. When, as a result of his rebellion, Kay-Kā’ūs II was removed from the throne of Konya by the Mongols and their local allies, three Türkmens *begs* attacked the city, claiming they were acting out of partisanship (*hawādārī*) for the former sultan.¹¹⁹ According to later legend, Kay-Kā’ūs II was accompanied into exile in Istanbul by large numbers of nomads, whose pining for their traditional way of life led them to flee to the Dobrudja, where they became the ancestors of the Gagauz Turks of Romania, whose name is said to commemorate their link to Kay-Kā’ūs.¹²⁰

This Saljuq-Türkmens alliance resurfaces at later points in the seventh/thirteenth century. In 691/1292, for instance, ‘Izz al-Dīn Kay-Kā’ūs II’s son, Rukn al-Dīn Qilij Arslan, launched a rebellion in northern Anatolia, drawing on assistance from Kastamonu’s Türkmens.¹²¹ When in 696/1297 the Mongol general Baltu, supported by the Saljuq sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn Mas’ūd II, rebelled against the Ilkhan Ghazan, it was in the *ūj* “which is the base from which rebels emerge” that, accompanied by senior officials of the Saljuq state (*ba’ḍi az atbā’-i dastgāh-i dawlat*), the insurgents took refuge.¹²² A common hostility to the Ilkhanate helped cement the alliance

¹¹⁷ Āqṣarā’ī, 65.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 66: *bā atrāk-i ūj muttafaq shuda andīsha-yi ‘iṣyān dar dil dārad*.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 70-1

¹²⁰ Wittek 1952, 648-57.

¹²¹ Āqṣarā’ī, 170: *dar īn sāl az jānib-i ūj khurūj kard....bi-jānib-i Qaṣṭamuniyya raft wa atrāk-i ān wilāyat mutāba‘at-i ū namūdand*.

¹²² Ibid., 203-4.

of Türkmens and claimants to the Saljuq throne. Naturally, this does not mean that Saljuqs and Türkmens always found themselves on the same side, for neither group acted as a homogenous block; just as some Saljuq sultans served the Mongols, there was no unity of interest among the Türkmens. Thus ‘Izz al-Dīn Kay-Kā’ūs II, for instance, despite his strong links with certain groups of Türkmens, fought against Mehmed Beg the Qaramanid.

Politics was not the whole story, however, and the Saljuq court also evinced a certain romantic enthusiasm for the dynasty’s nomadic heritage. This is manifested in the tales of the founder of the Türkmén Danishmendid dynasty that ruled northern Anatolia for much of the sixth/twelfth century. According to the compiler of the extant, ninth/fifteenth century version of the *Danishmend-name* epic, his tale was based on a manuscript written in Turkish—albeit so archaic it was scarcely recognisable—for ‘Izz al-Dīn Kay-Kā’ūs II in 642/1245.¹²³ The nomadic lifestyle of Danishmand and his followers is highlighted, while one passage attempts to show that the Saljuqs could trace their descent to him.¹²⁴ Although the dedicatee would have been no more than a child when the work was composed, the royal patronage of the work, and indeed even the fact of its composition, suggests that nomadic culture maintained its prestige at court. Indeed, ancient Turkish symbolism featured on objects made for ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Kay-Qubād I’s court, as in the case of the *tughrā*, and the bow and arrow motif denoting sovereignty that the sultan is depicted holding, on a silver candlestick now in the Victoria and Albert Museum.¹²⁵

For some Anatolian rulers, these links with the nomadic heritage were more than a mere romantic memory, as is illustrated by Ibn Bibī’s account of ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Kay-Qubād’s overthrow of the Mengüjekid ruler of Kughunya (Koloneia, modern Şebinkarahisar), Malik Muẓaffar al-Dīn (c. 622/1225–625/1228).¹²⁶ The Mengüjekid was to be compensated with lands around Kırşehir in central Anatolia, and, when he surrendered Kughunya and its castle to the Saljuq general Mubārīz al-Dīn Ertoqush, Ibn Bibī lists as his main possessions that he handed over, along with cloth and weapons,

¹²³ Mélikoff 1960, 1: 54–6, 59–60.

¹²⁴ Ibid., 1: 64, 453–6; 2: 280–3. Given the comparatively late date of the extant version of the *Danishmend-name*, this information naturally needs to be treated with a degree of circumspection, and there is no way of independently verifying it unless an older version of the text comes to light. Yet it chimes well with the evidence cited above for ‘Izz al-Dīn Kay-Kā’ūs II’s political links with the Türkmens.

¹²⁵ Redford 2005, 293–8, 301–2.

¹²⁶ On Malik Muẓaffar al-Dīn, see Sakaoğlu 2005, 110–15.

"horses, camels, mules, cows and sheep".¹²⁷ The cultural achievements of the Mengüjekid dynasty were comparable to the Saljuqs. They had been patrons of Nizāmī of Ganja and 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī.¹²⁸ Although a series of earthquakes have destroyed anything they built at Erzincan, the great mosque, hospital and funerary complex of Divriği, where they managed to maintain a precarious independence even after 'Alā' al-Dīn Kay-Qubād I's annexation of the principality, still stands as evidence of their advanced cultural level. In other words, despite Muẓaffar al-Dīn's reputation as a man of culture, his wealth was counted largely in cattle—exactly as one might expect of a Eurasian nomad. This does not of course mean that Muẓaffar al-Dīn was a nomad—doubtless other rulers too owned cattle—but the fact that cattle apparently accounted for a large part of his moveable wealth underlines that, one way or another, he is likely to have maintained close, if not personal, links with the pastoral life.

CONCLUSION

In this essay, I have emphasised the links between nomads and the world around them, especially the court. There were of course plenty of occasions when the interests of the nomads and the sultan clashed, as the older literature has tended to emphasise. Yet to describe mediaeval Anatolian society and politics in terms of a sharp opposition between settled and nomad is misleading. Nomads, just like other groups, such as amirs, might from time to time threaten the ruler—whether Saljuq or Byzantine—and from time to time support him. A ruler like the Mengüjekid Muẓaffar al-Dīn might embrace Islamic and Persian culture, but economic realities decreed that the lord of a remote fortress like Kughunya would count his wealth in beasts rather than gold. The readiness with which the descendants of Yaghībasan accepted appointment as commanders of the *ūj*, administering the tribesmen, may indicate that the Danishmendids never wholly lost touch with their nomadic heritage either. Yet the itinerant lifestyle of the Saljuq court should be seen less as the continuation of the ancestral nomadic lifestyle than as a response to the Türkmens' growing demographic and thus military and political strength. Just like the empires of Nicaea and Trebizond, the Saljuqs needed both to control the Türkmens and to win their allegiance. Inviting their chiefs to feasts and proclaiming

¹²⁷ Ibn Bibī, 362.

¹²⁸ Sakaoğlu 2005, 70-2, 344.

jihad was one means of promoting this strategy, as was building shrines and appointing administrators in Türkmen areas. The feasting at Qubādābād, the accession ceremonies at Karahüyük, and perhaps even the sultan's travel patterns themselves, were influenced and in some cases perhaps determined by the need to exert influence among the Türkmen constituency.

At the same time, the patronage of works such as the *Danishmend-name* and the continuing use of ancient Turkic motifs in art produced for the court are suggestive of an elite culture that valued and derived prestige from its Turkish and nomadic roots. The urban growth in Anatolia and the sultanic building programmes are just one side of the story of Saljuq rule. The court itself was never tied to a single location, but could be established wherever the sultan chose: on the banks of a lake or river, by or within a rural hunting pavilion or palace, or inside a citadel. The multiple centres of Saljuq rule suggest the complexity of ruling the lands of Rüm, whose very name evoked their Romano-Byzantine heritage, where the sultan might act as an heir to the Iranian heroes of the *Shāh-nāma*, a prince in the tradition of the courtly culture of the mediaeval Eastern Mediterranean, and a Turkish nomad chief.

APPENDIX

THE ITINERARIES OF SULTAN 'ALĀ' AL-DĪN KAY-QUBĀD I¹²⁹

616/1219. After the construction of walls of Konya, sultan goes to Kayseri (Ibn Bibī, 256).

619/1221-2.¹³⁰ Sultan goes to Malatya to meet Ayyubids (Ibn Bibī, 296) and returns from there to Kayseri. From Kayseri he goes to Antalya, and from there to Alanya.

¹²⁹ This survey is necessarily based on Ibn Bibī, our sole detailed source for Kay-Qubād I's reign. Unfortunately, Ibn Bibī gives very few dates (although he does often specify the season in which events took place), and the only way of establishing any kind of chronology is by connecting the sultan's journeys with the political events referred to nearby in the text. This is not a wholly reliable method, for Ibn Bibī probably did not arrange his text in strict chronological order, but rather according to his artistic and political aims as a historian. Furthermore, Ibn Bibī is all too often the sole source for events. I have generally accepted the dates proposed in Turan (1971). Some of them are, however, open to question, and on occasion I may have inadvertently conflated the itineraries of two years into one, or others divided those of one year into two. However, as the purpose of this appendix is to demonstrate the consistent pattern of wintering on the Mediterranean and spending the spring/summer/autumn on the Anatolian plateau, hopefully any such errors will not stand in the way of the broader picture.

¹³⁰ Just before the Sudak expedition. See Peacock 2006 for this date.

After wintering there he returns to Kayseri via Konya (Ibn Bibī, 300). Preparations for Sudak and Cilician campaigns. Spring: after amirs have been dispatched on their various campaigns, sultan goes to Kayqubādīya (Ibn Bibī, 307).

619-620/1222-3. Conquest of Alanya; sultan goes from Alanya to Antalya, conquering Alara en route. Winter in Antalya (Ibn Bibī, 240, 249, 250-1). 620/1223.¹³¹ Revolt of emirs. After wintering in Antalya, sultan goes to Kayseri (Ibn Bibī, 266-7)

623/1226.¹³² Sultan returns from summer campaigning in south-eastern Anatolia around Kahta and goes to Kayseri (Ibn Bibī, 289)

625/1228.¹³³ Reception of 'Alā' al-Dīn Dā'ūd-Shāh at Kayqubādīya in spring (Ibn Bibī, 347); sultan then goes to Kayseri, from where he continues to the Mediterranean coast, passing by way of Konya and founding Qubādābād en route (Ibn Bibī 352). With the coming of spring, sultan departs from the coast to Qubādābād, where he stays for one month, continuing to Kayseri (Ibn Bibī, 356).

c. 626/1229.¹³⁴ Sultan receives Khwarazmian envoys at Alanya (Ibn Bibī, 374)

c. 627/1230.¹³⁵ Sultan departs from Kayseri to campaign against the rebel *dizdār* of Alanya, after which he spends two months in (or around) the city; he then goes to Antalya, and after 40 days there continues to Qubādābād (Ibn Bibī, 417-8).

c. 628/1231.¹³⁶ After campaign against Erzurum, sultan returns via Sivas to Kayseri, and after the army has dispersed makes for Kayqubādīya, where he stays one month (Ibn Bibī, 364-6). He goes from there to Alanya for the winter, in the spring returning via Konya to Kayseri (Ibn Bibī, 365-6).

629/1232.¹³⁷ At the beginning of autumn, 'Alā' al-Dīn goes to Qubādābād and from there to Antalya and Alanya (Ibn Bibī, 425).

c. 632/1235.¹³⁸ Sultan winters in Antalya and Alanya, following which he goes via Konya and Aksaray to Kayseri (Ibn Bibī, 446-7).

¹³¹ Turan 1971, 339-42.

¹³² Ibid., 347-9.

¹³³ Ibid., 353-6.

¹³⁴ Ibid., 366-8.

¹³⁵ Ibid., 374 n. 80.

¹³⁶ Ibid., 373.

¹³⁷ Ibid., 377-8.

¹³⁸ Ibid., 381.

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CHAPTER SIX

SEASONAL CAPITALS WITH PERMANENT BUILDINGS IN THE MONGOL EMPIRE

Tomoko Masuya*

The Great Mongol Empire (1206-1388) established in Mongolia by Chinggis Khan (d. 1227) expanded rapidly and, by the reign of the second Great Khan (*qa'an*) Ögödei (r. 1229-41) encompassed a large portion of Eurasia. Boyle (on the Great Khans) and Honda (on the Ilkhans) have written pioneering articles on the seasonal residences of the Mongols.¹ Since the mid-twentieth century, however, archaeological excavations in Mongolia, China and Iran have brought to light the existence of permanent buildings in these seasonal cities.² Given the nomadic background of the Mongols, these findings are very valuable for tackling the delicate issue of acculturation. By considering the permanent buildings in these seasonal cities and detailing how they were laid out and what their function was, this article aims to examine the extent to which common characteristics can be observed between the core and the periphery of the empire, and, conversely, the extent to which local influence (from the culture of the subjected peoples) can be inferred.

In a previous publication, I have already dealt with the case of the Ilkhans (the Mongol rulers of Iran).³ I will focus here on the Great Khans in Mongolia and China by combining literary sources and archaeological reports written in European languages as well as in Chinese and Japanese. As far as the literary sources are concerned, I will make extensive use of the *Secret History of the Mongols*, a thirteenth-century Mongolian chronicle that has come down to us through a late-fourteenth-century phonetic

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¹ See Boyle 1974; Honda 1976.

² In Mongolia proper, cities as early as the period of Xiongnu (second century BCE to first century CE) have been excavated. See Wright et al. 2009.

³ See Masuya 2002, with extensive reference to studies and sources.

rendition in Chinese characters (*Yuanchao mishi*); the *Shengwu qinzheng lu*, a Chinese history of the campaigns of Chinggis Khan and Ögödei dating from the second half of the thirteenth century; the *Yuan shi*, an official history of the Yuan dynasty compiled in Chinese by Song Lian and other writers in 1369-70; and finally the *Jāmi' al-tawārikh*, a world history composed in Persian at the court of the Ilkhans under the supervision of the vizier Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl-Allāh in ca. 1301-14.⁴ The various words used to refer to the setting of the Great Khans will receive special attention.

CHINGGIS' GREAT ORDU

Cities with permanent buildings already existed in Mongolia by the beginning of the thirteenth century, before Chinggis Khan conquered a vast portion of Asia through lengthy military campaigns. The only city that seems to have been founded by the Mongols themselves (and not by their Khitan/Liao and Uighur predecessors) is the military-agricultural settlement of Aluhuan.⁵ While travelling with the Taoist monk Qiu Chuji to see Chinggis in the years 1220-4, Li Zhichang passed through it and he refers to it as Tian Zhenhai Balagesun (Chingqai Balaghasun).⁶ Significantly, Li Zhichang explains that *balaghasun* means *cheng* in Chinese, i.e. 'walled city'.⁷ He adds that the city contained storehouses and that it was inhabited by Chinese craftsmen, as well as captive princesses of the Jin dynasty.⁸ But Chinggis himself and his entourage were not to be found there or in any other city, but in the *ordu*, a word that can mean 'headquarters', 'encampment', 'imperial camp', or 'palace', as well as referring to a unit of horde under the management of a legitimate wife of a Mongol ruler.⁹ It should be noted that Li Zhichang says that, shortly before arriving at Chingqai Balaghasun, Qiu Chuji reached the *woliduo* of one of Chinggis' spouses. This *woliduo* was located on the bank of a river in Mongolia and consisted

⁴ On the dating of the *Shengwu*, see Biran 2007, 32, and Rossabi 2009, 99.

⁵ According to the *Yuan shi*, this Aluhuan was established by the Mongol officer Chingqai (d. 1251) on the direct order of Chinggis. See *Yuan shi*, chap. 120, 10: 2964.

⁶ Li Zhichang, 39-40; Bretschneider 1910, 1: 59-60.

⁷ *Balaghasun* is a loanword in Mongol from Turkic *balıq*. See Clauson 1972, 335-6. According to Peter Golden (mail to the editor 22 November 2012), "it may come from a Proto-Turkic **bäläqā/bālaqa* (Sevortian, *Étimologicheskii Slovar' tiurkskikh iazykov*, 2, Moskva, 1978, p. 59). Starostin et al. (2003, 2: 1092) consider it an Altaic term (i.e. stemming from genetically related languages—now a contested hypothesis): **pičlagV*, fortress, group of houses." My thanks to Peter Golden for this information.

⁸ In Li Zhichang, 40, *cheng* is mistyped as *yu*.

⁹ Doerfer 1963-75, 2: 32-9 (no. 452); *ET*, 8: 174 (Bosworth and Morgan).

of 1,100 cart-tents. Li Zhichang explains that “*woliduo* means *xinggong* in Chinese” and admires the magnificence of their carts and tents.¹⁰ *Woliduo* seems to be a Chinese transliteration of the Mongolian word *orda* (<Turk: *ordu*), and the word *xinggong* usually means an imperial palace used for short stays away from a capital. Since the description of this empress’s encampment suggests that there were no permanent buildings at this *ordu*, the Chinese word *xinggong* used here does not necessarily confirm the existence of permanent buildings, even though the word contains the character *gong* meaning ‘palace’. What was the case for Chinggis’ *ordus* as a whole? Another Chinese word, *longting*, may hold the answer to this question.

Looking for Chinggis’ Great Ordu in the Written Sources

When referring to the setting of Chinggis’ court, the Chinese authors of the *Shengwu* (second half of the thirteenth century) and the *Yuan shi* (second half of the fourteenth century) used the word *longting*. Literally, *longting* means ‘court of the dragon’, but since the Chinese character *long* is also an adjective meaning ‘imperial’, *longting* can be understood to mean ‘imperial court’. This word, however, has a more specific meaning in historical writings. It first appears in the *Hou Han shu* (*Book of the Later Han*), an official history of Eastern Han (25–220) written in the fifth century CE, and is used to refer to the headquarters of the ruler of the Xiongnu, a nomadic dynasty that ruled the eastern steppe of Central Asia from the fourth century BCE to the fifth century CE.¹¹ According to the *Hou Han shu*, the Xiongnu ruler (*chanyu*) held large assemblies and religious ceremonies at a *longting*. In other chronicles, such as the *Shiji* (completed ca. 91 BCE) and the *Hanshu* (completed 111 CE), the word *longcheng* is used instead of *longting*.¹² Since *cheng* means ‘walled city’, *longting* was likely to mean the same.¹³ *Longting* is again used in the *Liao shi*, the official history of the Liao dynasty established by the nomadic Khitans (916–1125) in northern China, to speak of Longhua zhou in Inner Mongolia. The site had been the residence of an ancestor of the Khitans, and the first Liao emperor Abaoji (r. 907–26) had

¹⁰ Li Zhichang, 37–8; Bretschneider 1910, 1: 57–8. The woman to whom this encampment belonged has not been positively identified.

¹¹ *Hou Han shu*, chap. 23, 3: 815. On the Xiongnu, see Peter Golden’s contribution in this volume (chapter 1).

¹² *Shiji*, chap. 110, 9: 2892; *Hanshu*, chap. 94a, 11: 3752. In both histories, the word *ting* 庭 is also mentioned as a site of smaller assemblies.

¹³ On the Mongolian cities before Chinggis, see Rogers 2009.

ordered some construction to be undertaken there. According to the same source, another city called *Woluduo cheng* (literally ‘Ordu City’) in the north-western area of the empire was “formerly known as a *longting*, in other words, *chanyu*’s city”.¹⁴ To sum up, the word *longting* seems to indicate the headquarters of a nomadic ruler, regardless of ethnic group.

The Chinese chronicles of Chinggis Khan happen to mention a *longting* on several occasions. The first occurrence is for the year 1203, after Chinggis’ victory over Ong Khan (alias To’oril Khan), the ruler of the Kereyit. Afterward, says the *Yuan shi*, Chinggis went hunting with a large party by the Teme’en River (i.e. Tiemaigai chuan) and then “gave his troops an order to return home in triumph”.¹⁵ The *Shengwu* specifies that “he returned in triumph to the *longting*”.¹⁶ In the *Jāmi‘ al-tawārīkh* version of the same event, the words *khāna* and *ordu* are used.¹⁷ Just as the word *ordu* implies no specific form of construction, *khāna*, in historical texts of this period, may refer to a permanent building or a tent, depending on the context.¹⁸

The only occurrence of the word *longting* in the *Yuan shi* is in the year 1208. Chinggis is said to have spent the summer in one.¹⁹ This is confirmed by the *Shengwu*, which states that Chinggis went to the *longting* after his campaign against the Xi Xia or Western Xia, that is the Tangut Empire (1038-1227).²⁰ About this event, Rashīd al-Dīn writes: “They returned to their own *khāna* (*khāna-hā*) and spent the entire summer there.”²¹ Again in 1210, the *Shengwu* informs us that Chinggis spent the summer at the *longting*, and again Rashīd al-Dīn speaks of *ordu* and *khāna*.²² We can

¹⁴ *Liao shi*, chap. 37, 2: 447: 契丹始祖奇首可汗居此稱龍庭 and chap. 93, 5: 1378: 蓋古所謂龍庭單于城也.

¹⁵ *Yuan shi*, chap. 1, 1: 12: 宣布號令振凱而歸. For the Teme’en River, see de Rachewiltz in *Secret History*, 2: 686-7.

¹⁶ *Shengwu*, 108: 宣布號令振旅歸龍庭.

¹⁷ Rashīd al-Dīn, 1: 398: “he returned to his own *khānas* (*khāna-hā*) and to the blessed *ordus* (*urdū-hā*) happily in victory” (translation by Masuya). See also *ibid.*, 1: 569 of the abridged chronicle section where it reads “he went to his own *khāna*” (*bi khāna-yi khwud āmad*) (translation by Masuya).

¹⁸ For example, Rashīd al-Dīn (1: 383) uses *khāna* to refer to the tent of Father Mönglik visited by Chinggis before the battle with Ong Khan. Cf. *Secret History*, 1: 86-7, §168. On *khāna* as a tent, see also Durand-Guédy’s contribution in this volume.

¹⁹ *Yuan shi*, chap. 1, 1: 14: 避暑龍庭.

²⁰ *Shengwu*, 121: 避暑於龍庭.

²¹ Rashīd al-Dīn, 1: 422: *bi khāna-hā-yi khwud*; cf. *ibid.* 1: 572.

²² *Shengwu*, 125: 夏上避暑龍庭. Rashīd al-Dīn, 1: 425 (detailed chronicle): “that summer he stayed in his own *ordu*” (*urdū-yi khwūsh*) and 1: 573 (abridged chronicle): “during the summer he was in the *khāna*”.

therefore observe that the Chinese word *longting* corresponds to what is called “Chinggis’ *ordus*” and/or “his own *khāna(s)*” in the *Jāmi‘ al-tawārikh*.

In the *Yuan shi* and the *Shengwu*, the term *longting* never accompanies a toponym. This is striking because their authors are usually very careful to specify the geographical settings of the events described. It may indicate that the word *longting* in these two sources did not refer to the ruler’s itinerant court, but rather to the Great Ordu of Chinggis at a known location.²³ The latter is mentioned only once in the *Yuan shi*, on the occasion of the enthronement of the sixth Great Khan Yesün Temür (r. 1323–8) in 1323.²⁴

This Great Ordu, understood then as a permanent headquarters, may be identified with several sites mentioned in the sources. The first is Köde’e (or Ködö’e, Köde’ü) Aral, which is mentioned in the *Secret History* as well as in the *Yuan shi* and the *Shengwu*. It is believed to be located between the Kerülen (Kherlen) and Cenkher rivers (see Fig. 1),²⁵ a site of major importance to the Mongols. Several key *quriltai*s important for Mongol history were held there, such as the election of Ögödei in 1228, the enthronement of Ögödei in 1229 and the election of Möngke in 1251.²⁶ For this reason it could very well also have been the site of Chinggis’ Great Ordu and the venue for Yesün Temür’s enthronement.

The “*xinggong* on the Luqu [i.e. Kerülen] River” mentioned in the *Yuan shi* might also have been used to speak of Chinggis’ Great Ordu. It says that Chinggis returned there after the 1216 campaign against the Jin dynasty.²⁷

²³ Wang Guowei (*Shengwu*, 109) considers that *longting* referred to an ancient city of the Xiongnu rulers and he identifies it with Abji’a Ködeger, mentioned in the *Secret History* (1: 108–9, §187, 1: 113–4, §191, and 2: 675) as the winter camp of the Kereyit and the Qonggirat. However, this hypothesis is problematic since we have seen that Chinggis was in the *longting* after major military campaigns (1203 and 1208) and/or during the summer (1208 and 1210): the *longting* cannot therefore be on the site of a winter pasture.

²⁴ *Yuan shi*, chap. 29, 3: 649. The formula used is the “Great Ordu of Emperor Chinggis” (*Chengjisi huangdi de da woerduo*).

²⁵ See de Rachewiltz 1997, 251–4; *Secret History*, 1: 502. Noriyuki Shiraishi suggests it was a smaller area enclosed by two streams of the Kerülen River at its south-east bend, near the present borders of Khentii Aimag with Govisumber Aimag and Töv Aimag. See Shiraishi 2001, 129–30; Shiraishi, 2002, 293–4 n. 2.

²⁶ *Secret History*, 1: 200, §269, and 1: 218, §282; *Yuan shi*, chap. 2, 1: 29 and chap. 3, 1: 44; Rashid al-Dīn, 2: 827, trans. 204; Juwayni, 3: 26, trans. 2: 566. According to the *Shengwu* (165), Ögödei came to “Chinggis’ Great Ordu” (*Taizu huangdi zhi dagong*) in the autumn of 1228 and was enthroned after the *quriltai* at Köde’e Aral by the Kerülen in the following year.

²⁷ *Yuan shi*, chap. 1, 1: 19. On the identification of the Luqu River with the Kerülen River, transcribed as Qiululian in two different ways in the *Yuan shi* (怯魯連 and 怯綠連), see Hambis 1974, 21–5.

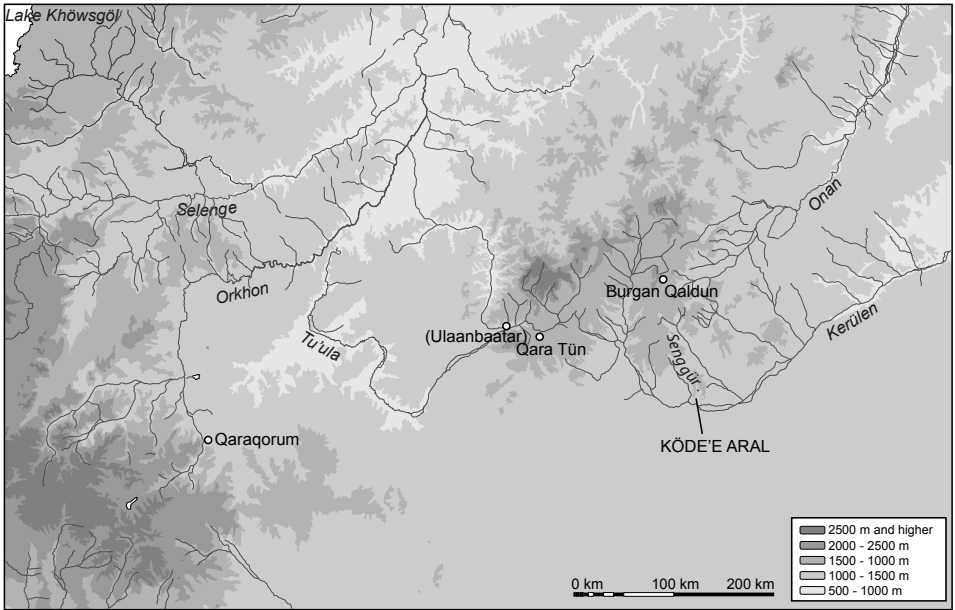


Fig. 1. Capitals and seasonal cities of the Mongol Empire in Mongolia.

Referring to the same event, Rashīd al-Dīn employs the term *ordu* and *yūrt*, a Persian transliteration of the Turkic word *yurt*, meaning ‘pasture’, ‘apanage’, ‘place of residence’.²⁸ The importance of the Kerülen area is attested by several facts: Chinggis received the homage of the Qarluq ruler Arslan Khan “at the site of Kerülen” in spring 1211;²⁹ his coffin was eventually taken to the “site of the Kerülen which is their original *yūrt*” after his death in 1227;³⁰ and the *quriltai* to elect Ögödei as his successor was also

²⁸ Rashīd al-Dīn, 1: 456 (main chronicle): “he stayed happily with his own *ordu*” (*ūrdū-hā-yi khwīsh*) and 1: 575 (chronological section): “he returned from the Chinese region to [his] original *yūrt*” (*yūrt-i aštī*) (both translation by Masuya). There is some confusion surrounding the dates of this event. While in the main chronicle it is dated 611AH (year of the Rat), in the chronological section it is dated 613AH (year of the Cow). Elsewhere, Rashīd al-Dīn (1: 571) defines the “original *yūrt*” as “the borders of the Onan” (*sarḥadd-i Ūnan*). The word *yūrt* also occurs in the record for 1195: Chinggis then stayed “in the celebrated *yūrt*, in his own *ordus*” (*dar yūrt-i ma’hūd dar ūrdū-hā-yi khwīsh*) (translation by Masuya). See Rashīd al-Dīn, 1: 564. For the meanings of *yurt*, see Doerfer 1963-75, 4: 212-16.

²⁹ Rashīd al-Dīn, 1: 440, 573 (*mawḍi’-yi Kalūrān*). See also on this expression *Yuan shi*, chap. 1, 1: 15 and *Shengwu*, 126. The *Secret History* (1: 5, §23) does not specify the location of this event.

³⁰ Rashīd al-Dīn, 1: 634 (*mawḍi’-i Kalūrān ki yūrt-i ‘ālī-yi īshān ast*), trans. 29. The *Yuan*

held at the “site of the Kerülen” (the same *quriltai* is located at Köde’e Aral).³¹

The word *xinggong* appears on another occasion in the *Yuan shi* referring to Chinggis’ whereabouts in Mongolia: Chinggis is said to have come back to a *xinggong* after seven years of campaigns in the west in 1225.³² Writing of the same event, Juwaynī says that he returned to “his old encampment in the east” (*mukhayyam-i qadīm-i sharqī*)—Rashīd al-Dīn has “his own *ordus*” (*urdū-hā-yi khwud*)—and spent the entire summer there.³³ The exact location of this *xinggong* is again not specified. Although it has been supposed that it could have been the site of Qara Tūn by the Tu’ula River, which is referred to in the *Secret History* as Chinggis’ *ordu* where he stayed during the autumn and winter of 1225-6, Qara Tūn was originally the autumn camp of the Kereyits, who were defeated by Chinggis in 1203 and so could not be Chinggis’ ‘old’ or ‘own’ *ordu*.³⁴ Since no other visit by Chinggis to Qara Tūn is explicitly recorded after he took control of

shi reports that Chinggis died at the “Halaotu *xinggong* on the Sali Plain” (*Sali chuan Halaotu xinggong*). See *Yuan shi*, chap. 1, 1: 25.

³¹ Rashīd al-Dīn, 1: 635, trans. 30. Juwaynī (1: 145, trans. 1: 184) locates this *quriltai* at the “*ordu* of Chinggis” and at the “*ordu* of the site of the Kerülen” (*urdū dar mawḍī-i Kalrān*).

³² *Yuan shi*, chap. 1, 1: 23.

³³ Juwaynī, 1: 142, trans. 1: 180. See also Juwaynī, 1: 111, trans. 1: 141 (where Chinggis is said to have arrived “at his own *ordu*” in the spring); Rashīd al-Dīn, 1: 536 and 578 (reporting that Chinggis returned in the spring and stayed there the entire summer). In another passage of the *Jāmi’ al-tawārikh* about the same event, the season Chinggis visited the *ordu* is not given but the editor has added “winter”. See Rashīd al-Dīn, 1: 487.

³⁴ See *Secret History* 1: 195, § 264. Because this is the only reference in the source to Chinggis’ stay at his *ordu* in the autumn of 1225, Igor de Rachewiltz (ibid. 2: 965) proposes that this was an error caused by confusion between ‘spring’ (*qabur*) and ‘autumn’ (*namur*) in the Uighur-Mongolian script, but this is not convincing and the *Secret History* says that Chinggis also spent the winter there. Qara Tūn was originally in the territory of the Kereyits. All the sources say that Ong Khan, the last king of the Kereyits, and Chinggis met there and declared themselves father and son in the autumn of 1195. See *Secret History* (1: 29-30, § 96, and 1: 82-3, § 164); *Shengwu*, 40: “in the Black Forest (*Heilin*) along the Tu’ula River” (*Tuvula he*) 於土兀刺河上黑林間; Rashīd al-Dīn, 1: 363: “by the river [Selenge] at a valley called Qarā’un Qabchāl meaning ‘black forest’”; *Yuan shi*, chap. 1, 1: 6: “along the Tu’ula River” 于土兀刺河上. De Rachewiltz (*Secret History*, 1: 396-7) thinks that Ong Khan’s main *ordu* at the time of their oath was in Qara Tūn, but it was clearly neither the summer nor the winter camping grounds of the Kereyits, as John Andrew Boyle (1973) shows. Qara Tūn may well have originally been the autumn camp of the Kereyits and come into Chinggis’ possession after the Kereyits were defeated in 1203. If this is the case, the *Secret History* is correct in saying that Chinggis’ visit to Qara Tūn was during the autumn-winter of 1225-6 and not during the spring of 1225 as de Rachewiltz suggests. At the site of Qara Tūn, archaeologists have found a settlement founded during the Liao period that was reused in the Mongol period. It had double mud walls forming an enclosure measuring about 265 m square, with an opening towards the south. A large platform surrounded by moats is the

it, it is unlikely to have functioned as a seasonal city for him. For the year 1225, my hypothesis is that, in the spring, Chinggis went first to his Great Ordu, as was his custom at this time of the year, and moved after the summer to Qara Tün, where he spent the autumn and winter of 1225-6.³⁵ The word *xinggong* in the *Yuan shi* would then again be signifying Chinggis' Great Ordu, but not an *ordu* in Qara Tün.

I think the multiplicity of names (*longting*, *xinggong*, Köde'e Aral) and periphrasis (*xinggong* of the Kerülen, site of the Kerülen) used to refer to Chinggis' Great Ordu is due to the nature of the documentation used by the various authors. *Longting* is used in the records of Chinggis' earlier life in 1203-10; *xinggong* for the period of 1211-27, and Köde'e Aral and Chinggis' Great Ordu for events posterior to Chinggis' death.

Constructions at the Great Ordu

Chinggis' Great Ordu seems to have been located in a permanent place, but how were his residences there constructed? Scholars agree on identifying Chinggis' Great Ordu with the Avraga site in North Mongolia (Fig. 1).³⁶ Situated in Delgerkhaan Sum, Khentii Aimag, it lies by the Avraga River, a tributary of the Kherlen (Kerülen) River. According to Noriyuki Shiraishi, who has extensively excavated and surveyed archaeological sites dating from the period of the Great Mongol Empire in Mongolia, the Avraga site constitutes an area 500 m by 1200 m on a flat plain along the river.³⁷ Coins and pottery shards indicate that the date of the active use of the site was from the mid twelfth century to the early thirteenth century.³⁸

Facing the river is a large central platform measuring 30 m square, surrounded by double walls with an entrance to the south-south-east. Two layers of construction have been excavated: an upper building with stone foundations encircling a 'T' shape, and a lower building with a clay floor

only significant trace of a permanent structure within the walls. See De Rachewiltz's comment in *Secret History*, 1: 396-7; Shiraishi 2001, 94-8; Shiraishi 2002, 202-9.

³⁵ Before referring to Chinggis' visit of Qara Tün, the *Secret History* (1: 195, § 264) reports that, when he came back from Central Asia, Chinggis spent the summer on the River Erdish (i.e. the Irtysh). His stay there could have been in the summer of 1224. See Juwaynī, 1: 111, trans. 1: 140; de Rachewiltz in *Secret History*, 2: 965.

³⁶ For the most recent identification see de Rachewiltz 1997, 251-4; Shiraishi 2001, 79-86; Shiraishi 2002, 179-94; Shiraishi 2006a, 115-22; Shiraishi 2006b.

³⁷ See Shiraishi 2001, 79-86; Shiraishi 2002, 179-94; Katō and Shiraishi 2005; Shiraishi 2009.

³⁸ See Shiraishi 2001, 83; Shiraishi 2002, 190-1. See also Katō and Shiraishi 2005, 45-62. It is called *tüleshi* in Mongolian (de Rachewiltz in *Secret History*, 1: 587).

and a square stone foundation. Since no trace of roof tiles has been found in either phase, Kato and Shiraishi have deduced that the upper structure was actually a square tent. They have also supposed that the construction of buildings in front of this central platform was avoided. A great number of horse, cattle, and sheep bone fragments were found around the platform, which has led Kato to suppose that the ritual burning of sacrificed animals (*shaofan*) took place on the site.³⁹

Written sources seem to tally with archaeological reports showing that permanent and temporary structures coexisted in Chinggis' Great Ordu. Chinggis' tent was probably pitched in a fixed place, on the platform with a commanding view of the river. The fact that Chinggis' main tent could be taken down would explain why historical sources do not refer to it as a permanent building. Many smaller buildings arranged in rows parallel to the river have been found on either side of the central platform. Some structures were built in Chinese style with roof tiles, and blacksmiths' shops have also been found. Shiraishi thinks that one of the main functions of the site was to provide iron weapons for Mongol warriors.⁴⁰

The first and second layers of the central platform may represent two different phases in the site's development: Chinggis' own Great Ordu and the later shrine built in his memory. After Chinggis died, a mourning ceremony was indeed held there and the place is also identified with the "*xinggong* of Chinggis" where Möngke held a religious ceremony using flags and drums in the summer of 1257.⁴¹ For obvious reasons, the site must have been regarded by the Mongols as a suitable place to hold important *quril-tais* (such as those of 1228, 1251, and 1323, during which new Great Khans were nominated), as well as rituals to commemorate the imperial ancestors.

THE MONGOLIAN CAPITAL OF QARAQORUM

The second Great Khan, Ögödei, established the first capital city of the Mongol Empire that had walls and permanent buildings for the ruling family. The site was located at Qaraqorum, in the Orkhon valley, further west from the Onan-Kerülen area favoured by his father. The site had already played an important role under the Türk and Uighur *qaghanates*.

³⁹ See Katō and Shiraishi 2005, 15-6, 29-40. See also de Rachewiltz in *Secret History*, 1: 587.

⁴⁰ See Shiraishi 2001, 85-6.

⁴¹ *Yuan shi*, chap. 3, 1: 50.

(Juwaynī mentions explicitly the ruins of Ordu Baliq.)⁴² By the time of his enthronement at Köde'e Aral in 1229, Ögödei seems to have already established his Great Ordu in this area. According to the *Yuan shi*, Ögödei and his brother, Tolui, enjoyed hunting along the Orkhon in the spring of 1230.⁴³ When Tolui died in the winter of 1232, Ögödei returned to his *longting* which, according to the *Secret History*, was in Qaraqorum.⁴⁴ In 1235, he began the construction of the walls and of a palace, which were both completed in the following year,⁴⁵ and he ordered his brothers and other Mongol princes to erect their own palaces nearby. Ögödei's palace is called Wan'an gong ('Ten-Thousand Tranquilities') in the *Yuan shi*. Rashīd al-Dīn merely says that it was called *qarshī* (i.e. 'palace' in Mongolian⁴⁶), but he describes it as a tall building designed and built by Chinese architects and craftsmen. The Franciscan friar, William of Rubruck, visited it in 1253-5, during Möngke's reign, and speaks of a palace "near the city walls and enclosed by a brick wall" resembling a church "with a middle nave and two sides beyond two rows of pillars and three doors on the south side".⁴⁷

The reports published in 1965 by Sergei V. Kiselev and his colleagues are now completed by the recent publications of Shiraishi on the one hand, and the Mongolian-German Karakorum Expedition on the other.⁴⁸ The city was surrounded on three sides by mud walls forming three sides of an irregular quadrilateral 1,450 m from north to south and 1,134 m from east to west. (There was probably a fourth wall, which might have been 580 m long and could have been demolished and used for the later construction of the Erdene Zuu Monastery to the south.) The remains of a large hall, which may be identified as the Wan'an gong palace, have been found in the south-west corner of the city walls. It was enclosed on each side by brick walls around 260 m long and was built on an axis running north-north-west to south-south-east, while the main axis of the city runs north-

⁴² Juwaynī 1: 192, trans. 1: 236. For a geographical analysis of the Orkhon basin and the Qaraqorum region, see Walther 2005 and Schwanghart et al. 2010. For the importance of the site in the previous era, see Allsen 1996, 121-8. See also Peter Golden's contribution in this volume (chapter 1).

⁴³ *Yuan shi*, chap. 2, 1: 30.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, chap. 2, 1: 32: 帝還龍庭; *Secret History*, 1: 205, §273. See also Rashīd al-Dīn, 1: 644, trans. 39: Ögödei returns to his "own capital" (*takhtgāh-i khwud*) after Tolui's death.

⁴⁵ *Yuan shi*, chap. 2, 1: 34; Rashīd al-Dīn, 1: 670-1, trans. 61-2; Juwaynī, 1: 169-70, 191-5, trans. 1: 212-3, 236-9.

⁴⁶ See Doerfer 1963-75, 3: 442-3, no. 1460.

⁴⁷ William of Rubruck, 209-10.

⁴⁸ See Kiselev et al. 1965, 121-322; Shiraishi 2001, 137-54; Shiraishi 2002, 210-30; Hüttel 2005a; Hüttel 2005b; Bemann et al. 2010.

east to south-west. During his excavations there in 2000-4, Hans-Georg Hüttel found numerous fragments of mural paintings with Buddhist themes, but he was not able to determine whether the building functioned as a palace or as a Buddhist temple.⁴⁹ Further excavations may provide more information about features of the building.

In addition, Ögödei built two seasonal palaces in the vicinity of Qaraqorum. The *Yuan shi* records that, around 70 *lis* (about 38.7 km) north of Qaraqorum, in the summer of 1237, he founded the city of Saolin and constructed a palace called Jiajian Chahan dian.⁵⁰ This palace can be identified as the spring palace mentioned as the Qarshī-yi Sūrī by Juwaynī and as K.r Chāghān (or Kihar Chāghān) by Rashīd al-Dīn,⁵¹ who both report that it was built by Muslims and that Ögödei enjoyed feasting and hunting wildfowl there. According to Juwaynī,

it was a very tall castle (*kūshkī nīk ‘ālī*) filled with all kinds of many-coloured jewel studded embroideries and carpets. In the entrance (*pīshgāh*) was placed a throne full worthy of the place, and in the banqueting-hall (*majlisgāh*) were jasper vases, and ewers studded with pearls, and other utensils in keeping with them. Here he would feast for forty days. And in front of the castle were pools of water (which they called *köl*), wherein many water fowls used to gather.⁵²

John Andrew Boyle has suggested that its Mongolian name was Gegen Chaghan ('Bright and White') and he located it in the marsh of Qiqi Chaha where, according to the *Yuan shi*, Ögödei enjoyed spring hunts in 1237, 1238, 1239 and 1241.⁵³ According to Shiraishi, Gegen Chaghan might be identified with the site of Doytein Balghas in the Arqangai Aimag, where small rectangular buildings have been found with blue-glazed square tiles that seem to have been used on the floors. The use of floor tiles and the absence of roof tiles may indicate that the palace was not in the Chinese style and would fit well with the Muslim construction described by Persian historians.⁵⁴

⁴⁹ See Hüttel 2005b, 145-6. See also Bretjes 1988.

⁵⁰ *Yuan shi*, chap. 2, 1: 35 and chap. 58, 5: 1382-3.

⁵¹ Juwaynī, 1: 193, trans. 1: 237-8; Rashīd al-Dīn, 1: 671, trans. 63.

⁵² Juwaynī, 1: 193-4, trans. 1: 237-8.

⁵³ See Boyle 1974, 145-6. *Yuan shi*, chap. 2, 1: 35-7.

⁵⁴ See Shiraishi 2001, 156-9; Shiraishi 2002, 230-6; Shiraishi 2004, 110-1. According to his archaeological reports, small rectangular buildings of about 20 m by 10 m were arranged on three sides (not on the south) around a central building about 50 m square with a projection about 20 m square on the southern side. Granite bases, stone pillars, bricks and square blue-glazed tiles have been found.

The other seasonal palace built by Ögödei is the Yingjia dian ('the Palace welcoming carriages') at Tusuhu cheng, which was founded in 1238 near Qaraqorum.⁵⁵ This palace can be identified as the Tuzghu-baliq mentioned in Juwaynī and Rashīd al-Dīn and associated with the Mongol custom of *tuzghu*, i.e. the offering of food to passing travellers. Juwaynī describes it as a *kūshk* built on a hilltop, but in Rashīd al-Dīn it became a "tall pavilion" (*kūshkī-yi 'ālī*).⁵⁶ The two Iranian authors say that Ögödei used to stay there on his way to and from winter quarters. Rashīd al-Dīn gives the name of his winter quarters, as well as the autumn and summer quarters, but it is not known whether permanent buildings awaited the ruler or not.⁵⁷ Rashīd al-Dīn merely mentions that there was at the summer quarters of Örmügetü a great tent called Sira Ordu that could accommodate 1,000 people. What is interesting during Ögödei's reign is the combined use of permanent structures, whose construction was apparently inspired by foreign styles (the most significant being the building for the Mongol custom of *tuzghu* at Tuzghu-baliq), and gigantic tents (such as the one in Örmügetü).

The development of Qaraqorum was interrupted by the long interregnum following Ögödei's death in 1241. And when Möngke eventually became the fourth Great Khan (r. 1251-9), he distanced himself from his uncle's capital. (His fierce struggle for the succession against the house of Ögödei may have been an important factor in this.)⁵⁸ Not only do we see him showing attachment to the region of the Onan River,⁵⁹ but he seems also to have been less convinced than his predecessor of the importance

⁵⁵ *Yuan shi*, chap. 2, 1: 36 and chap. 58, 5: 1383. Kōichi Matsuda has identified the palace as Melkhiin-Tolgoi in an area south of Qaraqorum (quoted in Shiraishi 2004, 109). According to Shiraishi (2002, 236-42), the site consists of outer walls 104 m by 74 m, with an opening toward the east and two square platforms for Chinese style buildings. Roof tiles and bricks have been found.

⁵⁶ Juwaynī, 1: 170, trans. 1: 213; Rashīd al-Dīn, 1: 672, trans. 64; see also Boyle 1974, 147.

⁵⁷ Rashīd al-Dīn (1: 671-2, trans. 63-4) says that Ögödei spent the summer at Örmügetü, the autumn at Köke Na'ur and the winter at Ongqin. Shiraishi has suggested identifying these names with ruins visible in Mongolia. See Shiraishi 2001, 159-72; Shiraishi 2002, 243-67; Shiraishi 2004, 112-4.

⁵⁸ The Ögödei family refused to attend the *quriltai* at Ālā Qamāq to support Möngke and proposed instead to have another at Onan-Kerülen, during which Möngke was eventually elected in 1250. He was enthroned there the following year. See Juwaynī, 1: 217-8, trans. 1: 263-4 and *Yuan shi*, chap. 3, 1: 44. The toponym Ālā Qamāq appears only in Juwaynī and its Mongol meaning has not been identified. See Allsen 1987, 21-30, 34-44.

⁵⁹ In 1251, Möngke was enthroned at the Onan River (the original home of the Mongol clan according to the *Secret History*, 1: 1, §1). In 1257, he held a *quriltai* in the nearby Qorqonaq valley, where Chinggis had been enthroned (ibid. 1: 12-3, §57). See Rashīd al-Dīn, 2: 848, trans. 223. Möngke was buried in Burqan Qaldun, next to Chinggis himself, and his father Tolui. See Rashīd al-Dīn, 2: 853, trans. 228-9.

of palaces. Indeed, William of Rubruck does not speak of any building activity in Qaraqorum and, according to the *Yuan shi*, in the first year of his reign, Möngke dismissed 1,500 workers employed in the construction of the city.⁶⁰ The same source states that Möngke's favourite seasonal encampment was Sira Ordu in Örmügetü, where he spent three consecutive summers in 1254-7.⁶¹ It is significant that, in the *Yuan shi*, the verb *zhubi* (lit. 'to park the imperial carriage') is often used to indicate that Möngke was staying in a particular place: the word is used as many as nine times with reference to Möngke, but not once in reference to Ögödei. (It is used twice with reference to Chinggis). It is even used in relation to Möngke's stay at Qaraqorum in 1252, which may indicate that he did not stay in permanent buildings.⁶² Furthermore, Möngke's favourite seasonal encampment was Sira Ordu in Örmügetü, for which there is no record of any construction.⁶³

QUBILAI AND THE YUAN EMPERORS IN CHINA

The reign of Qubilai (r. 1260-94), the fifth Great Khan, marks a key stage in the history of the Mongol Empire. During the half-century in which Mongolia had remained the centre of the Empire, Qubilai chose to stay in northern China, where his brother had installed him in 1255. This political decision represented a clear defeat for the party that supported his youngest brother and rival for the throne, Ariq Böke.⁶⁴ In China, Qubilai established two capitals, one in Shangdu, and the other in Dadu (modern Beijing), in 1256 and 1267, respectively (see Figs 2-4). The descendants of Qubilai in China (the Yuan emperors) moved seasonally between these two cities until 1358, when Shangdu was destroyed by rioters.⁶⁵ In the capitals, near them and also on the routes leading to them, the emperors

⁶⁰ *Yuan shi*, chap. 3, 1: 45.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 1: 46-50 (chap. 3).

⁶² See *ibid.*, 1: 45 (chap. 3).

⁶³ Möngke spent three consecutive summers in Örmügetü, in 1254-7. See *Yuan shi*, chap. 3, 1: 46-50.

⁶⁴ See Morgan 1986, 118.

⁶⁵ Soon after his enthronement, the emperor Qaishan (r. 1307-11) ordered the construction of a *xinggong* named Zhongdu ('the Middle Capital') at a place called Wangwuchadu, between Shangdu and Dadu. Apparently he intended to make it another capital, but the project was cancelled by his successor Ayurbarwada (r. 1311-20) and the Yuan emperors continued to use the capitals established by Qubilai. Wangwuchadu (certainly a Mongolian name but its meaning and orthography in Mongolian are unknown to me) has been identified with the ruins of Bai Chengzi ('Small White City') in the Zhangbei xian (in Hebei).

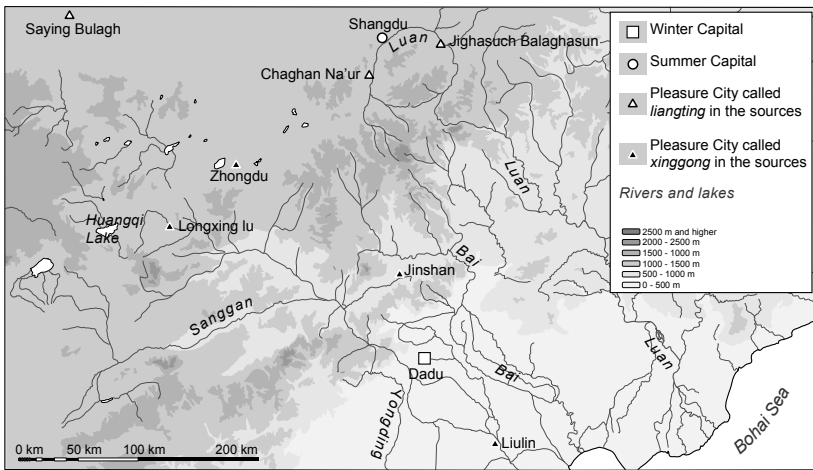


Fig. 2. Capitals and seasonal cities of the Yuan in China.

founded permanent buildings on which they relied for much of their daily life.

The Winter Capital Dadu

Dadu was established near Zhongdu, the ancient capital of the Jin (1115-1234).⁶⁶ The Mongols had set up a camp in the northern suburbs of Zhongdu in 1214 and conquered it the following year. In 1251, Möngke granted the area to Qubilai and the latter apparently wanted to restore the Jin capital.⁶⁷ However, this plan was subsequently abandoned and a new area was developed near the first Mongol encampment.⁶⁸ In the Taiye chi Pond, the Jin had built a palace on the little island of Qionghua dao (later: Wansui shan) and Qubilai ordered the reconstruction of Qionghua dao in 1264.⁶⁹ In 1266, he had a palace complex built east of the Taiye chi Pond, and in 1267 he

See *Yuan shi*, chap. 22-4, 2: 480, 493, 498, 501-2, 504, 506, 511, 524-6, 528, 530, 537-8, 552 and the special issue of *Wenwu Chunqiu* 1998, no.3.

⁶⁶ *Jin shi*, chap. 24, 2: 572-3. Zhongdu (also called Daxing fu) had been built on the site of Nanjing Xijin fu (also called Yanjing), one of the five metropolises of the Liao dynasty (907-1125).

⁶⁷ *Yuan shi*, chap. 4, 1: 75.

⁶⁸ According to Rashīd al-Dīn (2: 901; trans. 274), Qubilai wanted to build a new capital to increase his own fame and renown, while, according to Marco Polo (1: 374), astrologers predicted to Qubilai that the old capital would prove rebellious and a threat to his authority.

⁶⁹ *Yuan shi*, chap. 6, 1: 114.

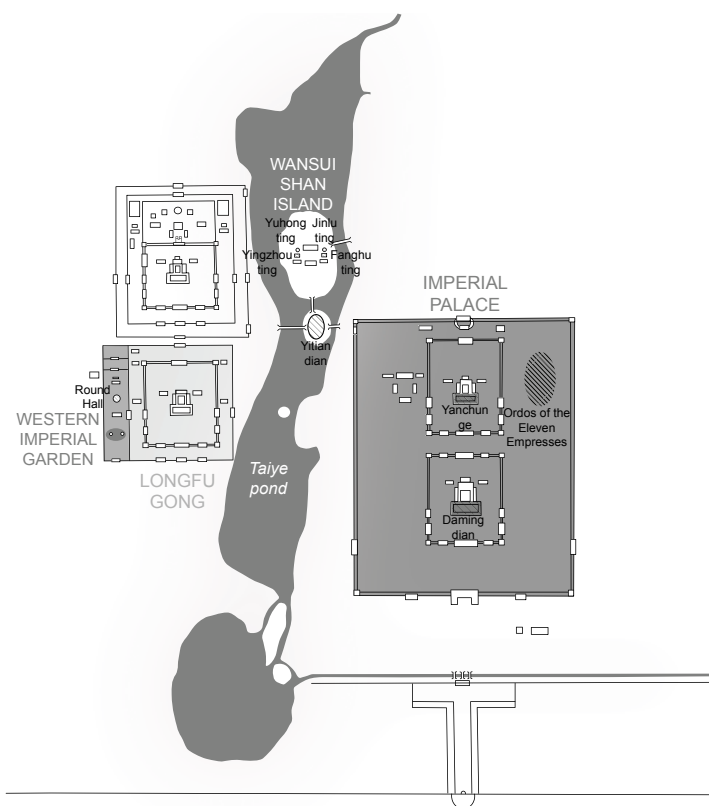


Fig. 3. Dadu. (Drawing after Zhu Xie 1936)

ordered the Chinese court advisor Liu Bingzhong (1215-74) to surround it with a wall.⁷⁰ This had a rectangular form and 11 gates and was 28.6 km long (see Fig. 3). This walled palace area, which was located in the southern part of the new city, contained the Imperial Palace, the Taiye chi Pond and two palaces for crown princes, each with its own wall.⁷¹

The symmetrical layout of the city and of the buildings was based on the Chinese 'gong-shaped arrangement' (i.e. building complexes are arranged in the shape of the character *gong* 工). This may have been a new trend introduced during the Yuan period, but the building technology was

⁷⁰ Ibid., chap. 6, 1: 113-14 and chap. 157, 12: 3694.

⁷¹ See Chen Gaohua 1984, 70-101. Although archaeological excavations of buildings from the Yuan period have continued, the intense urbanisation of Beijing in most of the area that constituted Dadu makes it difficult to get an idea of the extent of the city during that period.

clearly Chinese⁷² although Mongol influence can also be found. For example, Daming dian, the main building of the Imperial Palace which was used on great occasions, was entirely built in the Chinese style, but Tao Zongyi (d. 1410) says that two thrones, for the Great Khan and the empress, were installed side by side in Mongol style.⁷³ Likewise behind Daming dian, to the east of the tall building called Yanchun ge, lay the 'Ordus of the Eleven Empresses' (*Shiyi shi huanghou woerduo*), where the *ordus* of deceased emperors and empresses were to be found. (Their *ordus* remained inside the palace after their death and so kept increasing in number.) According to the written sources, it seems they were composed of tents.⁷⁴

Another interesting feature is the form of the kiosks found in the palatial area. On Qionghua Island, several buildings are reported to have a polygonal or round plan. A pair of kiosks called Jinlu ting and Yuhong ting had nine pillars, which suggests that they had an octagonal plan (one pillar for each angle of the octagon, and the ninth at its centre). Another pair of kiosks, Fanghu ting and Yingzhou ting, also had octagonal plans. On a little round island situated to the south was a hall with a round foundation and a dome called Yitian dian.⁷⁵ These structures are also found in the Western Imperial Garden (*Xi yuyuan*), which stretched west of the Longfu gong (the former palace of the crown prince and later the palace of the empress dowager). Two round kiosks called the East and West Liushui Kiosks (*dong xi Liushui ting*) were connected by corridors to a central round hall. Two other kiosks known as the East and West Shuixin Kiosks (*dong xi Shuixin ting*) also had an octagonal plan (with nine pillars) and were made of glass.⁷⁶ Kiosks in Chinese gardens are built to various plans, including square, rectangular and other variations.⁷⁷ In Dadu, however, round or octagonal kiosks outnumbered square or rectangular kiosks, and they often went in pairs. These characteristics may have been reminiscent of round Mongol tents.

⁷² See e.g. Chen Gaohua 1984; Chen Gaohua 2010; Rossabi 1988, 131-6; Steinhardt 1983; Steinhardt 1988; Steinhardt 1990, 154-60; Sugiyama 1984; Sugiyama 2004; Watanabe 2010.

⁷³ Tao Zongyi, chap. 21, 251. The Daming dian was the venue for enthronements (for at least three emperors), reception of foreign ambassadors, celebration of the New Year or of the Great Khan's birthday. See *Yuan shi*, chap. 8, 1: 153 for the completion of this palace in 1273; Watanabe 2010, 17-19.

⁷⁴ See Chen Gaohua 2010, 6. On the use of tents in the palatial precinct of Dadu, see also Rossabi 1988, 133.

⁷⁵ Tao Zongyi, chap. 21, 256.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, chap. 21, 257.

⁷⁷ See Gao Zhenming and Tan Li 1994, 30.

The Summer Capital Shangdu

Shangdu was originally Qubilai's private compound on the territory Möngke presented to him in 1255. (It is currently in the Zhenglan Banner, in Inner Mongolia.) Qubilai started to build the city in 1256, thus about ten year before the start of Dadu's construction.⁷⁸ In 1260, he held a *quriltai* there, with only those princes who supported him, and was enthroned in the same place.⁷⁹

As a summer capital, Shangdu displays some of the characteristics of the Great Khans' seasonal palaces used for hunting and recreation (see Fig. 4). It had three layers of walls: the outer walls enclosed the entire city; the middle walls enclosed the imperial city; and the inner walls enclosed the palace area. The inner walls were comprised of two layers and the main palace building (called Da'an ge) was directly attached to the innermost of these double walls. Da'an ge was the counterpart of Daming dian in Dadu and was also used for special occasions, such as enthronements.⁸⁰

West and north of the imperial city was the Great Khans' recreation area. Its construction by Qubilai is described by Rashīd al-Dīn.⁸¹ It contained two pleasure palaces (the Bayi Ordu and the Sira Ordu) and the 'Northern Garden' (*Beiyuan*), with a botanical garden and a zoo.

The Bayi Ordu (written as Bayi Woerduo, Bayier *xinggong*, or Bayan Eerduo in the written sources⁸²) was located in the western area and was called the 'Western Inner Space' (*Xinei*). The Chinese historian Ye Xinmin has established that the Bayi Ordu contained five buildings called *dian* ('hall'): Longguang dian, Ciren dian, Cide dian, Qinming dian and Qingning dian.⁸³ Qingning dian was previously located inside the inner walls, but it was 'moved' to the Bayi Ordu in 1326, and two halls (called Shanzi and

⁷⁸ *Yuan shi*, chap. 4, 1: 60, chap. 58, 5: 1349-50 and chap. 157, 12: 3696.

⁷⁹ A pan-chinggisid *quriltai* with the head of the other khanates was scheduled in 1266, but did not take place due to the death of the three khans. See Sugiyama 1982, 296, 308-9. *Quriltai*s were held in 1294 and 1307 in Shangdu and Qaraqorum, respectively. See *Yuan shi*, chap. 18, 2: 381 and chap. 22, 2: 478. No *quriltai* was held at the court of the Great Khans to elect a new ruler after this. No *quriltai* was ever held in Dadu.

⁸⁰ At least three Great Khans were enthroned there. See *Yuan shi*, chap. 18, 2: 381 chap. 22, 2: 478 and chap. 33, 3: 737. The *Yuan shi* mentions another enthronement in Shangdu, but without specifying the venue. See *Yuan shi*, chap. 38, 3: 816.

⁸¹ Rashīd al-Dīn, 2: 903-4, trans. 276-7.

⁸² The original Mongolian name of the Bayi Ordu remains uncertain, but it may correspond to the Turkic *bai ordu* ('Rich Ordu'). Private communication from Thomas Allsen, 7 January 1997.

⁸³ Ye Xinmin 1987, 37-8.

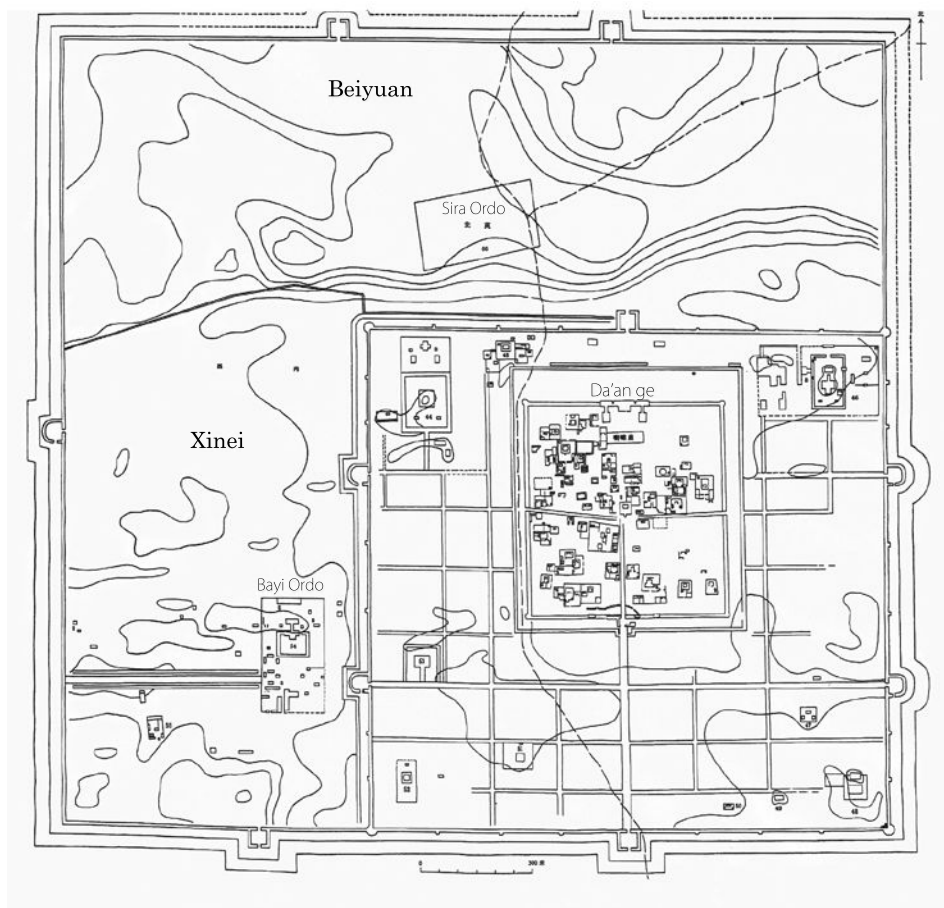


Fig. 4. Shangdu. (Drawing after Wei Jian 2008, vol. 1, Fig. 2)

Yuegong) were built in front of it in 1352.⁸⁴ Ye Xinmin suggests that some of other halls had been already constructed by 1276.⁸⁵ Yesün Temür (r. 1323-8) is said to have bequeathed camels and cows to the Bayi Ordu pleasure palace in 1327.⁸⁶ And according to the court poet Zhou Boqi (d. 1369), the emperor attended lectures by scholars and theologians at Ciren

⁸⁴ *Yuan shi*, chap. 30, 3: 75, 81 and chap. 43, 3: 913. It is unclear whether the material from the former building actually served to build the new one or whether an entirely new building was given its name.

⁸⁵ Ye Xinmin (1987, 38) suggests that the *caodi xinggong* (i.e. 'xinggong in a meadow') mentioned by Yan Guangda as the place where Qubilai received an envoy from the Song dynasty in 1276 may be one of the halls in the Bayi Ordu.

⁸⁶ *Yuan shi*, chap. 30, 3: 683.

dian and parties to reward officers for their service took place there.⁸⁷ Zhou Boqi also says that, in 1342, the reception of a European envoy by Emperor Toghon Temür took place in the Ciren dian⁸⁸ and was followed by a three-day *zhama* feast in the Longguang dian.⁸⁹

Another building mentioned in the Chinese chronicles and by Marco Polo is the Sira Ordu, i.e. the 'Yellow Ordu' (Chin.: *Shila Woerduo*). Its location is uncertain, probably because, unlike the Bayi Ordu, the Sira Ordu seems to have been a temporary structure. Marco Polo speaks of a "Cane Palace" and describes it as follows:

It is gilt all over, and most elaborately finished inside ... The roof, like the rest, is formed of canes, covered with a varnish so strong and excellent that no amount of rain will rot them. [...] In short, the whole Palace is built of these canes, which serve also for a great variety of other useful purposes. The construction of the Palace is so devised that it can be taken down and put up again with great celerity; and it can all be taken to pieces and removed whithersoever the Emperor may command.⁹⁰

This description is confirmed by the Chinese sources, where the palace is called *zongmao dian* or *zong dian*, both terms meaning 'palace of palm fibre'.⁹¹ According to the poems of Liu Guan and Nai Xian, on *zhama* feasts held at the Sira Ordu, the emperors pitched a huge tent that could hold thousands of people.⁹² The luxury of these palaces was extreme. The *Yuan Shi* notes that the construction of an *ordu* in Shangdu in 1347 cost more

⁸⁷ Zhou Boqi, chap. 2, 528-9. On the lecture at Ciren dian, see also Chen Gaohua and Shi Weimin 1988, 124-5. The tradition of lectures for emperors in China, called *jingyan*, is said to have begun during the Han period under Xuandi (r. 74-49). On such lectures during the Yuan period, see Wang Fenglei 1993. The lectures were held in various places, such as Daming dian in Dadu or *xinggongs* and camps on the way between Dadu and Shangdu.

⁸⁸ Zhou Boqi, chap. 2, 520-1: preface to a poem on a horse stating "on the eighteenth day of the seventh month of 1342, the French envoy from the Western Area (Xiyu) presented a horse ... the emperor went to Ciren dian to see him ..." 至正二年歲壬午七月十有八日西域佛郎國遣使獻馬一匹 ... 上御慈仁殿臨觀 ... See also Chen Dezhi 2003, 94; Chen Gaohua and Shi Weimin 1988, 125 and n. 2. The embassy "from France" (mistakenly identified in Zhou Boqi) was in fact the embassy sent by Pope Benedict XII and headed by the Franciscan John of Marignolli. On this embassy, see Jackson 2005, 259.

⁸⁹ Zhou Boqi, 510 (poems on *zhama*). See also Ye Xinmin 1987, 37; Chen Gaohua and Shi Weimin 1988, 125. The Mongolian word *zhama* derived from a Persian word *jāma* ('garment'). For a detailed study on the feast of *zhama*, see Allsen 1997, 76ff.; Allsen 2001b, 305-6; Han Rulin 2003; Yanai 1925; Ye Xinmin 1992, 154-6.

⁹⁰ Marco Polo, 1: 299-300.

⁹¹ See Ye Xinmin 1987, 39; Chen Gaohua and Shi Weimin 1988, 122; Ye Xinmin and Čimeddorji 2003, 27-8.

⁹² Liu Guan, chap. 5, 67: poem "Observing the imperial feast at the Sira Ordu" 觀失刺幹耳朵御宴回; Nai Xian, chap. 2, 328: poem "Verse of observing the *zhama* feast at the Sira Ordu when attending Gong Taifu, master of Confucianism" 失刺幹耳朵觀詐馬宴奉次貢泰甫授經先生韻.

than 9,000 *dings*⁹³ and, for the construction of a new *zongmao dian* in 1325, two carpets covering 2,343 *chis* (about 711 m²) were woven from nearly one-and-a-half tonnes (2,344 *jins*, ca. 1,399 kg) of blue and white wool (*qingbai yangmao*).⁹⁴

It is highly probable that the Sira Ordu in Shangdu was built on the model of the tent bearing the same name at Örmügetü, which was used by Ögödei, Güyük and Möngke. According to all our sources, the Sira Ordu at Örmügetü was not a permanent building but a tent. Juwaynī speaks of “a Khitayan pavilion, whose walls were made of lattice wood, while its ceiling was of gold-embroidered cloth and it was covered all over with white felt”. In Rashīd al-Dīn it becomes “a great tent which held a thousand persons”, “never taken down” and whose “outside was adorned with gold studs and the inside covered with brocade (*nasīj*)”. John of Plano Carpini, who visited the Sira Ordu at Örmügetü during the *quriltai* to nominate Güyük as Ögödei’s successor in 1246, describes it as “a large pavilion [...] made of white velvet” which “was so big that more than two thousand men could have got into it” and he says that “around it had been erected a wooden palisade, on which various designs were painted”.⁹⁵ Plano Carpini and Brother Benedict the Pole also describe how the Mongols wore clothes of different colours every day, which evokes directly the description of the feast of *zhama* in Shangdu.⁹⁶

According to the excavation reports from Shangdu, the ‘Western Inner Space’ (*Xinei*) was separated from the ‘Northern Garden’ (*Beiyuan*) by a mud wall about 2 m wide and 3-6 m high.⁹⁷ It had an east-west street arranged parallel to the southern outer wall, which led to traces of a walled complex containing large and small buildings. This walled complex may have been the Bayi Ordu of the written sources. Some scholars also locate the Sira Ordu in the ‘Western Inner Space’.⁹⁸ In contrast, the Northern

⁹³ *Yuan shi*, chap. 41, 3: 878.

⁹⁴ See Chen Gaohua and Shi Weimin 1988, 124 quoting the *Da Yuan zhanjiwuji* [Record of felt and wool of the Great Yuan dynasty] in the *Jingshi dadian* [Canon of practical administration]. In the *Yuan shi*, the building of Zongmao dian (or Zong dian) is mentioned in the record for 1324, 1325, and 1333. See *Yuan shi*, chap. 29, 3: 652, 654 and chap. 38, 3: 818. Since we know from Tao Zongyi of another permanent building called Zongmao dian in Dadu, it is not possible to say whether those built in 1324 and 1333 were in Shangdu or Dadu. See Tao Zongyi, chap. 21, 257.

⁹⁵ Juwaynī, 1: 194-5, trans. 1: 238-9. Rashīd al-Dīn, 1: 671, trans. 63. John of Plano Carpini, 61. Brother Benedict the Pole, 81. On this see also Andrews 1999, 1: 505-18.

⁹⁶ John of Plano Carpini, 61. Brother Benedict the Pole, 81.

⁹⁷ See Jia Zhoujie 1977, 66-8; Wei Jian 2008, 1: 22-3.

⁹⁸ See Wei Jian 2008, 1: 67-70.

Garden does not have any traces of streets. Its centre was occupied by a walled rectangular area measuring 315 m by 195 m, in which no trace of a building has been found. Wei Jian suggests that it may have been a place to keep animals and poultry. But it may also have been the site of the Sira Ordu. Significantly, its orientation was towards south-south-east, like Chinggis' Great Ordu and Qaraqorum, while the other buildings in Shangdu had a strict southward orientation.

The Pleasure Palaces

While the travels between Dadu and Shangdu gave a rhythm to the life of the Yuan emperors, they did not confine themselves to these cities. They also ordered construction along the roads linking the two capitals, as at Longxing lu (later Xinghe lu).⁹⁹ But it was particularly in the vicinity of Dadu and Shangdu that recreational areas were developed.

In the vicinity of Dadu, the Yuan emperors had *xinggongs* built at Jinshan (present-day Yanqing xian) and Liulin (present-day Kuo xian). These two sites are now within the metropolitan area of Beijing and no excavation reports are available. The date of foundation of the Jinshan *xinggong* is unknown, but it was the birthplace of Emperor Ayurbarwada (r. 1311-20). In 1312 and 1321, he ordered the construction of new buildings and, in 1316, he raised its status to that of an upper administrative city unit, *zhou*, by renaming it Longqing zhou.¹⁰⁰ It is recorded that a *xingdian* ('hall for a temporary stay') was constructed in 1321 at the Liubei chi Pond in Jinshan.¹⁰¹ From Qubilai's reign onward, the Yuan emperors used to go hunting in Liulin in spring, just before the annual travel to Shangdu.¹⁰² Embankments were constructed along the Liulin River in 1285, and, in 1332, a small lake was made and a bridge built over it.¹⁰³ In 1321, Emperor

⁹⁹ Qubilai built a *xinggong* in Longxing lu in 1262. It was on the road taken in autumn to go from Shangdu to Dadu and is now in the county of Xinghe in Inner Mongolia (Ulanqab League or Wulangchabu meng). We do not know whether Qubilai restored existing structures (the Jin emperors had a *xinggong* there called Shuguang dian) or built a new one. See *Yuan shi*, chap. 5, 1: 89, chap. 58, 5: 1352. *Jin shi*, chap. 24, 2: 566; Ye Xinmin 1992, 149-50; Ye Xinmin and Ćimeddorĵi 2003, 37-8.

¹⁰⁰ *Yuan shi*, chap. 25, 2: 574 and chap. 58, 5: 1349.

¹⁰¹ *Yuan shi*, chap. 24, 2: 552, chap. 25, 2: 574 and chap. 27, 3: 612. Liubei Pond was gifted to El Temür (d. 1333) in 1330. See *Yuan shi*, chap. 35, 3: 779 and chap. 138, 11: 3332.

¹⁰² The emperors often stayed at Liulin in the second month of a year. See *Yuan shi*, chap. 11, 1: 230, chap. 12, 1: 239, chap. 13, 2: 273, chap. 19, 2: 410, chap. 20, 2: 426, chap. 27, 3: 610, chap. 28, 3: 620, 28, chap. 30, 3: 684, chap. 32, 3: 704 and chap. 39, 3: 838, 43.

¹⁰³ See *Yuan shi*, chap. 14, 2: 295, chap. 34, 3: 760 and chap. 36, 3: 805.

Shidebala (r. 1320-3) had ordered the rebuilding of the *xinggong* there and it was finished within a year.¹⁰⁴

Such places for recreational activities were also found near Shangdu. The Chinese sources speak of pleasure cities whose Chinese names include the word *liangting* (lit. 'cool pavilion'). According to an annotation to one of Zhou Boqi's poems, East Liangting (Dong Liangting) was located 50 *lis* (about 27.6 km) east of Shangdu and West Liangting (Xi Liangting) 150 *lis* (about 82.8 km) west of the same capital.¹⁰⁵ They were also known by their Mongolian names: East Liangting was Jighasuchi Balaghasun (Zhibachi balahasun, 'Fisherman Castle') and West Liangting was Chaghan Na'ur (Chahan naoer, 'White Lake'). Chen Dezhi has identified East Liangting with the ancient city of Bai Chengzi in Inner Mongolia (in Xilin Gol meng) and West Liangting with a site called Xiao Hong Cheng ('Small City of Hong') in Hebei Province (Guyuan xian).¹⁰⁶

They were both abundant in water, grass, birds, fish and game; and *ligong* ('imperial villas') were available for the Great Khans when they went there to hunt every year.¹⁰⁷ Jighasuchi Balaghasun was built probably no later than 1276, since Qubilai appointed a 'superintendent' (*darughachi*) there in that year.¹⁰⁸ According to the *Yuan shi*, Chaghan Na'ur was built in 1280.¹⁰⁹ Its construction was supervised by a military officer named Cai Zhen, who was appointed by Qubilai. The stone gates and the stone bathrooms were made by the famous mason Yang Qiong, who had already worked at Dadu and Shangdu.¹¹⁰

The administration of both Liangtings was well organised. At Jighasuchi Balaghasun, a 'General Administration of Imperial Supplies' (*Shanggong zongguang fu*) was in charge of security and supplies during the hunts. It had offices for patrolling the area of the Xianghe River (*Xianghe deng suo xunjian si*), and for maintaining a 'storehouse' (*jing yun cang*), and a 'treas-

¹⁰⁴ See *Yuan shi*, chap. 27, 3: 610 and chap. 28, 3: 619. For further references to Liulin, see Ye Xinmin 1992, 156-7.

¹⁰⁵ Zhou Boqi, chap. 2, 523: poem on the first day of autumn.

¹⁰⁶ Chen Dezhi 2003. Sixty years earlier, Yanai (1920) mistakenly identified Chaghan Na'ur with Ziaozian Lake in Taibus Banner in Xilin Gol League.

¹⁰⁷ Zhou Boqi, chap. 2, 523.

¹⁰⁸ *Yuan shi*, chap. 90, 8: 2299. For *darughachi* (< Mo. *darugha*), see Cleaves 1953.

¹⁰⁹ *Yuan shi*, chap. 11, 1: 224.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, chap. 166, 8: 3901; Zhu Xie 1936, 73. Since Yang Qiong died in 1278, the construction of Chaghan Na'ur must have started earlier before that year. 1280 is probably the date of its completion.

sury of Buddhist objects' (*fawu ku*).¹¹¹ In 1315, it absorbed the 'Bureau of the Superintendent' (*darughachi*). The same year a 'General Administration of Imperial Requests' (*Yunxu zongguang fu*) was established at Chaghan Na'ur. As in Jighasuchi Balghasun, this was in charge of security and supplies. In 1326, both structures were placed under the control of the 'Metropolitan Bureau of Shangdu' (*Shangdu liushou si*).¹¹² The *Yuan Shi* also mentions the foundation of a 'Bureau for Arresting Robbers' (*Budao si*) and the construction of a storehouse for rice at Chaghan Na'ur in 1312.¹¹³ And, naturally, soldiers were stationed there to enforce security.¹¹⁴

The activities of the Yuan emperors at Jighasuchi Balaghasun are not well documented. According to a poem by Yang Yunfu (mid-fourteenth century) the emperors enjoyed boating on the river.¹¹⁵ We are more informed about Chaghan Na'ur, which is mentioned in many poems and other kinds of writing. Hunting was the main activity there. Marco Polo, who visited Chaghan Na'ur sometime between 1280 and 1290, says that Qubilai enjoyed the place because of the abundance of game. He also mentions small houses in which a great number of partridges were kept.¹¹⁶ Likewise Zhou Boqi, who went there in 1352 with Toghon Temür's court, speaks of hunting falcons kept in a shed. It was also the venue for receptions and religious ceremonies. In 1280, three months after the completion of the *xinggong*, Qubilai received the king of Koryo (in modern Korea), Chungnyeol-wang (r. 1274-1308), and his attendants at Chaghan Na'ur. A feast was organised and they discussed the campaign against Japan.¹¹⁷ In 1290, he ordered Tibetan monks to hold a Buddhist ceremony there.¹¹⁸

The *xinggong* itself is known from written sources. According to Zhou Boqi, it was named Hengjia dian [*sic.*, according to other sources it was Hengli dian] and was similar in shape to the Shangdu *xinggong*, but small-

¹¹¹ The first two offices were established in 1284 and the third in 1292. See *Yuan shi*, chap. 25, 2: 570 and chap. 90, 8: 229-300.

¹¹² *Yuan shi*, chap. 30, 3: 677.

¹¹³ *Yuan shi*, chap. 24, 2: 551. For the storehouse, see Ye Xinmin 1995, 33, quoting Chen Yuanjin, *Shilin guangji* [Extensive records on political affairs].

¹¹⁴ In July 1282, Qubilai ordered 1,000 soldiers from Chaghan Na'ur to pacify the area of Jinshan located between Chaghan Na'ur and Dadu. See *Yuan shi*, chap. 12, 1: 244.

¹¹⁵ See Yang Yunfu 1936, 2.

¹¹⁶ Marco Polo, 1: 296.

¹¹⁷ *Goryeo sa*, chap. 29, 1: 594-5, where Chaghan Na'ur is transliterated as 闐干那兀 (Ch.: Shegannawu; Kor.: Jageonnaol).

¹¹⁸ *Yuan shi*, chap. 16, 2: 343.

er.¹¹⁹ In 1321, Emperor Shidebala (r. 1320-3) had already found that Hengli dian was too small. He wanted to enlarge it but Minister Baiju (d. 1323) persuaded him against it.¹²⁰

Both sites have been archaeologically investigated. The Bai Chengzi site, which is identified with Jighasuchi Balaghasun, covers an area of 408 m (north-south) by 333 m (east-west) and has three gates in the eastern, western, and southern walls. There is a cross-shaped building platform in the middle. Fragments of green and yellow glazed roof tiles and white stone pillar bases have been found there. A street leading from the southern gate to the platform was paved with tiles. In the north and north-east areas outside the city walls, there were two small walled buildings, the outer walls of the one in the north-east measuring 67 m by 58 m. Two rows of 20 ox carriages excavated there suggest that the building may have been related to the Jighasuchi Balaghasun storehouse mentioned in the texts.¹²¹

Xiao Hong Cheng, which has been identified as Chaghan Na'ur, is located in a vast meadow near the Shandian he River in Guyuan xian. A large salt lake called Hulun Naoer (i.e. Hulan Na'ur, 'Red Lake') lies south-west of the ruins and can be identified with the lake of Chaghan Na'ur. A summer palace called Jingming gong had been constructed by the Jin dynasty nearby (in Liangxing). Chinggis and Qubilai visited it, but it was abandoned for a new construction.¹²² According to the archaeological reports by Zheng Shaozong and Yin Zixian, Xiao Hong Cheng consisted of two walled enclosures side by side.¹²³ The walls of the larger enclosure were made of blocks of reddish stone and formed a rectangle of 346 m (north-south) by 308 m

¹¹⁹ Zhou Boqi, 542-3: "Preface to the poem on attending the imperial journey" 扈從詩前序 also called "Foreword to the poem on attending the imperial journey towards the north" 扈從北行前記. See also Chen Dezhi 2003, 91-2. Zhou Boqi adds that water from the well of the *xinggong* was used to brew liquor for the emperor and that 200 households lived there. Hengjia dian is mentioned only by Zhou Boqi. It is called Hengli dian in the *Yuan shi* and in the inscriptions on a stele celebrating Baiju written by Huang Jin: "Stele in memory of the Chancellor of the Right of the Secretariat, who was posthumously given the titles of the just, humane, clean, loyal, virtuous and meritorious retainer, Senior Grand Tutor, emulor of the Three Ducal Ministers given the authority to establish his own office, General Officer, who was posthumously given the domain of Dan, and who was given the posthumous name of Wenzhong wang" 中書右丞相贈孚道志仁清忠一德功臣太師開府儀同三司上柱國追封鄆王諡文忠王神道碑. See *Yuan shi*, chap. 136, 11: 3301; Huang Jin, chap. 24, 234. See also Ye Xinmin 1992, 157 n. 6.

¹²⁰ *Yuan shi*, chap. 136, 11: 3301.

¹²¹ Yin Zixian 2003, 120.

¹²² *Jin shi*, chap. 24, 2: 566. Chinggis Khan spent a summer there in 1215. See *Yuan shi*, chap. 1, 1: 18. Qubilai also visited this palace in 1287. See *Yuan shi*, chap. 14, 2: 297. The Jin palace is identified with the site called Da Hong Cheng Zi (i.e. 'Large city of Hong').

¹²³ Zheng Shaozong 2003; Yin Zixian 2003, 118.

(east-west). The reconstructed height of the walls is about 7 m, and its width is about 3.3 m. The gates were located at the centre of the eastern, western, and southern walls. In the northern corner inside the walls, archaeologists have found a large platform (75 m (north-south) by 50 m (east-west), and 3 m high) to support a building. They have also found numerous shards of tiles (yellow- and green-glazed roof tiles; round end roof tiles with a horned and bearded demon face in relief, floor tiles) and porcelain.

A smaller enclosure measuring 115 m (north-south) by 90 m (east-west) is located 22 m north-east of the former. Its three gates were positioned as in the other enclosure. Inside the walls, a building complex surrounded by walls consisted of three large constructions in the north, east and west, and a small square building at the south-western corner. Numerous shards of tiles, ceramics and porcelain were also found there. Zheng suggests that this building complex was the main palace with the Hengli dian, and the building in the larger enclosure was the administrative office.

A third *liangting*, the Northern Liangting (*Bei Liangting*), was located about 700 *lis* (about 387.1 km) north-west of Shangdu. It was called in Mongol Sayin Bulagh ('Good Spring') and now lies in the north of the Ulanqab League, in Inner Mongolia.¹²⁴ It is not known when this *liangting* was constructed. According to Yuan Jue (d. 1327), the name Sayin Bulagh was given to it by Qubilai and the surrounding area was a vast desert with very few residents.¹²⁵ In 1284, Temür (r. 1294-1307) went to Sayin Bulagh for his birthday and spent a huge amount of time hunting. It was only after his high officer Dong Wenyong (d. 1297) persuaded him to the capital that he decided to leave.¹²⁶

In short, during the Yuan period, pleasure palaces were connected with the seasonal migrations of the Mongol emperors between their two capitals. Well organised and well supplied, they served as bases for hunting parties and as venues for feasts and receptions. It is interesting to note that Chaghan Na'ur had two major structures, probably one for official use and another for the private use of the emperors. The permanent buildings at

¹²⁴ Sayin Bulagh is written variously: Sanbula (三不剌, 散不剌, or 三卜剌) and Sanbulao (三部落). See Wang Yun's poem "Six *juejus* written during drinking on the great hunts in this autumn when attending Dong Yancai who received the order to attend the imperial journey towards North" 董彦材承旨扈從北迴酒間因及今秋大獵書六絕 recorded in his anthology compiled in 1322, Wang Yun, chap. 32, 339.

¹²⁵ See the essay titled "Note of bamboo phoenix and stone walls" 竹鳳石屏記 by Yuan Jue, chap. 19, 299-300.

¹²⁶ *Yuan shi*, chap. 18, 2: 387 and chap. 148, 12: 3500.

these seasonal cities were used by Chinese officers and the many retainers, but also by Great Khans. Nevertheless, the fact that they pitched a huge tent at the Sīra Ordu in Shangdu and round tents in the palace area in Dadu, even though they had permanent buildings nearby, shows their attachment to the nomadic past of their ancestors.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, I will make a few remarks about the similarities and the differences between the Great Khans and the Ilkhans.¹²⁷ Seasonal moves can be observed everywhere. The Yuan emperors commuted between Dadu in winter and Shangdu in summer. Like the Ilkhans, they had several favourite pastures for their winter and summer camps (see Fig. 5), but their travel patterns were not as regular as those of their overlords in China. In a given region, the khans moved between several spots to devote themselves to their favourite activity, hunting. Ögödei founded Saolin near Qaraqorum and Qubilai founded two *liangtings* near Shangdu. While one or two particular site(s) may come to attention in different periods (Qaraqorum under Ögödei, Dadu and Shangdu under the Yuan emperors, Tabriz under the early Ilkhans, Sulṭāniyya under the last), state affairs were also handled at the seasonal camps. This is particularly clear in Iran, where *quriltais* were held at in the summer camps in Şāyin, Alātāgh (Ala Dağ) and Ūjān. But the Yuan emperors also had important meeting at their *liangtings*.

In Takht-i Sulaymān and in Sulṭāniyya, the presence of quarters for artisans is mentioned in the sources or has been established by the archeology.¹²⁸ We may wonder how far these examples can be compared to the steppe cities of Mongolia, which seem, according to our sources, to have been centres for craftsmen, some of whom were captive Chinese (e.g. in Aluhuan and Wan'an gong). Another common feature is the combined use of permanent and temporary buildings. There is evidence for constructions at the very beginning of the Mongol Empire. Even Chinggis' Great Ordu was set up in a fixed place and, although he continued to live in a tent, that tent was probably pitched on a platform. In the later constructions, be it at Qaraqorum, Dadu or Takht-i Sulaymān, what is striking is the way Mongol elements were integrated with local architectural tech-

¹²⁷ For Takht-i Sulaymān, the only Ilkhanid palace well excavated, see Naumann and Naumann 1969, Naumann and Naumann 1976, Naumann 1977, Huff 2006, Masuya 2002.

¹²⁸ For Takht-i Sulaymān, see Naumann 1971. See also Fig. 6. For Sulṭāniyya, see Blair 1986, 146.

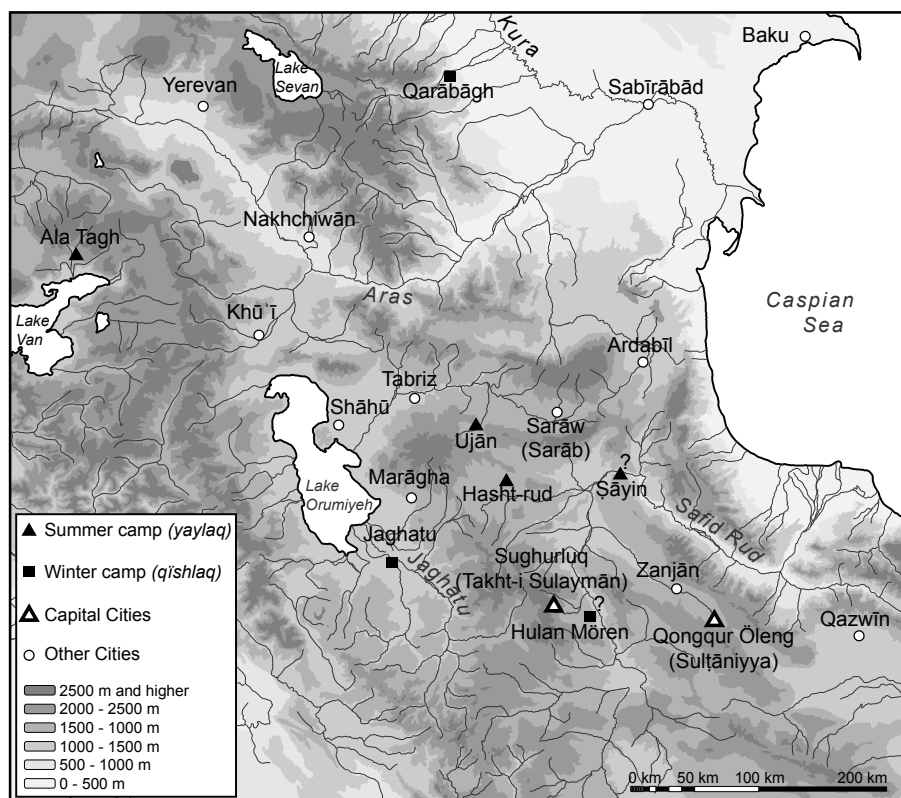


Fig. 5. Summer and winter camps of the Ilkhans. (Drawing based on Honda 1976, 369)

niques. The most obvious are the orientation of the buildings (SSE-NNW), the presence of tents inside the walls and the tent-like constructions. The octagonal pavilions at Dadu are reminiscent of the unusual polygonal structures at Takht-i Sulaymān. (In Iran, a polygonal plan was normally applied to a mausoleum, not a residence.) Likewise, the precinct inside the oval walls at Takht-i Sulaymān may suggest that tents were pitched there, as in the Ordu of the Eleven Princesses in Shangdu.

It is possible that the Yuan emperors were more quickly influenced by the Chinese than the Ilkhans by the Iranians, but this may be a distortion linked to our sources—perhaps the Chinese historians were less experienced or interested in recording the nomadic patterns of their non-Chinese rulers, than a Rashīd al-Dīn—and the halting progress of archaeological excavations in the various parts of the Mongol Empire. In any case, this

essay does not pretend to draw definitive conclusions, but hopefully it will help to foster extensive work on the subject.

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GLOSSARY OF CHINESE CHARACTERS

Abuhan	阿不罕	Chahan naoer	察罕腦兒
Aluhuan	阿魯歡	Changchun zhenren	長春真人西遊
Bai Chengzi	白城子	xiyou ji	記
Baiju	拜住	chanyu	單于
Bayan Eerduo	巴延鄂爾多	cheng	城
Bayier xinggong	伯亦兒行宮	Chengjisi huangdi	成吉思皇帝的
Bayi Woerduo	伯亦斡耳朵	de da woerduo	大斡耳朵
Bei Liangting	北涼亭	Chen Yuanjin	陳元靚
Beiyuan	北苑	chi	尺
Budao si	捕盜司	Chungnyueol-wang	忠烈王
Cai Zhen	蔡珍	Cide dian	慈德殿
caodi xinggong	草地行宮	Ciren dian	慈仁殿

Da'an ge	大安閣	Liubei chi	流杯池
Dadu	大都	Liu Bingzhong	劉秉忠
Da Hong Chengzi	大宏城子	Liu Guan	柳貫
Daming dian	大明殿	Liulin	柳林
Daxing fu	大興府	longcheng (in <i>Shiji</i>)	龍城
Da Yuan zhanji	大元氈罽工物	longcheng	龍城
gongwu ji	記	(in <i>Hanshu</i>)	
ding	錠	Longfu gong	隆福宮
Dong Liangting	東涼亭	Longhua zhou	龍化城
Dong Wenying	董文用	Longguang dian	龍光殿
dong xi Liushui ting	東西流水亭	Longqing zhou	龍慶州
dong xi Shuixin ting	東西水心亭	Longxing lu	隆興路
Fanghu ting	方壺亭	longting	龍庭
Fawu ku	法物庫	Luqu he xinggong	廬胥河行宮
Guyuan xian	沽源縣	Nai Xian	迺賢
Hanshu	漢書	Nanjing Xijin fu	南京析津府
Heilin	黑林	Qielulian	怯魯連 / 怯
Hengjia dian	亨嘉殿		綠連
Hengli dian	亨麗殿	Qielulian he Qudio	怯綠連河曲雕
Hou Han shu	後漢書	Alan	阿蘭
Hong	紅/広	qingbai yangmao	青白羊毛
Huang Jin	黃潛	Qingning dian	清寧殿
Hulun Naoer	囑圖淖爾	Qinian gu	起輦谷
Jiajian Chahan dian	迦堅茶寒殿	Qinming dian	欽明殿
jin	斤	Qionghua dao	瓊華島
Jingming gong	景明宮	Qiqi Chaha zhi ze	揭揭察哈之澤
Jingshi dadian	經世大典	Sali chuan Halaotu	薩里川哈老徒
jingyan	經筵	xinggong	行宮
jing yun cang	景運庫	Sanbula	三不刺 / 散不
Jinlu ting	金露亭		刺 / 三卜刺
Jinshan	縉山	Sanbulao	三部落
Kuotiewu Alan	闊帖兀阿蘭	Saolin	掃隣
Kuo xian	灋縣	Shandian he	閃電河
Kutiewu Alali	庫鐵烏阿剌里	Shangdu	上都
liangting	涼亭	Shangdu liushou si	上都留守司
Liangxing	涼陁	Shanggong	尚供總管府
Liao shi	遼史	zongguan fu	
ligong	離宮	Shanzi	山子
Li Zhichan	李志常	shaofan	燒飯

Shengwu qinzheng lu	聖武親征錄	Wang Yun	王惲
Shiji	史記	Wansui shan	萬歲山
Shila Woerduo	失刺斡耳朵	woliduo	窩里朶
Shilin guang ji	事林廣記	Woluduo cheng	窩魯朶城
Shiyi shi huanghou woerduo	十一室皇后斡 耳朵	Wonan he zhi yuan	斡難河之源
Shuguang dian	樞光殿	Wulanchabu meng	烏蘭察布盟
Song Lian	宋濂	Yanqing xian	延慶縣
Taizu huangdi zhi dagong	太祖皇帝之 大宮	Yitian dian	儀天殿
Taiye chi	太液池	yu	域
Tao Zongyi	陶宗儀	Yuan shi	元史
Tian Zhenhai	田鎮海八剌喝	Yuan Jue	袁桷
Balagesun	孫	Yuhong ting	玉虹亭
Tiemaigai chuan	帖麥該川	Xianghe deng suo xunjian si	香河等處巡檢 司
Tusuhu cheng	圖蘇湖城	Xiao Hong Cheng	小紅城
Tuwula he	土兀刺河	Xi Liangting	西涼亭
ting	庭	Xilin Gol meng	錫林郭勒盟
xinggong	行宮	Xinei	西內
Yang Yunfu	楊允孚	xingdian	行殿
Yan Guangda	嚴光大	Xinghe lu	興和路
Yanjing	燕京	Xi yuyuan	西御苑
Yanchun ge	延春閣	Xuandi	宣帝
Yang Qiong	楊瓊	zhama	詐馬宴
Yingjia dian	迎駕殿	Zhangbei xian	張北縣
Yingzhou ting	瀛洲亭	Zhihachi balahasun	只哈赤八剌 哈孫
Yunxu zongguang fu	雲需總管府	Zhongdu	中都
Yuegong	月宮	zhou	州
Wan'an gong	萬安宮	zong dian	棕殿
Wangwuchadu	旺兀察都	zongmao dian	棕毛殿
		zhubi	駐蹕

CHAPTER SEVEN

RULERS AND CITY LIFE IN MONGOL CENTRAL ASIA (1220-1370)¹

Michal Biran

Despite their gruesome reputation as destroyers of cities, the Mongols' influence on Eurasian urbanism has been significant and multifaceted. Much scholarly attention has been given to cities built by the Mongols, especially to their capitals, in Qaraqorum, Shangdu and Dadu (Beijing), Sultāniyya and Old and New Sarai.² Mongol Central Asia,³ however, is often left outside this scholarly discussion. This is not only due to the relative lack of sources on this region, but also because in Central Asia the Mongols never founded a capital equivalent in size and importance to those of the other khanates. Nevertheless, the Chaghadaid (var: Chaghatayid, Chagataid) and Ögödeid Mongols had a noteworthy and complex impact on Central Asian urbanism, which contributed both to the severe decline of city life in Semirech'e and to the phenomenal growth of post-Chaghadaid Samarqand under Temür.

While in sedentary societies the city is often the nexus of the society's culture and the apex of its development,⁴ nomadic empires usually had more ambiguous relations with cities, based on both need and antipathy. After all, while cities may be a source of wealth and much needed products (acquired through plunder, trade or taxation), a reservoir of human capital, and an administrative, economic and political centre, as well as a symbol of prestige and legitimation, they may also hamper the nomads' advance by their defences, become an economic burden, and be viewed as opposed to a nomadic lifestyle.⁵ However, scholars discussing cities that were built

¹ I would like to thank Anatoly Khazanov, Nimrod Luz, Jürgen Paul and the editor for their valuable comments on earlier drafts.

² See, e.g., Bemmann et al. 2010; Bemmann et al. 2009; Huttel and Erdenebat 2009; Zhang Jingming 2001; Steinhart 1983; Blair 1986; Egorov 1985; Fedorov-Davydov 1994. See also Masuya's chapter in this volume.

³ The term 'Central Asia' in this chapter refers to the region stretching from the eastern borders of modern Xinjiang to the Oxus.

⁴ Mumford 1938, 1-12. This is the crux of Ibn Khaldūn's political theory.

⁵ Charleux 2006, 175-80. A famous example of nomadic negative attitudes towards cities is Toyunquq's address to the Turkic *qaghan* in the eighth-century Orkhon inscriptions,

by nomads stress that the rulers who built them usually retained their peripatetic way of life, spending long periods of time moving between different capitals or in their mobile courts. Their cities were often built on the frontier of the steppe and the sown or on trade routes, frequently on the sites of existing cities, and had both practical and symbolic functions. The cities served as economic, administrative and religious centres, as well as being a means to settle, administer and control the nomads' sedentary subjects. Nomadic cities were also symbols of the authority and prestige of the ruler or dynasty that built them.⁶ In the eastern steppe, prestige was often acquired by using Chinese urban models: this was certainly the case with Yuan Shangdu and Dadu. In Muslim Iran, nomadic cities of the Mongol period (e.g. *Sultāniyya*, *Ghāzāniyya*) often functioned as mausoleum cities, thereby highlighting the prestige of the ruling dynasty and its specific rulers.⁷ In the Golden Horde, the Old and New Sarai both used Central Asian urban models rather than Russian, since their point of reference was the nomadic Turkic population, not the Russian sedentaries. Recent archaeological excavations in Mongolia suggest that even in this steppe heartland, the number and scope of nomadic cities founded by the Mongols and their predecessors is larger than was previously thought.⁸

Against this background, the relative lack of urban development in Mongol Central Asia calls for an explanation. This study aims to analyse the changing relationship between the Central Asian Mongol rulers and their subject cities from Chinggis Khan's conquest of Central Asia to the rise of Temür (1220-1370). Based on Muslim and Chinese literary sources and on archaeological evidence, the analysis is arranged chronologically, according to the sub-periods in the history of Mongol Central Asia. Each section refers first to the question of the capital and then to the general attitude of the Central Asian Mongols towards city life.

THE UNITED EMPIRE PERIOD (1220-60)

Central Asia was one of the first regions to be conquered by the Mongols, and was taken during Chinggis Khan's reign. The region had been under Qarakhitai rule for most of the century that preceded the Mongol invasion.

where he advises against building cities. See Tekin 1968, 263-73. See also Golden's chapter in this volume.

⁶ Charleux 2006; Khazanov 2005; Haneda 1997; cf. Lin Hu 2010 for the Khitan cities.

⁷ Haneda 1997; Charleux 2006.

⁸ Waugh 2010; Huttel and Erdenebat 2009.

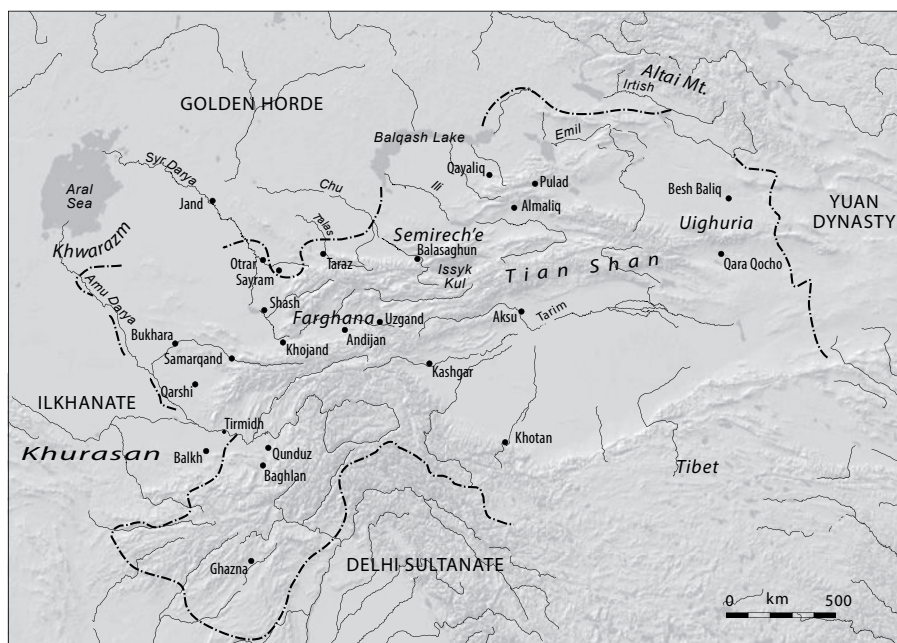


Fig. 1. The Chaghadaid Khanate ca. 1330.

It had enjoyed relative stability and prosperity for most of the second half of the twelfth century, and was a highly cosmopolitan and multilingual area. The eleventh to twelfth centuries were also characterised by growing urbanisation in Central Asia, with new towns rising mainly on the trade routes or at the meeting points of pastoral and agricultural regions.⁹ Yet even at the height of urbanisation, the region lacked a unifying imperial tradition and a strong sedentary base like those that existed in Iran and China. In the early thirteenth century, the Qarakhitai' authority was considerably weakened due to the deterioration of the ruling family, the rebellion of their former vassal, Khwarazmshah Muḥammad, and the repercussions of Chinggis Khan's rise in Mongolia. All these caused the Qarakhitai to lose both Transoxania and Uighuristan (the Gaochang region), even before the Mongol conquest.¹⁰

The Mongol conquest of eastern Central Asia (Uighuristan, Semirech'e, the Tarim Basin, that is, the Qarakhitai's central territory and its eastern

⁹ Biran 2005, 135-7 and the references there.

¹⁰ Biran 2005, 60-90.

vassals, who were among Chinggis Khan's first non-Mongol allies) was surprisingly benign. However, the conquest of Transoxania, then under the Khwarazmshahs, was extremely harsh, resulting in the devastation of most major cities in the region. At the same time, it was a speedy conquest, completed in less than a year, and Transoxania's successful restoration had already begun in earnest in Chinggis Khan's time.¹¹

When Chinggis Khan allocated appanages to his sons, Central Asia was divided between Chaghadaï and Ögödei. Chaghadaï received most of the territory, from Uighuristan to the Oxus, roughly equivalent to today's Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, parts of south Kazakhstan and southern Xinjiang, while Ögödei, Chinggis Khan's nominated heir, received a smaller adjacent region between Emil and Qobaq in Zungaria (north-east Xinjiang and south Kazakhstan), since as the future *qa'an* he was to inherit Chinggis's lands.¹²

Originally, the appanages given to Chinggis's sons were limited to pasturelands and did not include the cities, which remained under Chinggis's, and later, his heir's, administration. After he ascended the throne, Ögödei moved to Mongolia, establishing Qaraqorum and leaving his original appanage to his older son, Güyüg (who was mainly at the front during his father's reign). Chaghadaï remained in Central Asia, locating his summer pasture near Quyas and Almaliq (modern Yining/Kulja in Xinjiang, near the China-Kazakhstan border), and his winter pasture on the banks of the Ili.¹³ The region of Almaliq was famous for its abundant pastures and hunting grounds and its multitude of animals.¹⁴ It also had well developed agriculture, which impressed thirteenth-century Chinese travellers, and had been a station on the road from Central Asia to China, conveniently located on the way to the new Mongol capital at Qaraqorum.¹⁵

Almaliq became known as the headquarters of the Chaghadaïd court, but the sources stress that Chaghadaï did not live in the city itself but outside it. Chaghadaï's court is called *ulug ev* (Turkish: 'the great house' /

¹¹ For the conquest and restoration of Central Asia, see Biran 2007, 47-70.

¹² For a general survey of Central Asia under Mongol rule, see Biran 2009, 44-66; for the United Empire period, see Liu Yingsheng 2006, 18-138.

¹³ Juwaynī, 1: 272, trans. 271.

¹⁴ Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umārī, 48; Juwaynī, 1: 21, 57-8, trans. 29, 76; but cf. Rashīd al-Dīn, 1: 627, trans. Thackston 2: 431-2; Mīrkhwānd 5: 63, who reports an unusual famine in Almaliq in spring 1264.

¹⁵ Liu Yu, 13, trans. in Bretschneider 1888, 1: 127; Li Zhichang, chap. 1, 36b-37a, 40a-b; chap. 2, 1a-2b, trans. 88, 94, 105-6; Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umārī, 47; Waṣṣāf, 12; Juwaynī, 2: 217, 250, trans. 481, 513; Qarshī, 138.

ordu),¹⁶ and Jamāl Qarshī, the only native writer of Mongol Central Asia, explains that Chaghadaï's *dār al-mulk* ('abode of royalty', i.e. capital) was called *Īl al-arghū*, and that the major city (*al-miṣr al-jāmi'*), Almaliq, was within it, thereby stressing the difference between the two places.¹⁷ The continued existence of Almaliq's indigenous dynasty throughout the thirteenth century further suggests that the Chaghadaïd centre was outside the city.¹⁸

Chaghadaï did his share of building in his appanage, establishing post stations throughout his realm, and connecting it to the domains of Ögödei and Batu, as well as erecting bridges and roads.¹⁹ In the vicinity of Almaliq, he also created a hunting reserve (*shikārgāh*), surrounded by a wall of wood and clay with several gates, in which game could be trapped. He made pools to attract waterfowl, and even built a village (*dih*) named Quchlug (Turk.: 'lucky'), perhaps to accommodate the servants in charge of the reserve and the pools. Even so, Chaghadaï did not leave his mark on the city of Almaliq.²⁰ The Chaghadaïd court, by contrast, enjoyed a prestigious position during Ögödei's reign, as the court of the oldest living son of Chinggis Khan and the *qa'an*'s main confidant, and even more so after Ögödei's death in 1241 (Chaghadaï died in 1244),²¹ and was therefore frequented by travellers, traders, emissaries and scholars. The court contained the usual Mongol gathering of experts, including Chinese engineers, astronomers, physicians

¹⁶ Juwaynī, 2: 241, 243, 272; 273, 3: 56, 98, trans. 504-5, 507, 536, 538, 586, 612.

¹⁷ Qarshī, 138. For *al-miṣr al-jāmi'*, 'the all-embracing city' or urban centre of an agricultural hinterland, see Johansen 1981-2, 140-61. *Īl al-arghū* (from which comes the *nisba* *Īl-arghūi* [Qarshī, 140]) is a mysterious term. Barthold has suggested that it was a general name for the whole province around Almaliq; another option is that it designated the court. *Arghu* may be a reference to *yarghu*, 'court', and so the *Īl arghu* may mean the family of the court (of justice), perhaps referring to Chaghadaï's position as the devout adherent of the *Yasa*?; or it may be a misreading for *ughruq*, 'grand family'.

¹⁸ Qarshī, 140-5. The Almaliq dynasty was established in the early thirteenth century by an adventurous Qarluq who managed to establish himself as khan and received the recognition of the Qarakhitai ruler. In 1211, Ozar Khan submitted to Chinggis Khan. He was well received, and went back to his town, but was killed while hunting by Güchülüg, the Naiman prince who usurped the Qarakhitai throne. Chinggis Khan enthroned Ozar's son, who was then also married to a Jochid princess (a sister of Batu). The realm of Almaliq also included Pulād on the Ili and perhaps Balāsāghūn, the former Qarakhitai capital, as well (Qarshī, 136-7, 140-5; Juwaynī, 1: 57, trans. 75). Qarshī acquired his *nisba* (which means literally 'of the palace') because he was employed in the palace of the Almaliqi dynasty. The dynasty continued till the late thirteenth century and was probably destroyed in the wars that followed Qaidu's death (see below).

¹⁹ *Secret History*, § 279-80; Li Zhichang, trans. 85; Juwaynī, 1: 226-7, trans. 271-2.

²⁰ Juwaynī, 1: 21, 226-7, trans. 29, 271-2.

²¹ Qarshī, 138; but cf. Rashīd al-Dīn 1: 544, trans. 2:376, according to whom he died before Ögödei.

and administrators, and Muslim physicians, poets, merchants and religious scholars—sometimes respected more for their miracles than for their religious learning.²² The mobile court—not the city—thus provided the cultural capital for Chaghadaï and his heirs.

Almaliq, however, benefited considerably from being the nearest city to the Chaghadaïd court, and from the ongoing traffic into it. By Chaghadaï's time, it seems already to have replaced Balāsāghūn, the former Qarakhitai capital, as Semirech'e's major base on the trade routes to China and Mongolia.²³ Apart from the economic benefit, it also gained culturally: at least one Chaghadaïd courtier—the famous vizier Ḥabash 'Amid, is said to have built a *khānaqāh* in Almaliq,²⁴ and the existence of a local Muslim dynasty there encouraged the immigration of Muslim scholars, mainly from other cities of Central Asia, and led to the establishment of a sophisticated scholarly community in this relatively new Islamic territory.²⁵ Mongol rule also resulted in a growing Chinese presence in Almaliq. While the Chinese traveller Chang De claimed in 1259 that they had a noticeable influence on the city's customs, Muslim sources, including Qarshī, completely ignored them.²⁶

The Chaghadaïd khans continued to dwell in the environs of Almaliq throughout the United Mongol Empire period, and some of them (Qara Hūlegü, r. 1244-6, 1251; and Alghu, r. 1261-6 and see below) were buried in (or near?) the city.²⁷

Another city mentioned in this period in relation to the Chaghadaïds is Taraz (Ar.: Ṭarāz, Talās/Chin.: Talosi), which had been an important administrative and military centre during the Qarakhitai period.²⁸ Returning from the Mongol invasion of Europe in 1237-41, the Chaghadaïd prince Büri, settled in Taraz a group of German miners who had been taken prisoner and who mined gold and made weapons for the Mongols. Taraz was a colony of subject

²² Li Zhichang, trans. 97, 110, 116, 120; *Yuan shi*, chap. 151, 3581; Rashīd al-Dīn, trans. Boyle, 154; Juwaynī, 1: 227-32, trans. 272-6; Khwāndamīr, 44-6; Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, 4ii: 903, 1106; 4.iv: 626.

²³ For Balāsāghūn's decline, see below. It was probably also due to the attack upon it by Qarakhitai troops after the city dwellers rebelled against them in 1211. See Biran 2005, 79.

²⁴ Qarshī, 140.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 140-5.

²⁶ Liu Yu (retrieving Chang De's account), 13; trans. in Bretschneider 1888, 1: 124, 127; Li Zhichang, chap. 1, 40a, trans. 92-3.

²⁷ Naṭanzī, 103-4. This fifteenth-century source is the only one that locates early Chaghadaïd burial places.

²⁸ Biran 2005, 105 and *passim*.

artisans, like other cities the Mongols had established in Mongolia and northern China. By Möngke's time, however, the colony had been transferred east to Pulād (near Almaliq), and after that disappears from the sources.²⁹ Recently, Monik Kervran has suggested that the Taraz mausoleum, usually known as the tomb of 'Ā'isha Bibī, daughter of the (unidentified) amir of Taraz, is actually the mausoleum of Orghina Khātūn, the Chaghadaid regent who ruled the *ulus* in Möngke's time (1251-9).³⁰ If this is correct, we have here the first surviving Chaghadaid mausoleum, almost a century older than any other building ascribed to them and built in a rather unique 'baroque' style. Professor Kervran's argument, however, is highly conjectural, based only on the character of the ornaments in the mausoleum, which combine Muslim, Buddhist, Chinese and nomadic elements. She claims that such Chinese influence could have only started with the Mongols, and that some of the Chinese floral motifs are not attested in Iran and Central Asia before the mid-thirteenth century. Since she ascribes these Chinese motifs to the Liao dynasty (907-1125),³¹ the monument could easily be a product of the Qarakhanid (ca. 955-1211) or Qarakhitai periods (1124-1218), when Taraz had been an important centre. Indeed a twelfth century dating for the monument is claimed both by local tradition and by Central Asian archaeologists.³²

Apart from Almaliq and Taraz, Bukhara also benefited from the patronage of the Chinggisid family and its administrators, the polyglot Khwarazmian merchant Maḥmūd Yalawach (till 1238) and later his son, Mas'ūd Beg. By the 1250s, Möngke's wife had already built a college (known as *Madrasa-yi khānī*) in Bukhara and established the *waqf* of the Bākhārzi family there, which was still active in the 1340s.³³ Around the same time, Mas'ūd Beg built the *Madrasa-yi mas'ūdiyya* in Bukhara.³⁴ Samarqand, alongside which Mas'ūd Beg entertained Hülegü in the 1250s,³⁵ seems also to have been restored.³⁶ For other, less central, Central Asian cities, how-

²⁹ Rubruck, 144-6.

³⁰ Kervran 2002, 5-32.

³¹ Ibid., 12-13.

³² Ibid., 5; Goriacheva and Peregodova 1995, 62-8. For Qarakhitai and Qarakhanid relations with China, see Biran 2005, 93-131 and *passim*; Biran 2001, 77-89; for Taraz under the Qarakhitai (who originated from the Liao), see n. 28. I have not found any textual evidence connecting Orghina to Taraz.

³³ Juwaynī, 1: 84-5, trans. 108; Sakhāwī, 2: 194-5. For Maḥmūd and Mas'ūd Beg, see Allsen 1993.

³⁴ Juwaynī, 1: 84-5, trans. 108; Qarshī, 139.

³⁵ Rashid al-Dīn, 1: 688, trans. 480.

³⁶ By the 1220s, Chinese travelers to Samarqand were already describing it as a peaceful and beautiful city full of gardens. See, for example, Yelü Chucai, *Zhan ran*, 6: 114-17; Li Zhichang, chap. 1, 36b-37a, trans. 88.

ever, Mongol rule was far less advantageous. Apart from the effects of the conquest, there were two reasons for this: first, the growing presence of nomads, especially in Mongol Semirech'e, and second, the continuous brain- and labour-drain caused by Mongol policies.

The decline of the Semirech'e cities (probably the fruit of the new urban development under the Qarakhitais) is attested by William of Rubruck, who went through the region in the 1250s. He reports that:

[T]here used to be sizable towns lying in the plain [leading from the Ili river north-eastward to Qayaliq], but they were for the most part completely destroyed so that the Tatars could pasture there, since the area affords very fine grazing lands.³⁷

Chang De, who visited the region in 1259, a few years after Rubruck, documents only ruins, and not cities, in the territory "where the Khitans used to live", namely in the Qarakhitai central territory of Semirech'e.³⁸ As a region suitable for both pastoral nomadism and agriculture, the prevalent type of production in Semirech'e was determined by the number of nomads living on it and the priorities of its rulers. Under the Mongols, this meant partially reverting from urbanism to pasturing. The process probably involved turning the cities' agricultural hinterland into pasturelands and hence the disappearance of the hinterland necessary to sustain urban life, and some re-nomadisation of part of the Semirech'e population, or the migration of nomads (e.g. the Mongol troops), or both.

More generally, as one of the first regions to become part of the Mongol Empire, Central Asia's resources—both human and material—continued to be channelled for the benefit of the ever-expanding empire, often at the expense of local interests. Thus, numerous artisans were transferred eastward, mainly to Mongolia and northern China, to work for the Mongols.³⁹ The huge numbers involved—allegedly 30,000 artisans from Samarqand alone!⁴⁰—suggest that this policy would have seriously damaged local industry. In parallel, the Mongols brought new populations into Central Asia: Chinese farmers, scholars and artisans; Tangut farmers; Khitan admin-

³⁷ Rubruck, 147.

³⁸ Liu Yu, 14, trans. 1:129. See also Ḥamd-Allāh Mustawfī's description in *Nuzhat-al-qulūb* (1340s), which stresses the high number of nomads in Balāsāghūn. Ḥamd-Allāh Mustawfī, 256, trans. 249.

³⁹ The Beshbaliq settlement, originally in the Chaghadaid realm, was probably transferred to northern China in 1283. See Allsen 1997, 41.

⁴⁰ E.g. Juwaynī, 1: 95, 11, 101, trans. 13, 122, 128; *Yuan shi*, chap. 153, 3609; Allsen 1997, 35-6.

istrators; and German miners,⁴¹ who were all located in existing cities (Bukhara, Samarqand, Almaliq, Taraz, Pulād), and were instrumental in repairing the damage caused in the course of the conquest. In some cases, the Mongols agreed to send back some of the artisans who had been transported, but this did not counter the original brain- and labour- drain.⁴²

Moreover, apart from forced transfers—and occasional flights—there was a considerable amount of voluntary migration due to the new opportunities opened up by Mongol rule. The Mongols needed experts to help them administer their growing empire and the educated, multilingual urban elite of Central Asia, already experienced in serving nomadic rulers, was highly qualified for this task. Many, therefore, chose to join the Mongol imperial venture and were dispersed across the empire. Thus, for instance, most of the famous Muslims who reached high positions in Yuan China, such as Sayyid Ajall, Aḥmad and ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, originated in Transoxania, and Central Asian officials and scholars are attested in the other khanates as well. This constant emigration continued to characterise the region throughout the rule of the Chaghadaids.⁴³

Despite certain—and quite successful—restoration attempts, some building activity and huge human mobility, the United Empire period was not beneficial to the urban sector in Central Asia. The political turmoil that followed did not improve the situation.

THE DISSOLUTION OF THE EMPIRE AND THE REIGN OF QAIDU (1260-1301)

When the Mongol empire disintegrated in the early 1260s, the importance of the cities, both as sources of wealth and as symbols of authority for the newly created khanates, increased dramatically. In Central Asia, however, internal turmoil hindered the restoration of city life. When the United Empire collapsed in 1260, the Central Asian *ulus*⁴⁴ did not have a good

⁴¹ E.g. Rubruck, 144-6; Li Zhichang, chap. 1, 40a, trans. 92-3; Liu Yu, 13, trans. in Bretschneider 1888, 1:124, 127.

⁴² Allsen 1997, 36-7; Allsen 1983, 248. The Mongols generally brought East Asian colonists to the west to repair the damage caused by their own military operations, while European and Muslim colonists were taken east as human booty to produce specialty industrial or agricultural goods. In other words, the Mongols sent East Asians to the west to increase the *quantity* of production and Westerners to the east to improve the *quality* of production (Allsen, forthcoming).

⁴³ For migration and its consequences, see Biran 2007-8, 26-44; On Sayyid Ajall, Aḥmad and ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, see the relevant articles in de Rachewiltz et al. 1993.

⁴⁴ The Mongolian term *ulus* refers to the descendants of a Mongol prince or his subjects, hence people and state (see Doerfer 1963-75, 1:175-8). It is used below to refer to the territory and people under the control of Chinggis Khan’s descendants.

starting point. Both were severely damaged by the transition of the qa'anate from the Ögödeids to the Toluids in 1251. The Ögödeid *ulus* was dissolved, and most of its senior members eliminated. The ranks of its former supporters, the Chaghadaids, were also considerably thinned out, and, while the Chaghadaid *ulus* was not dissolved, much of the Chaghadaids' original appanage was taken over by the Golden Horde.⁴⁵ Both *ulus* tried to exploit the dissolution of the empire in order to restore their fortunes. This was first done by the Chaghadaid Khan Alghu (r. 1261-6), who, shifting his loyalty from Ariq Böke to Qubilai, managed to take over the original Chaghadaid realm and to extend it at the expense of the Golden Horde and the Ögödeids. However, already during his reign, and especially afterwards, the Chaghadaids were challenged by the Ögödeid Qaidu, who strove to revive the Ögödeid cause. From 1271 until his death in 1301, Qaidu was the Chaghadaids' overlord. Chaghadaid attempts to resist his authority continued till 1282, when he enthroned Du'a as the Chaghadaid khan, and the two cooperated until Qaidu's death. Even after the internal struggle in Central Asia had calmed down, however, the combination of Qaidu's policies, the khanate's central location and the Chaghadaids' territorial ambitions led to almost constant tension—and frequent wars—throughout this period between the Chaghadaids, Yuan China and the Ilkhanate.⁴⁶

During Qaidu's time, Central Asia did not have a specific capital city. The *Yuan shi*, the official history of the Yuan dynasty, describes Almaliq, formerly Alghu's base, as part of Qaidu's appanage and notes that his mobile encampment (*xingying* 行營) was there.⁴⁷ Almaliq, on the other hand, is hardly referred to during Qaidu's reign. Instead, the city of Taraz is mentioned more frequently as Qaidu's base: the 1269 *quriltai*, in which Qaidu first made peace with the Chaghadaid Khan Baraq (r. 1266-71), took place in the environs of Taraz, as did Qaidu's enthronement in 1271, and his meeting with the celebrated Rabban Sauma in ca. 1274/5.⁴⁸ Moreover, Qaidu's

⁴⁵ See Biran 1997, 14-17; Allsen 1987, 30-4.

⁴⁶ See Biran 1997, *passim*.

⁴⁷ *Yuan shi*, chap. 63, 1569; Arigh Boke took Almaliq from Alghu in 1263; Qaidu took it over after Arigh Boke's surrender and Alghu's death, but in 1268 had to withdraw westwards, leaving the city to Qubilai's forces. Yuan troops held the city till at least 1276, when the princes escorting Qubilai's son, Nomoghan, who had been sent to Almaliq to lead the struggle against Qaidu, rebelled against him, thereby enabling Qaidu to retake the city. See Biran 1997, 20-3, 37-41.

⁴⁸ Pelliot 1959-63, 1: 127-8; Qarshī, 138; Rashīd al-Dīn, 2:748, trans. 3: 521; Rabban Sauma, trans. 59.

sira ordu (Mo.: 'yellow *ordu*') is said to have been located there.⁴⁹ The term *sira ordu* described the khan's residence in the reigns of Ögödei and Güyüg. It consisted mainly of huge lavish tents, though sometimes, as in the case of Qubilai's Shangdu, it also included more permanent buildings.⁵⁰ Whatever Qaidu's *sira ordu* was, however, it was plundered and burned during the princes' wars after his death.⁵¹

Taraz was located in the midst of Qaidu's realm, alongside abundant pasturelands, and was an important summer pasture for the Chaghadaids for at least two decades afterwards.⁵² Qaidu's winter pasture was probably between the Ili and the Chu rivers, and he was buried in the mountains of that region. His burial place is described by Waṣṣāf as "the place of [his] throne" (*takhtgāh-i Qaydū*),⁵³ but Qaidu was mainly on the move throughout his reign, often fighting on the Yuan border or in Mongolia; that is to say, his court was mobile. This court included the typical Mongol collection of multi-ethnic experts: Chinese and Muslim physicians; Muslim astronomers; Muslim scholars and Chinese military experts.⁵⁴ Qaidu's cultural capital derived from his military success as well as from this court, not from his connection to a specific city.

We have no indication of where Du'a resided. Some of the lesser Chaghdaid khans who operated under Qaidu are said to have been buried in Uzgand (probably the Uzgand on the Syr Darya, where the Qarakhitai's treasury was located and not Uzgand in Farghāna), but there is no other indication of the city's importance during this period, nor are there any known remains of mausoleums.⁵⁵

As for the general urban situation under Qaidu, he was well aware of the importance of the sedentary areas for the wealth of his kingdom, and of the danger of their being trampled under horses' hooves. This reasoning brought him in 1269 to make peace with the Chaghdaid Khan Baraq, and he insisted that the princes would henceforth live only in the mountains and deserts and not in the cities, would not graze their cattle in cultivated areas and would not make excessive demands on their subjects. The sedentary area

⁴⁹ Qāshānī, 37, 210, 211 (*sira ordu*); 53; Waṣṣāf, 517, adapt. Āyatī, 291 (*sir ordu*).

⁵⁰ Masuya 2002, 78-9, and her chapter in this volume

⁵¹ Biran 1997, 97.

⁵² Waṣṣāf, 517; Qāshānī, 210-11, 213.

⁵³ Waṣṣāf, 452, adapt. Āyatī, 266 (where it is translated as "capital"); Rashīd al-Dīn, trans. Boyle, 27 n. 74; cf. Qāshānī, 210-11, where Esen Boqa's winter pasture is said to be near the Issyk Kul, while his summer pasture was in Taraz.

⁵⁴ Qarshī, 138, 143-4; Mirkhwānd, 5: 218; Biran 1997, 97.

⁵⁵ Naṭanzī, 104-5.

was entrusted to Mas'ūd Beg, who was ordered to restore it to prosperity.⁵⁶ These good intentions soon evaporated, however, due to the Chaghadaids' more pressing political and economic interests, which resulted in their regarding the cities as an easy source of wealth to be plundered. These interests led, among others, to Baraq's invasion of Khurasan in 1270 and to Abaqa's retaliatory expedition to Bukhara in 1273, which reduced the city to ashes. This and the subsequent Ögödeid-Chaghadaid struggles resulted in another huge wave of migration by the urban elite, who left the Chaghadaid realm and found new homes in the Ilkhanate, Mamluk Egypt, the Delhi Sultanate, the Golden Horde and Yuan China.⁵⁷ As soon as Qaidu stabilised his rule, however, he started to restore the cities, which were again entrusted to Mas'ūd Beg and later to his sons, who served Qaidu (and his son Chapar) up to the early fourteenth century. By the end of the thirteenth century, numismatic and literary evidence attests to the return of prosperity to the Central Asian cities, and the restoration of the monetary economy, agriculture and scholarly life.⁵⁸ In the early 1280s, Qaidu and Du'a also established a new city, Andijān, in Farghāna.⁵⁹ As none of the khans settled there, the city must have been created solely for the (mostly commercial) needs of the Mongols' subject population. Its successful location and future prosperity suggest that the khans (or their councillors) were well acquainted with the requirements of the sedentary population. While Andijān continued to exist, most other achievements of the late thirteenth century perished during the princes' struggles that followed Qaidu's death.

While Qaidu was well aware of the economic function of the cities, he did not choose to use the city as a source of legitimacy, nor did the Central Asian Mongols establish under him a capital equivalent to those of the other khanates. This might have been due to the relatively limited resources of Central Asia or to its less centralistic political culture, but the main reason seems to have been the uneasy existence of two *ulus*, Chaghadaid and Ögödeid, on the same territory. Ögödei's name was connected to Qaraqorum, a territory that the Central Asian Mongols did not hold for most of Qaidu's reign, nor was the Great Khan willing to give it up easily.⁶⁰

⁵⁶ Rashīd al-Dīn, 2: 749; trans. 3: 522; Waṣṣāf, 69, adapt. Āyatī, 39; Mirkhwānd, 5: 266-8; Biran 1997, 26.

⁵⁷ Biran 2007-8[9], 41; Muminov 2003, 30-4; for the battle and its consequences, see Biran 2002.

⁵⁸ Biran 1997, 98-103.

⁵⁹ Naṭanzī, 106; Ḥamd-Allāh Mustawfī, 246, trans. 239; Biran 1997, 104-5.

⁶⁰ For Qaidu's only attempt to attack Qaraqorum and Qubilai's response, see Biran 1997, 47-8.

Emil, which was part of Qaidu's realm, was connected to Güyüg, Ögödei's son and successor, but Qaidu was not a descendant of Güyüg, and the city's location (on the eastern fringes of Qaidu's realm) was not ideal for a capital. Any strategically-located capital would have had to be founded on the Chaghadaids' appanage (which constituted the main part of Qaidu's realm), thus stressing Qaidu's primacy over them. The mere founding of such a capital, therefore, could have alienated the Chaghadaids and destroyed the delicate balance between the two *ulus*. Qaidu's position as the Chaghadaid overlord was somewhat of an anomaly in the Mongol world, and its legitimacy was questioned during and after his reign;⁶¹ just as he was unable to dissolve the Chaghadaid army, Qaidu must have chosen not to create a capital city that would be too obvious a symbol of his authority.

THE RETURN OF THE CHAGHADAIDS (1301-47)

After Qaidu's death, the Chaghadaids regained ascendancy in Central Asia and made peace with the Yuan, but their attempts to overcome the Ögödeids undermined the khanate's stability. This led to the ultimate dissolution of the Ögödeid *ulus* (whose last ruler, Qaidu's son Chapar, surrendered to the Yuan in 1310) and, ironically, to another round of war between the Chaghadaids and the Yuan during most of the 1310s. The heyday of the Chaghadaids had been under Kebek Khan (r. 1320-7), who made peace with the Yuan, moved his residence to Transoxania, built a new capital city, Qarshī, in the Kashkadarya valley (see below), and reorganised the khanate's internal administration. After the reign of Kebek's Muslim brother, Tarmashirin (r. 1331-4), who also resided in Transoxania, the tension between the western and eastern parts of the khanate became more apparent, and the Chaghadaids entered into a civil war during which even the identity of the ruling khan was not always known. It was in this period that closer coexistence between nomads and sedentary people began to develop, at least in Transoxania.⁶²

When the Chaghadaids resumed power after Qaidu's death, Almaliq (or rather its environs) returned to the limelight as a symbol of Chaghadaid independence: it was near Almaliq that the Chaghadaid khan, Du'a, summoned in 1307 a *quriltai* that deposed Qaidu's son, Chapar, and divided the Ögödeid *ulus* between the descendants of Qaidu and Güyüg; Du'a's son,

⁶¹ For the Chaghadaids' status in Qaidu's state, see Biran 1997, 79-80 and *passim*.

⁶² Biran 2009, 54-9; Liu Yingsheng 2005; Liu Yingsheng 2006, 359-433.

Könchek (r. 1307-8), was enthroned near Almaliq and most future Chaghadaid khans resided beside it or at least visited the place (and Tarmashirin's neglect to do so was one of the reasons for his deposition).⁶³ The disappearance of the local dynasty, probably in the post-Qaidu wars,⁶⁴ also facilitated the appropriation of the city by the Chaghadaids. In 1330, the archbishop of Sulṭāniyya described the Chaghadaid khan as emperor of Almaliq; Christians who sought the khan's favour settled in the city; and in 1340 a Christian missionary explicitly referred to Almaliq as the Chaghadaid capital.⁶⁵ Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, visiting the Chaghadaid realm in 1333, also noted that Almaliq was the Chaghadaid "abode of royalty" (*dār al-mulk*).⁶⁶ Almaliq remained a major stopping place on the trade routes from Europe and the Middle East to China;⁶⁷ in the mid 1320s a bishopric was established in the city and missionaries populated it and built churches there during the reigns of Iljigidei (r. 1327-30) and Changshi (r. 1335-8).⁶⁸ The Christian missionaries attributed the permission to build churches to the khans' religious zeal (in Changshi's case, a result of his son's healing by Christian doctors).⁶⁹ Both khans, however, are also described as adherents of Tibetan Buddhism,⁷⁰ so one cannot make too much of their Christian affiliation. Religious buildings, on the other hand, were an integral part of other Mongol cities (Qaraqorum is the most notable example).⁷¹ Apart from these churches, there is no evidence for any Chaghadaid—or other—building in or near Almaliq that was meant to enhance its symbolic function, though this may simply be because of the lack of sources. Whatever was built, however, certainly suffered from the khanate's instability after 1334 (the churches, for instance, were destroyed by 'Alī Sulṭān, an ephemeral Ögödeid Muslim khan who coveted the Chaghadaid throne around 1339-40),⁷² and the epidemics that struck the region in the late 1330s.⁷³

⁶³ E.g. Qāshānī, 39-40 (Du'a in Almaliq; for the date, see Biran 1997, 77), 53 (Könchek's enthronement); Naṭanzī, 107 (Kebek in Almalik); Yule 1967, 3: 89 (Iljigidei).

⁶⁴ Shabānkāra'ī, 231.

⁶⁵ Yule 1967, 3: 89, 212-13.

⁶⁶ Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, 3: 41, trans. Gibb 3: 561.

⁶⁷ Yule 1967, 3: 31, 87, 148, 212; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, 3: 17-18, trans. Gibb 3: 548.

⁶⁸ Golubovich, 4: 252; Yule 1967, 3: 212-13; Moule 1917, 18; Jordanus, 54. In 1329, a bishopric was also established in Samarqand.

⁶⁹ Yule 1967, 3: 31.

⁷⁰ Biran 2007-8, 37.

⁷¹ See e.g. Rubruck's description of Qaraqorum (Rubruck, 221, 251).

⁷² Yule 1967, 3: 212-13.

⁷³ Biran 2009, 59.

Simultaneously with the rise of Almaliq, this period saw the establishment of a new centre for Chaghadaid rule in its western realm, Transoxania, in the city of Qarshī (Mo. 'palace'). Qarshī was founded by Kebek Khan (r. 1320-7), who had gained a reputation for being a just khan who protected the interests of his sedentary subjects. Although Kebek continued to visit Almaliq,⁷⁴ he seems to have built Qarshī as a second, western capital, thereby following the pattern of multiple capitals characteristic of many nomadic empires.⁷⁵ Qarshī's location and layout suggest that the main reasons for its founding were political.

Kebek built Qarshī in his winter pastures and next to good hunting grounds,⁷⁶ but this is the first time a Chaghadaid centre is located not on the open steppes but among Transoxania's river valleys and oases. Kebek built it at the time of or before his accession to the Chaghadaid throne. The region had been his centre of power in the decade that preceded his enthronement, when he served as commander of the Chaghadaid western territories in Transoxania and Farghāna on behalf of his brother, the reigning khan, Esen Boqa (r. ca. 1310-19), who was residing on "the borders of Kish and Nakhshab".⁷⁷ It was there, 6-7 km south-east of the major town of the Kashkadarya valley, Nakhshab (also called Nasaf), that Kebek established the fortress residence that became his capital. Qarshī's location might have reflected the new orientation of Chaghadaid expansion—into Khurasan and India, not into China, with which Kebek established peace in 1323. It might have also indicated Kebek's attempt to secure a centre of power to compete with that of his eastern amirs, who opposed his pro-Yuan policies.⁷⁸

The ruins of Qarshī are now situated in the old part of Nasaf, not far from the banks of the Kashkadarya River. Surveyed by Masson in 1966 and by Raimkulov and Sultonova in the early 2000s, it was described as being square, measuring 630 m by 630 m, with a total area about 40 hectares. The city was bounded by a strong wall, 4.5 m thick, surrounded by a deep defensive ditch, 8-10 m wide and 3.5-4 m deep, and had four gates.⁷⁹ The original layout of the city (before Timurid additions) included one central

⁷⁴ E.g. Naṭanzī, 107; Qāshānī, 148-9; Waṣṣāf, 519, adapt. Āyatī 294.

⁷⁵ Notable examples are Yuan Shangdu and Dadu, as well as the five Liao capitals and see the references in note 2.

⁷⁶ Yazdī, fol. 113b; Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī, 38, 49.

⁷⁷ Qāshānī, 150.

⁷⁸ Liu Yingsheng 2005, 351-3.

⁷⁹ Masson 1973, 72; Raimkulov and Sultonova 2005, 217; on its outer front walls were semicircular towers, used as buttresses.

fortress/palace surrounded by an open space designed for the erection of tents. This layout is typical of Mongolian and south Siberian cities from the Xiongnu period onwards.⁸⁰

Apart from its political functions, Qarshī is said to have been the burial place of several Chaghadaid khans, including Esen Boqa and Kebek,⁸¹ although no mausoleums are visible. There is no indication that Qarshī was the centre of Kebek's administration: it does not figure much among Chaghadaid mints, for example,⁸² nor is it clear whether Qarshī served future Chaghadaid khans: Kebek's immediate successors returned to Almalīq.⁸³ If Qarshī was built as a visible sign of Kebek's dominion over the region, it did not succeed in impressing sedentary visitors: Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī, the only source I have read that refers to it explicitly as the Chaghadaid capital, says that the city was "nothing special", neither in the past nor in (his) present (1330-40s).⁸⁴ Indeed, in 1333 Ibn Baṭṭūṭa ignored it completely, describing Nakhshab as a small town, unaware of its central position in the Chaghadaid realm, even though he met the khan, Tarmashirin, in its vicinity.⁸⁵ However, the mere founding of Qarshī indicates a certain development in Chaghadaid urban concepts. Furthermore, Central Asia's nomadic population might have been more impressed by Qarshī than the sedentary visitors referred to above, since the building of such fortresses was continued by at least one other Chaghadaid khan: Qazan Khan (r. ca. 1343-7) founded Zanjir Sarai (Turk.: 'the stony palace', but Persian: Zanjir Sarāy: 'the chain palace'), two days' journey from Qarshī on the road to Bukhara. The remnants of Zanjir Sarai, also excavated by Raimkulov and Sultonova, reveals a layout similar to that of Qarshī (namely a wall inside which there is a central fortress surrounded by an open space designed for tents), although smaller. Around it, there is evidence of several other settlements, some of them of rural character.⁸⁶ Kebek's model thus developed into a more complex urban settlement. The decision to build Zanjir Sarai instead of residing in Qarshī suggests that the city-fortresses

⁸⁰ Raimkulov and Sultonova 2005, 218-19; Rogers, Ulambayar and Gallon 2005, 801-18.

⁸¹ Naṭanzī, 107.

⁸² Petrov 2009, 301-4.

⁸³ Yule 1967, 3: 89; only Nakhshab, not Qarshī, is shown on the Yuan map of 1331 (Bretschneider 1888, 2: 61)

⁸⁴ See Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī, 49, whose information is based on the oral evidence of people who visited the cities.

⁸⁵ Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, 3: 28-9, trans. Gibb 3: 555. In both cases, the evidence is from the post-Kebek period.

⁸⁶ Raimkulov and Sultonova 2005, 217-22.

had strong personal connections for the khans who built them. Since none of the khans of this period ruled more than a few years, this may explain why such fortresses did not become capital cities equivalent to those of other Mongol khanates, such as Sultāniyya.

The building of fortresses such as Qarshī and Zanjir Sarai did not mean that the Chaghadaids ceased to be nomads. In Qarshī's case, al-'Umārī explicitly says, "They call it their abode of royalty (*qā'idat al-mulk*) although they do not reside in houses or use walls."⁸⁷ And Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who had met Kebek's brother, Tarmashirin Khan (r. 1331-34), near Qarshī in 1333, asserted that the khan resided in his *ordu*-tent (that is, he maintained a mobile court), in which he received guests, directed the administration, commanded his amirs, and performed his prayers in the *ordu*'s mosque. This well-known description is the only one we have of the Chaghadaid *ordu*: the tent, protected by the khan's guard, was lavishly decorated with silken cloth of gold, and the khan sat in the middle of it on a throne covered with golden brocade, wearing a jewelled crown on his head. The principal amirs sat on chairs to the right and left of the khan, and in front of him were "the sons of the kings", perhaps hostages taken from local ruling families. At the tent's doorway stood the four heads of the khan's administration: his deputy, the vizier, the chamberlain and the seal keeper, who with him received guests such as Ibn Baṭṭūṭa.⁸⁸ Past and future Chaghadaid courts probably retained a similar mobile character, reminiscent of the Great Khans' customs, and were not necessarily located in cities.

Yet the mere building of compounds such as Qarshī and Zanjir Sarai suggests a growing rapprochement between the Chaghadaid Mongols and their sedentary subjects. Another indication of such improved relations is Kebek's reforms, which reshaped the khanate's administration. These included the restoration (only partially successful) of devastated cities such as Balkh; limiting the commanders' ability to oppress their subjects; comprehensive monetary reform; and the division of the appanage into *tümens* (Mo. 'ten thousand'), an area that would supply revenues sufficient for supporting one *tümen* of troops.⁸⁹ While the *tümen* system might have had its roots in Qaidu's time,⁹⁰ the commanders' authority under Kebek was far greater, since there is no indication of a special official responsible for the sedentary areas and answerable to the khan, as was the case under

⁸⁷ Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umārī, 49.

⁸⁸ Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, 3: 33-8, trans. Gibb 3: 557-9.

⁸⁹ On Kebek's reforms, see Biran 2009, 57; Barthold 1956-62, 1: 52.

⁹⁰ Biran 1997, 99, 106.

Qaidu. The cities were apparently included in the *tümen*, and the *tümen*'s commanders were responsible for the collection of the city's taxes by *shihnas*, whom they appointed. A *waqf* (endowment) document of 1326 suggests that, by Kebek's time, several Turco-Mongolian commanders already held lands in major cities such as Bukhara.⁹¹

Another factor that drew the nomads closer to the sedentary population was their Islamisation; large numbers of Mongols are known already to have accepted Islam in Transoxania by Tarmashirin's time and Islam reached the eastern parts of the khanate some two decades later. At least in Ghazna, now part of the Chaghadaid domain, this found expression in the urban landscape, as Tarmashirin's Muslim commander (both governor and amir) built many hospices (*khānaqāhs*) there.⁹² Tarmashirin's Islamisation also improved Central Asia's commercial relations with contemporary Muslim states, mainly the Delhi and the Mamluk sultanates, thereby potentially enhancing the prosperity of the region's urban centres.⁹³

Yet the increasing coexistence and the khans' attempts to revive the Central Asian economy were not enough to assure urban revival. Indeed, both Ibn Baṭṭūṭa and the 1326 *waqf* speak forcefully of the ruins and devastation in several Transoxanian cities, even in the days of Kebek and Tarmashirin.⁹⁴ The internal struggles that followed certainly did not benefit the Chaghadaids' sedentary subjects.

THE POST-1347 UPHEAVALS UP TO THE RISE OF TEMÜR

By 1347, the Chaghadaid khanate dissolved into the *Ulus Chaghatay* in the west (Transoxania) and Moghulistan in the east (modern Kyrgyzstan, south Kazakhstan and most of Xinjiang), the former ruled by amirs, who were ultimately succeeded by Temür, and the latter by Tughluq Temür Khan (r. 1347-63), who made a last—and in the long run, futile—attempt to unite the khanate. After a short period of amirid rule, Chaghadaid khans, now known as Eastern Chaghadaids or Moghuls, continued to hold power in Moghulistan until the late seventeenth century.⁹⁵ This period saw a grow-

⁹¹ Chekhovich 1965, 58, 65, 67, 68, 75, 83, 84, 107.

⁹² Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, 3: 42, trans. Gibb 3: 561-2.

⁹³ Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī, 41, trans. Siddiqi and Ahmad 48-9; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, 3: 16-18, trans. Gibb 3: 547-8.

⁹⁴ Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, 3: 52, 58-9, 63, 88, trans. Gibb 3: 567, 571-2, 574, 590; Chekhovich 1965, e.g., 40, 41, 42, 94.

⁹⁵ See Biran 2009, 59-60; Millward 2009, 261-7; Kim 1999; Liu Yingsheng 2006, 434-74.

ing Islamisation, which also reached the eastern regions of the khanate and became physically evident in the appearance of Islamic-style mausoleums erected for various khans, as well as an increase in the importance of cities to the commanders, and the modest beginnings of the rise of Samarqand.

In the east, Tughluq Temür converted to Islam in the 1350s, hoping to use the new religion to cement relations between the khanate's eastern and western parts. Turfan documents from his reign suggest that he was quite attentive to the needs of his sedentary subjects and tried to revive agriculture and commerce.⁹⁶ In his attempts to reunify the Chaghadaid Khanate, Tughluq Temür moved from Aqsu (in north Xinjiang), where he had been enthroned, to Almaliq, which must have become his capital,⁹⁷ trying to build on its former prestige. A few years after his death, in 771/1369–70, his wife had an impressive mausoleum erected for her husband, which is the only remnant of Almaliq that still stands today (see Fig. 2).

The monument resembles western Chaghadaid mausoleums (see below); it is an imposing rectangular building (7.7 m high, 6 m wide and 15.8 m long) with a dome, and an entrance façade decorated with carved and glazed terracotta tiles in turquoise, white and dark manganese. This is the only known example of such sophisticated tile work outside Bukhara and Samarqand.⁹⁸ It is claimed that the builder was an Iraqi architect,⁹⁹ probably one who was looking for work in Central Asia after the collapse of the Ilkhanate in 1335 and the subsequent turmoil in Iran and Iraq. Almaliq therefore became a mausoleum city, but unlike Ilkhanid examples, the mausoleum was built a few years after the death of its occupant,¹⁰⁰ when Moghulistan was ruled by a non-Chinggisid rebel, Qamar al-Dīn,¹⁰¹ so the mausoleum does not seem to have contributed much to the city's status. Indeed, the inter-Moghul struggles, together with Temür's attacks on their territory, which in 1390 extended all the way to Almaliq, as well as Temür's shifting of the trade routes southwards, away from Semirech'e,¹⁰² all contributed to the decline of Almaliq and Semirech'e. In the last years

⁹⁶ Cerensodnom and Taube 1993, 173–9.

⁹⁷ Haydar Dughlat, 10ff, 300, trans. 8, 226. (Aqsu was the appanage of Amir Bolaji, in whose realm Tughluq Temür grew up.)

⁹⁸ O'Kane 2004, 285.

⁹⁹ Haydar Dughlat, 300, trans. 226.

¹⁰⁰ O'Kane 2004, 285.

¹⁰¹ Kim 1999, 299–307.

¹⁰² On Temür's attacks on the Moghuls, see e.g. Haidar Dughlat, 20–30, trans. 15–25; Manz 1989, 71.

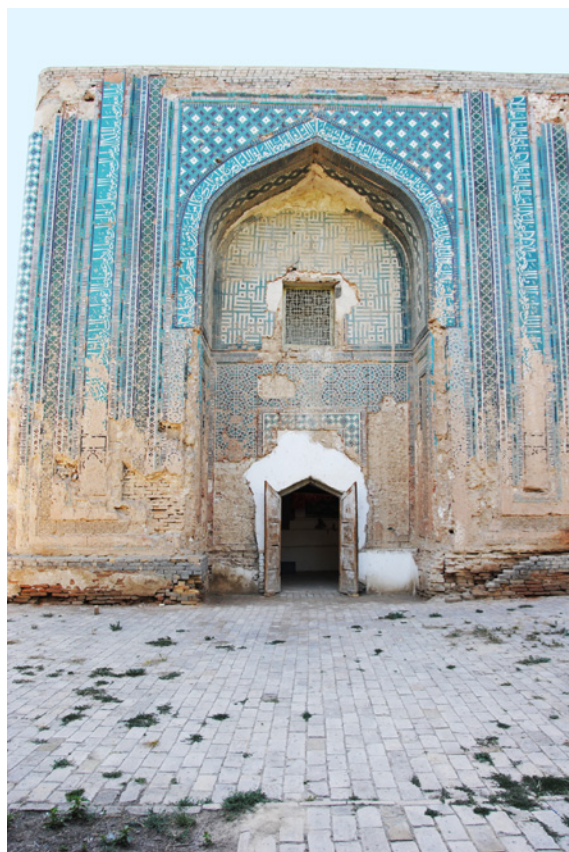


Fig. 2. Tughluq Temür Mausoleum in Almaliq (near modern Yining, Xinjiang, China).
(Photo: Michal Biran 2012)

of the fourteenth century, Kashgar is already referred to as the centre of the Moghul khan, Khiḍr Khan (r. 1392-99), and in the early sixteenth century, the eastern Chaghadaids moved their centre south, away from the steppe, into the oases of Uighuristan and the Tarim basin, the richest parts of their realm, and gradually ceased following their nomadic lifestyle.¹⁰³ Babur and Ḥaydar Dughlat both attest that in the early sixteenth century nothing remained of Almaliq but the mausoleum.¹⁰⁴ Similarly, referring to the region of Taraz, formerly another major centre of the Central Asian

¹⁰³ Kim 1999, 315.

¹⁰⁴ Ḥaydar Dughlat, 300, trans. 226; Babur, 1: 2 (who refers the devastation of the region as a result of the Moghul-Uzbek wars).

Mongols, Ḥaydar Dughlat remarks that there were the ruins of domes and colleges (*madrassa*) there, but no one knew to which city they belonged.¹⁰⁵ The two main centres of Mongol Central Asia had therefore ceased to exist as cities before the sixteenth century, thereby attesting once more to the ease with which steppe cities were abandoned.

In Transoxania, however, the post-1347 period saw a growing rapprochement between the Chaghadaid commanders and their appanages, which were centred around cities. This tendency finds its clearest manifestation in the fact that in this period, Chaghadaid army contingents are defined as belonging to localities (e.g., “the army of Kīsh”, i.e. the region in and around the city of Kīsh) as opposed to their designation as the army of their commanders (usually Chinggisid princes; e.g. “the army of Sarban”), as had been the custom before.¹⁰⁶ This attests to the growing political importance of the cities to the army commanders. It may also suggest that urban settlers began to serve in the armies, as they did under Temür,¹⁰⁷ a fact that must have accelerated this rapprochement.

Another feature of this period is the appearance of Chaghadaid mausoleums built within existing cities, and these still survive. In Faṭḥābād, near Bukhara, we have the mausoleum of Bayan Quli Khan (r. 1348–58), a puppet khan of Amir Qazaqan, built around 1363–4, close to the mausoleum of the Sufi shaykh, Sayf al-Dīn al-Bākharzī (d. 1261). This two-chamber domed building, which Haase has defined as demonstrating a transition between Mongol and Timurid styles, is covered with very fine tile work (better than in the Almaliq example), which encircles the whole building.¹⁰⁸ This may have been the modest start of Temür’s building enterprises in Transoxania.

Another feature of this period is the rise in importance of established cities, especially Samarqand. When the Qara’unas amirs¹⁰⁹ deposed Qazan Khan in 1347, their headquarters, located south of Qarshī, in the region of present-day Afghanistan, acquired new importance. However, Amir Qazaqan, and later Tughluq Temür, both stationed their sons at Samarqand, which gives an indication of the growing importance of the city in this period.¹¹⁰ There is evidence of a growing scholarly community in the city

¹⁰⁵ Ḥaydar Dughlat, 300, trans. 226.

¹⁰⁶ Manz 1989, 34, 37; see also Manz 1983, *passim*.

¹⁰⁷ Manz 2005.

¹⁰⁸ Haase 1999; Babajanov 1999; O’Kane 2004.

¹⁰⁹ For the Qara’unas, a group of Mongols who originated in a *tamma* force residing in modern Afghanistan and who tried to retain their independence from both the Chaghadaids and the Ilkhans, see Aubin 1969; Shimo 1977; Manz 1989, 159–61.

¹¹⁰ Babajanov 1999, 204.

in the fourteenth century and several new buildings were added to the complex of the Shāh-i Zinda, around the mausoleum of Qutham b. 'Abbās, perhaps indicating the city's spiritual importance or *baraka*.¹¹¹ These features, together with Samarqand's historical fame and its status as the site of Temür's first victory, certainly contributed to Temür's decision to make it his capital.¹¹²

IN CONCLUSION

The Mongol rulers of Central Asia chose to remain nomads and maintain mobile courts, and never built a capital equivalent to those of the other Mongol khanates. This was initially due to the tense coexistence of the Ögödeid and Chaghadaid *uluses* in Central Asia during the reigns of Qaidu and Du'a. Later, when the Chaghadaids wanted to make Almaliq their capital, the almost constant political instability of the fourteenth-century Chaghadaid khanate (aided by the competition from Transoxania) hindered it from achieving real prestige on the level of Dadu, Sarai or Sultāniyya. However, the location of the Mongols' mobile courts and of the trade routes had an impact on the development and welfare of nearby cities, notably leading to the decline of Balāsāghūn and the relative growth of Almaliq, Taraz and Andijān. Such growth notwithstanding, and despite the attempts of several khans to revive city life in Mongol Central Asia, the region does not seem to have returned to the pre-Mongol level of urbanism. This was due not only to the effects of the Mongol conquest and the large-scale transfers that accompanied it, but also to the growing presence of nomads and almost constant political instability, which in turn resulted in further, mainly voluntary, emigration of urban populations out of the khanate. The consequences of this trend were most pronounced in the relatively newly-urbanised region of Semirech'e, parts of which had already reverted to pasturelands by the mid-thirteenth century. Before the sixteenth century, even the region's main cities, formerly the headquarters of the Chaghadaids, Almaliq and Taraz, had ceased to exist.

In Transoxania, the most established urban region subject to the Chaghadaid Khanate, there is evidence of a growing rapprochement between the Chaghadaids and their sedentary subjects from the 1320s, and

¹¹¹ Nemtseva 1977, 51-73; Sakhāwī 2: 194-5.

¹¹² Temür used Qarshī, and Zanjīr Sarai until its destruction by Toqtamish's invasion. Temür's destruction of Sarai has once even been described as retaliation for that of Zanjīr Sarai (Yazdī, fol. 281b.).

this was later reinforced by Chaghadaid Islamisation and perhaps by the growing numbers of sedentary people in the Chaghadaid armies. This rapprochement was expressed physically by the beginning of modest monumental building initiated by the Chaghadaid royal house, which was influenced by Mongol models (fortress cities) or Muslim Turko-Mongol examples (mausoleums). It also saw the rise in the importance of well-established cities, notably Samarqand.

Temür may also have built upon the modest Chaghadaid precedents when he chose Samarqand to be his capital and adorned it with magnificent monumental buildings. However, having been raised in the *Ulus Chaghatay*, closer to the sedentary people, Temür understood the importance of the city as a symbol of legitimacy and prestige much better than had the early Chaghadaids. Moreover, he did not confine himself to the Chaghadaid legacy, but drew upon the combined heritage of the Mongol empire.¹¹³ His building in Samarqand is reminiscent of Qubilai's building at Dadu: he chose an existing city that was seriously damaged in the Mongol invasions and built it anew, based on models from the tradition of the local population (Chinese in Qubilai's case; Muslim in Temür's) and with the help of an international team of builders. The city also retained certain nomadic characteristics, such as the large number of walled gardens (*bāgh*),¹¹⁴ where the Mongols and Turko-Mongols could pitch their tents. In both cases, the city became a symbol of its builder's prestige and legitimacy and attracted people not only from the region, but also from much further afield.¹¹⁵ Due to the decline of the Mongol khanates before his rise, Temür was able to reverse the direction of migration and to transfer and welcome urban elites—both craftsmen and scholars—into his realm, securing a stability that the region had lacked during most of the Chaghadaids' rule. Temür, in short, had what the Chaghadaids lacked: charisma, vision and wealth. This certainly found expression in his capital city, Samarqand.

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¹¹³ Manz 2000, 137–140.

¹¹⁴ For these gardens, see Subtelny 2002, 101–26.

¹¹⁵ For Dadu, see Steinhardt 1983; Rossabi 1988, 131–5; Zhixian 2010, 41–63; for Timurid Samarqand, see, for example, the descriptions of Clavijo's embassy to Samarqand (1403–6) in Clavijo, trans. 218–300.

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CHAPTER EIGHT

THE ITINERARIES OF SHĀHRUKH B. TIMUR (1405-47)

Charles Melville

At what point does a king who travels about to go to war, visit a sacred site, go hunting, meet foreign legations, or spend Christmas with his family, become an itinerant king in the technical sense in which it is understood for Ottonian Germany?¹

The purpose of this chapter is to look in some detail at the itineraries of Timur's son and successor, Shāhrukh (r. 807-50/1405-47), to see to what extent he can be described as an itinerant monarch and therefore to address at least one of the topics of this volume, and perhaps also to begin to consider the role of the 'capital' and the familiarity of the ruler with city life—the other side of the coin. I have tried some similar analyses with the reigns of the Ilkhan Öljeitü and the Safavid Shah 'Abbās,² so this chapter contributes to filling in the gap between them, thereby demonstrating the continuation or attenuation (as the case may be) of one of the hallmarks of Mongol rule in Iran and Central Asia as the Chinggisids and their Chaghatay and Türkmen successors acculturated to Persian norms. As in these two other examples, the reign of Shāhrukh lends itself to this sort of analysis, partly due to the relative abundance of useful source material covering his lengthy reign, and partly because these sources document his movements in peacetime as well as on campaign, so that we are not simply witnessing movements associated with military expeditions. Shāhrukh's reign is situated within a rather extended period of transition between the more overtly military and coercive preceding periods of state formation (e.g. up to Ghazan's reign in the Ilkhanate, Shah Tahmāsp's in the Safavid case, and the career of Timur here) and a period of consolidation that followed (under Abū Sa'īd in the Ilkhanate, Sultan Ḥusayn Bayqara in the Timurid case, and the second Safavid century after Shah 'Abbās). In all

¹ McKitterick 2008, 174. For Ottonian Germany, see more in Bernhardt 2013, and for Charlemagne, also McKitterick 2011.

² Melville 1990; Melville 1993.

these instances, the level of itinerancy appears to have decreased in later reigns, although the matter has not yet received detailed attention.

The main sources used for this survey of the reign are the *Zubdat al-tawārikh* of Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū (to 830/1427) and ‘Abd al-Razzāq Samarqandī’s *Maṭla‘-i sa‘dayn* (to 850/1447).³ These are both chronicles arranged in annals and relatively full in their accounts of the reign, especially with regard to the provision of dates, which are essential for recovering the ruler’s movements; in fact it is only the existence of these chronicles that makes our investigation possible. The contrast between the two works (a larger comparison of which is beyond our immediate purpose) is also interesting; the main difference here is that Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū provides far more detail of Shāhrukh’s movements (which he probably largely accompanied), so the question arises—and must at present remain unanswered—as to whether or not the relative lack of information about Shāhrukh’s movements in the last decade of the reign reflects the real situation, or merely the failure of ‘Abd al-Razzāq to record them. A comparable situation arose in connection with the itineraries of Shah ‘Abbās, with the very disparate level of information provided by the main chronicles of the reign, but particularly Iskandar Beg Munshī and Munajjim Yazdī.⁴ On the other hand, Samarqandī does occasionally have a piece of information not found in Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū—a date here, a place there, as well as a greater accent on Shāhrukh’s piety. Faṣīḥ Khwāfi, the other main annalist of the period, covering the reign to 845/1441, sometimes also has supplementary or alternative details, and is especially prone to mention the movements of Shāhrukh’s son, Baysonqur (Bāysunqur) Mīrzā, in whose administration he served between 828/1425 and 836/1433.⁵ The later work of Khwāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, completed in 930/1524, can provide some helpful clarifications.⁶

³ Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, covering 807-30/1405-27; Samarqandī, covering 807-50/1405-47. For these authors, and especially Samarqandī, see Manz 2007, 51-2, 56-61. Also Woods 1987; Subtelny and Melville 2002.

⁴ Munajjim Yazdī provides a great wealth of data for the years to 1020/1611, whereas Iskandar Munshī, covering the whole reign, leaves Shah ‘Abbās apparently immobile for months at a time; see Melville 1993, 207.

⁵ Faṣīḥ Khwāfi seldom does more than abbreviate material in the two works mentioned above. For Faṣīḥ, see Manz 2007, 64-7, 97-9.

⁶ Covering the whole reign; see the convenient translation by Thackston (Khwāndamīr, trans. 307-61). The *Ḥabīb al-siyar* for this period is derived from Mīrkhwānd’s *Rawḍat al-safā*, in turn based largely on Samarqandī’s *Maṭla‘-i sa‘dayn*, and for the most part merely repeats the data found there.

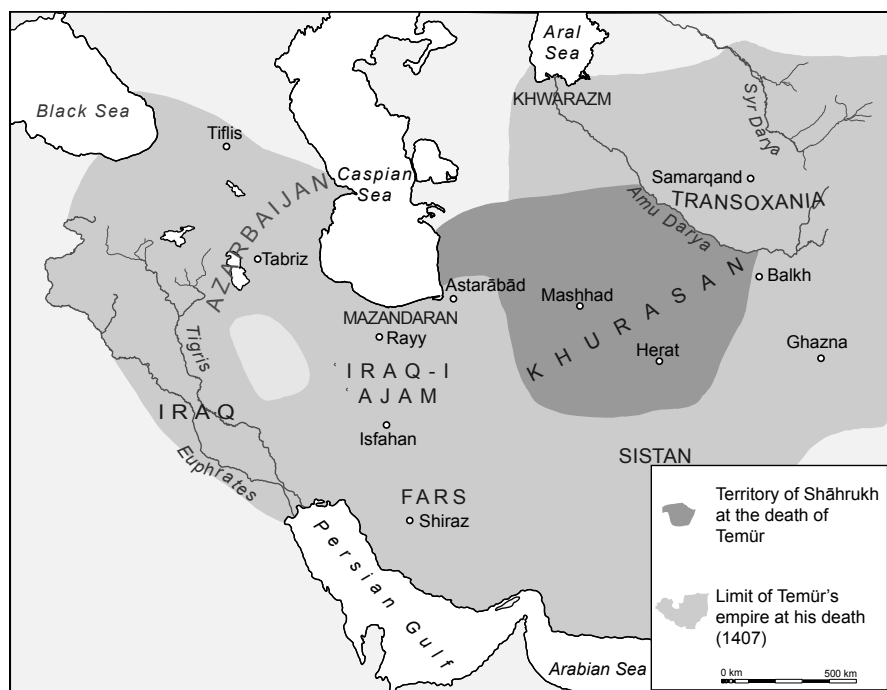


Fig. 1. Shāhrukh's territory.

So far, I have concentrated only on the most basic element of the research, that is, collecting the evidence of Shāhrukh's journeys and charting them in a rather schematic way. Many of the places mentioned do not appear on maps produced in the West,⁷ and furthermore, the details of the journeys are often lacking in one or more vital element, such as the dates of the various stages, or the precise routes taken between the main locations, or the time spent in the different places, so that the picture must remain for now rather impressionistic. Dorothea Krawulsky's map of the reign of Shāhrukh can be taken as a useful indication of the extent of his dominions and his main military campaigns. These are depicted in a very

⁷ The British War Office maps (esp. NJ-40, 41 and NI-41) and USA Operational Navigation Charts (ONC G-6) at 1:1,000,000 are generally very valuable for topography but short on place names, especially the latter; for these, I have searched Mufakhkham-Pāyān 1950. See also the frequently illegible maps in the *Farhang-i jughrāfiyā-yi Irān* (Razmārā 1951). For the identification of some of the places in contemporary sources, see e.g. Krawulsky 1982-4; Aubin 1967; and the useful though somewhat inaccurate maps in Le Strange 1905, esp. map VIII.

schematic way, and she has not included his other itineraries, so that Mashhad, for instance, is not identified as a destination.⁸ For a general depiction of the territories discussed here, see Fig. 1.

Beatrice Manz's excellent study of the reign of Shāhrukh provides a wealth of detail concerning the personalities and issues involved in Timurid government and society during this period, but does not refer to the question of itinerancy at all. Her useful discussion of the periodisation of the reign is referred to below.⁹

WHY DID SHĀHRUKH TRAVEL?

Rulers move around for different reasons, of course, and many of Shāhrukh's journeys had more than one purpose; it is helpful to mention some of these at the outset, if we are to establish whether any nomadic preference or indeed nomadic tradition remained.

The most obvious motive for movement is warfare, and clearly Shāhrukh's three campaigns in western Iran in 817/1414,¹⁰ 818/1415-16,¹¹ and finally in 850/1446-7,¹² to assert his control over Fārs and Persian Iraq ('Irāq-i 'ajam), come under this heading. So do the three large-scale military campaigns against the Qaraqoyunlu in 823-4/1420-21,¹³ 832-4/1429-30,¹⁴ and 838-40/1434-6.¹⁵

These and other similar expeditions were as much political as military, being undertaken to establish the ruler's authority and the right to be acknowledged as Timur's heir throughout his territories, against either 'rebel' local rulers or rival family competitors for power, rather than to defend the empire against foreign invasion or indeed to extend it into new territories.

Such motives were equally as applicable to numerous shorter campaigns nearer home, particularly in eastern Khurasan, as to the major western expeditions. Thus, for example, Shāhrukh set off from Bādghīs on 19

⁸ Krawulsky 1989. I am grateful to David Durand-Guédy for drawing my attention to this map.

⁹ Manz 2007.

¹⁰ Hāfiz-i Abrū, 521-63; Samarqandī, 186-204; Faṣīḥ, 215-19.

¹¹ Hāfiz-i Abrū, 598-624; Samarqandī, 220-30; Faṣīḥ, 222-3.

¹² Samarqandī, 585-95.

¹³ Hāfiz-i Abrū, 714-98; Samarqandī, 275-320; Faṣīḥ, 240-50.

¹⁴ Samarqandī, 390-415; Faṣīḥ, 263-6.

¹⁵ Samarqandī, 447-62; Faṣīḥ, 278-81. For these three Azarbaijan campaigns, see briefly Roemer 1986, 102-3; Manz 2007, 34-5, 42-3, 45.

Muḥarram 810/26 June 1407 for Balkh, to confront Pīr ‘Alī Tāz, who had murdered Timur’s designated successor, Pīr Muḥammad son of Jahāngīr. Shāhrukh travelled via Andikhūd and arrived in Balkh on 23 Šafar/30 July, Pīr ‘Alī having fled. Shāhrukh ordered the restoration of the citadel at Balkh, transferred the governorship to Pīr Muḥammad’s son, Qaidu, and returned via Shibūrghān and Andikhūd to Herat, arriving on 23 Rabīʿ II/19 September.¹⁶ The expedition (of approximately 1,440 km/900 miles) therefore took a total of 85 days, though the time spent actually travelling cannot be recovered from the sources.¹⁷ A similar expedition was made to Sistān: in the late autumn of 811/1408, Shāhrukh left Herat and only returned to his capital 109 days later, having laid siege to Farāh and Lāsh and destroyed the irrigation works on the river Helmand (Hirmand) with disastrous consequences.¹⁸ Later the same year, it was the turn of Samarqand and Moghulistan; Shāhrukh left Bādghīs on 21 Dhu’l-Qa’da 811/7 April 1409 and passed via Balkh to Samarqand and on to the Khujand river (i.e. the Jaxartes or Syr Darya) before returning via Samarqand and Andikhūd. He regained Herat on 16 Shaʿbān 812/24 December 1409, altogether 262 days away from the capital; the journey from Samarqand to Herat took 45 days.¹⁹ Shāhrukh made other expeditions to Samarqand, via Balkh, in 814/1411 to deal with Shaykh Nūr al-Dīn and in 830/1427 to remove Ulugh Beg from his governorship, following his defeat by Baraq of the Golden Horde, but precise details of the journeys are lacking; the return journey from Samarqand to Herat in 830/1427 took 26 days.²⁰ Another local military expedition took place in 820/1417, Shāhrukh leaving Herat on 14 Rajab/27 August for Qandahar and returning on 2 Muḥarram 821/9 February 1418, an absence of 166 days, though nearly three months of this period were spent in winter quarters in Helmand (see below).²¹

At the same time, these often lengthy journeys usually incorporated many of the rituals that bolstered the prestige and enhanced the royal

¹⁶ Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, 187-93; Samarqandī, 73-5. Faṣīḥ (176) offers slightly different dates. See also Manz 1989, 132-3.

¹⁷ The route is not specified in detail; other journeys to Balkh in 811/1409, 814/1411 and 830/1427 are recorded with even fewer data on the route or the time taken, especially for the subsequent journeys to and from Samarqand, see below.

¹⁸ Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, 257-73; Samarqandī, 88-93; Faṣīḥ, 186-7 (also 182-3, under the previous year, 810 AH).

¹⁹ Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, 277-323; Samarqandī, 95-105; Faṣīḥ, 188-94 (omitting the return to Herat).

²⁰ Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, 416-35; Samarqandī, 146-52, 385-7; Faṣīḥ, 205-6, 261-2. For Shaykh Nūr al-Dīn, see Manz 2007, 26-8; for Baraq, *ibid.*, 42. See also below, n. 99.

²¹ Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, 667-71; Samarqandī, 247-54; Faṣīḥ, 229. See also Manz 2007, 33.

image of the king. In the course of these campaigns, Shāhrukh often went on hunting expeditions, which served more than one purpose—recreation (*‘ishrat*, enjoyment), military training, and especially acquiring food for the court (and the army).²² One example comes in the account of the campaign in 809/1406, near Samalqān (see below), and, in the spring of 810/1408, near Abīward, on his way back from the campaign into Māzandarān, Shāhrukh took 5,000-6,000 courtiers (*khāṣṣ-i dargāh*) on a hunt that extended along the route from Abīward to Sarakhs.²³ In spring 817/1414, on his first Fārs campaign, Shāhrukh organised a great encircling or ring hunt (*yirga* < Mong.: *jergä*) near Sāwa, involving the whole army, in which numerous onagers and gazelles were slaughtered.²⁴ Similarly, while at winter quarters in Qarābāgh on the first western campaign, he held a hunt in the plains of Āqtām on 1 Šafar 824/5 February 1421, which lasted several days.²⁵ In both 810/1408 and 817/1414, it is perhaps significant that the hunt followed military success, and could be seen as a celebration of Shāhrukh’s majesty and a reward for his troops.

Neither fighting nor hunting, of course, make Shāhrukh by definition a Turko-Mongol nomad; both activities were typical of rulers across Asia, Europe and Africa throughout the Middle Ages, and have nothing particularly to do with the rhythms of seasonal migration. As well as being an incidental and indeed necessary activity on a protracted campaign, hunting is mentioned as the primary reason for journeys in several instances, such as in the spring of 825/1422, in Zāwa-wa-Maḥwālāt, where Shāhrukh was joined by Baysonqur, who was himself returning from a hunting trip in the region of Tūs, Mashhad and Rādkān. Shāhrukh was back in Herat about ten days after setting out; and again later in the year, he was away for almost a month in October-November, hunting round Farāh.²⁶ The following year, in the autumn of 826/1423, Shāhrukh spent a week hunting in Fūshang (today: Zindajān) and Kūsūya (today: Kūhsān) in the Hari Rud

²² See Allsen 2006, esp. 186-208.

²³ Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, 206.

²⁴ Ibid., 528-9.

²⁵ Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, 753-4; Samarqandī (298-9 [no date]) reads Ajnām; Faṣīḥ (246) correctly follows Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū. I have not been able to identify this locality precisely; it is on the opposite bank of the Kur river from Shamakhi, and must therefore be the plain within the angle created by the confluence of the Kur and Aras rivers, around Baylaqān. Timur also held large *yirga* hunts there on several occasions. See Yazdī, 1001, 1118, 1233. Shāhrukh certainly took part in the last two expeditions. On *yirga*, see Doerfer 1963-75, 1: 291-4 (no. 161).

²⁶ Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, 809-10, 865; for Radkān, Aubin 1971, 118.

valley west of Herat (see Fig. 3);²⁷ similar short hunting trips are recorded in the spring of 827/1424 and 835/1432 in Sarakhs, and so on.²⁸

No more does another crucial motive for—or component of—Shāhrukh's journeys make him nomadic, namely performing pilgrimages (*ziyārat*) to the shrines of Muslim saints.²⁹ Apart from motives of personal piety, these visits also had the aim of bolstering Shāhrukh's image as a legitimate Muslim ruler, and probably the hope of gaining protection and success on campaign, or showed the need to give thanks for a triumph. Shāhrukh visited shrines *en route* as a matter of course, as in 809/1406 (see below). On his second expedition to Fārs in 818/1415, he visited the shrines of Aḥmad-i Jām at Turbat-i Jām, Abū Ishāq at Kāzarūn, and Shāh-i Shujā' in Sīrjān.³⁰ In Kāzarūn, he bestowed numerous favours on the inhabitants and upon leaving also visited the tomb of Sīdī Dāvūd, the disciple of Abū Ishāq; in Sīrjān, he acceded to the request of Shaykh Sayyid Shams al-Dīn from Kirman, to abandon his plan to reduce the citadel of Sīrjān and spare the inhabitants the effects of further destructive actions. On the first western campaign, in 823/1420, he stopped for *ziyārat* at Jām; at the shrine of Shaykh Sa'd al-Dīn al-Ḥammūya/Ḥammawayh (the Kubravi Sufi scholar, d. 1252 or 1253) in Baḥrābād; Shaykh Abu'l-Ḥasan (the outstanding spiritual master and ascetic, d. 1033) at Kharaqān (a little distance NNE of Bistām, see Fig. 2); Bāyazīd (the celebrated 'drunken' sufi, d. 874 or 877) at Bistām; and Ṣafī l-Dīn (ancestor of the Safavids, d. 1334) at Ardabīl;³¹ these pious visits must be seen in the context of Shāhrukh's hopes for a successful outcome of this major expedition, and as a way of ensuring local support. On the third and final expedition against the Qaraqoyunlu in 832/1429, he stopped in the same places and doubtless for the same purpose, making vows and distributing alms at Jām, praying for the assistance of the shaykhs

²⁷ Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, 872 (no places mentioned); Samarqandī, 356, see Table 4; Faṣīḥ (253) mentions only Baysonqur's later hunting trip to Farāh and Sīstān.

²⁸ Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, 875; Samarqandī, 357; Faṣīḥ, 254: after which, Shāhrukh went on to Bādghīs; Samarqandī, 420: after emptying the plain of game, he made a pilgrimage to the shrine of Abū Sa'īd at Mayhana. See also below for this repeating pattern of movement and activity.

²⁹ For the role of shrines in Central Asia, see McChesney 1996, 71–115; for Shāhrukh's injunctions against drinking wine and other measures taken to maintain his personal piety, see e.g. Manz 2007, 209, 211–12, 222.

³⁰ Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, 599, 613–15, 620–1; Samarqandī, 221, 225–7, 229; Faṣīḥ, 223. Shāhrukh also passed through Bistām, but a visit to the shrine of Bāyazīd is not specifically mentioned on this occasion. For Shaykh Abū Ishāq, see especially Aigle 1995.

³¹ Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, 715, 717, 718, 729. For a discussion of the Nishāpūr–Bistām section, the route of Juwayn, see Aubin 1971, 123–7, citing Samarqandī (see 275–6), and Faṣīḥ, 240.

of Nishāpūr, performing *ziyārat* at Baḥrābād,³² Bisṭām and Kharaqān and distributing gifts to the poor and needy, visiting the tomb of ‘Alā’ al-Dawla Simnānī (a moderate Sunni mystic, once in the service of the Ilkhan Arghūn, d. 1336) and several saints in Ṭabarak, the citadel of Rayy—and in fact, according to ‘Abd al-Razzāq Samarqandī,

Similarly, in every district that he came to, and knew or heard of the tomb of someone illustrious, he went there treading the path of supplication. Inevitably, by virtue of this intention and the beneficence of this firm faith, God Almighty sent out two troops of horses to greet him everywhere the victorious cortège went, as an assistance and for good fortune, and the Divine Favour placed alongside his desires every wish that passed through the luminous kingly mind.³³

In 830/1427, he performed the rites of *ziyārat* at the tombs of Qutham b. al-‘Abbās (the ‘Shāh-i Zinda’, i.e. ‘living king’) and Khwāja Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl Bukhārī in Samarqand³⁴—both politically neutral, in that neither was associated with any of the sufi groups active in the city.³⁵ Sometimes a shrine was the only recorded stop he made, as in 824/1421 on his return from Azarbaijan, when he happened to be in Baḥrābād exactly one year after passing through on his way west, and then visited Mashhad.³⁶ On his final campaign in 850/1446 to Iraq, it is specifically mentioned that Shāhrukh stopped nowhere except to perform *ziyārat* at the tombs of shaykhs and men of God.³⁷ In addition to saintly shrines, Shāhrukh also affirmed his dynastic credentials, paying his respects, for instance, at the tomb of Timur in Samarqand in the autumn of 814/1411.³⁸

In several cases, too, as with hunting, the desire to perform a *ziyārat* is the only motive mentioned for a journey, as in 814/1412, 821/1418 and 842/1438, in each case, to Mashhad and Ṭūs (see Fig. 3).³⁹ These visits do not imply, of course, that Shāhrukh was a Shi‘i, merely that he held the

³² Location at 36°43’N–57°17’E, between Nishāpūr and Jājarm.

³³ Samarqandī, 390-1. Almost his last action before his death in 1447 was to visit the shrines in Qal‘a Ṭabarak, *ibid.*, 595.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 386.

³⁵ Thanks to Jürgen Paul for the observation that, here as elsewhere, Shāhrukh was probably concerned to strike a balance in his visits, avoiding being seen to privilege any particular group.

³⁶ Ḥāfiz-i Abrū, 797-8; Samarqandī, 319; Faṣīḥ, 250; Aubin 1971, 123, n. 80.

³⁷ Samarqandī, 588.

³⁸ Ḥāfiz-i Abrū, 420; Samarqandī, 147 (rather understated); Faṣīḥ, 205. For the political meanings of Tīmūr’s tomb at the Gūr-i Amīr, see McChesney 2003, though not referring to this visit by Shāhrukh.

³⁹ Ḥāfiz-i Abrū, 450-1, 692-3; Samarqandī, 156-8, 261-2, 476-9; Faṣīḥ, 208, 234, 283-4.

non-sectarian veneration for the Prophet's family that was common throughout this period. Apart from the shrine of Imām Riḍā, which Shāhrukh visited at least nine times, those most frequently visited were the shrines of Aḥmad-i Jām (at least eight times) at Turbat-i Jām and Abū Saʿīd b. Abī'l-Khayr at Mayhana (at least six times).⁴⁰ Shāhrukh's particular attachment to this saint is reflected in the fact that one of his descendants, Khwāja Nizām al-Dīn Yaḥyā, son of Khwāja Mu'ayyad of Mayhana, accompanied Shāhrukh's first expedition west, but died on the way home, between Tabriz and Miyāna, in Sha'bān 824/August 1421.⁴¹ A visit to Mayhana (now Meana in Turkmenistan) was particularly often paired with Shāhrukh's journeys to Sarakhs, where he also visited the local shrines, as in the years following 826/1423 and down to 843/1440 (usually combined with hunting).⁴² The date 828AH recorded in an inscription on a domed building in the environs of Sarakhs is suggestive of Shāhrukh's prolonged interest and frequent presence in the town.⁴³

It is such trips that provide the strongest evidence for considering Shāhrukh as remaining first and foremost an itinerant ruler preferring a seasonal pattern of travel, for they occurred in the context of Shāhrukh's alternations between winter and summer pastures (*qishlāq, yaylāq*), which are a persistent feature of his journeys throughout the reign. Turbat-i Jām, like Ṣafī'l-Dīn's *khānaqāh* at Ardabīl, which was located on the way to winter pastures in Qarābāgh in Ilkhanid times, was conveniently *en route* to all destinations north and west, and was therefore visited as a matter of course when Shāhrukh set out on campaign,⁴⁴ but also as part of his seasonal movements. In view of their relevance to our topic, it is worth spending a little more time investigating the patterns of these journeys.

⁴⁰ For Mayhana, or Mihna, see Harrow 2005; Mamedov 2008. I am grateful to Bernard O'Kane for these references, and to Fīruza Abdullaeva for checking Mamedov with me: he makes no reference to Shāhrukh's interest in the shrine. See also Golombek and Wilber 1988, 1: 338; Manz 2007, 219–20 (Mayhana) and 224–8 (Jām).

⁴¹ Faṣīḥ, 248.

⁴² Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, 867; Samarqandī, 352–3, 492–3 (identifies the shrines); Faṣīḥ, 252, 287 (omits *ziyarat*).

⁴³ Rukn al-Dawla 1977, 77–8. This report dates from 1299/1882. The shrine was thought first to be that of Faḍl b. Sahl, vizier of the Caliph al-Māmūn, but then to belong to “one of the Turkish amirs”. Rukn al-Dawla's travelogue includes a journey from Sarakhs to Jām—a route seemingly never followed by Shāhrukh—that took eight days travelling and three spent around Zūrābād; *ibid.*, 85–99.

⁴⁴ This is clearly brought out on the map prepared by Krawulsky 1989.

THE ALTERNATION OF 'WINTER' AND 'SUMMER' PASTURES

Our sources generally mention where Shāhrukh had his winter or summer quarters as a matter of course, and the intention to move to these pastures is frequently stated in the headings in our texts as well as at the outset of the journeys, even though there were also other motives for travelling, as noted earlier.⁴⁵ The lack of detailed information makes it difficult to know how long he actually spent in the camps and how long travelling between them; at best we usually know only when he left the city and when he returned, or departed for another destination (see Tables 1 and 2). Table 1 attempts to distinguish specific references to Shāhrukh's summer and winter quarters from general indications of his whereabouts in these seasons. One unavoidable issue, however, arises in defining the 'summer' and 'winter' seasons, and how to handle the transitions between them. The terms used are *yaylāq* and *qishlāq*, traditionally equated with summer and winter pastures; however, as noted elsewhere but not adequately discussed, the dates associated with movements to these pastures are in fact extremely variable.⁴⁶ Sometimes the ruler is said to have gone to 'winter quarters' in the spring, or to have visited *yaylāq* or *qishlāq* in the 'wrong' season—a point that is more fully discussed below (see also Table 2).⁴⁷ Table 1 thus provides only a rather crude breakdown of Shāhrukh's whereabouts around the mid-summer and winter months, the default position being that he was in and around Herat when there is no specific indication to the contrary. More importantly, it does not give a very representative picture of how much he was travelling throughout the seasons and how much time he spent away from the capital.

⁴⁵ E.g. Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, 275, 491, 709, 749. One exception is the year 822/1419, which is the subject of a very short annal, in which only the wedding of Muḥammad Jūkī (son of Shāhrukh) in the Bāgh-i Zāghān is mentioned, and after which, in late Shawwāl/mid-November, Shāhrukh wished to go to Bādghīs for the summer (*sic*). See Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, 703; Samarqandī, 268. Faṣīḥ (236) provides some precise dates. It seems from our sources that he spent the following winter hunting around Marw, before returning to Herat on 1 Ṣafar 823/16 February 1420 via a few days in Bādghīs. See also Khwāndamīr, trans. 334. He presumably spent the summer of 1420 in Herat, preparing for the expedition west that followed, which did not set off until 15 Sha'bān/25 August. See Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, 709, 714; Samarqandī, 271-2, 275; Faṣīḥ, 240.

⁴⁶ See Melville 1990, 59, and Masson Smith 1999, 42-4 regarding Mongol Anatolia; he concludes that the rulers perhaps had more variable schedules than the *ordu* as a whole, but it is difficult to decouple their reported movements.

⁴⁷ The same problem is noted by Durand-Guédy (2011, 216), though the terms *yaylāq* and *qishlāq* are not used in Saljuq sources and the problem is caused by the variable duration of the winter; I am grateful to the author for an advance copy of this excellent paper.

Table 1. A summary of Shāhrukh's whereabouts in the summer and winter seasons throughout the reign

Year AD	Spends 'summer'	Spends 'winter'	Notes
1405	travelling Khurasan	Herat	
1406	<i>Bādghīs</i> —travelling Khurasan, Māzandarān	Herat	See Table 3
1407	campaigning Khurasan— <i>Bādghīs</i>	<i>Gunbad-i Qābūs</i>	See Table 2
1408	Herat	campaigning Sistān	
1409	<i>Bādghīs</i> —Transoxania	Herat	
1410	campaigning Transoxania	Herat	
1411	<i>Bādghīs</i>	<i>Herat</i>	See Table 2
1412	Herat	Herat	
1413	Herat	<i>Mazandaran</i>	
1414	campaigning 'Irāq-i 'ajam and Fārs	Herat— <i>Sarakhs</i>	
1415	<i>Bādghīs</i> —Herat	campaigning 'Irāq-i 'ajam and Fārs	See Table 2
1416	Herat	Herat	
1417	Herat	<i>Helmand</i>	
1418	Herat	<i>Farāh</i>	
1419	Herat— <i>Bādghīs</i>	<i>Marw</i>	See n. 45
1420	<i>Bādghīs</i> —Herat	<i>Qarābāgh</i>	
1421	<i>Alātāgh</i>	Herat	
1422	Herat	<i>Herat (Bāgh-i Zāghān)</i>	
1423	<i>Bādghīs</i>	<i>Herat</i>	See Table 4
1424	<i>Bādghīs</i>	Herat	See Table 2
1425	Sarakhs—Herat	<i>Herat</i>	
1426	<i>Bādghīs</i>	Herat	See Table 2
1427	Samarqand	Herat	
1428	Herat?	Herat?	
1429	campaigning in west	<i>Qarābāgh</i>	
1430	campaigning in west	Herat?	
1431	Herat?	Herat— <i>Sarakhs</i>	
1432	Herat	Herat	Cf. Table 2
1433	Herat	Herat	
1434	Herat	<i>Rayy</i>	
1435	campaigning in west	<i>Qarābāgh</i>	
1436	campaigning in west	Herat	
1437	Herat?	Herat?	
1438	Herat?	Herat?	See Table 5
1439	Herat?	<i>Herat (Bāgh-i Naw)—Sarakhs</i>	
1440	Herat	Herat?	See Table 2
1441	Herat?	Herat?	
1442	travelling Khurasan	Herat?	
1443	Herat?	<i>Herat</i>	
1444	Herat?	Herat?	
1445	Herat?	Herat?	
1446	campaigning in west	<i>Pīshāwarī, Rayy</i>	

Note: The dates are expressed by the sequence of solar seasons and years, to avoid the confusion caused by the *hijrī* lunar sequences. 'Winter 1405' refers to the winter of 1405-6, and so on. The toponyms in italics are indicated in the sources explicitly as *yaylāq* or *qishlāq*.

When in Khurasan, he established his *yaylāq* in the famous pastures of Bādghīs, north of the city.⁴⁸ Bādghīs is a large area and it is not clear where exactly he went (as on other occasions); according to Ḥamd-Allāh Mustawfī, Bādghīs was 10 *farsakhs* (c. 65 km) from Herat.⁴⁹ In 808/1406, he headed for Bādghīs, at an unspecified date that must have been when the winter was almost over, as he was there in late February, and spent some time in the *yaylāq* of Būrāqān in May on his return to Herat from dealing with events in Transoxania;⁵⁰ similarly in 811/1409, he was there for about two weeks before setting off on campaign.⁵¹ From 811/1409 to 815/1411-12, he wintered in Herat (as on many other occasions and especially at the end of his reign), and again in 817/1414-15, following his return from the first campaign to Fārs and Persian Iraq. He arrived back in Herat on 22 Rajab 817/7 October 1414 and his next recorded move was to go to *qishlāq* in Sarakhs, but leaving (on 15 Dhu'l-Ḥijja 817/25 February 1415) only when "winter had come to an end". As well as hunting, Shāhrukh also visited shrines in Sarakhs and then paid a visit to the shrine of Abū Sa'īd b. Abī'l-Khayr at Mayhana.⁵² At the beginning of Muḥarram/mid-March 1415, he moved back to the *yaylāq* of Bādghīs for the spring, and stayed there till May 1415 (see Table 2).⁵³ A similar situation is found in Faṣīḥ Khwāfī's statement that in 826/1423 Shāhrukh went to *qishlāq* in Sarakhs (also in late February) before moving back to *yaylāq* in Bādghīs in late Rabī' II/mid-April (see also Table 4 and Fig. 3);⁵⁴ the same pattern was followed in 827/1424 and 829/1426 (travelling through heavy snow to Sarakhs), and possibly 828/1425,⁵⁵ although the details provided by Ḥāfiz-i Abrū become

⁴⁸ For Bādghīs, see Ḥāfiz-i Abrū in Krawulsky 1982-4, 1:31-2, 2: 73-4; Szuppe 1992, 35-6, 37; Adamec 1975, 33-42.

⁴⁹ Ḥamd-Allāh Mustawfī, 179, trans. 171: second stage on the route to Bālā Murghāb.

⁵⁰ Ḥāfiz-i Abrū, 97, 104; this location is not found in his geography (Krawulsky 1982), although Jawādī in his note to Ḥāfiz-i Abrū (Ḥāfiz-i Abrū, 104), states that it is found in the Malek Library manuscript of the text. His account of these moves is somewhat clarified by the streamlined narrative of Khwāndamīr, trans. 309.

⁵¹ Ḥāfiz-i Abrū, 277, 279; Samarqandī, 94-5.

⁵² Samarqandī, 210-11 (not mentioned by Ḥāfiz-i Abrū).

⁵³ Ḥāfiz-i Abrū, 575-8; Samarqandī (210-12) gives 2 Rabī' I/12 May for the date of Shāhrukh's return to Herat, whereas Ḥāfiz-i Abrū gives 20 Rabī' I/30 May. In the original text, the number was probably written as a numeral and later the dot dropped out.

⁵⁴ Faṣīḥ, 252; Ḥāfiz-i Abrū (867) and Samarqandī (353) both note his return to Sarakhs a fortnight earlier; both also mention that the trip to Sarakhs was made when the winter season had finished.

⁵⁵ Ḥāfiz-i Abrū, 875-6, 894, 897-8; Samarqandī, 357, 364 (gives date for departure to Sarakhs but not for return), 371-2 (gives date of return to Herat, not mentioned by Ḥāfiz-i Abrū). Faṣīḥ (254) mentions that he returned to court the day Shāhrukh left for Sarakhs in

increasingly sparse from this date;⁵⁶ indeed, the focus seems to switch more onto the movements of Shāhrukh's sons, Baysonqur and Ulugh Beg. When not troubled by military necessities, this pattern of alternation up and down the Hari Rud, between Sarakhs and Bādghīs—a distance of about 200 km/125 miles (depending on the route)—resembles the itineraries of the khans of the Golden Horde, between Old and New Sarai on the Volga.⁵⁷

From the above, it is evident that the use of the terms *qishlāq* and *yaylāq* are far from consistent with the meaning of 'winter' and 'summer' pastures usually attached to them,⁵⁸ suggesting the notion of destinations within a pattern of movement rather than a precise seasonal alternation. These locations can become toponyms independent of their formal connotations or the time of year they are visited. The length of seasons can of course vary and the transition from winter to summer may be rather short. In winter, there would at least normally be a ground cover of brush and shrub and very little, if any, snow in the region round Sarakhs.⁵⁹ It is noticeable from Table 2 that there is a certain regularity in Shāhrukh's departure for Sarakhs at the "end of winter" (the date span is from 19 January to 3 March), though the sources usually mention it as being when winter was over, or "with spring's arrival", the season when it would receive most of its rainfall. These were brief hunting trips and visits to Mayhana, followed by 'summer' quarters—but actually spring—in Bādghīs. These and examples mentioned above suggest that it was the end of winter that marked the onset of the travelling season, from which it follows that perhaps the 'new year' did not coincide with the spring equinox at Nawrūz (by which time Shāhrukh's journeys were actually complete), but was still thought to be connected to the start of the Chinese-Uighur year, in late January or early February, although I have found no reference to this being celebrated during the fifteenth century and the animal calendar ceases to be used by the historians.⁶⁰

That *yaylāq* should be connected with the spring, rather than summer, is confirmed by the traveller Jean Chardin, observing the custom of the Safavid rulers of the seventeenth century:

827; see also pp. 256, 259, for variations in the dates given elsewhere for the following two years.

⁵⁶ Khwāndamīr, trans. 339, merely mentions that (following the first expedition against the Qaraqoyunlu) Shāhrukh spent 826 and 827AH peacefully and prosperously in Khurasan.

⁵⁷ Melville 1990, 60, citing a paper by Roland Fletcher that remains unpublished.

⁵⁸ See Doerfer 1963-75, 3 : 479-82 for *qishlāq* and 4 : 252-3, for *yaylāq*.

⁵⁹ I am grateful to Jürgen Paul for this gloss on the situation.

⁶⁰ See Melville 1994, esp. 84, 93, for brief reflections on this, and further thoughts by Yoichi Isahaya (2008), who believes the year started at Nawrūz during the reign of Shāhrukh.

Table 2. Shāhrukh's *yaylāq*

Year	Yaylāq	Date out	Date back	Days away
809/1407	Bādghīs	15 Dhu'l-Hijja 23 May	19 Muḥarram 810 26 June	34
813/1411	Bādghīs	30 Dhu'l-Qa'da 25 March	20 Šafar 814 13 June	80
817/1415	Sarakhs— Bādghīs	15 Dhu'l-Hijja 25 February	20 Rabī' I, 818 30 May	94
826/1423	Sarakhs— Bādghīs	Beg. Pisces c. 20 February	c. 10 Jumādā I 21 April	60
827/1424	Sarakhs— Bādghīs	1 Rabī' II 3 March	1 Jumādā II 1 May	59
829/1426	Sarakhs— Bādghīs	2 Rabī' II 11 February	15 Rajab 23 May	101
835/1432	Sarakhs	mid Jumādā I 19 January	Beg. Sha'bān 3 April	74
843/1440	Sarakhs	16 Ramaḍān 20 February	25 Dhu'l-Qa'da 28 April	67

Note: Only those associated with dates are listed. 'Date out' refers to the date Shāhrukh set off (usually from Herat); the date of his arrival is seldom (if ever) mentioned. 'Date back' refers to the date he returned to the capital, or when he left the camps for another destination. As mentioned, Sarakhs is usually denoted in the texts as a 'winter' pasture (*qishlāq*).

The great men in this kingdom have the habit of going to spend the spring in the country, where they pass their time hunting, fishing, being outside, and exercising on foot and on horseback. They can experience the fresh cool air they like so much ... they call that yaylaq, that is, excursion in the countryside.⁶¹

Table 2 also shows that these trips saw Shāhrukh absent from the capital for significant periods. As noted above, Shāhrukh was away from Herat for 166 days over the winter of 820/1417-18 in Helmand, in the course of his campaign against Qandahar.⁶² He was in this area again the following winter, in Farāh, although his going there is not mentioned, only his return to Herat to greet his son, Ulugh Beg, in Dhu'l-Qa'da 821/December 1418. On his first western campaign against the Qaraqoyunlu, Shāhrukh spent the winter of 823/December 1420-March 1421 in the Qarābāgh region, and some of the summer in the *yaylāq* of Alātāgh, the term again used here as descrip-

⁶¹ Chardin 1811, 2:285-6 (my translation): "Les grands ont coutume en ce royaume, d'aller ainsi passer le printemps à la campagne. Ils y prennent les divertissements de la chasse, de la pêche, de la promenade, des exercices à pied et à cheval. Ils y goûtent l'air, et la fraîcheur qu'ils aiment tant ... Ils appellent cela *yelac*, c'est-à-dire course de campagne". It is also quoted in Doerfer 1963-75, 4: 253; I am grateful to David Durand-Guédy for this notice.

⁶² Hāfiz-i Abrū, 667-71; Samarqandī, 247, 252.

tive of the place, rather than indicating that Shāhrukh made his summer camp there, as he was constantly on the move.⁶³ Following this major expedition, Shāhrukh seems to have spent the winter of 824/1421-2 and 825/1422-3 in Herat, as well as the intervening summer of 1422, apart from a few short hunting expeditions.

SHĀHRUKH'S RESIDENCES IN HERAT

It should also be observed that, even when Shāhrukh is reported as being in Herat, or entering or leaving the city, it is almost invariably the Bāgh-i Zāghān that is mentioned, just as in Samarqand, he is in the meadow of Kān-i Gil, opposite the cemetery of the Shāh-i Zinda and the south-eastern slopes of the mound of Afrasiab,⁶⁴ as in 814/1411—a reminder that even when at his capital, Shāhrukh, like Timur and the Ilkhanid and Saljuq rulers before him, invariably resided in gardens and tents outside the city, rather than in urban palaces.⁶⁵ The Bāgh-i Zāghān was a large and fortified space, particularly associated with royal ceremonies and a symbol of royal power; its use continued into the early Safavid period.⁶⁶ Shāhrukh is said to have spent the whole winter of 825-6/1422-3 there,⁶⁷ and the severe winter of 843/1439-40 in the Bāgh-i Naw (Bāgh-i Safid), where he had built a new kiosk (*kūshk*) in 813/1411, and which is described in the spring season as “sweeter than the promise of the beloved”.⁶⁸ When visiting Mashhad, he stayed in the Chahār Bāgh, located a little to the east of the centre, which in 821/1418 he had ordered to be constructed together with a pavilion (*sarāy*) for himself and the inner entourage of courtiers (*khāṣṣa*) to reside, whenever he came to visit the shrine.⁶⁹ As discussed by Maria Subtelny, the garden played a crucial role in Persian culture and in the intersection

⁶³ Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, 729, 756, 773; Samarqandī, 296, 300; Faṣīḥ, 243, 246; for the pastures of Alātāgh, see Masson Smith 1999, 43, 47.

⁶⁴ For the location of Bāgh-i Zāghān, see Allen 1983, 18 and map 2, and Allen and Gaube 1988; for Kān-i Gil (sometimes vocalised, perhaps more correctly, Kān-i Gul), see Golombek and Wilber 1988, 2: maps 6-7; Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, 421, 435.

⁶⁵ For the Saljuqs, see Durand-Guédy 2010, esp. 93-101, and detailed analyses in Durand-Guédy 2011 and 2012. For the Mongol period, see also Haneda 1997, and for continuity into the Safavid period, Haneda 1990; Szuppe 1992, 42-8; Gronke 1992; and O’Kane 1993, esp. 254-5 (remarking that Shāhrukh’s “proclivities towards nomadism” are difficult to gauge).

⁶⁶ Szuppe 1993, esp. 278, 282-4, and references cited there.

⁶⁷ Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, 865.

⁶⁸ Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, 390-3, 865, 869, 897; Samarqandī, 135, 489; Faṣīḥ, 201; for the Bāgh-i Safid, see Allen 1983, map 2; Szuppe 1993, 277-8.

⁶⁹ Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, 693; Samarqandī, 261, 478; Faṣīḥ, 234.

between nomadic and sedentary lifestyles, and was also an important element in the concept of just kingship, as exemplified in promoting agriculture.⁷⁰

This not to say, of course, that Shāhrukh neglected the cities and particularly the capital, Herat, where he and his wife (and the members of court in emulation of them, such as the powerful figure of Fīrūzshāh, d. 1444), patronised many buildings, both practical and religious.⁷¹ He was quick to strengthen the walls and gates of Herat (807/1405) and later the citadel (818/1415).⁷² Otherwise, his *khānaqāh* and madrasa (completed in 813/1410),⁷³ and the *muṣallā* complex built by his wife Gawhar Shād (completed in or soon after 836/1432),⁷⁴ as well as the nearby shrine at Gāzurgāh (in 829-30/1425-7),⁷⁵ are the most notable. Further afield, Shāhrukh also took measures to rebuild the citadel in Balkh (810/1407),⁷⁶ and restore the city of Marw, destroyed during the Mongol invasions; he inspected progress on the work there in 812/1409.⁷⁷ In Mashhad, the development of the 'Alid shrine by Shāhrukh and especially the mosque of Gawhar Shād (completed around 821/1418) is one of the major achievements of their architectural patronage.⁷⁸ In 817/1414, following the re-establishment of control in Fārs and the installation of his son, Ibrāhīm Sulṭān, in Shiraz, Shāhrukh commissioned various works in Yazd on his way home, notably the completion of the construction of the Ḥāfiẓiyya madrasa, started by his rebellious cousin, Iskandar Sulṭān.⁷⁹ He was therefore alert to the duties of a Muslim ruler to undertake public works and the importance of urban renewal as

⁷⁰ Subtelny 2002, 103-6.

⁷¹ Allen 1983, esp. 17-21; O'Kane 1987; Golombek and Wilber 1988, esp. 1:301-12. See also the useful work by Brandenburg (1977), not mentioned by these later studies.

⁷² Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, 15-17, 578-83; Samarqandī, 12-13, 212-13; Faṣīḥ, 153, 220. Faṣīḥ (228) also records further work on the moat of the citadel in 844/1440, perhaps made necessary by the heavy rains of the previous winter.

⁷³ Samarqandī, 131-4.

⁷⁴ Samarqandī, 424; cf. Brandenburg 1977, 35-8; O'Kane 1987, 167-77; Golombek and Wilber 1988, 1:303.

⁷⁵ Samarqandī, 369, 387; Faṣīḥ, 260, 262. For Gāzurgāh, see Brandenburg 1977, 41-4; Golombek 1969, 82-4; O'Kane 1987, 149-52; Manz 2007, 216-17; Subtelny 2007, 201-5 (and 205-7 for Mashhad, see also below).

⁷⁶ Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, 191-2; Samarqandī, 75; Faṣīḥ, 176.

⁷⁷ Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, 337-40; Samarqandī, 115-16; Faṣīḥ, 196.

⁷⁸ Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, 693; Samarqandī, 261; Faṣīḥ, 234. For the Gawhar Shād mosque, see e.g. O'Kane 1987, 119-29; Golombek and Wilber 1988, 1:328-31.

⁷⁹ Aḥmad b. Ḥusayn, 148-9; *ibid.*, 95 says Shāhrukh was in Yazd in 819, perhaps a misreading. In fact, Shāhrukh only passed through Yazd in 817; in 818 he returned to Khurasan via Kirman. For the development of Yazd in this period, see Manz 2007, 168-70.

a marker of 'just rule', activities that sit alongside his visits to shrines in the course of his journeys.

It is nevertheless difficult to discern how Shāhrukh spent his time in the capital or its environs, and how he engaged with urban life. Despite the volume of information about the events of his reign, he himself remains a shadowy figure. His main activities while 'sedentary' were receiving and despatching ambassadors and feasting on important family (dynastic) occasions such as weddings and births, or mourning ceremonies. These occasions anyway usually took place in gardens, such as the feast for the circumcision of Baysonqur in Rabīʿ II 811/September 1408, held in the Bāgh-i Shahr (located just outside the city walls) in massive tents (*khargāh-hā-yi šad-sarī wa hashtād-sarī*) and many other impermanent structures (*pardasarāy, chahār-tāq, qubba*) lavishly described by Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū.⁸⁰ Similarly, Ulugh Beg's pregnant wife was brought to the Bāgh-i Zāghān in Herat to deliver a daughter in Jumādā I 815/August 1412, tents (*khayma, khargāh*) being erected for the festivities;⁸¹ the following year, the marriage of Muḥammad Jahāngīr was also celebrated in the Bāgh-i Zāghān, among tents and furnishings (*ta'biya*) that "were the envy of the painted (*muqarnas*) dome".⁸² The mourning ceremonies for Baysonqur in Jumādā I 837/December 1433-January 1434 took place in the Bāgh-i Safid, before the prince's burial in the madrasa of Gawhar Shād.⁸³

Although the sources tend to mention where Shāhrukh spent the two *īds*, in the same way that mediaeval European chroniclers routinely recorded where the king spent Christmas and Easter, it is clear that spending these feasts in the capital or another important city was not in itself a motive for travel in the way that it was, for instance, for the Ottonian kings in mediaeval Germany;⁸⁴ furthermore, the feasts of Christmas and Easter are anchored in the seasons, whereas the Muslim lunar calendar passes through all the solar seasons every 32 years. Thus Shāhrukh was in Herat for *īd al-aḍḥā* (feast of the sacrifice on 10 Dhu'l-Ḥijja) in 809/1407, in Murghāb in 812/1410 and in Mashhad in 815/1412. He celebrated *īd al-fiṭr* (at the end of Ramaḍān) in Herat in 811/1409 and 825/1423, Shiraz in

⁸⁰ Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, 238–55. For Bāgh-i Shahr, see Szuppe 1993, 279–82.

⁸¹ Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, 471.

⁸² Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, 489–90.

⁸³ Samarqandī, 434–5.

⁸⁴ For example, the *Royal Frankish Annals*, in Scholz 1972, 43ff. and *passim* (re. Pepin and Charlemagne); for the regular, planned celebration of Easter and Christmas under the Ottonians, see Bernhardt 2013.

818/1415,⁸⁵ Khūrāshāh (near Baḥrābād) in 823/1420,⁸⁶ Sulṭāniyya in 832/1429 and again in 833/1430, Herat in 840/1437 on his return from the third Azarbaijan expedition, and Pishāwarī near Rayy in 850/1446.⁸⁷

PERIODISATION OF THE REIGN

The periodisation of the reign proposed by Beatrice Manz in her study of Shāhrukh is largely confirmed by the pattern of the frequency and nature of his journeys.⁸⁸

The first period, up to around 824/1421, and the completion of the first Azarbaijan expedition, saw repeated journeys within a single year, including many military campaigns and shows of force. A representative example of is the year 809/1406-7 (see Table 3 and Fig. 2). In June 1406, he set off for Jām, where he visited the shrine, then via Khargird and Sangbast to Mashhad,⁸⁹ where he also made a pilgrimage. This part of the journey took 17 days.⁹⁰ He then left for Rādkān and Khabūshān (Qūchān), and spent an undefined period around Samalqān, where he held a great hunt.⁹¹ He next moved on to Shāsmān, by Gurgān (today: Gunbad-i Kāwūs) by the middle of September, that is, roughly 50 days after leaving Rādkān.⁹² After giving battle to the rebellious Pīr Pādshāh b. Luqmān at Siyāh Bilād on 10 October,

⁸⁵ Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, 163, 275, 340, 451, 608, 872.

⁸⁶ Faṣīḥ, 240, in the village of Tarfiy(a)tān; cf. Aubin 1971, 124; Krawulsky 1982-4, 1:106. Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū (718) has other variants. Samarqandī (276) says Shāhrukh celebrated the *ʿīd* in Baḥrābād.

⁸⁷ Samarqandī, 392, 409, 463 (in the *ʿīdgāh* of Herat), 590.

⁸⁸ Manz 2007, 24-48, partly on the basis of historiographical production, partly in terms of changes of personnel.

⁸⁹ Khargird is a village east of Farīmān, famous for its pasture, not to be confused with Khargird near Khwāf. Yāqūta or Yāqūt Ōlāng ('hyacinth' or 'ruby' meadow) may be connected with the low range west of Sangbast, marked on some maps as Kūh-i Qatār Ōlāng. Krawulsky (1989) has Shāhrukh leaving for Jām in Rabīʿ II and proceeding directly from there to Nishāpūr, which is incorrect.

⁹⁰ For the same journey in 842/1438, see Table 5.

⁹¹ For this region, see Aubin 1971, 113-15, 120-1. It is difficult to estimate the distances accurately here, given the mountainous terrain and uncertainty in the locations, especially reading distances off the map.

⁹² The same part of the journey was repeated the following autumn, 810/1407, with no dates given. For Shāsmān, see Rabino 1928, 90; Shāhrukh had previously joined his father Timur there, in early 795/November 1392, after suffering from an eye infection. See Yazdī, 695-6.

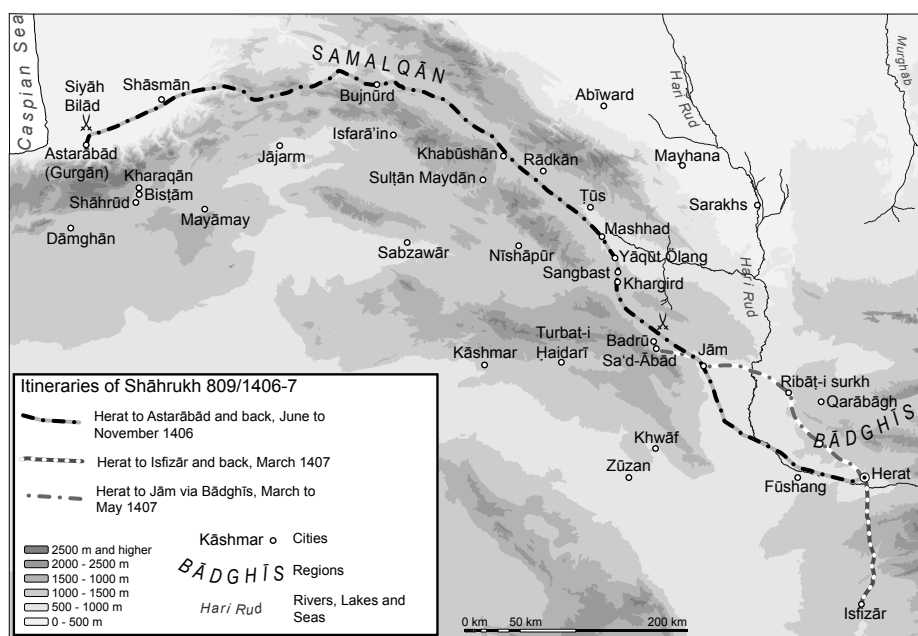


Fig. 2. Shāhrukh's itineraries in 809/1406-7.

Shāhrukh returned to Herat on 16 November, 37 days later.⁹³ The whole expedition took 151 days.

In March 1407, he marched south to Isfizar (today: Shindand), to confront another rebel, returning nine days later. At the end of the same month, he made a similar expedition towards Bādghīs and Jām to meet the challenge of his nephew, 'Umar b. Mīrānshāh, which kept him away from the capital for around 40 days. He went to Jām via Qizil Ribāt (presumably the same as modern Ribāt-i Surkh) in Bādghīs (see Fig. 2); Bardawayh and Amrūdak, which have not yet been fully identified, are in the Jām district.⁹⁴ The distance from Jām to Herat is given as 30 *farsakhs*/195 km; the messenger bringing news of Shāhrukh's victory took only one day to cover the distance.⁹⁵ Usually it took Shāhrukh six-nine days, as at the start of this

⁹³ Cf. Manz 2007, 138, for this campaign. I have not found the location of Kharās Khāna or Siyāh Bilād; the river Qarasu is sometimes called Siyāh-bālā, which might suggest the encounter was on the plain north of Astarābād. See Rabino 1928, 86. I assume Shāhrukh returned following the same route by which he came.

⁹⁴ Bardawayh (? Bardūya) might be associated with Bardū, northwest of Jām, at 35°27'N-60°7'E. See Adamec 1981, 68. Krawulsky (1989) marks this encounter south-west of Jām, and apparently in the course of Shāhrukh's return from Astarābād.

⁹⁵ Samarqandi, 65. The same distance, 30 *farsakhs*, is given by Ḥamd-Allāh Mustawfi, 178.

Table 3. Shāhrukh's itineraries in 809/1406-7

809 AH	AD 1406	Movement	Time (days)	Distance (km)
1 Muḥarram	18 June	Leaves Herat		
8 Muḥarram	25 June	Turbat-i Jām	7	195
		Khargird		
16 Muḥarram	3 July	Sangbast	8	130
		Yāqūta Öläng		
18 Muḥarram	5 July	Mashhad	2	35
		Rādkān		75
10 Šafar	27 July	Leaves for Māzandarān	22	
		Khabūshān		60
		Yalghūz Āgāch		
		Samalqān		c. 200
		Khawāja Qambar		
		Leaves for Astarābād		
1 Rabīʿ II	15 Sept.	Shāsmān	51	c. 155
		Kharās Khāna		
26 Rabīʿ I	10 Oct.	Siyāh Bilād	24	
		Astarābād		c. 85
		Shāsmān		c. 85
4 Jumādā II	16 Nov.	Herat	37	c. 850
809 AH	AD 1407			
22 Ramaḍān	2 March	Leaves Herat for Isfizār		
1 Shawwāl	11 March	returns to Herat	9	240
18 Shawwāl	28 March	Leaves for Bādghīs		
		Qizil Ribāt (Bādghīs)		115
		Jām		80
		Bardawayh (Bardāʿ)		50
		Amrūdak (Jām)		50
1 Dhu'l-Ḥijja	9 May	Herat	42	c. 195
15 Dhu'l-Ḥijja	23 May	to Bādghīs		c. 65
		in Bādghīs (to year end)	14	
Summary			216 days	c. 2665 km

year.⁹⁶ Towards the end of May, he headed back to Bādghīs for the summer (from where he set off at the beginning of 810/1407 for Balkh). This lunar year then, Shāhrukh spent over 200 days out of 354 away from his capital and travelled some 2665 km/1665 miles. His itineraries include military campaigns, pilgrimages, hunts and transfer to summer camp.

The second period, c. 825-40/1422-36, saw Shāhrukh making fewer journeys and chiefly in the immediate vicinity of the capital, apart from his two

⁹⁶ Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, 714-15 (823/1420); Faṣīḥ, 263 (832/1429), both times with the army.

Table 4. Shāhrukh's itineraries in 826/1423

826 AH	AD 1423	Movement	Time (days)	Distance (km)
Beg. <i>Hūt</i> (Pisces)	c. 20 Feb.	leaves Herat arrives in Sarakhs	after a few days	c. 320
		Mayhana and Khāwarān		80
mid. Rabi' II	28 March	returns to Sarakhs	36	80
End Rabi' II	11 April	to Bādghīs	14	
3 Jumādā I	14 April	in Qarābāgh-i Bādghīs	3	c. 200
c. 10 Jumādā I	21 April	to Bāgh-i Zāghān, Herat	7	c. 80
5 Shawwāl	11 Sept.	to Fūshang		40
		Kūsūya		60
11 Shawwāl	17 Sept.	back to Herat	6	c. 100
Summary			66 days	980 km

further expeditions to Azarbaijan to confront the power of the Qaraqoyunlu Türkmens. A typical year was 826/1423 (see Table 4 and Fig. 3), mentioned more than once above.⁹⁷ He left Herat in the spring for Sarakhs, arriving “a few days later”.⁹⁸ After making a pilgrimage to the shrine of Abū Saʿīd b. Abī'l-Khayr in Mayhana, he returned to Sarakhs (28 March), and then set off for *yaylāq* in Bādghīs, where he remained only briefly before following Baysonqur back to the Bāgh-i Zāghān towards the end of April, about 60 days after leaving. In September, on an inclination to ride out (*mayl-i suwāri farmūda*), he went hunting around Fūshang and Kūsūya for six days, before returning to spend the winter in Herat. Apparently this year, then, he was only about two months away from the city and travelled about 1,000 km/625 miles.

The annal is also interesting for the information it provides on the movements of Baysonqur (see below).

Apart from the two Azarbaijan expeditions, his most extensive trip in this period was probably in 830/1427, unfortunately recorded with very few details.⁹⁹ At the end of May, following the unsuccessful attempt to assassinate him in the Friday mosque in January, he left for Samarqand via Balkh, returning only in November—a total absence of 157 days. The relatively

⁹⁷ Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, 868-73; Samarqandī, 352-6; see also nn. 27, 42, 54.

⁹⁸ Faṣīḥ, 259; Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū (897) has *rūz-i chahārūm* (4th day), but this is too quick, whether 4 Rabi' II or after four days is meant; the variant reading rejected by the editor (n. 3) is clearly correct. The only other indication of a time for this journey concerns his visit in 829 AH, when he left Herat on 2 Rabi' II and arrived on the 14th (11-23 February 1426).

⁹⁹ Samarqandī, 385-7; Faṣīḥ, 262; see also above, n. 20.

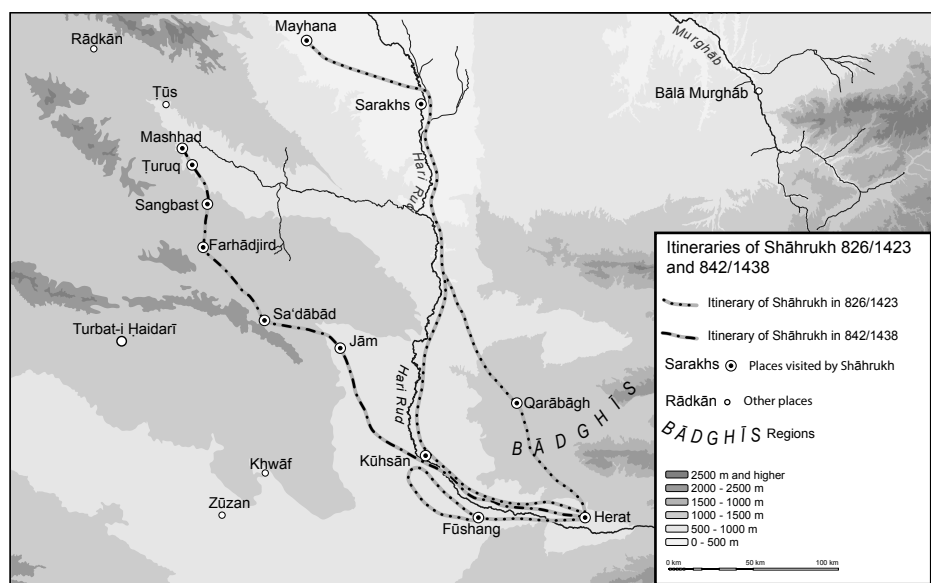


Fig. 3. Shāhrukh's itineraries in 826/1423 and 842/1438.

leisurely pace of his return journey (26 days) suggests several unspecified stops along the way; the distance from Herat to Samarqand is over 700 km as the crow flies and in practice, depending on the exact route taken, must be somewhat over 1,000 km, so Shāhrukh was covering about 40 km/25 miles per day, rather faster than has been estimated for Charlemagne, for instance.¹⁰⁰ By contrast, in 813/1410, going via Kīsh and Khazār (near Nasaf/Qarshī), he seems to have taken only about a week, the time in which Ulugh Beg normally did it.¹⁰¹ This implies breakneck speeds, presumably in a very small company, of around 145 km/90 miles per day, which must rather strain our confidence in the sources.

The final period, c. 841-51/1437-47, saw Shāhrukh almost static. Following his return from the third Azarbaijan campaign, he seems to have gone no

¹⁰⁰ McKitterick 2011, 148.

¹⁰¹ Ulugh Beg took 14 days in 817/1414, but seven days in 820/1417, five days in 821/1418-19, a week in 825/1422 and again in 828/1425, etc. See Hāfiz-i Abrū, 566, 665, 695, 812, 895. Various dates are given for the journey in 813/1410: Hāfiz-i Abrū (382) and Faṣīḥ (201) say he left Samarqand on 27 Rabīʿ I/30 July and arrived in Herat the following month; Samarqandī (129) says he left on 20 Rabīʿ I/23 July and arrived at the beginning of Rabīʿ II. The earlier authors are probably to be preferred.

further afield than Sarakhs or Mashhad, apart from a poorly-documented excursion to Ṭūs and Nishāpūr to confront a rebellion in 846/1442.¹⁰² A typical journey in this final decade of the reign (when he was in his sixties) was 842/1438 (see Table 5 and Fig. 3). In September 1438, he left Herat for a pilgrimage to Mashhad, visiting the shrine of Aḥmad-i Jām on the way and enjoying a *jerga* hunt around Saʿdābād and Farhād(jird).¹⁰³ After performing the pilgrimage, he left Mashhad on the third day to return home, along the same route, the only stops recorded being at Sangbast and another visit to the shrine in Jām. Altogether, the journey took him 28 days,¹⁰⁴ of which presumably about 23 were spent travelling, relatively comfortably: an average of 31 km/19.5 miles a day. A similar visit had occurred in 821/1418, when the journey to Mashhad took only 11 days, and Shāhrukh was back in Herat 18 days later, having performed *ziyārat* in Mashhad and also in Ṭūs: the whole trip lasting 29 days.¹⁰⁵

On the other hand, as can be seen from Table 3, the journey to Mashhad took 17 days in 809/1406. The variations in journey times over this and other routes are the best indication of the relative lack of data that has come down to us, and how little we know about the size of Shāhrukh's entourage (which might be a determining factor for his speed of travel), the time he spent actually travelling and the time spent at rest, on hunting diversions or performing his pilgrimages. In 814-15/1412, the round trip from Herat to Mashhad took 60 days (returning via Bādghīs).¹⁰⁶

¹⁰² Samarqandī, 517-18.

¹⁰³ Saʿdābād is not mentioned in Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū's geography, and there is more than one place of this name in the gazetteers, including one in the north, more or less equidistant from Farhādjird and Sangbast, and one to the south, just west of Kārīz, on the main caravan route. Evidently, the Saʿdābād in question is Ḥamd-Allāh Mustawfī's (var. Saʿīdābād), 7 *farsakhs* (c. 45.5 km) south of Farhādjird (called Farhādān by Ḥamd-Allāh Mustawfī, 177, trans. 171). Mustawfī's itinerary to Būzjān (= Jām) is defective, as he overestimates the overall distance by around 66 km or 10 *farsakhs* and the distance from Farhādjird to Jām by about 25 km; nevertheless, the stages seem to be correct, as depicted also on G. Delisle's map (Delisle 1724). See Adamec 1981, 170 (Farhādjird), 579, 584 (Saʿdābād, Saʿīdābād). We therefore take Saʿdābād to be located near present-day Khayrābād (35°27'N-60°15'E).

¹⁰⁴ Samarqandī (479) has 14 Jumādā 1/2 November (a Sunday); Faṣīḥ (284-5) gives the date for Shāhrukh's return to Herat 10 days earlier, on a Thursday, a correct correspondence with the day of the week, so his account is followed here.

¹⁰⁵ Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, 692-4. The route Mashhad–Herat was travelled by Ferrier in 1845, calculating the journey as 56 *farsakhs*/364 km/227 miles; it took him 10 days; he does not mention Saʿdābād or Farhādjird. See Ferrier 1857, 134-43.

¹⁰⁶ Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, 456-7.

Table 5. Shāhrukh's itineraries in 842/1438

842 AH	AD 1438	Movement	Time (days)	Distance (km)
5 Rabī' II	25 September	leaves Herat		
		Turbat-i Jām		195
		Sa'dābād		c. 45
		Farhād(jird)		c. 60
		Mashhad		60
4 Jumādā I	23 October	Sangbast		35
		Turbat-i Jām		130
		returns to Herat	28	195
Summary			28 days	720 km

THE REIGN IN PERSPECTIVE

Shāhrukh died at Nawrūz in his seventieth year, on 13 March 1447, near Rayy, on his third and final expedition to assert his authority over western Iran.¹⁰⁷ The data assembled here concerning his movements over his 40-year reign, which are certainly incomplete and rely on several estimates, show first that Shāhrukh spent long periods away from his capital in Herat. In the so-called 'first period', 807-24 (18 years in the Muslim calendar), by a rough calculation, he was absent from Herat for 2,721 days, that is, the equivalent of 7.7 years, or an average of 151 days (41%) of the year. In the second period, 825-40 (16 years), he was away 1,758 days, equivalent to 4.9 years or 109 days (30%) of the year. In the final period, 841-50 (10 years), he was away only 298 days, or the equivalent of about one month (8%) of the year. Taken altogether, Shāhrukh may have been away from his capital 4,777 days, or 13.5 years, approximately an average of 108 days (30%) per (lunar) year. In terms of the consolidation of his rule, it is not surprising that the early years of intense movement and activity gave way to a calmer and more sedentary lifestyle towards the end, not to mention his advancing age and the onset of ill health (though this was not a problem that seemed to have affected his father, Timur).

All these figures are rather approximate and, for the reasons mentioned by Minoru Inaba,¹⁰⁸ certainly under-estimates. Many minor journeys and excursions to the territories and gardens surrounding the capital were

¹⁰⁷ This is the Old Style (Julian era) date. For the date of Nawrūz in the Mongol period, see e.g. Melville 1994, 93, and the table in Grumel 1958, 315.

¹⁰⁸ In this volume. See also the problems expounded by Durand-Guédy 2011, 216-21, which are equally relevant to our material.

probably ignored by the chroniclers, especially in the final period of his reign; the distances likewise are surely gross under-calculations, for the routes and detours taken are usually not known. We may note that, compared with Shah ‘Abbās, Shāhrukh spent considerably more time in Herat than the Safavid ruler stayed in any of his capitals as his reign unfolded: only in the first period of their reigns, when both rulers were establishing themselves against internal and external opponents, are the figures at all comparable, ‘Abbās spending an average of only 161 days in Qazvin to Shāhrukh’s 203 days in Herat.¹⁰⁹ This might at first seem paradoxical, in view of the fact that Shāhrukh was presiding over an appanage state—implying strong centrifugal tendencies that might have been reflected in his own restlessness, whereas Shah ‘Abbās was the architect of a centralised Safavid empire and might have been expected to remain in his capital; but Shāhrukh’s priority could perhaps be seen as securing and preserving his own appanage (relatively restricted to Khurasan) by maintaining a strong presence there, whereas ‘Abbās travelled ceaselessly to impose himself throughout the whole realm that he saw as his inheritance.

Much of the high proportion of absences can indeed be explained by Shāhrukh’s lengthy campaigns in western Iran and eastern Anatolia, which sometimes kept him away from Herat for two years, but this is clearly not the whole story. It is evident that he was only in his capital for part of the reign, and this raises other questions—not only whether absence implies nomadism, which is not necessarily the case, but also concerning the implications for the nature of his rule and the extent to which Herat actually functioned as a capital city rather than a seasonal residence. The alternative is that the ‘true’ capital moved round with the ruler, with the associated need for considerable coordination in order for envoys to find him and the bureaucracy to direct affairs away from a fixed centre. In other words, was Shāhrukh an itinerant ruler at the head of a government that depended on an institutional system of movements to administer justice and provide access to the monarch? Was this a case of an itinerant king or an itinerant court?¹¹⁰

Rosamond McKitterick’s question, quoted at the outset of this paper, is framed in terms that clearly apply closely to Shāhrukh. I have not so far found much evidence for the paraphernalia of government moving around with the monarch, although there are occasional hints that the viziers (i.e. a secretariat) accompanied Shāhrukh, as in the account of the hunt in

¹⁰⁹ See Melville 1993, 221 (Table 5).

¹¹⁰ See McKitterick 2008, 171–8.

809/1406.¹¹¹ The opposite was the case in 843/1440, when Shāhrukh left for Sarakhs, delegating the government of Herat to amir ‘Alikā Kukeltash and leaving some members of the bureaucracy (*dīwāniyān*) with him.¹¹²

Further research is needed on this point, but in as much as prince Baysonqur was given delegated authority by Shāhrukh early in the reign—being sent back from Astarābād in the spring of 817/1414 to “govern the whole of Khurasan and the east”,¹¹³ while Shāhrukh pursued his campaign to Fārs—and subsequently seems to have presided over many of Shāhrukh’s absences, it may be the case that Herat could continue to function as the administrative capital of the empire while the ruler was away.¹¹⁴ Two years later, in 819/1416, Baysonqur was appointed to the amirate of the central divan, evidently in a leading role.¹¹⁵ Herat and the surrounding gardens were sufficiently developed as a prestigious capital city, and Shāhrukh spent sufficient time there, for it to be the focal point of embassies received from all over his domains and from distant kingdoms such as Ming China, Mamluk Egypt and the Delhi Sultanate of India, as well the dynastic gatherings already alluded to. As already noted, the gardens around the city provided the preferred environment for living, but even the pastures of Bādghīs, the favoured destination for his seasonal movements, were close enough to Herat for Shāhrukh’s prolonged absences there scarcely to constitute a serious departure from the orbit of the capital. His attention to urban development, particularly in the spaces constructed for religious practices, and the cultural patronage most notable in Baysonqur’s famous *kitābkhāna*,¹¹⁶ are significant indications of the acculturation of the Timurid regime to Perso-Islamic literary and artistic traditions.

Baysonqur himself, however, also participated in many of Shāhrukh’s campaigns, including the first two expeditions against the Qaraqoyunlu; both he and his brother, Ulugh Beg, based in Timur’s capital at Samarqand, were frequently on the move and often coincided, for instance, on joint hunting expeditions as well as at family gatherings. Ulugh Beg, as noted

¹¹¹ Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, 123; Samarqandī, 54.

¹¹² Samarqandī, 492. This implies, of course, that he took others himself.

¹¹³ Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, 512; Samarqandī, 173.

¹¹⁴ Manz, in her fine study of Shāhrukh’s reign and bureaucracy (2007) seems to confirm (*ex silentio*, pp. 79–110) that the administration of the realm was centralised in Herat, where Shāhrukh left various officials in charge in the course of his reign.

¹¹⁵ Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, 628; Samarqandī, 231–2; Faṣīḥ, 226. See also Roemer 1990; 6–7, Manz 2007, 40.

¹¹⁶ Samarqandī, 431–2; Roemer 1990, 7; and e.g. Robinson 1991, 3–11 for the work of this atelier.

above, made frequent visits to Herat and is usually credited with remaining closer to his Turko-Mongol roots, in contrast with the more Islamicised regime of his father, though Beatrice Manz observes that he barely left Transoxania (a large enough playground, nonetheless). His rather undistinguished military career kept him from making extensive expeditions from the capital, which in any case offered scope for his intellectual interests.¹¹⁷ As for Baysonqur, the sources provide rich evidence of his movements, some characteristic examples of which must suffice here. In late 817/the spring of 1415, soon after Shāhrukh's departure for Sarakhs, Baysonqur too left Herat for Abīward, hunting but also attending to his new administrative duties, before joining the royal camp (*ordu*) in Bādghīs.¹¹⁸ In the spring of 825/1422, he went on a hunting trip to Tūs, Mashhad and Rādkān, and again the following year, joining Shāhrukh in Bādghīs for a few days before they returned separately to Herat; a similar pattern was followed in 827/1424, 828/1425 and 829/1426 (in addition to hunting trips in Sīstān), and in 835/1431 he spent the winter dealing with the affairs of his governorship in Māzandarān, returning to Herat in April 1432.¹¹⁹ These movements therefore occurred throughout the 'second period' of the reign, when the regime was most secure and functioning most effectively, indeed up until the time of Baysonqur's death in 837/1433. Thereafter, it was his son and successor as head of the *dīwān-i a'lā*, Mīrzā 'Alā' al-Dawla, who was sent off to his *qishlāq* in Astarābād, as in 842/1438.¹²⁰

These examples suggest that Timurid family rule throughout Iran and Transoxania retained some characteristics of nomadic behaviour but did not constitute true itinerant government. The princes of the dynasty were sufficiently confident of their control over the urban populations to feel able to spend a significant portion of their time away from their capital cities, pursuing a nomadising lifestyle in the open spaces of greater Khurasan, which also, importantly, kept them in touch with the Turko-Mongol forces who constituted the backbone of their military power. The precise nature of these contacts remains at present vague and must be the topic of a separate investigation, for we do not know the size of the entou-

¹¹⁷ Manz 2007, 247.

¹¹⁸ Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, 576-7; cf. Samarqandī, 211.

¹¹⁹ Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, 809, 868-9, 875-6, 894, 897-8; Faṣīḥ, 250, 252, 254, 256, 259, 270; Samarqandī, 418-21 (835 AH).

¹²⁰ Samarqandī, 476-7. Although he and Muḥammad Jūkī, as well as the amir 'Alīkā Kukeltash, initially remained in Herat on Shāhrukh's departure for Mashhad, two weeks later they too were setting off in different directions. 'Alā' al-Dawla's later movements, as well as those of Muḥammad Jūkī, are also noted by Faṣīḥ (293) and Samarqandī (534).

rage or forces that accompanied Shāhrukh, or which groups were inhabiting these areas (e.g. around Sarakhs, or Bādghīs) on a more permanent basis.¹²¹ Clavijo, passing through this area—and presumably close by Sarakhs, although he does not mention the place—in early August 1404, noted many Chaghatay encampments between the Tejend and Murghāb rivers. Interestingly, he records that they were being assembled also for the purpose of being taxed.¹²² The situation cannot have altered much in the half century that followed.

Climatically speaking, Sarakhs and Herat are within the same isotherm, so it is unlikely to be considerations of temperature alone that governed Shāhrukh's movements.¹²³ It is possible these trips represent the continuing importance of the pastoral economy to support the court, or more precisely the army, following pasture for the extensive herds of camels, horses and sheep that must have remained the key element in the wealth and maintenance of the nomadic commanders and their troops. There are occasionally specific allusions to the use of pastures for the military aim of fattening up the animals, especially horses, which had become emaciated and exhausted on campaign, or to prepare for a new expedition.¹²⁴ It is not clear, however, what herds were owned by Shāhrukh, or why he needed to be there himself. It seems likely, therefore, that Shāhrukh travelled through these districts not so much to avoid extremes of heat or cold, but rather for the pleasure of riding out and the change of environment from the city and its surrounding gardens to the open camping grounds, where he was also at some remove from the formal routines of state and government.

At the same time, the Timurids' itineraries were a part of the projection of their power across their territories. For Shāhrukh particularly, his journeys enhanced the creation of an image of a warrior king and royal hunter, as well as a pious monarch respecting the shrines and sanctuaries sacred to Islam, thereby establishing the legitimacy of his rule in the eyes of both the Turko-Mongol and Tajik components among his subjects.

¹²¹ Manz (2007, 116), notes that the governorship of Sarakhs and Marv was held by 'Alikā Kukeltash.

¹²² Clavijo 1928, 185-6. His route from Murghāb onwards to Samarqand, via Andikhūd and Shibūrhān, must be similar to the route usually taken by Shāhrukh, see *ibid.*, 193-217.

¹²³ Bādghīs is somewhat cooler. I am grateful to both David Durand-Guédy and Jürgen Paul for raising these issues, which cannot be resolved in my present state of knowledge.

¹²⁴ E.g. Ḥāfiz-i Abrū, 103-4; Samarqandī, 46—concerning Ulugh Beg's use of Bādghīs in 808/1406.

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CHAPTER NINE

A LANDSCAPE OF FORTRESSES: CENTRAL ANATOLIA IN ASTARĀBĀDĪ'S *BAZM WA RAZM*

Jürgen Paul

Local rule, lordship in a restricted area—at the grassroots level, so to speak—is one of the most important and most neglected subjects in the study of the medieval and early modern history of the Near and Middle East and of the Muslim world in general.¹ We have a fair number of works on dynastic rule at the imperial level, and some research has also been done regarding the regional level, mostly on minor dynasties, though less on the interaction between the imperial power and important regional actors. In many studies, the regional and local levels generally appear as having been entirely dependent on the imperial level; the sultan, or the imperial ruler, whatever his title, has the right to impose his will throughout his realm, and his power is scarcely restricted. This is not too far from past theories about ‘Oriental despotism’, even if few authors would subscribe to such theories explicitly.

The purpose of this essay is to show how it is possible to detect local power structures in a source that lends itself particularly well to such investigation. The source is written from a regional point of view; Sivas was not an imperial capital during the second half of the fourteenth century—the imperial powers were all located outside Central and Eastern Anatolia. The author did not intend to convey information about the power play between local lords and the man who was their overlord. It is the figure of the overlord, of course, who is placed firmly at the centre of the narrative, as well as in the foreground; other actors are no more than supporting characters. But since the whole book is set one step ‘lower’, at the regional rather than the imperial level, local power structures emerge from time to time.

¹ Research for this paper was conducted within the framework of the Cooperative Research Centre (*Sonderforschungsbereich*) 586, “Difference and Integration” (<http://www.nomadsed.de>). At the same time, it forms part of a larger research project on local power structures, which has been a central issue in my own work over recent years. Relevant publications include: Paul 2007-8; Paul 2010; Paul 2011a and Paul 2012.

One major point in my argument concerns the relationship between the overlord and his local 'vassals'. The source employs a terminology for this relationship that was developed during the earlier medieval period; it is already discernible in Abbasid historiography.² Two central concepts are 'service' (*khidma*) and 'benefit' (*ni'ma*): 'service' is what the vassal owes, 'benefit' is what the overlord bestows on him. A link involving service and benefit as mutual obligations is characteristic of the subordination of the local power-holder to his overlord. I think that these concepts are part of a technical terminology, and that one of the important tasks for future research is to discover what exactly is meant by 'service' and 'benefit', what these two concepts implied on a practical day-to-day basis, and how the link thus formulated evolved over time.

Here, I use 'lord' and 'vassal' and other terms such as 'lordship', which are familiar from European history.³ Since no systematic comparison between lordship in medieval Western Europe and countries of the Muslim world can be attempted here, two readings of these terms are intended. First, the words 'lord' and 'vassal' are simply used to render the Persian (Arabic) terms *walī al-ni'ma* or *makhdūm* for the lord and *khādīm* for the vassal, with no attempt to compare the two contexts. The question of whether fourteenth-century Anatolia and medieval Western Europe have anything in common is left open, if, indeed, such a question is meaningful. The second reading, however, would imply that a comparison might indeed be meaningful. This reading also implies the assumption that neither the reader nor the present author is unaware of medieval European history, or pretends to be. This chapter is thus meant to be read with the comparative perspective in the offing.

Local lordship is visible in the source under study in both the sedentary and the nomadic context. In both cases, this discussion will concentrate on just one of the attributes of local lordship—the fortress—deliberately excluding consideration of all other elements, such as genealogical rights to a lordly position, financial aspects, the use of external powers to gain positions of local importance, and so forth. Neither will an examination be made of the way in which local lords used resources and derived financial income from agriculture, livestock, trade (by taxation), military activities, hiring out military personnel, or anything else. In particular, the question of how a fortress was related economically and administratively to the surrounding countryside or town is not addressed. Rather, of all the things

² Mottahedeh 1981.

³ Bisson 2009.

required to build power on a local level, the fortress itself is all that will be considered. It must also be added that the discussion concerns just one source and, therefore, just one region and one rather short period of time, leaving little room for generalisations. As stated above, the political situation in which the source is set was characterised by the absence of imperial power in the region itself. How local power may have functioned under imperial rule is quite another question.⁴

Bazm wa razm, "Fighting and Carousing", or "Battle and Bottle" if we want to keep the phonetic wordplay of the title, is one of the most fascinating medieval books in Persian. It was written late in the fourteenth century and is devoted to the life, career and worldview of one of the more colourful figures in the Near Eastern politics of the time, Qāḍī Burhān al-Dīn Aḥmad of Kayseri (1345-98), who succeeded in taking over much of what was left of the Eretna principality (or regional state) in Central Anatolia and who ruled in Sivas from 1381 to 1398.⁵ The author, 'Azīz b. Ardashīr-i Astarābādī, was an exemplary man of letters, and so the text is highly stylised, full of literary devices, and not in all places what one would call a work of history.

The work has been approached in at least two ways. The first is as a source for the multifaceted events of the beylik period in Anatolian history, the century or so between the Mongols and the Ottomans. Turkish scholars have published widely on this period.⁶ As a general rule, they have been

⁴ The authority that local lords had the right to exercise over their constituencies is another difficult issue that cannot be addressed here. One of the major points in this context would be the question of whether local lords held any juridical rights over the people living in the shadow of the fortress. This question is not addressed in the source in any way, and the rural population itself simply does not appear in the text. In sum, a debate on social relationships, among the socially powerful elites as well as between these elites and the less powerful social strata, is clearly needed. Whether this debate evolves around the question of whether anything we might call 'feudalism' ever existed in the medieval Muslim world (North Africa, the Near and Middle East, Central Asia) remains to be seen. In the case of the Mongol world of the Great Central Asian steppe, this debate has now begun. See Sneath 2007.

⁵ Bosworth (1996) has been used throughout for regnal dates and additional details about the regional dynasties. The Eretnaogulları are presented on p. 234; the Qāḍī Burhān al-Dīn and his son are treated as a separate dynasty on p. 235.

⁶ There is a developed literature concerning the beylik period. The classic study is Uzunçarşılı (1969). A shorter version is Koca (2002). Monographs on Central Anatolia and the relevant dynasties include Göde (1994) and Yücel (1989). For Sivas and its north-eastern neighbours, see Shukurov (1994), with a good map showing the Black Sea coastal area and the Anatolian interior between Erzurum and Sivas, Rize and Samsun on p. 70. Shukurov gives a useful outline of the events in the region throughout the fourteenth century, but he is mostly interested in its relationship with Trabzon. Fortresses appear on every page, but

interested in retracing the events and battles of the time, and sometimes also the festivities hosted by Qāḍī Burhān al-Dīn, and his literary achievements. This is complicated, but I think that most of the ground has been covered, and there is no need to take a fresh look at events. Tedious reports of battles will therefore be omitted, as well, sadly, as more interesting accounts of what there was to eat and drink, and what entertainments there were by way of dancing boys and poetry recitations at court gatherings and feasts and in the *ordu* of Burhān al-Dīn and his vassals.

Most of the time, the political situation in Central and Eastern Anatolia in the beylik period is explained by fragmentation. The larger structures such as the Rūm Saljuq sultanate, and later the Ilkhanid polity in Anatolia and its successor, the Eretna emirate, had broken down in a process described as fission, the breaking away of ever smaller units in a bid for 'independence', which is taken as a kind of innate quality. 'Centrifugal tendencies' is sometimes used as a metaphor for fission processes, the splitting up of larger units into their components. It would be interesting to look at the power play at work in such an untidy situation the other way round—to look for the methods used to build up power and concentrate adequate instruments of social power and military might in one's own hands. At some points in the source, such a concentration process is visible.

The second way in which the work is used as a source has been demonstrated by Tilman Nagel in his *Timur der Eroberer*. Nagel says (in English translation):

We must not take 'Azīz b. Ardashīr's description of Qāḍī Burhān al-Dīn's life as a trustworthy rendering of the political history of Anatolia in the second half of the fourteenth century. To be sure, we learn a lot about that, but the real value of the book lies in the many clues it gives to the *Weltanschauung* of its author and his patrons in Sivas, and the way the sometimes complex political and military events are woven into that *Weltanschauung*.⁷

he does not analyse their social function. We also have an extensive translation of the source text. See Giesecke 1940. However, none of these works discusses concepts of statehood, lordship, local rule and so on, and the dynastic state is taken for granted, particularly in the Turkish research literature, but also in Shukurov. For some Turkish authors, it is far more important to know who was a Turk, a Mongol or a Kurd, than to analyse how the whole system worked. Giesecke is interesting in his naive but on the whole thought-provoking transfer of European medieval concepts taken from the view of German feudalism in vogue in the 1930s. For the preceding period, Cahen (1988) must be consulted. He likewise does not avoid terms such as 'lordship' and 'vassals', but he is one of the few authors who have tried to systematically find out whether 'European' concepts such as 'feudalism' make sense in a Near Eastern setting, as e.g. in his famous article on the *iqṭā'* (Cahen 1953).

⁷ Nagel 1993, 236 : "Azīz b. Ardashīrs Beschreibung des Lebens des Qāḍīs Burhān ad-Dīn darf man nicht als eine getreuliche Nachzeichnung der politischen Geschichte Anatoliens

This may be the way Nagel read the text, but it is not the reading of the present author, who first approached Astarābādī after having read Timurid historiography, looking for nomads.

One of the findings in the Cooperative Research Centre on the interaction between nomadic and sedentary people⁸ is that nomads are not at all easy to locate and identify in our sources, and so terminology becomes a central concern. In order to understand what the sources say about nomads, we have to find out what they call them. Moreover, one has to take the literary constructions seriously, and so one has to ask whether the sources use literary patterns in their depiction of nomadic ways. Another suspicion was and has remained whether nomads and the way we think they lived are perhaps an invention of nineteenth-century anthropology or, even worse, of Herodotus and his readers, including nineteenth-century anthropologists and historians.⁹

At any rate, the Herati school of Timurid historiography is very cautious about nomadism, tribal groups and related phenomena, so that without the two genealogical sources Shiro Ando worked with for his *Timuridische Emire*, we would not know much about the internal structure of the Timurid empire.¹⁰ Astarābādī is an altogether different reading experience: there are nomads everywhere! But that is not the point here and, although nomads are part of the picture, they will not be at the centre of the argument.

The real value of this text is the wealth of information it provides about governance, lordship, local, regional and imperial levels of power, and the resources accompanying each of these. It is therefore not only readers interested in nomads who are richly served in this book, but also students

in der zweiten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts verstehen. Gewiß erfährt man vielerlei hierüber, aber der eigentliche Wert dieses Werkes liegt in den vielen Hinweisen auf die Weltanschauung des Verfassers und seines Sivaser Mäzens und auf die Art der Einfügung des bisweilen verwickelten politischen und militärischen Geschehens in diese Weltanschauung". The work is not always quoted in studies on Timur; neither Roemer nor Manz mention it. See Roemer 1989; Manz 1989. The reason is probably that Anatolia is peripheral for the career of Timur.

⁸ See note 1.

⁹ Paul 2006; Holzwarth 2002.

¹⁰ Ando 1992. I do not yet know whether this may be indicative of a more important cultural difference between Western Iran and Khurasan. Such a difference comes clearly to the fore in pre-Mongol historiography. See Durand-Guédy 2010. Some research has been done on Persian historiography of Anatolia, but *Bazm wa razm* has not been taken into account. See Melville 2006 and 2008, Peacock 2004 and Darling 2004.

of power relations in general, in the sedentary as well as the nomadic sphere.

Our subject here is fortresses. This arises from the text itself: the landscape that stretches out before Astarābādī extends roughly from the Konya region in the west to Erzurum in the east, and from the Black Sea in the north to Syria (meaning Aleppo rather than Damascus) in the south, and it was a region densely packed with fortresses at that time.¹¹ Every town and city had its citadel, and in addition there were many, many castles, towers and fortified buildings in the countryside. The general impression is that rural castles and towers were placed strategically to control trade and migration routes or else to prevent potential enemies from moving around freely in the countryside. Some structures may also have served intelligence purposes. We do not learn much about 'oppressive lordship',¹² the ways lords related to the often rural hinterland, or the social structures that evolved between the castle and the peasant villages around it.

Here, one remark on the character of fortresses in *Bazm wa razm* seems in order. The text lumps together, in the terms *qal'a* and *hiṣār*, structures of very different kinds. (I have been unable to detect a difference between the meanings of the two terms.) First there are the citadels of larger towns and regional centres such as Amasya, Erzincan, Kayseri and Sivas, which typically were able to successfully withstand sieges quite frequently, much more often than they had to surrender. The citadels are not only the symbol but also the real basis of power in the city. Since at least in theory there could only be one lord in a given place, Astarābādī says that "two citadels cannot exist in one city".¹³ Lesser towns such as Tokat and Niksar also had

¹¹ Sevgen (1959) describes a number of mostly urban fortresses (citadels), including some that are of central importance in our source: Amasya, Kayseri, Kemah, Sivas and Tokat. The illustrations (despite being poor reproductions) generally show very impressive structures. Sevgen also gives short accounts of the ancient and medieval history of selected places. (Apparently, out of the planned series only the first volume has been published.) The standard books on Saljuq and Mongol Anatolia show mostly the remains of shrines, mosques and madrasas (that is, only structures with a close link to Islam as a religion); fortresses are practically absent. Andrew Peacock, in Ankara, has told me that Turkish archeologists had not conducted much research into such remains, either (personal communication).

¹² The term is Thomas Bisson's (2009, 65-6 note 3). 'Oppressive lordship' is a term used to refer to violent rule that does not take established law into account and acquires its fiscal wherewithal through 'innovative' taxation. Bisson marks off the period from ca. 975 until ca. 1150 as the period of 'lordship' in Latin Europe. Some of the processes Bisson describes in his book bear a fascinating resemblance to the function of castles as analysed in the present study, but comparison on such a basis seems not to lead anywhere.

¹³ Astarābādī, 189: *di qal'a dar yak shahr rasm nist*.

their citadels, which were also hard to take, but not as hard as the fortresses in the regional centres.

Citadels were part of the city landscape, but not always part of the city itself. Sometimes citadels were located on a cliff beside the city (Amasya), sometimes the citadel was part of the city fortifications and the walls of the citadel are also the walls of the city (Sivas), and sometimes the citadel was located within the city (Kayseri). A citadel was not only a fortification, but could also house a considerable number of people. Regional rulers therefore generally resided in the citadel if they were present in the city at all, so the citadel was quite literally the locus and the basis of power in a given town. The character of city fortifications (as in Kayseri with an 'outer' and an 'inner' fortification, or as in Amasya where the citadel was an independent building) could lead to complex military situations, as when an assailant was able to take the city, but not the citadel. This happened not infrequently, in Amasya as well as in Kayseri.

Rural fortresses also seem to have been of more than one kind. There are larger, stronger fortresses: Karahisar, Koyulhisar, and the fortress the emir of Erzincan, Muṭahhartan,¹⁴ was building on the road to Sivas. Some of these evolved into centres of more or less short-lived beyliks, but the size of the 'civilian' settlement associated with the fortress is not clear. These fortresses, too, were difficult to take, and siege machinery had to be used, not only ladders (made of hemp ropes rather than wood), but also mines and other equipment. Other fortresses were much easier to conquer, at least for professional soldiers, and they were typically taken in mopping-up actions after the main fortress or urban centre of the region had surrendered. Alternatively, they were the targets of military action when an army realised that it would be unable to take the major centre it had initially set out to conquer. At the lower end of the military scale, we find fortified caves, which may have been established on an ad hoc basis, using features in the landscape that lent themselves to military purposes, such

¹⁴ Muṭahhartan, perhaps a nephew of emir Eretna, took over at Erzincan in 1378 or 1379, and ruled the city and its emirate until 1403 or so; it is not entirely clear when he died or what became of Erzincan after his death. See Miroğlu 1995. On Muṭahhartan, see also Nagel (1993, 233-68) and Shukurov (1994, 32-41). Michele Bernardini (2005) has discussed the complex situation of Erzincan and its ruler between Timur and the Ottomans. It is difficult to understand why there is no entry on him in the *Encyclopedia of Islam*, but he is not to be found in the *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* either. Following Bernardini's argument, this would be a continuation of a certain *damnatio memoriae* to which a great number of Anatolian beyliks fell victim.

as caves or cliffs.¹⁵ These are typically related to gangs of robbers. But military architecture is beyond the scope of this discussion.

It is the political and social aspects that interest us here. Who were the castellans, and how did they get command of a castle? What can we surmise were the military, social and economic purposes in view when castles were being built? Was control over castles hereditary in any discernable way? How did the basic level of social power, namely the castle in the midst of its countryside, relate to more complex levels of lordship and the regional emirs, one of whom Burhān al-Dīn came to be, together with his rivals from Amasya, Tokat, Niksar, Erzincan, Konya and other places? And what was the concept of a castellan; was it a well-defined social role entailing rights as well as obligations?

At the same time, a new vision of the landscape will emerge. Besides a network of towns and the caravan roads linking them, and besides the network of (summer) pastures and the avenues of military advance by which they are connected,¹⁶ a third network becomes visible, a network of fortresses. Of course there is some overlap, but on the whole there is a separate way of organising power in space. It is the city citadel that is at the centre of this network, major rural fortresses take second place, and then there are minor fortresses, not often mentioned in our source, which form the periphery of power.

FORTRESSES AND CASTLES AS POWER BASES

No politically ambitious man could claim any degree of political weight if he did not control at least one fortress, and preferably several. Fortresses were seen as an essential base for local power. This is what emerges from the negotiations the hero of *Bazm wa razm*, the qadi, later vizier and eventually sultan, Burhān al-Dīn Aḥmad, had to conduct in the early stages of his career.¹⁷ He had made a deal with Qīlīj Arslan, one of the pretenders to the (more or less vacant) throne of Sivas.¹⁸ In return for his support, Burhān al-Dīn asked to be given Kayseri and the fortress of Kharsanūs (Kale

¹⁵ Astarābādī, 281, 427.

¹⁶ Aubin 1971.

¹⁷ Burhān al-Dīn took over as sultan in 1381 and reigned until 1398.

¹⁸ Qīlīj Arslan claimed descent from the Rūm Saljuqs. He ruled at Sivas for a short period in 1380-1 and had long before been in control of Karahisar and also Koyulhisar. See Shukurov 1994, 29-31.

Harsanos),¹⁹ and he expected Sivas to waive the right to intervene there. He was not granted this, however, for Kayseri was far too important for Qilij Arslan to relinquish. Then he asked for a smaller prize, a fortress called Hāwīk (Hafik), among others,²⁰ since apparently he had no firm power base, nowhere to put his followers and, eventually, his treasure. He argued:

You should give me this province and its people (*hasham*) so that my followers and warriors find what they need from it, and get their subsistence from its [fiscal?] proceedings. Even if I'll not be able to feed military retainers (who are otherwise unrelated to me) and even if I cannot free myself from the burden of having to feed them, it may be enough for family and friends who have family status so I could satisfy their needs.²¹

A fortress thus went together with a rural district, and one of the points of being in control of a fortress was that the lord of the fortress was thereby enabled to feed a certain number of retainers. The peasants (and also nomads) were thus part of the package. For a newcomer on the political scene, and Burhān al-Dīn did not have antecedents in this field, a crucial question was whether he would be in a position to support retainers, and so a castle and its hinterland were essential. Bidding for Kayseri was not realistic—and the author's literary devices certainly come into play here—but the more modest Hāwīk was not out of the question. It was not vacant, however, since one of the acting emir's favourites was in possession there. Later, when refused this more modest request, Burhān al-Dīn asked for Tokat, which at the time was not controlled by Sivas anyway, and so on. The final part of the story continues as follows:

Again, Burhān al-Dīn asked for Kharsanūs, a fortress Qilij Arslan had repeatedly sworn to give him. Qilij Arslan now promised that he would discuss the matter with the castellan at Kharsanūs. Then he reached an agreement with that castellan, treacherously instructing him: "However strongly I ask you to vacate Kharsanūs, do not accept".

This perfidy was what made Burhān al-Dīn decide to revolt.

¹⁹ Kharsanūs is located in the region of Niksar, just a short distance south-east of that town.

²⁰ Hāwīk is close to Sivas, on the road to Erzincan.

²¹ Astarābādī, 198: *wilāya wa hasham-i ān-rā bar man musallam dārid tā qaum wa qabā'il-i ma-rā az ān kafāfi hāšil shawad wa az maḥṣūlāt-i ān balgha-i ba-dast āyad. wa agar naukarān-i bigāna-rā ri'āyat na-tawānam kard wa az 'uhda-yi ma'ishat-i īshān birūn na-tawānam āmad aqārib wa ansāb-rā ki masābat-i 'iyāl dārand badān khushnūd gardānam.* This quotation is also interesting because it gives a clear reason why the 'vassal' needed the 'benefit': he had to feed his retainers.

The whole story is told in order to justify Burhān al-Dīn's final revolt against emir Qīlij Arslan, his master, whom he had supported for a long time; the reason is that Qīlij Arslan did not honour his part of the master-servant (lord and vassal) relationship, which required that a lord accommodate his servant, keep his promises, and reward loyal services, all of which Qīlij Arslan did not do. Burhān al-Dīn was therefore no longer under obligation to be loyal to him, but was justified in trying other means, among them murder, which was eventually the method he chose.

WHO WERE THE CASTELLANS, AND HOW DID THEY GAIN COMMAND OF A CASTLE?

Bazm wa razm normally shows castellans as military men who take or hold command of a castle on behalf of a regional ruler, as also appears from the story of Burhān al-Dīn's revolt discussed above. Assignments were thus the general rule. The castellans, as vassals, owed their lords loyalty and service, and in return they were given the castle, in many cases together with a surrounding region and command of a fighting force, which served as their personal retinue and also as a garrison. Other military personnel would also be under their command, in particular the nomadic fighting forces, which were called on more or less regularly. Castellans seem to have been entitled to take whatever they could as taxes from the local population, nomadic as well as sedentary. There are also reports showing that castellans could be removed from their position, usually because they had not shown the required degree of loyalty.

In a number of cases, a lord controlled more than one castle, and control or possession of castles was then not necessarily linked to assignments, appointments or other forms of delegation. No clear line between regional and local lords can therefore be drawn. There are several examples of castellans controlling more than one castle: for example, a certain Farīdūn (not improbably a Mongol emir) was in control of Kadūk (Gedük) in the region of Kayseri and later also of Develi.²² After a while, Develi became too narrow for his ambitions, and he planned a coup in Sivas. His women-folk and close retainers were against this, however, maintaining that Farīdūn did not have the military strength to try his luck at Sivas, and they

²² Astarābādi, 300 (Kadūk) and 440 (Develi). Develi is situated on the southern slopes of Mount Erciyas, south of Kayseri, and the fortress probably controlled migration routes to and from the upland summer pastures; the countryside around the fortress was also used as winter pasture. Gedük is on the road leading from Kayseri to Sivas, today Şarkışla.

also pointed out that Develi was a good place, with a rich rural hinterland that supplied sufficient food for the people in the fortress.²³ However, Develi did not apparently offer enough to feed as many retainers as were needed for larger military undertakings. After Farīdūn abandoned his ambitions, he therefore had to tell the surplus retainers that they could leave.²⁴ In order to muster support and attract people into his conspiracy, Farīdūn had made far-reaching promises about what he would do once he had made the transition to regional lordship: To a man who had found out about his plans, he promised large parts of the revenue from Kayseri.

I'll assign a large sum and sufficient wealth for you from the revenue extracted from the people of Kayseri on the basis of an allocation agreement (*muqāṭa'a*) [probably a kind of compact is implied] so that they deliver it year after year to your trustees. This tax revenue will be a continuous income for you and a fixed share (*iqṭā'ī*).²⁵

An ambitious local lord therefore could dream of founding his own regional beylik by attracting sufficient followers who, for the time being, would have to content themselves with promises and wait for the great day to arrive.

The second example, involving a man called Nabī, shows how central a concern fortresses were for a political or military career. While there is no clear information about Farīdūn, although he is often shown in a row of Mongol leaders, Nabī is presented as a Mongol emir who had some family connection (on a cognatic basis) with Sultan Eretna. Burhān al-Dīn had bought a fortress called Qarāḥiṣār-i Bahramshāh, which he gave to Nabī as a present;²⁶ Burhān al-Dīn also gave him another two fortresses as a special favour, together with their rural districts (*wilāya*) and control over some military manpower (*aḥshām*), very possibly nomadic followers.²⁷ When Nabī turned out to be a traitor, Burhān al-Dīn went to war against him and

²³ Astarābādī, 440-2.

²⁴ Astarābādī, 443.

²⁵ Astarābādī, 443: *man az ahālī-yi ān wilāya jihat-i tū ba rasm-i muqāṭa'a māli wāfir wa mablaghi wāfi mu'ayyan kunam tā sāl ba sāl ba-gumāshtagān-i tū mirisānand wa ān kharāj ba-nām-i tū rasmī mustamarr wa iqṭā'ī mustaqarr bāshad*. I have taken care not to translate *iqṭā'* as 'fief' here. It is clear enough that the person in question is not expected to reside in Kayseri or to take over any significant administrative functions. The whole promise is a bait to lure him into the conspiracy, and money is the only thing that counts. Therefore, the passage can hardly be seen as indicative of 'typical' forms of investiture.

²⁶ Astarābādī, 253. This fortress was located between Sivas and Kırşehir. See Yücel 1989, 86 note 157.

²⁷ Astarābādī, 261.

took Nabī's fortress, Aghcha *qal'a*, from him,²⁸ when Nabī tried to build another fortress in the vicinity of Amasya with the help of some Mongols.²⁹ Burhān al-Dīn's people laid siege to one of Nabī's fortresses (called *qal'a-yi Nabī*, perhaps between Amasya and Turhal) and took it after heavy fighting on the second day.³⁰ Then Nabī took to flight, possibly in order to join the Ottomans (*pisar-i Uthmān*), and Burhān al-Dīn feared that he might take refuge in Karahisar, a particularly strong place. But then Nabī died, and Burhān al-Dīn was able to take over there.³¹

These two local lords, Farīdūn and Nabī, are adduced here as examples of lords who retain or win relatively great freedom of action. They are, of course, not the only political players who tried to enlarge their power base in the complex criss-cross of local and regional actors, to accumulate power in a situation that must have seemed propitious to enterprising men and soldiers of fortune. Some emirs of this type do not seem to have been affiliated with any regional power in any meaningful sense. In a way, these emirs represent regional rule *in statu nascendi*, and the essential point to note is that their careers are based on particularly strong fortresses.³² The history of Anatolia in the post-Mongol and pre-Ottoman period shows that some of these careers were quite successful—and, by the same token, it is not surprising that many more aspirants failed. It is the 'breaking away' of such ambitious men that accounts for the splitting up of larger structures. In a way, the fourteenth century in Central and Eastern Anatolia was a propitious time and place for self-made lords.

The relationship between lords and vassals, regional rulers and castellans, is cast in a vocabulary of service owed by the vassals and benefit granted in return, and rights they earn in the process. It is this bond of service and benefit that permeates *Bazm wa razm* in many of the stories it narrates. In some cases, the contract is concluded more or less officially (an example of this will be discussed below), while in others it is concluded *de facto*, and in many more it never attains the stability that was theoretically meant to characterise the relationship. Expediency seems to have

²⁸ Astarābādī, 265. Aghcha *qal'a* was apparently situated in or next to Artūqābād, today Artukova, between Sivas and Tokat. See Yücel 1989, 53 and 50 note 63.

²⁹ Astarābādī, 291.

³⁰ Astarābādī, 309.

³¹ Astarābādī, 318.

³² Another figure of this type is a man called Junayd, who controlled Kayseri and its region for a number of years (on Junayd and his rule at Kayseri, see Paul 2011b).

prevailed over the ideal rules of the game, even though they were well known to everybody.

As a general rule, it was the regional lord who assigned local power resources to local power holders, but he was not entirely free to distribute castles to whomsoever he saw fit. Furthermore, there were different ways of acquiring a fortress: as we have seen, they could also be bought. In the case discussed above the identity of the person who sold the fortress of Qarāḥiṣār-i Bahramshāh to Burhān al-Dīn is unknown; it is, however, interesting to note that a fortress, even a major one, could be bought and sold.³³ Moreover, a regional lord had to take the local situation into account. Even if hereditary claims were not made explicit very often, it is very clear that they were respected, perhaps not as a general rule, but frequently enough. Many of the players on the regional scene came from families whose roots in the region could be traced back for a number of generations. The epithets by which they are called in *Bazm wa razm* are indicative of a way of thinking in terms of families and 'houses'.³⁴ We have the *pisar-i Qarāmān* and the *pisar-i Uthmān* for the ruling head of the Karamanoğulları and Ottoman families, respectively, but also the *awlād-i Tāj al-Dīn* for a much less impressive regional 'dynasty'.³⁵ It is not by chance, therefore, that the beyliks in pre-Ottoman Anatolia are known by names formed in the same way, most frequently ending in *-oğulları*, 'sons of'. Most of these families went back to eponymous 'founding fathers' who lived in the earlier Mongol period, which gives them a not really impressive record of a century and a half at the time when the events under discussion here took place, the late fourteenth century. But many claimed genealogical links to the Rūm Saljuqs, and some also had matrimonial ties to some leading Byzantine families, among them the Komnenoi and the Paleologoi, which evidently enhanced their genealogical lustre. On the other hand, as is well known, many of the Anatolian beylik dynasties were very short-lived indeed, even in the context of the medieval Near East.

In a much less conspicuous way, hereditary thinking, or rather, patrimonial thinking (thinking in terms of *patrimoine*), seems to have played a role at the local level too. Perhaps a very careful scrutiny of *Bazm wa razm* and every other available source might yield more positive results. For the

³³ The selling and buying of fortresses and even towns (evidently, together with their region) was apparently not uncommon. A certain Akhi Ayna Beg bought the city (and region) of Erzincan some time before 1348. See Shukurov 1994, 32.

³⁴ Gillespie 2000.

³⁵ See note 42 below.

time being, though, one should be careful; no local landholding aristocracy³⁶ of castellans really emerges from *Bazm wa razm*, even if there are clues that some families regarded certain castles as their family seats. Other cases can be quoted to illustrate that the contrary could also pertain—newcomers and upstarts could try their luck, and one example is Burhān al-Dīn himself, who came from a family of ulama, even though he claimed both descent from a Turkic tribal group (from Khwarazm) and a link to the Saljuq house on his mother's side. The degree of 'social mobility' in Central and Eastern Anatolia in the post-Mongol period thus should not be underestimated.

As mentioned above, the service–benefit relationship could be concluded in a solemn ceremony, as the following example shows. This is the only such example in the source, however, and it is impossible to say whether a comparable ceremony regularly accompanied the establishment of a *khidma-ni'ma* relationship.

When the hero of the source, Qāḍī Burhān al-Dīn, took over at Sivas, he redistributed the main fortresses belonging to Sivas, such as Karahisar, Koyluhisar (Koyulhisar) and Akşehir.³⁷ He did not favour only his own retinue, but took care to offer positions to the old elite as well. Among them was emir Dhūnnūn, a brother of emir Kay-Khusraw, whom Burhān al-Dīn had killed with his own hands, as well as their uncle Qīlīj Arslan.³⁸ This Dhūnnūn was made to swear an oath of fealty in return for being restored to his former position. It is worthwhile to look at what the new sultan is reported to have said:

Today you are dear to us, and we rely on you, and there are bonds of kinship (*qarāba*, 'nearness') [it is not known whether there were any marriage ties] between you and us, and we rely completely on what you do and say. Now we bestow your father's position (*manṣab*) upon you, and we send you to your old place and the dwelling you inherit (*maskan-i ma'hūd*), and we confer the position of governor of that region upon you, and the duties that this position implies, controlling and ordering that region. And you are to tread the path of justice with commoners and nobles, and to govern according to what is fair and just, and you must consider that caring for the subjects

³⁶ Burhān al-Dīn himself apparently owned vast stretches of land in various provinces, among them Kayseri, Larende and Konya. The term for these holdings is *ḍiyā'* (Astarābādī, 97, 110), and the text even mentions that much of Kayseri province is Burhān al-Dīn's 'property' (*milki az amlāk*, Astarābādī, 110).

³⁷ All three are located to the north-east of Sivas and played a central role in Burhān al-Dīn's dealings with Muṭahhartan of Erzincan.

³⁸ Yücel 1989, 77. As noted above, this family had held Karahisar and probably also the other fortresses on a hereditary basis before Qīlīj Arslan made his bid for power in Sivas.

and the poor is your duty. And you must govern in such a manner that the region prospers and your efforts inspire gratitude and good-will. And after we have selected you out of the multitude and invested you with the position of emir and governor, you must know that you incur punishment in this world and in the hereafter for whatever deed you may do contrary to your promise and this bond, and for every unfortunate action that you may commit.³⁹

Dhūnnūn then put his hand on a copy of the Qur'an, and swore that henceforth he would follow the path of justice and remain an obedient and loyal servant of the new sultan:

He would not overstep what was ordered, and would make the sultan's orders and interdictions his *qibla* and the pride of his life in good and bad days, and he would never undertake anything that might lead him to forget the rights (*ḥuqūq*, i.e. the rights of his lord) and to rebel against the covenants (*'iṣyān-i 'uqūd*).⁴⁰

He thereupon received the fortresses of Koyulhisar and Akşehir, which his family had held before.

The stated obligations of the vassal consisted of general but undefined obedience. Military obligations can be assumed, but tribute and other obligations are much less clear. The following formula merits particular attention: "I will not undertake anything which could lead me to forget the rights [of the overlord] and to rebel against the covenants". The 'rights' (*ḥuqūq*) could be understood as a *pars pro toto* for all the obligations, ceremonies and so forth constituting what might be termed the lord-vassal relationship, which again is alluded to in the term 'covenants' (*'uqūd*). On the other hand, the new lord respects the hereditary rights the vassal has to the patrimony of his family. In general, this solemn ceremony and swearing of loyalty (a copy of the Qur'an enhances the sacred atmosphere) makes clear that something very serious was being enacted. The ceremony marked the induction into Burhān al-Dīn's following of a person who had earlier been hostile, and it also defined the position both would have in the new relationship: Burhān al-Dīn as the lord and Dhūnnūn as a vassal.

In another example, we can see a similar type of relationship between a military commander, in this case Burhān al-Dīn, and his followers. They

³⁹ Astarābādī, 232-3.

⁴⁰ Astarābādī, 233: *sar az khaṭṭ-i firman bar na-tabad wa awāmīr wa nawāhī-yi sulṭān-rā dar sarrā wa ḡarrā qibla wa quḏwa-yi rūzgār-i khūd sāzad wa bar kāri ki muḡdī bi-niṣyān-i ḥuqūq wa 'iṣyān-i 'uqūd* [printed text: *wa-'uqūd*] *bāshad iqdām nanumāyad*. It is of course not by chance that the source makes the lord and sultan speak in the first person, while it relates the oath of the vassal in the third.

were under his orders, but this does not mean that they had no rights. The positions the followers obtain at the end of the story to which we now turn are comparable to the one Dhūnnūn had kept. Some time after the events just narrated, when Burhān al-Dīn had beaten one of his rivals, emir Shād Geldi of Amasya, there was feasting after the victory, and during the feast, the emirs recounted their heroic deeds. Burhān al-Dīn bestowed favours on everyone. Going into detail, the author mentions some of the items that were distributed (*anwā'-i ihsān wa in'ām*). According to the merits of each, he gave them “fortresses and towns and military retinue and provinces and horses, garments and swords and girdles”.⁴¹ Fortresses thus were part of the booty the sultan could distribute after a victory. Moreover, they are mentioned first, even before towns and provinces. In fact, the four items that come first in this list could hardly be separated, for they went together: controlling a fortress meant controlling an area of countryside, and in this part of Anatolia this also often meant a town. In order to control a fortress and its surrounding countryside, one needed military supporters and followers, and vice versa: resources were needed to feed these followers.

Again, the relationship between the lord and his military men involved the lord's obligation to confer ‘favours’ or benefactions (*ihsān wa in'ām*) upon his followers. They have served him, in this case in a major battle, and it is their right (even if the term *ḥaqq* is not used here) to be rewarded accordingly. All the material spoils of the victory have to be given away to them. The lord therefore has to get a distribution process started, and his control over his retainers—some of whom now become local lords, the former power holders being clearly removed—depends on the sustainability of this process. Situations where no spoils are available and where, on the contrary, the military fortunes of the regional lord seem to wane, are discussed in later sections.

In this story, the close link between the castle and the surrounding area is once again evident, as was the case with Develi, previously mentioned. We see this link again in another example: Burhān al-Dīn once had to fight a group of people who are called the Tacettinoğulları, the “sons of Tāj al-Dīn”,⁴² who controlled Niksar and its region. Their neighbours to the east were called the “sons of Ḥājji Amīr Beg” (Hacıemiroğulları), and the

⁴¹ Astarābādī, 253: *har yak-rā qal'a wa shahr wa ḥasham wa wilāya wa asb wa jāma wa tāj wa kamar mī-dād*.

⁴² Bosworth 1996, 236 note 127. The Tacettinoğulları ruled around Niksar and Canik from the mid-fourteenth century until the definitive Ottoman annexation in 1428. The neighbouring Hacıemiroğulları are not discussed in Bosworth, but there is a passage about the events related in *Bazm wa razm* in Shukurov (1994); see pp. 41-3 for the Tacettinoğulları

succession was disputed in this small beylik. One of the candidates—in fact, the man whom the dying late emir had enthroned and to whom the commanders had sworn fealty—was one Sulaymān Beg. The Tāj al-Dīn group was now constantly intervening in the affairs of the Hājji Amīr Beg group, and Sulaymān Beg and his faction called in Burhān al-Dīn for help. There is no need to retell the rest of the story. The resolution of the conflict involved a fortress called Iskafsīr (İskefser⁴³), which Burhān al-Dīn took after a short siege. After that, he “gave the fortress together with all its provisions and treasures, with its villages and subject people, with all its appurtenances and belongings, to Sulaymān Beg as an *iqṭāʿ* and bestowed it upon him as a *soyurghal*”.⁴⁴ Here, the former local lord is not removed, but is rather integrated into the network of bonds of vassalage centred on the regional lord Burhān al-Dīn.

So far, we have seen that local power was in fact closely linked to the control of fortresses. The regional lords had the power, at least in theory, to appoint and also to remove castellans. In some of the cases on record, however, the men in control of castles seem to have had rights to that position that were older than their link to the regional lord Burhān al-Dīn, while in other cases, the castles were part of the booty the sultan distributed among his military commanders.

In at least some of the cases in which older rights are discernable, a new bond of vassalage was formed in a solemn ceremony (the first case, Dhūnnūn Beg); in another case (Sulaymān Beg of the Hacıemiroğulları), the investiture was used as a means to incorporate a formerly ‘independent’ lord into the network of domination centred on the regional lord Burhān al-Dīn. The terms *iqṭāʿ* and *soyurghal* are used as synonyms in this context, and both mean that Sulaymān Beg was now in some way subordinate to his overlord. The giving of tribute and the like is not mentioned and does not have to be implied in the relationship.

Fortresses were given not only to ‘sedentary’ lords, but also to nomadic, that is Mongol, lords.⁴⁵ Mongols were a main source of military manpower,

and pp. 43–7 for the Hacıemiroğulları. The Hacıemiroğulları ruled some towns on the Black Sea littoral until the early fifteenth century.

⁴³ Astarābādī, 337. İskefser is located next to Niksar, due east.

⁴⁴ For these events, see Yücel (1989, 125) and Shukurov (1994, 32).

⁴⁵ I prefer ‘lords’ to ‘chiefs’ or ‘chieftains’ because of the similarity of the relationship between both the sedentary and the nomadic vassals and their overlord. The source names quite a few Mongol groups and also gives a term for the leading families (*tüshimal*). This term is defined as ‘lord over smaller tribal groupings’. See Doerfer 1963–75, 1: 269–71, no. 138. In many cases, the Mongol lords do not seem to have been subordinate to Burhān al-Dīn,

but they were seen as problematic partners because they followed their own agenda, which more often than not boiled down to an interest in plunder. There is no room here to address the question of Mongols and Tatars in Anatolia and the ways in which they were used by regional and imperial rulers.⁴⁶ Suffice it to state that Mongol lords also held castles, and sometimes even built castles of their own. Appointing Mongol lords as castellans was certainly seen as a means to integrate them into the power network, but *Bazm wa razm* takes care to depict them as very unreliable indeed. If any group of people consistently did not fulfil its duty of loyalty, it was the Mongol lords. In one difficult situation, when Burhān al-Dīn had to face a 'rebellion' in Kayseri and interventions by the regional lord of Konya, the "son of Karaman", he also had to punish some Mongol emirs:

Some of the Mongol troops had been the special object of the sultan's favour (*tarbiya*) and grace, and had received fortresses and positions, but they had defected at this moment and sided with the Karaman and had attacked Kayseri together with him and had wrought destruction and disorder. The sultan now took their fortresses away from them and disgraced them, and stripped them of all positions and gave their positions and ranks to other people.⁴⁷

The regional lord in this case was able to punish disloyal local lords, but only after he had won the victory that reinstated him as lord in the relevant

but rather acted as his partners. Typically, they paid him a visit at the time of the spring migration to the summer pastures in the mountains, and they proposed targets for joint raids, which were then carried out together, if at all (Astarābādī, 172; 291; 300; 312; 324; 392; 418; 423 and other places). The Mongols formed a political unit of their own, called the *ulus* (this term is not used for any of the sedentary polities). The way the Mongols contracted alliances and the ways they behaved in these alliances largely depended on their specific needs; for instance, they did not want to join a coalition against the Ottomans because their grazing grounds were located in Ottoman-controlled territory (Astarābādī, 390). The relationship between Burhān al-Dīn and the Mongol lords changes in the source. While it was initially clearly hostile, Burhān al-Dīn later found it possible to make common cause with them. Their relative independence put them on an equal footing with the 'ambitious' type of local lord (Farīdūn and Nabī, who was apparently of Mongol stock himself).

⁴⁶ Bernardini 2005, 202; Nagel 1993, 255. It is doubtful whether "it was the nomads alone who exercised themselves in the martial arts" ("In deren [der Wanderhirten] Händen allein lag die Pflege der Kriegskunst"); urban militias were not the only alternative, either. Burhān al-Dīn, like every other lord, had his personal retinue (for which the term *kawākiba* is sometimes used) of professional warriors. Moreover, there were the retainers and warriors called *nawkar*. The relationship of these groups to (nomadic?) warriors that were mobilised for larger undertakings remains a subject of debate. Moreover, besides the Mongols, quite a lot of Turkmens were around. On this issue see Paul 201b.

⁴⁷ Astarābādī, 525.

region: Burhān al-Dīn had regained control in Kayseri and had succeeded in driving back the Karamanoğlu.

LOYALTY

Loyalty is the all-decisive question. We have seen that, at least in principle, receiving a fortress from the hands of the regional lord implied a duty of loyalty, and we have also seen that, in many cases, this rule was observed mainly in the breach.

Two groups of people obtained fortresses: on the one hand, people who had had them previously and now had to be somehow integrated into the power networks that made up the emirate of Sivas, and, on the other, people who had been in Burhān al-Dīn's retinue for quite a while and had merited a rise in their position and their income. A systematic analysis of more than one source might yield insights as to whether these two groups reacted in different ways when put under stress—for instance, when they were offered a career in another regional lord's retinue or when they were confronted with an imperial advance. Loyalties were unstable throughout, and fickleness was not the exclusive province of nomadic lords, although it was they who are more frequently blamed for their unreliability.

The bond of vassalage implied, as we have seen, that the vassal should obey his lord's orders and not break his promises; a lord was under obligation to shower favours on his vassals. Did this concept of mutual loyalty imply that a vassal had to risk his career, his position, his patrimony and his life for his lord? Is a change tantamount to high treason in every case? It seems that we have to discern between varying circumstances.

We have some examples of commanders of fortresses deciding not to fight for their overlord, but to change sides. This occurred most frequently when the overall military situation was changing. Central Anatolia at that time was divided into a large number of regional beyliks, and it was surrounded to the west, the south and also the east by greater powers, whose influence made itself felt, sometimes very dramatically. The great powers were the Ottomans in the west, the Mamluks to the south, and the meteorically rising empire of Timur in the east. All of these made inroads into Central Anatolia at certain times, and all of them succeeded in winning over regional and local lords, sometimes in great numbers. But even within

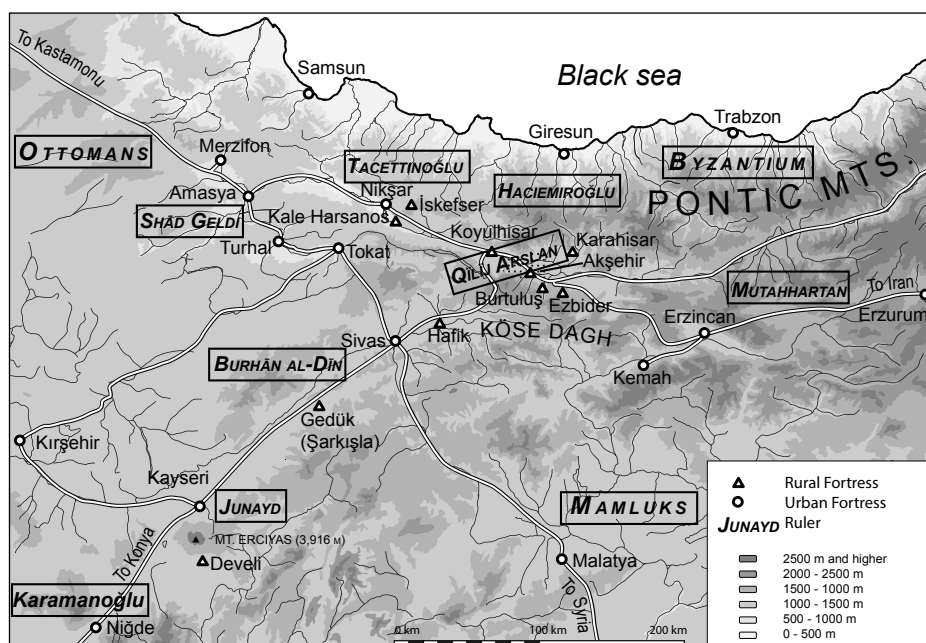


Fig. 1. Central Anatolia in the late fourteenth century.

the chequerboard of Central Anatolian politics and warfare, local lords could change masters every so often, as we have seen in the last example: the Karamanoğulları were a serious regional power,⁴⁸ and so was the emir of Erzincan, Mutaḥhartan, and Burhān al-Dīn constantly had to be wary not to lose out against one of them. The regional power pendulum could swing dramatically one way or the other very quickly, following just one defeat or victory. Thus, what was at stake in a battle was often much more than control over a small strip of territory—it was a political future, promise, and reputation, since the local lords were all following very closely whose star was on the rise and whose fortunes were in decline.

Thus, when the Syrian Mamluks were laying siege to Sivas itself and Burhān al-Dīn had lost much of the support he had among the Mongol nomadic lords, many castellans left him:

⁴⁸ Bosworth 1996, 232-3. The Karamanoğulları were a dynasty in Central Anatolia with their centre at Konya; they were in power from the mid-thirteenth to the later fifteenth century, when the Ottomans finally conquered them. Mutaḥhartan is not in Bosworth—a single ruler is not a dynasty.

At this moment, news arrived that the commanders of all the fortresses that had before been taken from Amīr Aḥmad [this is the emir of Amasya, son of the aforementioned emir Shād Geldi] had again handed the fortresses over [to Amīr Aḥmad],⁴⁹

so that the sultan had to admit that now he did not control anything except Sivas. We do not learn whether these local commanders were those whom he himself had installed after his victory over Amasya mentioned above, but this is not out of the question; indeed, it is probable enough. In that case, these men were his former retainers who had made their career as Burhān al-Dīn's followers, and who consequently owed their position to their lord and his victories. The source gives some sort of commentary: "Within one hour, so many uncomfortable things and so many unfitting events occurred";⁵⁰ the castellans are criticised, but not as vehemently as we might expect. Perhaps this is due to the literary structure employed here: Burhān al-Dīn is portrayed as having remained cool and reacted calmly, one of the superior qualities by which his legitimization from on high becomes evident: *ghāyat-i tamakkun-i mizāj wa istiḳāmat-i ḥāl*. He cannot be thrown off track, even by high treason. Still, these emirs provide an example of the ease with which loyalties could change.

There were also castellans who did not change masters so easily; but even they seem not to have actually risked their lives or their belongings for the sake of loyalty. In the spring of 1391, as was their habit, the Mongol lords came to pay homage to Burhān al-Dīn. It is not stated whether there is a link between this and what follows, but it is not unlikely, since the spring visit of the Mongol lords (*umarā-yi ulūs*) was frequently devoted to consultations on military matters, the Mongols pointing out targets for spring and summer campaigns. Apart from that, the spring visit also involved a certain amount of ceremony and it seems that the political relationships between the Mongol emirs and the regional lord were re-established and reconfirmed by this visit.

That spring, whether in concert with the Mongol emirs or not, the sultan made for the fortress of Ayyūbḥiṣār, situated between Kayseri, where the sultan had spent the winter, and the town of Kırşehir, thus to the west of Kayseri. The commander of this fortress (who was probably a vassal of the Karamanoğlu, but this is not certain) was politely "invited", and Burhān al-Dīn (or his emissaries) promised him all kinds of presents and advance-

⁴⁹ Astarābādī, 355.

⁵⁰ Astarābādī, 355: *dar ḥudūd-i yak sāʿat chandīn awḍāʿ-i nā mulāyim wa aḥwāl-i nā munāsib wāqīʿ shud*.

ment.⁵¹ The term *iştināʿ*, ‘advancement’, used here refers to a personal relationship between a master and a servant or a lord and a vassal, in which the master or lord undertakes to foster the servant’s or vassal’s interest;⁵² a close relative is *tarbiya*, ‘favour’. (This term was used in cases when Mongol emirs received castles, discussed above.) This *kūtwāl* therefore was invited to join sultan Burhān al-Dīn as a personal retainer, and was offered career opportunities as well as more immediate favours. However, he declined the offer, and so Burhān al-Dīn laid siege to the fortress and deployed all the siege machinery he could muster. The *kūtwāl* saw that the assailants were in earnest and that he would not be able to hold out; he therefore promised that he would hand over the fortress and asked to be integrated into the retinue of the sultan. Both sides agreed on this,⁵³ so the commander of this fortress ultimately chose exactly what Burhān al-Dīn had offered him in the first place. We do not learn whether the terms had improved or worsened for him, or whether it was a feeling of loyalty towards his former lord that had prevented him from accepting the initial offer.

Nobody seems to have expected local lords to try to hold out against imperial armies. When outside powers made some progress in their advance towards Central Anatolia, the consequence was frequently a landslide change in loyalties at the local level, and I think this goes a long way towards explaining the speed of many advances and conquests. Such a sweeping change in allegiances took place when the Ottomans under Bāyazīd Yıldırım took Kastamonu (again and definitively) in 1392. This meant a major shift in the balance of power in Central Anatolia. The local lords who changed sides and joined the Ottomans are not reprimanded: Ottoman power had become so overwhelming in this part of Anatolia that nobody apparently expected local lords to go to extremes in order to stay loyal to their previous masters. In the context of the Ottoman advance, *Bazm wa razm* briefly mentions that “emirs and local commanders and marcher lords entered the Ottoman following and joined the Ottoman fold, handing over their fortresses and regions”.⁵⁴ An invitation to do the same was also sent to Burhān al-Dīn. He refused, of course, and continued to resist the Ottoman advance—he was a major regional power and was sure

⁵¹ Astarābādī, 392: *kūtwāl-rā ba-mulāṭaḡa wa mujāmala daʿwat kard wa ba-karāmāt wa-iştināʿāt waʿda dād.*

⁵² Mottahedeh 1981.

⁵³ Astarābādī, 392: *guft ‘anqarīb qalʿa taslīm kunam wa dar silk-i dīgar bandagān munḥaṣar shawam wa bar īn wajh qarār shud.*

⁵⁴ Astarābādī, 404: *umarā wa ṣanādīd-i ḥudūd wa thughūr ba-mutābaʿa wa mushāyaʿat-i ū [pisar-i ʿUthmān] hamdastān shudand wa qilāʿ wa ribāʿ badū sipurdand.*

that he could muster the resources need to resist, as in fact becomes clear from what follows. The theatre of operations was between Amasya and Merzifon, and Burhān al-Dīn had to retreat, first to Turhal, then to Tokat, and there he learnt that “the people [garrisons and commanders] of the fortresses that were to be found in the region of Amasya had either left their homes or else had submitted to the Ottomans, handing over the fortress”, and thus, the sultan had to retreat further, falling back on Sivas.⁵⁵ We do not learn, however, who the commanders of the fortresses were in this case: this is the region where Burhān al-Dīn had allegedly lost all support some time before, and it would be interesting to learn whether he had reinstated the same castellans who had left him in a period of weakness, but the text does not give names in this case.

Likewise, when Timur made his appearance in the east in 1394—his spring campaign in Eastern Anatolia is reported as a series of stormings of fortresses⁵⁶—most of the regional and local lords chose submission. The following description is of emir Muṭāhhartan, the regional lord of Erzincan: he went to Timur's camp and “kissed his stirrup and was integrated into the number of his servants and retainers, standing in their row humbly and ashamed”.⁵⁷ This gloss on events is also, of course, a response to the fact that Burhān al-Dīn chose to resist: the text therefore covers all the others in shame. Nevertheless, editorial licence aside, the bonds of vassalage are depicted as having been formed in very much the same way as in those cases in which local lords joined themselves to a regional lord.

CONSTRUCTION OF FORTRESSES, AND THEIR SOCIAL AND POLITICAL FUNCTION

The military value of fortresses is quickly explained: warfare in this region and period was largely siege warfare; pitch battles were much less frequently fought. Cities, towns, and fortresses were what not only imperial conquerors, but also regional and local lords, fought over. Control over the countryside is a less visible motive, but could obviously be obtained by building and keeping a fortress. Moreover, trade routes, as well as pastoral seasonal migration routes, could be much better controlled if there were towers and fortresses in strategically chosen places, such as at fords and

⁵⁵ Astarābādī, 420.

⁵⁶ See the classic study by Jean Aubin (1963).

⁵⁷ Astarābādī, 456.

bridges, or in bottleneck locations in deep and narrow valleys. A fortress was also a place where provisions were stored—not only weapons and military equipment, but also, and no less important, grain and other food-stuffs.

Bazm wa razm offers some excellent examples of all of these functions. First, new fortresses were built in order to reduce the value of existing fortresses, as a kind of counter-fortress. This is a mostly military function, and so will not be addressed at length here. Just one example should suffice: beside the fortress of Turhal, Burhān al-Dīn wanted another fortress built, in order to control the movement of people to and from Turhal, and to prevent provisions from arriving there.⁵⁸ Second, controlling the open country, as well as trade and pastoral migration routes, is evidently a factor in a number of cases, sometimes explicitly so.

In the region of Niksar, which Burhān al-Dīn had taken from the Tacettinoğulları, he had a fortress built “in order to consolidate the region” or “to make control over the region possible” (*jihat-i istiḥkām-i ān navāḥi*).⁵⁹ In the same region, it was suggested that two strong towers be built on the banks of the Niksar river, one on each side of the Palāsān bridge, and manned with garrisons, in order to fight “robbers” (evidently, remnants of the Tāj al-Dīn people are meant).

Some time later, and in another region—although the specific place is not identified—Burhān al-Dīn decided to have a number of fortresses and towers built where none had existed before. The reason was that a group of Türkmens, called the Aghach-arī, were troublesome and kept people from reaching their summer pasture grounds. (It is not explicitly stated but can nevertheless be surmised that they needed the summer grazing grounds for themselves. Probably summer pasture tended to be scarcer than winter pasture in this region.) Two sites were selected, both close to a road (*bar rāh mushrif*). Specialists were employed in the construction, and the fortresses were provided with turrets at their corners. The fortresses were also equipped with provisions—foodstuffs as well as military equipment (*ma’kulāt wa mashrūbāt wa asliḥa wa ālāt-i ḥarb*). Seasoned warriors were sent there as garrison, and the commanders were trusted officers from the sultan’s personal retinue (*mu’tamadī az khawāṣṣ*). It was their task to protect the region from “robbers and thieves”; undoubtedly, the Turkmen

⁵⁸ Astarābādī, 418: *sultān-rā dā’ya chunān shud ki dar janb-i qal’a-yi Turkhāl jā’ muḥkam kunad wa jam’i-rā ānjā firistad tā rāh-i wurūd wa šudūr bar qal’a bi-gīrand tā mawādd-i ḡakhira az ahālī-yi ān munqaṭa’ gardad.*

⁵⁹ Astarābādī, 418.

mentioned before are implied here.⁶⁰ Again, some retainers continued their career as local lords.

The importance of fortresses as granaries and depositories of foodstuffs and equipment is underlined by very anecdotal evidence. Burhān al-Dīn knew that walls were important, but that no fortress could withstand a siege if it were not adequately manned and did not hold enough provisions. This rule is illustrated in a story in which Burhān al-Dīn succeeded in taking Karahisar, a very strong fortress, but which at that time was "devoid of provisions and foodstuffs and had but a small garrison composed of unknown people".⁶¹

The crucial role played by fortresses in storing food supplies is confirmed by another episode. In an earlier stage in his career, Burhān al-Dīn had to flee, and provisions were running low. After some time in the wilderness, his small group of followers reached a fortress called Yaldüz (Yıldız?), located on the road between Tokat and Sivas. One of Burhān al-Dīn's men, who had constantly been complaining of hunger, now finally found something to eat, and they served him something. "Like a blind duck, he shoved together everything he could find, sweet and sour [lit. salty], and devoured it all".⁶²

In some cases, a siege had to be interrupted because the besieged had more to eat than the assailants, who then had to disperse in order to gather fodder for their horses. This could be a dangerous moment, since the garrison and even the townspeople were liable to make sorties and could easily reach the assailants' camp.

In this context, it should be remembered that fortresses were as a general rule assigned together with a rural district and the peasants (and nomads) living there. It may therefore be surmised that the provisions stored in the fortresses were not sent from the centre, but were collected on the spot as "tax", although the text does not justify any definite conclusions about the collection of rural revenue. Be that as it may, the fertility of the rural area surrounding a given fortress and the extent to which it was cultivated was an important factor, directly influencing the quantity of revenue that could be raised from it and, consequently, the number of retainers that could be fed. The case of Develi has been discussed above.

⁶⁰ Astarābādī, 530-1.

⁶¹ Astarābādī, 142: *az zād wa ḡakhīra khālī būd wa ma'dūdī chand majhūl dar ū sākīn*. "Unknown" probably means "people without any significant military experience", a random selection of uprooted people.

⁶² Astarābādī, 272: *chūn baṭṭ-i kūr az shīrīn wa shūr harchi mīyāft dar ham shikast wa mīkhūrd*.

LOCAL AND REGIONAL LORDS

In conclusion, Central Anatolia in the second half of the fourteenth century is an example of a region where imperial power was absent for most of the time and in most places. Regional and local lords therefore come to the fore much more than is apparent in Timurid historiography. Castles were the mainstay of power 'on the spot' and formed a very particular network of power throughout the landscape. The apex or focal point of this network is the citadel of the city, which is seen as the capital of the regional power. For Burhān al-Dīn, we can venture the thesis that, as long as he stayed in Sivas, he resided in the citadel; this also seems to have been the place where the Mongol emirs came to see him during their (practically annual) spring visits. The time Burhān al-Dīn spent there cannot, however, be quantified, and there is no regular pattern in his movements because he was so frequently on campaign, heading for Amasya, Erzincan, Kayseri or more remote regions.

Castles served to control a rural area and its economic resources, including cultivated fields and peasants, but also trade routes and, more visibly, migration routes. At this time, controlling a castle in a certain place was tantamount to controlling the surrounding countryside and its concomitant resources. This is evident, first, from the sheer number of castles mentioned; second, from the explicit description the text gives of the way castles functioned; and, third, from the way the investitures and demands for investiture were formulated.

Castles were primarily assigned by regional lords. One case of purchase is also on record, and purchase was not necessarily an exceptional way of acquiring a fortress. In other cases, the way the lord of a castle attained this position is not specified. At least some castles became family seats, a kind of patrimony that a family was bent on keeping for itself for generations. Other castles seem to have changed occupants more frequently, and there are instances where castellans were removed from their position by their overlords.

The 'service-benefit' relationship is central in many places. 'Benefit' is the translation used here for terms such as *in'ām*, *iḥsān* and other expressions the source uses for *ni'ma*; 'service' is *khidma*. The corresponding vocabulary is used to describe the mutual obligations between lords and vassals. Terms such as *iṣṭinā'* (known from Mottahedeh's classic study), and also *tarbiya*, describe the particular action the lord took in order to 'foster' (elevate) his retainers and vassals. Sometimes, the bond was created

in a solemn ceremony, but narrations of such events are not frequent—this, of course, does not mean that oaths of fealty were not the rule. Mutual rights, *huqūq*, are discussed in many places.

The bond of vassalage implied military obligations. We know much less about tribute. The military obligation meant that a vassal had to take part in his lord's campaigns with a number of retainers; the number of retainers was probably fixed, but the text gives no examples of specific numbers. Together with a castle, a district was allocated, and this also included command over the (nomadic) levy, which was called up for campaigns more or less regularly. This at least is how the present writer understands the term *hasham*, frequently included as part of the allocation. The assignment itself is called *iqṭā'* as well as *soyurghal*, but neither term occurs frequently in this text. *Iqṭā'* can here be understood as part of the larger concept of 'benefit'.

'Service-benefit' is also a formula for the redistribution process that is essential for all levels of dominion and lordship above, and perhaps including, the local level. Therefore, castles (together with their surrounding countryside and its human resources) were part of the spoils of battle, which the (regional) lord had to distribute among his retainers whenever it was taken, sometimes even on the battlefield. Whenever the 'benefits' were no longer forthcoming—because, for example, the regional lord was unable to seize any booty for quite a long while—and also as soon as a superior power appeared nearby, vassals were not obliged to risk their lives (or their patrimony) for their now enfeebled lords, but could join the stronger party without many qualms. Occasionally, this resulted in large-scale changes in allegiance, so that what at first glance would have looked like a minor battle or the conquest of just one town, could lead to much more than that.

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CHAPTER TEN

THE CASTLE AND THE COUNTRY: SPATIAL ORIENTATIONS OF QIPCHAQ MAMLUK RULE

Kurt Franz

INTRODUCTION¹

While the influence of Turkic rulers on subject societies certainly made its clearest mark in Iran and Anatolia, it also had an impact in the Near East. This region underwent four periods of legitimate Turkic² rule that could serve as cases for comparison: the periods of the Tulunids and Ikhshidids, the Saljuqs and their Atabegs,³ the Qipchaq Mamluks, and the Ottomans.⁴ I shall single out the Qipchaq Mamluks, who held sway in 648-784/1250-1382 and again in 791-2/1389-90. The fact that the impact of Turkic rule can be discerned particularly clearly from changes in the spatial organisation of power is referred to in various ways virtually throughout the present volume. In this chapter, I shall apply this perspective to Egypt and Syria, asking specifically: How did the Qipchaq Mamluks' rule impact on urban, rural and steppe spaces? What spatial strategies brought about that impact? And lastly, what is the long-term historical significance of their sort of spatial organisation?

The spatial fabric of the Mamluk sultanate has so far mostly been broached as a secondary, if not accidental, consequence of events in

¹ This article grew out of the Collaborative Research Centre 'Difference and Integration' project, conducted by the Universities of Halle-Wittenberg and Leipzig and funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft. I am grateful to David Durand-Guédy, Jean-Claude Garcin and Reuven Amitai for their comments and suggestions and to Piet Collet for drawing the maps.

² Turkic names and terms will be rendered basically according to their Arabicised form, since most of the textual sources on the Mamluks are in Arabic, with concessions to the more elaborate Turkic vocalisation. A few words are written in their commonly accepted form, notably 'Qipchaq'.

³ Atabeg dynasties under Saljuq suzerainty were the Börids, Zengids, Begteginids and Artuqids.

⁴ Owing to the criterion of the legitimacy of rule, I have not included the Turkic generals who dominated the Abbasid caliphate during the period of the so-called Anarchy of Samarra.

politico-military, administrative, commercial or urban architectural history. Even less attention has been given to how contemporaries conceived it. Some scholars, however, have in fact ventured to consider these issues in their own right. E. Akarlı has investigated the relationship between the commercial transportation network, military-administrative organisation and human agglomeration in eighth/fourteenth-century Syria;⁵ J.-C. Garcin has provided an exemplary model of regional geography in his in-depth study of the town of Qūṣ and its environs, and has inspiringly sketched a major change in the spatial organisation of Egypt in the latter half of the eighth/fourteenth-century, which was related in no small way to a change in the *géographie de l'attention*, i.e. coeval notions of how each of Egypt's regions was embedded within the country and/or linked to the outside;⁶ A. Fuess has examined the Mamluks' devastation of the Levantine coast out of fear of a return of the Franks, and the consequent strategic shift inland;⁷ Y. Frenkel has explored the change in Muslim spatial thinking that was induced by the Crusaders' sanctification of Palestine and the way in which Sultan Baybars I used this to legitimise his rule;⁸ using as an example Jerusalem and its surroundings, N. Luz has revealed the impact of conversion to Islam on urban building activities and the changes in the broader cultural landscape that might ensue from it;⁹ and I myself have outlined the Ayyubids' and early Mamluks' re-evaluation and restructuring of the steppe hinterland, as well as the long-term rapport between state territories and tribal domains.¹⁰ Furthermore, the findings of archaeologists and historians of architecture concerning settlement, land use and landscapes also have special importance. Here, Palestine in particular has been intensively researched. In addition to the knowledge that has been acquired through Crusades studies, notably the works of R. Ellenblum,¹¹ a research group on 'The Formation of Muslim Society in Palestine' is now working at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, focusing, among other things, on the Islamisation of the architectural landscape to 1500.¹² Also, B.J. Walker's ongoing Northern Jordan Project is identifying the multi-faceted composition of a rural landscape with an emphasis on the Mamluk and Ottoman

⁵ Akarlı 1978.

⁶ Garcin 1976, 437, Fig. 3, 438, 445-6; Garcin 1980 *passim*.

⁷ Fuess 2001, esp. chapter 2. See also Ayalon 1965.

⁸ Frenkel 2001.

⁹ Luz 2002.

¹⁰ Franz 2008, 133-41; Franz 2011, 22-38; Franz forthcoming a.

¹¹ Especially Ellenblum 1995; Ellenblum 1998.

¹² <http://islamization.huji.ac.il/programs.html> (accessed 11 July 2013).

periods.¹³ Nevertheless, the number of relevant works is still rather small, and much more study is needed to reach a balanced understanding of Mamluk-period spaces, their historical apprehension and space-related human agency.

To that end, I have dealt elsewhere with individual problems,¹⁴ but as I also see a need to explore the field further, I shall here embark on a synthesis and some propositions. My argument is that Qipchaq Mamluk rule had a specific spatial fabric in that it was characterised by two simultaneous tendencies: a centripetal one that focussed on an imperial capital and several second-tier cities, driven by what I term a 'centralist' orientation (see the next section, "The Castle"); and a centrifugal one related to the vast tracts of land beyond the urban-rural areas, but with a 'territorial' implication that nevertheless tied these outlying expanses back to the centre (see the third section, "The Country"). Considering this set of spatial orientations together, I shall discuss in the concluding section how they interrelated and what were the consequent differences that emerged in comparison with previous patterns of spatial organisation.

First, two preliminary points must be made. I am singling out the Qipchaq Mamluks rather than their successors, the Circassian Mamluks, because the latter were Caucasians. The deliberately modern view I thus take on the ethnic, geographic and linguistic difference between the two kinds of Mamluks is at variance with that of mediaeval Arabs, who counted Circassians as Turks.¹⁵ To accept their view would vitiate our concern with the formative impact of historical Turkic rulers.

A word also seems due on why the term 'rule' is used and not, for instance, 'domination'. The first tends to focus on governance as an activity from the top down, while the latter also covers the relationship between those who govern and those who are governed.¹⁶ As a social historian, I am inclined to favour the wider notion, so this article will in no way preclude that social actors had the potential to subvert state power. We shall see, for instance, that the Bedouin managed time and again to redirect the office

¹³ So far, see e.g. Walker 2007; Walker 2009.

¹⁴ Franz 2008; Franz 2011, 22–38. In addition, I have discussed the impact of the Mongol-Mamluk conflict on the governability of the Syrian steppe and the Mamluks' investment in communication infrastructures that also transected Bedouin domains (Franz forthcoming a), and the importance of such areas for the territorial ambitions of the Mamluks (Franz forthcoming b).

¹⁵ See Haarmann 1988, 177.

¹⁶ For a juxtaposition of these as aspects of Max Weber's larger concept of *Herrschaft*, see Mommsen 1974, 72, n. 1.

of *amīr al-‘arab* to suit their own purposes.¹⁷ However, it is not the obstacles on the ground that initially motivated the Qipchaq Mamluks' approach to space, but rather their own agency and intent. What follows here is hence primarily concerned with the rule of the Qipchaq Mamluks and its operation through particular devices of governance.

THE CASTLE

Due to general destitution and the destabilisation that the Mongol charge through Central Asia produced, many Qipchaq Turks of the northern Aralo-Caspian steppe region¹⁸ fell into slavery and were displaced. A thousand or so of them were trafficked to Cairo to become *mamlūks* ('owned ones') during the time of the Ayyubid sultan al-Šāliḥ Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb (r. 637-47/1240-9).¹⁹ He had them trained as soldiers to form his bodyguard regiment and, as a result of their barracks being outside Cairo on the island of al-Rawḍa in the Nile River (*baḥr*), they came to be called 'al-Baḥriyya'.²⁰ As a rule, such Qipchaq individuals were enslaved and taken to Egypt as youths, having till then shared in the nomadic way of life followed by their people in their homelands.²¹ For Arab authors, it was therefore an automatic assumption that the Turks' absorption of the features of nomadic life could explain why they became such distinguished fighters (and rulers) in the name of Islam. Al-Jāḥiẓ, for instance, describes the Turks as "the Bedouin of the non-Arabs" (*a'rāb al-‘ajam*),²² and Ibn Khaldūn stresses that the Turkic Mamluks retained "nomadic virtues" (*akhlāq badawīyya*).²³

In the eyes of Arab authors, fighting skills and prowess in battle were the traditional stereotypical characteristics of any male Turk. As if gifted with these abilities by virtue of his 'race', the image of the Central-Asian

¹⁷ See also Franz forthcoming a and Franz forthcoming b.

¹⁸ The Dasht-i Qipchaq proper stretched from the longitude of the Irtysh River, Lake Balkhash and the upper Syr Darya, in what is today eastern Kazakhstan, to the Caspian Sea. The first references to that steppe and the eponymous Qipchaq people are in the anonymous *Ḥudūd al-‘ālam* (372/982) and the fifth/eleventh-century authors Gardīzī, Nāṣir-i Khusraw and Kāshgharī. See Hazai 1986, 125-6; Bregel 2003, 35, map 17, and 37, map 18.

¹⁹ The slave trade to Mamluk Egypt has recently been the subject of a detailed study by Amitai (forthcoming a). See also Ayalon 1951a, 1-8; Amitai 2008; Yudkevich forthcoming.

²⁰ On the emergence of the Mamluk system, see Northrup 1998, 244-53. For more detail, see Ayalon 1951b, 135-8; Ayalon 1994, 2-6. On the early experience of the Qipchaq Mamluk, see Mazor forthcoming.

²¹ On the issue of Central-Asian childhood and its nomadic backdrop, see Ayalon 1986.

²² Al-Jāḥiẓ, 1: 70-1.

²³ Ibn Khaldūn, 5: 371, trans. 345. See Haarmann 1988, 182.

rider-warrior was one that was sustained by a long line of learned writers, e.g. al-Jāḥiẓ (d. 255/868), Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī (d. 414/1023), Ibn Buṭlān (d. c.458/1066), Ibn al-Nafīs (d. 687/1288), Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406) and Abū Ḥāmid al-Qudṣī (d. 888/1438).²⁴ The idea proved attractive to Arab princes and fuelled the importation of Turkic slave soldiers from the Abbasid period. Modern researchers have also been susceptible to adopting this attitude, and, while overtly racially-based views have been gradually discarded, few so far have refrained from reasserting that the Turks' fighting abilities derived from their nomadic upbringing and lifestyle.

This is an overly simple assertion, however, which I contend is not supported by the facts when it comes to the Qipchaq Mamluks. In contrast to many of the Turks who rose to power in Iran and Anatolia, it is problematic to consider that the Qipchaq Mamluks' early childhood experience of nomadic life was strong enough to effectively inform their later conduct when they became part of the ruling elite.

Once Qipchaq boys arrived in Egypt, they were given a lifestyle as sedentary as can be. The centrality of Egypt's capital city, established since time immemorial, meant that the Qipchaq recruits were tied to the seat of government, and the tents and seasonal camps they had lived in during their childhood were superseded first by army barracks and later by forts and palaces. Cairo was not only the place where they were stationed, brought up, trained and educated, but any career aspirations needed to focus on that city. Many of them spent their whole lives there, and the rest took up residence in provincial centres, first and foremost in Damascus. So, were it not for temporary campaigning, the Qipchaqs' familiarity with the countryside would barely have exceeded that of other town-dwellers. Cut off very early in their lives from both their kin and the practice of mobile animal husbandry, they could no longer draw directly on the socio-economic or cultural aspects of nomadic life.

What is more, they were instructed on the one hand by resident scholars, mostly of Arab origin, and on the other by older members of their own people who were not usually related to them and who had themselves been trained in the same sort of exile situation. So, however much a Central

²⁴ Al-Jāḥiẓ (1: 44-51, 70-4, trans. 665-9, 684-7) provides the seminal portrayal. A similar picture also appears in, e.g., the slave purchase manual of Ibn Buṭlān (387, trans. 79); the conversations recorded by Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī (1: 73, 74); the theological novel of Ibn al-Nafīs (44-6, trans. 68-70); the praise of the Turks by Abū Ḥāmid al-Qudṣī (105, 119-22); and the historico-philosophical considerations of Ibn Khaldūn (5: 370-1, trans. 342-5). See also Mainz 1933, 280-3; Meyerhof and Schacht in Ibn al-Nafīs, *Excursus G*, 82; Haarmann 1988, 177, 179-80, 181.

Asian life-world may have initially inspired the Qipchaqs' formation during the final decades of the Ayyubids, it diminished quickly. When Mamluk rule began, the skills labelled 'Turkic' were already borrowed from second-hand experience. For many generations of Qipchaq Mamluks to come, they were consistently handed down as the occupational skills of a professional soldiery—a circle embedded in an urban environment with no sizeable influx of adult Qipchaqs to bring a fresh injection of Central Asian (nomadic) experience. This development certainly did not in any way imply that the quality of training deteriorated, but while high-powered warriors were bred with great success, the 'Turkic' character of their military prowess resulted from a specific Cairene-Qipchaq tradition that had become virtually self-contained at an early stage. In these circumstances, the securing of 'Turkness' through the importation of Qipchaq children must on no account be equated with the safeguarding of any nomadic vitality.²⁵

As is well-known, the basic differences between the Qipchaqs and other urban populations in terms of origin, race, mother tongue, power and personal status (first as slaves and then, after manumission at some juvenile age, as freedmen) were deliberately maintained by the Mamluks themselves,²⁶ but did not result in aloofness. On the contrary, they became more deeply involved in city life and the patronising of urban development than most earlier ruling elites in the Islamic Near East.²⁷ They efficiently controlled not only the administration, notably that related to land taxes, but also the grain market, so that they governed the city's livelihood. They monopolised the supply of wood and iron, were responsible for public construction schemes such as water works, financed new baths and markets, etc. Devout Muslims and enthusiastic supporters of the Sunni *'ulamā'*, they also sponsored mosques, madrasas and convents and boosted the endowment system. Hardly any field of urban and extra-urban life developed without Qipchaq influence and money. The extent and diversity of their involvement has been presented by I. Lapidus, who summarises by saying that "because they controlled the wealth of the society they had to take the part of patrons and seigneurs".²⁸

It is true that Qipchaq governance had several shortcomings, including the lack of official institutions for administering urban affairs²⁹ that would

²⁵ Ayalon (1967, 313) has raised this as a theoretically conceivable possibility, only to concede, without contemplating the issue further, that it is not realistic.

²⁶ The gap between them has been strongly emphasised by Ayalon (1967, 321-4).

²⁷ This is argued in depth by Lapidus (1967, chapter 2, esp. 50-78).

²⁸ Ibid., 68. See also Staffa 1977, 30.

²⁹ Lapidus 1967, 72, 77, 78.

have diversified the all-in-one *ḥiṣba* approach, but their involvement in these affairs, both official and private, proves they had particular insights into how socio-economic mechanisms worked and what steering options were available.³⁰ This awareness was partly due to a peculiarity of the Mamluk system: it operated as a one-generation elite with a strong tendency to exclude the Mamluks' sons (*awlād al-nās*) from higher military careers and succession to power. Accordingly, the second generation either enrolled in a non-Mamluk force called the *ḥalqa* or took up civilian occupations, including careers as '*ulamā*' and entrepreneurs, thereby immersing themselves deeply in the surrounding society, particularly its Arab-Muslim segment. This was a great help in bridging the initial gap between the Qipchaqs and the urban population. When considering the Qipchaq Mamluks' involvement in and awareness of urban affairs, together with their patronage of Sunni Islam and the growth of administration, it appears to me (although I have no measure by which to assess my impression) that they got closer than any previous dynasty to permeating urban society from the top down through controlling the basic activities of urban life, as well as religious education.

Construction projects play a prominent part in weighing the relation of rulers to city life, although they are not the only indication of Turkic rulers' potential adaptation to it, as D. Durand-Guédy convincingly argues in view of the continued itinerancy of the Saljuq sultans.³¹ However, the Qipchaqs' sedentary lifestyle makes their commitment to monumental urban architecture a highly significant, and definitely the most enduring, token of their inclination towards urban space. Sultan Baybars I (r. 658-76/1260-77) commissioned the rebuilding of virtually all the fortresses in Syria that the Mongols had recently destroyed. As most of them stood in cities, refortification also highlights the importance which the Qipchaqs attributed to urban settlement.³² He also committed himself to non-military construction, such as the al-Ḥusayniyya Friday mosque in Cairo³³ and the Maqām al-Nabī Mūsā near Jericho.³⁴ After Baybars, starting with Qalāwūn (r. 678-89/1279-90), civilian and religious architecture was valued even more. This is explained in no small part by the fact that the Mamluks were just military

³⁰ Particularly significant is the Qipchaq Mamluks' ability to raise and manage mass labour in public construction works. *Ibid.*, 63-6.

³¹ Durand-Guédy 2010, 75-8, 93-101, 300; Durand-Guédy 2011b.

³² Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir, 31, trans. 117-18. See Amitai-Preiss 1995, 76-7; Raphael 2011, chapters 3 and 4, esp. 105-6, Table 3.2.

³³ See Bloom 1982; Behrens-Abouseif 2007, 121-6.

³⁴ See Amitai 2005.

rulers, and ex-slaves at that, whose legitimacy was never a straightforward matter of fact. The symbolic representation of power in the form of monumental metropolitan architecture therefore became a steady means of conveying their authority and permanence to the public. This was especially the case with buildings used by the public, such as mosques, madrasas, city gates, *khānaqāhs* (Sufi lodges) or a new type of building, which was the *sabīl-kuttāb* (fountain house and elementary school).

The boom in urban construction launched by Baybars and Qalāwūn³⁵ was to define the style and tremendous range of projects that took place throughout the Mamluk period, including the Circassian succession of sultans (784-922/1382-1517), and it produced many iconic urban structures that are visible to this day. This is of course most apparent in the imperial capital of Cairo, but it is also true of provincial centres such as Damascus, Aleppo and Tripoli, although the Mamluk-period cityscape of most secondary Egyptian centres is now scarcely recognisable. Understandably, the sultans demonstrated their desire to immortalise themselves as builders (and their financial ability to take on that role) first of all within the city where they resided. But Cairo was also home to an unmatched concentration of affluent amirs who were also keen to put their rank and wealth on display, and many of them likewise commissioned imposing buildings. A remarkable example is the funerary complex of the amirs Salār and Sanjar al-Jāwulī (Chavli) (703/1303-4).³⁶ Altogether, the Mamluk monumental architecture of Cairo, concentrated in particular along al-Qaṣaba Street and its square *bayn al-qaṣrayn* ('between the palaces'), presented about the same level of splendour as was afforded by, for example, the Ilkhanid rulers in Sulṭāniyya or the Timurid rulers in Samarqand. (For the structure and growth of Cairo, see Fig. 1.)³⁷

Cairo, that is *Miṣr al-Qāhira*, 'The Victorious City', was the supreme centre of the empire, and Baybars' decision (659-60/1261) to install there a surviving member of the Abbasid dynasty as caliph, to be followed by many others, elevated Cairo all the more, at least for the early decades of the

³⁵ Behrens-Abouseif 2007, 72. On the constructions of these two sultans in Cairo, see *ibid.*, 119-26, 129-42; and on Mamluk pious patronage in general, *ibid.*, 9-13, 15-20.

³⁶ See *ibid.*, 156-61.

³⁷ Fig. 1 is based on the plans made by Staffa 1977 (following pp. 12 and 100) and Sheehan 2010 (before p. 1, adapting that of Warner 2005, before p. 1). Sheehan's reconstruction of Saladin's southern wall and also the historical river banks follow Bahgat Bey and Gabriel 1921, Fig. 2 (reprinted, apparently from the Arabic edition of 1928, in Sheehan 2010, 81, Fig. 38). As Staffa (1977, 86, n. 6, and 259, n. 2) points out, the southern part of the wall was only partly constructed.

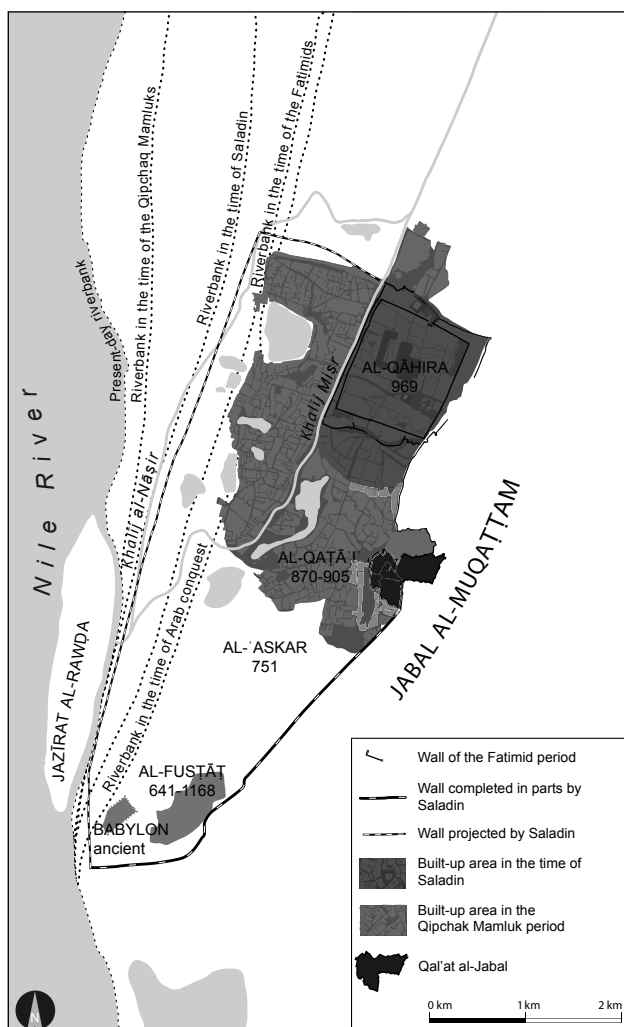


Fig. 1. Mamluk Cairo.

sultanate. On a lesser scale, the provincial capitals followed suit in becoming foci of Qipchaq involvement and investment. Beside those mentioned above, Qūš in Upper Egypt presents another clear case.³⁸ Even minor towns such as al-Qūṣayr on the Red Sea³⁹ and Ḥisbān in the Transjordanian

³⁸ Garcin 1976, esp. chapters 5 and 6.

³⁹ Guo 2004, esp. 90-8.

al-Balqā',⁴⁰ to name but a few that are comparatively well researched, saw a certain upswing as long as central functions were assigned to them with respect to commerce and administration. Moreover, as Lapidus reminds us, cities were not isolated from their rural environment, but, together with the near-by villages, formed "composite settlements".⁴¹ Generally speaking, the Qipchaq Mamluks decidedly attached themselves to city life in many places of varying importance, while establishing a strict hierarchy of central, provincial and district responsibilities. In this, they entirely subscribed to the long-standing tradition of urban-centred rule that has since Antiquity gone hand in hand with the high degree of urbanisation so characteristic of the Near East.

The Qipchaqs' centralist approach was all the more consequential since, as they were coming to the fore (during the rule of al-Šāliḥ Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb), the failure of the Ayyubid sultanate exemplified a cautionary tale on what ruinous infighting could ensue from a decentralised structure of regional principalities. Furthermore, the Qipchaqs' territory, after they wrested power from the Ayyubids (648/1250), initially covered only Egypt and parts of the Sinai Peninsula; but as soon as the Mongol invasion of Syria under the Ilkhan Hülegü resulted in the collapse of most of Ayyubid Syria, the Qipchaqs were sucked into that theatre and, upon the expulsion of the Mongols (following the victory at 'Ayn Jālūt in 658/1260), they incorporated it into their realm. As the Mongol threat lingered on, they did not have the option of stepping into the Ayyubids' shoes by continuing a policy of polycentrism. Instead, Baybars decided that centralisation was the order of the day and forged a unified Syro-Egyptian empire. Cairo achieved superiority over the Syrian capitals and gradually became an ever more effective and majestic imperial centre.

The Qipchaqs' centralising tendency is reflected by the authors of the time when speaking of the sultan and his seat. The *qal'at al-jabal al-mahrūsa*, Cairo's 'Protected Mountain Castle', emerges as the centrepiece of the empire and *locus* of all decisions—for instance, in the account by Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umārī (d. 749/1349) of the sultans' system of horse-back mail delivery, the *barīd*.⁴² This castle (usually less precisely termed citadel),⁴³

⁴⁰ Walker 2003, 249-50 and *passim*.

⁴¹ Lapidus 1967, 65, 67-8.

⁴² Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umārī, *Ta'rif*, 239-62, trans. 477-510.

⁴³ A citadel forms the self-contained and most protected part of a castle or a town's fortification, and offers an ultimate sanctuary. It is regularly located inside or on the walls of the larger structure, possibly separated from the built-up area of the encircling town by an esplanade. See Böhme, Friedrich and Schock-Werner 2004, 271-2. In contrast, the Moun-

inherited from the Ayyubids, included the sultan's residence, the houses of many Mamluk amirs, barracks for a large number of soldiers, the treasury, the nodal point of all communication networks, an audience chamber and a prison. Situated *extra muros*, slightly above the then south-eastern corner of Cairo's city walls, the castle is set on a slope of Mount al-Muqaṭṭam. In contrast to present-day parlance, which takes the hills to be a local mountain, it was then considered to form only the extremity of a very large ridge of the same name that extended westward to Sinai⁴⁴ and southward through Upper Egypt to Aswan⁴⁵ or even into Nubia and Abyssinia.⁴⁶ At the same time, a contemporary of Saladin, the Copt Abu'l-Makārim (d. after 586/1190), who authored a book on "The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt and Some Neighbouring Countries", declares al-Muqaṭṭam to be a sacred mountain, taking its name from the descendant of Noah who was the first to worship God in this place.⁴⁷ Its sacredness is corroborated by his near contemporary, the Muslim writer al-Harawī (d. 611/1215), in his "Guide to the Pilgrimage Sites", who claims that the mountain is connected to Mount Sinai, where God spoke to Moses.⁴⁸ Whether or not these arguments were commonly accepted, the basic agreement of two qualified witnesses, who moreover are of different faith, makes it conceivable that the location of the Mountain Castle at the foot of Mount al-Muqaṭṭam drew on the sanctity of the place, hence facilitating its resident's claim to higher legitimacy.

On a more down-to-earth level, the Mountain Castle affected the urban and political relations between the rulers and the ruled. The founder of the Ayyubid dynasty, Saladin (r. 564-89/1169-93), had decided to encircle Cairo and its older twin city al-Fuṣṭāṭ with a huge wall to protect the area of the capital against imminent attacks by Crusader armies (which, however, never reached the city). The castle he founded in 572/1176 was set in the

tain Castle was erected at a distance equivalent to the city's diameter from the then city walls, with only a slight chance that the construction of the planned enormous new walls could be completed in the foreseeable future. Cairo's growth in the subsequent century made the *maydān* or hippodrome in front of the castle resemble an esplanade, but the city walls remained unfinished, and plans were never again pursued to make the Mountain Castle fit into an overarching defensive scheme incorporating the city.

⁴⁴ Al-Harawī, 97, trans. 96.

⁴⁵ Al-Idrīsī, [2:] 133, trans. *sub* clime II, section 5. See also the maps of clime III, section 4; II, 4 and 5; I, 4.

⁴⁶ Yāqūt, 4: 607. For a map of Jabal al-Muqaṭṭam reaching the latitudes of Aswan, al-'Allāqī and even 'Aydihāb, see al-Idrīsī 1928.

⁴⁷ Abu'l-Makārim, 62, trans. 145. Al-Muqaṭṭam is said to be Ibn Miṣrā'im b. Miṣr b. Ḥām b. Nūḥ.

⁴⁸ Al-Harawī, 97, trans. 96.

middle of the western part of that (in parts still only projected) wall. It was unfinished when Saladin left for Syria in 578/1182, and construction was completed only under his nephew al-Kāmil (r. 615-35/1218-38).⁴⁹ The expansion and internal development of the castle continued under the Qipchaqs, and it seems that, beside its military use, which was questionable from the beginning, its symbolic functions were also of major importance.

Due to the castle's position, it touched upon Islamic architectural, urban and political traditions in several respects,⁵⁰ of which I shall name but two. Typically, a ruler's or governor's fortified place was located on ground level within the inner wall of a city or, in the absence of such a wall, simply within the city. All pre-Ayyubid rulers of Islamic Egypt had resided inside their capital city, and the area's higgledy-piggledy layout, which had resulted from the foundation of four Islamic capitals in turn, separate from each other (al-Fustāt, al-ʿAskar, al-Qaṭāʾi and al-Qāhira), bears testimony to this. The rulers' residences could also serve as what was regularly termed *ḥiṣn*, *burj* or *qaṣr*: a sort of fortified refuge for the local population to which they could withdraw during an incursion by marauders or a siege. Calling these residences 'citadels' captures the sense that they were located in the midst of a settlement. At the same time, however, the word risks conjuring up ideas of massive fortresses—ideas that easily spring to mind from our knowledge of the Crusader, Ayyubid and Mamluk citadels in the Levant, but which have no true equivalent in earlier times in Egypt.⁵¹

The break with that tradition was all the more pronounced when Saladin first decided that a new seat of government should be built completely outside the then built-up area.⁵² At first it stood at the considerable distance of 1.5 km from the closest city gate, Bāb Zuwayla. It was only when

⁴⁹ Rabbat 1995, 82.

⁵⁰ See Staffa 1977, 216, 225-6; Rabbat 1995, 16-17.

⁵¹ On the variety of pre- and early Islamic uses of the word *qaṣr* ('permanent structure') that had little to do with the palaces and fortresses of later periods, see Conrad 1981, 7-15. However, providing protection was a function of *qaṣrs* from very early on. Ibid., 18-22.

⁵² Garcin (1991, 296-7) argues that this change can be traced back to a longstanding type of urban configuration of which the hippodrome and the castle are characteristic, rather than to palaces and mosques. This had been previously expressed in the Saljuqid tendency to isolate the *locus* of power from town and people. Furthermore, this may also be connected with Saljuq rule in Iran, the land of transition on the Turks' gradual move westward. However, Saladin was not a Turk, and the Qipchaq Turks who were shipped to Cairo had not experienced a Persianate cultural upbringing. Moreover, the retreat to the Mountain Castle completely eclipses in scale any possible precedent in Saljuqid Syria. Besides, the removal from the city has been discussed by Bacharach (1989, 207-9, 220, 227) in terms of what he calls 'court-citadel', a type of fortified courts which carries on with the opposition of palatial court and city so characteristic for the early Islamic period, though

the population underwent unforeseen rapid growth during the Qipchaq sultanate, that the city was drawn towards the castle and grew close to it.⁵³ Despite this later development, the removal of the sultans from the city resulted in their spatial separation from the population.⁵⁴ It will also have communicated a sense of political distinction: this rather isolated castle signified that it was a princely place that would potentially protect only the ruling elite, careless of the fate of the city.

The second remarkable departure from tradition is that this castle was also the first hilltop castle of Islamic Egypt. Unlike lowland fortifications, a hilltop castle is more apt to function as a means of subjugating a city, calling to mind the German term *Zwingburg*, i.e. coercive castle.⁵⁵ In the case of Cairo, an elevation of some 60 m above the banks of the Nile was sufficient to raise the castle high enough to overlook the area of the capital, as did not remain unnoticed.⁵⁶ In this lies another new symbolic representation of superior power. In the Levantine coastal mountains, the hilltop or *qal'a* type of castle had existed since the fourth/tenth century, when the area had been disputed between Byzantines, Hamdanids and Fatimids. The Crusaders' energetic castle building further established that type of fortification on a wider regional scale, but it still remained for it to be introduced into Egypt and, as will be touched upon below, the more interior parts of Syria.

In sum, when the Ayyubid and Qipchaq rulers made the Mountain Castle their residence, it represented a long-term shift in the patterns of fortification, spatial organisation of the capital and, if the above interpretation is acceptable, self-presentation of rulers in relation to their subjects. Particularly under the Qipchaq sultans, the Mountain Castle was emblematic of the tremendous political control the sultans achieved over Egypt and Syria. The sources reflect this in that references to the sultan, the state, the capital city and the castle tend to coincide. Metonymically, it became possible to identify the Mountain Castle itself as an actor—similar to the

in more proximity and with a stronger potential for interaction and control. On Cairo and the Mountain Castle, see *ibid.*, 212–3, 218–21.

⁵³ Staffa 1977, 106–16. See also the plans following pp. 2 and 100, the maps based on them in Kennedy 2002, 30–1, and the plans in Rabbat 1995, 2, Fig. 2; 10, Fig. 3; 23, Fig. 5; 62, Fig. 16. See also above, Fig. 1.

⁵⁴ Garcin 1991, 297.

⁵⁵ There is no established functional typology of castles. Meyer's glossary (1967, 684) says *Zwingburg* is a popular term linked to castles of foreign rulers. The aspect of occupation applies to most of the construction activities of the Crusaders and also permeated the Muslim enthusiasm for castle building to which the Crusaders gave impetus.

⁵⁶ Al-Anṣārī, 11, trans. 45.

way we say today: the White House does this, or the Kremlin does that. The main parallels in Islamic history are the established ways of referring to the courts of the Ottomans and the Moroccan Alaouites as the Sublime Porte and the Makhzen.

THE COUNTRY

No matter how clear the Qipchaqs' centralist policy may be, it would be difficult to grasp the spatial aspect of their rule if consideration were restricted to what went on inside the city walls or even within the broader urban-rural areas. I think it is also critical to take into account features that may indicate a different and opposite orientation: one that was directed centrifugally away from the centres towards the broad expanses of their territory. When Lapidus described the establishment of the Mamluks in Syria, he dealt mainly with the coastal areas and the chain of major cities that runs parallel to the coast, especially Aleppo.⁵⁷ Given his interest in cities, the arid interior did not receive equal attention. In what follows, however, I shall deliberately focus on the steppe hinterland, arguing that these areas were another important building block of the expanding Mamluk state—and that the Mamluks' policy there gives the best indication of their propensity and ability to rule over a territory as contiguous and uninterrupted as possible.

In this connection, I have previously identified six governmental actions, either introduced by the Qipchaq Mamluks or peaking during their rule, each of which introduced a new way of governing space.⁵⁸ They are, briefly:

1. Relations with the Bedouin of the Syrian steppe were institutionalised through the introduction of the office of *amīr al-ʿarab*, literally 'Commander of the Bedouin' (by the Ayyubid sultan al-ʿĀdil, r. 596-615/1200-18), and later considerably developed (from Baybars on).
2. The above-mentioned *barīd* or governmental horse-back postal system was set up across Egypt and Syria (also by Baybars).
3. Two more, though less extensive, networks of governmental intelligence communication were established: the pigeon post (*ḥamām*), spanning Egypt and Syria with temporary off-shoots into Sudan and Anatolia (initially a pre-Ayyubid, that is Zengid, measure), and an optical signalling system by means of beacons (*manāwir*) across Syria and covertly

⁵⁷ Lapidus 1967, 11-16.

⁵⁸ Franz 2007, 135-40.

- into al-Jazīra, i.e. northern Mesopotamia (an Ayyubid undertaking, expanded by the Qipchaq Mamluks).
4. Fortification works of the hilltop castle type were undertaken in the Syrian coastal mountains and in, or on the fringes of, the steppe (late Zengid to Qipchaq Mamluk periods). These activities were accompanied by the building of joint postal stations and carvanserais, which were designed to have a semi-military appearance, representative of a broader trend towards military style.
 5. Bedouin groups that held sway over the Egyptian and Syrian steppes and deserts, and later also Arabised Berbers such as the Hawwāra, were given responsibility for surveillance areas (*adrāk*) in order to keep the long-distance communications open (Qipchaq Mamluk period).
 6. Last but not least, members of the nomadic population, primarily Bedouin and Türkmens, were employed as auxiliary troops, and also in some other government services (Ayyubid and Mamluk periods).

While not forgetting the Qipchaq Mamluks' urban focus, all of the above-mentioned measures were outward-focussed, and they were driven by military considerations. The latter hardly comes as a surprise if one takes into account that the Qipchaqs' concern for the countryside was dominated by anticipated hostilities with the Mongols and Crusaders. The measures numbered 2, 3 and 4, above, clearly apply to all sorts of countryside, whereas 1, 5 and 6 specifically concern areas inhabited by nomads.

Before examining selected measures in detail (taking no. 2 as an example of the generally applicable measures, and no. 1 as an example of nomad-related strategies), it is worth noting three thoughts on the notion of countryside. First, the simultaneity of centripetal and centrifugal forces requires that we conceive how urban, rural and steppe/desert spaces were grouped. Urban centres and their rural environs formed integrated clusters: on the one hand, the city and its residents protected the surrounding village population and provided them with information, while, on the other, the land cultivated by the villagers provided food for the urbanites (see Lapidus above). Proximity was key and defined what each group could best offer the other. A look at the al-Fayyūm basin, south-west of Cairo, provides us with a most instructive example because the tax register that was prepared there slightly before the beginning of Mamluk rule⁵⁹ is the only detailed documentation we have regarding regional farming and taxation during the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods. J. Rapoport has revealed that this rural

⁵⁹ Prepared by the Ayyubid official al-Nābulusī in 641-2/1243-5.

area comprised two kinds of arable land. On the one hand, there was seasonally flooded agricultural land suitable for growing cereals; this produced staple crops on which taxes were levied in kind. In contrast, horticultural areas that were constantly irrigated produced fruit and vegetables, sold as cash crops, which served the rather short-term demands of consumers and appealed in particular to those who depended on purchasing foodstuffs; unsurprisingly, taxes on such produce were levied in cash.⁶⁰ As the Fayyūm was itself a densely populated area, with Madīnat al-Fayyūm at its centre and the cities of Iṭṭīḥ, al-Bahnasā and Cairo not too far away (40-90 km as the crow flies), we may make the general deduction from this one piece of evidence that there is a type of countryside that is a mix of farmland and garden plots and has the potential to market direct to urbanites. (For an overview of the geographic items mentioned in this chapter, see Fig. 2.)

Second, we may distinguish various basic types of land in more remote countryside. On the one hand, there were arable areas beyond the urban-rural clusters, where primarily grain was grown, whether by dry (rainfall-fed) or irrigation agriculture. This applies in particular to those parts of the Nile valley and delta that were further from the big cities, and also to Palestine, the Transjordanian highlands, Ḥawrān and the plains of northern Syria. Three of the six above-mentioned measures applied to these areas, namely the postal system, complementary communication networks and fortification works. The bonds that linked these areas most strongly to the centres were grain production and taxation. Since taxation was at the heart of every pre-modern Muslim polity,⁶¹ it was not the trigger for the formation of a new spatial fabric specific to Ayyubid and Qipchaq Mamluk rule. Of course, the military's appetite for land grants (*iqṭā's*) was a driving force behind the Mamluk system, but, given that military *iqṭā'* holders were as a rule absent from their estates and lived in urban centres, it is clear that their enrichment from the labour of the peasant population was not the result of balanced give-and-take, but rather of an exploitative, inherently power-based relationship. In this regard, the areas of dry agri-

⁶⁰ Rapoport 2004, 8, 10-11, based on al-Nābulusī, 114-16 (village of Sayla) and 145-6 (village of Minyat al-Usquf). See the corresponding website, run by Rapoport and Shahar since 2010, at <http://www.history.qmul.ac.uk/ruralsocietyislam/translations/index.html> (accessed 11 July 2013), which will eventually include the text of the register, a translation, a database for analysis, etc.

⁶¹ A paradigmatic discussion on whether, in the early Islamic period, the military served the state or vice versa is offered by Kennedy (1995), who tends to the latter view. For the Mamluk and Ottoman periods, Fuess (2010) proposes a different notion, appreciating the longevity of the link between military slavery and *iqṭā'*.

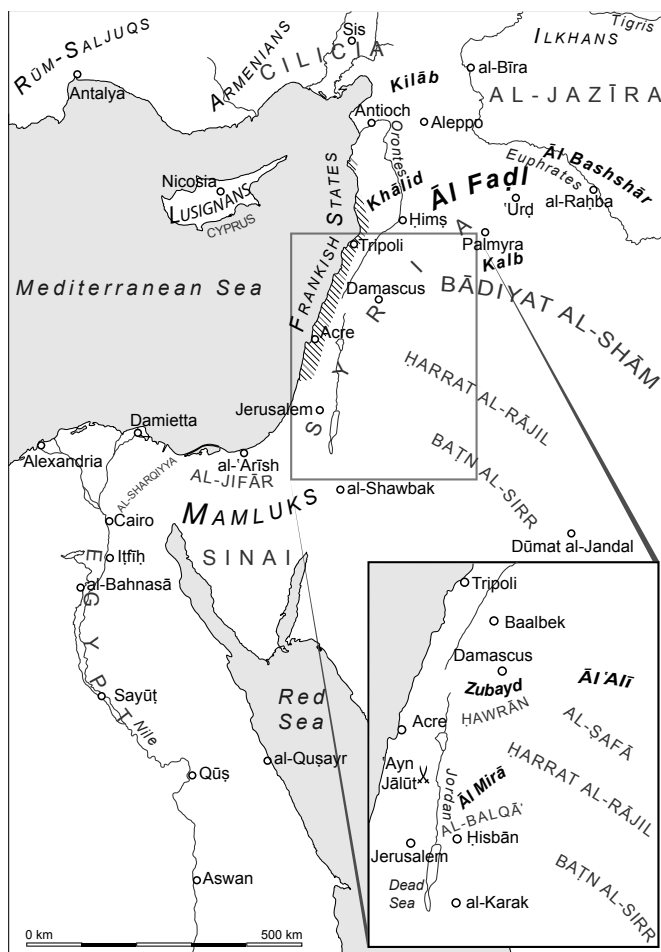


Fig. 2. The Near East at the time of the Qipchaq Mamluks.

culture were more distant from, and less closely attached to the centres than the urban-rural clusters: the further populations were away from each other, the less interrelated they were in terms of direct exchange, acquaintance, intermarriage, tribal (or 'tribal') affiliation, protection, etc. Thus, the fact that a particular area was tilled and hoed does not of itself reveal its position in the overall spatial fabric of Qipchaq Mamluk rule.

On the other hand, there were vast steppes and desert reaches that were arid, sparsely populated and primarily put to mobile pastoralist use. As such terrain occupies more than three-quarters of the area of the Near East,

their integration or non-integration was a major distinctive feature of the extension of any regional empire. It may be noted that the Arabic language was far from precise in distinguishing what is steppe and what is desert, but since *bādiya*, which is the word most widely used in these contexts, implies the function of 'grazable land', I will refrain in the following from referring to 'deserts' as it may evoke notions of sterility that are misleading. Even the most frequent Arabic equivalents for 'desert' in this sense, *barr* and *barriyya*, are used just as often as synonyms for *bādiya* (see below, *wālī al-barr*).⁶² In particular the Bādiyat al-Shām or Syrian Steppe, with its gradual transition from areas of dry (rain-fed) agriculture to the arid interior, offered a habitat and basic livelihood to a not insignificant nomad population. All the government measures listed above applied to the steppe/desert type of countryside and half of them did so exclusively. Most of these stretches of land were far from the urban-rural areas, with the exception of some that adjoined a centre directly (Cairo) or came very close to it (al-Karak and Damascus). Even in these cases, the steppe/desert tracts under pastoral use were less interlinked with the centres than were the grain-producing areas: nomadic animal husbandry, marginal farming, transport services, etc. were not particularly suitable for taxation, and they will have produced nothing like the levies that could be gained from the sedentary population in the arable areas. (It is regrettable that we know woefully little of the economy of the scattered oasis cultures; after all they were few, and it is hardly conceivable that they were subject to a regular taxation regime.)⁶³ It must be assumed that the Bedouin were the prime producers and conveyors of dairy products and meat to consumers everywhere in the region—even more than they are today.⁶⁴ However, as these were small businesses taking place in countless local markets, many of which were rural, they were far from being as beneficial to the treasury as the *iqṭāʿ* estates and long-distance trade.

What is more, the Bedouin, with their tribal style of political organisation, harboured an intrinsic distrust of state structures. Their recurrent unruliness needs no comment here, but it is worth bearing in mind how little reason there is to rate the steppe/desert areas as territories under veritable state administration. In early Mamluk Syria, this situation was only aggravated by the sultans when many of the most fertile swathes of land were farmed out to the Bedouin as *iqṭāʿ*'s, notably in the Ḥawrān,

⁶² Leder 2004, 77-9.

⁶³ On the Egyptian oases, Fakhry 1973-4 is still the major study.

⁶⁴ For today's Syria, see Bretan 2010, 155-60.

around al-Karak, Damascus, Ḥamāh, Salamiya and Aleppo and in the Euphrates valley at al-Raḥba.⁶⁵ In Egypt, *iqṭāʿ*s were first given, under Baybars, to those Bedouin of the northern Sinai who took on responsibility for the *barīd* in this area.⁶⁶ It is likely that these grants were located next to the Sinai on the eastern fringes of the Nile Delta (al-Sharqiyya), an area that is later described as having only a few vegetable plots because of its proximity to salt flats and the Bedouin nature of most of its people.⁶⁷ It may be that the Bedouin style of land use brought about the deterioration of the soil, or that desiccation was already underway so that pastoral use was all that was appropriate. On the other hand, highly productive land came under Bedouin sway mainly in southern Egypt during the Circassian period—when the power of Bedouin and Arabised Berber groups increased. This is particularly apparent in the regional hegemony of the Hawwāra/Banū ʿUmar of Girgā, ca. 782/1380-1 to 983/1576.⁶⁸ These developments indicate that not even a legally established *iqṭāʿ* can of itself always provide a clear dividing line between urban-rural areas on the one hand and steppe/desert areas on the other. Rather, Bedouin land tenure could draw such areas closer to their own domains.

In sum, there were two kinds of more remote countryside: grain-producing areas and the expanses used by nomadic pastoralists, and it appears that both were less intensely attached to the urban centres than their immediate rural environs. All in all, we have reason to group these extensive outlying areas together, whereas the urban centres and their environs are distinguished by their small size and their complete interdependence.

The third thought on the notion of countryside is a caveat concerning regional differences. The distinction that has just been described applies best to Syria, since its natural environments allowed for a gradual transition from densely populated urban centres to tracts of land that were barely inhabited, and thus a gradual diminution of intensity of interaction. In contrast, conditions all along the Nile valley led to a sharp contrast between arable land and virtually barren desert. At the same time, the regularity of irrigation by the Nile flood over a large part of the valley floor will have made agriculture and horticulture interrelated and also produced a more homogenous spread of population over the area concerned. Accordingly,

⁶⁵ E.g. Ibn Abī'l-Faḍā'il, 7, 57, trans. 61, 166-7; al-Maqrīzī, vol. 1, part 2: 433, 465, 492, 535, trans. vol. 1, part 1: 107-8, 169, 206; vol. 1, part 2: 17; Amitai 1995, 47, 65; Levani 1995, 176-7.

⁶⁶ Al-Maqrīzī, vol. 1, part 2: 481, trans. vol. 1, part 1: 189.

⁶⁷ Al-Qalqashandī, 3: 400.

⁶⁸ On them, see Garcin 1976, 468-98; Garcin 1995.

the rulers' grip extended almost naturally across all the inhabited area and, as long as there was no power struggle in Cairo, the whole of Egypt would come under state control. In contrast, in Syria, the Qipchaq Mamluks needed to use several strategies to bring the country into the fold of the state.

Having made these observations about the more far-flung spatial elements of the Qipchaq Mamluks' realm, I now turn, albeit selectively, to consider how the government organised them in the state's interest. Of the six strategies listed above, I shall elaborate on those concerning the second (the postal system) and the first (the Amirate of the Bedouin).

*The Postal System*⁶⁹

As far as the reclamation of the country was concerned, the *barīd* worked as a most effective means. It was set up in 658/1260 in response to the Mongol invasion, the Mamluks' triumph over them at 'Ayn Jālūt and the ensuing advance of the Mamluks throughout Syria. Baybars was well aware that substantial territorial expansion would only be consolidated if the territory and its frontiers could be brought under permanent control. Seeing that Mamluk Syria needed to face two hostile fronts at once—against the Crusaders in the Levant and, more dangerously, the Mongols along the Euphrates—he realised that information on these threats was key. Thus motivated, he ordered his officials to “provide him with reports and news of the Tatars and Franks” on a daily basis.⁷⁰ Within roughly a year, a system of postal communication by horse-back riders was therefore established connecting the Mountain Castle in Cairo to Damascus and Baalbek in Syria, as well as to Alexandria, Damietta and Qūsh in Egypt. At least 84 stations (*manāzil*) were established along some 1,900 km of route,

⁶⁹ In addition to Sauvaget's (1941) ground-breaking work on the Mamluk *barīd*, see also in particular Grant 1937, 235-41; Sadeque 1969, 167-80; Gazagnadou 1994, chapter 3; and Silverstein 2007, 165-85; also a survey of *barīd* in literature by Ullmann (1997) and an archaeological survey of Syrian road-inns, including *barīd* stations, by Cytryn-Silverman (2010). See also Franz (forthcoming b).

⁷⁰ Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir, 32, trans. 119-20; Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī, *Ta'rif*, 242, trans. 480; al-Qalqashandī, 14: 370. Four accounts including station lists of different scope are preserved: Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī, *Ta'rif*, 239-62, trans. 477-510; al-Qalqashandī, 14: 366-404, trans. 239-61; Khalīl b. Shāhīn al-Zāhirī, 117-20, trans. 199-202; tabular summaries by de Volney (1837, 179-80), and Hartmann (1907, 70-87); Najm al-Dīn al-Qalqashandī (the Younger), *Qalā'id al-jumān fi muṣṭalah mukātabat ahl al-zamān*, British Library, Ms. or. 3625, quoted in Sprenger 1864, 9-10, n. 1. The *inshā'* work pointed out by Gaudefroy-Demombynes (1923, pp. v-vi), now published as one al-Sahmāwī's *al-Thaḡhr al-bāsim fi ṣinā'at al-kātib wa'l-kātim* (ed. A.M. Anas, 2 vols, Cairo 2009), contains no such list. See Franz forthcoming b.

the stages between stations rarely exceeding two hours at a trot. While it was possible for some stations to be housed in existing castles, e.g. in al-ʿArīsh, Damascus and Baalbek, most had to be newly built. Investment was also necessary to pay the members of the courier corps (from among the royal Mamluks) and station staff, and for the care of the horses, equipment and general maintenance. By 669/1271, Baybars had added to this skeleton network new routes to al-Karak and al-Shawbak in Transjordan, al-Raḥba on the Euphrates, Aleppo and al-Bīra, the latter again on the Euphrates, as well as some branches. In the course of roughly 70 years, the number of stations known to us increased by at least another 138, to a total of at least 206 (after subtracting 18 abandoned stations) that were presumably in use by the mid-eighth/fourteenth century. As the Frankish Levant, the western Jazīra and, temporarily, Cilicia had by then been gained, the postal route network amounted overall to some 6,400 km.⁷¹ The sultans were now in a position to receive regular information updates about their entire domain, from Upper Egypt to Mesopotamia and south-eastern Anatolia⁷² and, in addition, secret couriers (*quṣṣād*) provided them with news from al-ʿIrāq, Persia and Anatolian Armenia.⁷³

As postal riders were able to travel about 200 km a day, marching orders, appointments, assignments of benefices, penalties and other kinds of documents could now be sent rapidly. The military manual of al-Anṣārī (ca. 801-15/1399-1412) states: “The *barīd* generally reduces a twenty-day journey to three days, as in the case of the Damascus-to-Cairo route.”⁷⁴ Others have it that the route from the Mountain Castle to Damascus was regularly covered within four days. Indeed, certain ambitious messengers could even almost halve that journey time, and reports about particularly swift riders indicate that a culture of speed grew up among them.⁷⁵ At any

⁷¹ Of the total of at least 224 stations, we have compelling reason to believe that only three—one Bedouin camp in the Jifār desert and two watering places in the Jazīra—had no special station buildings erected. Sauvaget (1941, 50, n. 213) counted 168 stations.

⁷² According to the station lists (see above, n. 70), the *barīd* was the most extensive of the communication systems. It linked Cairo southward to Aswan, Nubia and initially also ʿAydḥāb and Suakin. In Cilicia and Anatolia, the *barīd* reached Tarsus, Sis, al-Kakhtā and Karkar during the late seventh/thirteenth and eighth/fourteenth centuries. In Mesopotamia, the most remote stations were al-Raḥba, and later al-Khābūr (probably identical with ʿArabān) and Mardin. Further down the Euphrates, al-Raḥba reportedly connected through the optical signalling system to ʿĀna.

⁷³ See Amitai-Preiss 1995, 140-7.

⁷⁴ Al-Anṣārī, 14.

⁷⁵ See Sauvaget 1941, 49, n. 208, 76-7. On the postal riders as an occupation group (*al-barīdiyya*), see al-Subki, 32-3, trans. 17-18; Sauvaget 1941, 18-20; Ullmann 1997, 48-50.

given time, at least during the reign of Baybars, the Cairo-to-Damascus trunk route would be simultaneously served by one rider in each direction. Moreover, an obviously energetic *barīd* authority saw to the improvement of the network and the construction of new stations. As a consequence, the *barīd* affected the relative importance of central and provincial rule: shrinking travel times and frequent traffic meant that distances became less significant and the provinces and borders were drawn closer to Cairo. The sultans now had much detailed information that would previously have escaped their notice and could thus take prompt decisions.

Thus, the development of the *barīd* had a profound effect on the spatial fabric of Qipchaq Mamluk rule in two ways. First, the shift of much local decision-making towards the sultans is evidence of the centralising tendency already discussed above. Second, the ongoing extension of the communication network meant that the number of outlying places and the expanding communications that were signs of the sultans' sovereignty helped the Mamluk state gain ground in the countryside—politically, symbolically, technically and in terms of infrastructure. The last expresses a tendency to territorialisation, implemented through the Qipchaq Mamluks' growing ability to govern the realm throughout the territory they claimed, even including the more remote rural expanses and the steppe/desert areas. So while the directional flows of centralisation and territorialisation may be counter to each other, they were held together by the innovative space-constituting quality of the *barīd*, as well as by the pigeon post and optical signalling system, the employment of auxiliary troops and other local services and, to a somewhat lesser degree, provincial fortification works. Even the outsourcing of state authority through the establishment of surveillance areas (*adrāk*) has a centralising aspect in that it was intended to secure the trade routes to the major cities.

*The Nomads of Syria*⁷⁶

The other space-constituting measure of the Qipchaq Mamluks to be highlighted here is the Amirate of the Bedouin in Syria. While its political history has been studied several times, its spatial aspects have not been a focal

⁷⁶ As well as the works of Hiyari 1975 and 1977, see Oppenheim 1939-68, 1: 353-73; Tritton 1947-8; Wiet 1963; Tekindağ 1978; al-Nafūrī 1981, 105-14; Krawulsky 1992, 47-52 (together with her partial edition of Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī's *Masālik*, esp. 106-45); Bakhit 1993; Amitai-Preiss 1995, index s.vv. *amīr al-'arab* and 'Isā b. Muḥannā; Amitai forthcoming b; al-Sayyid 1997, 120-76; Drory 2007; Franz forthcoming b.

point of interest. With regard to spatial considerations, the amirate must be seen together with the administrative responsibility imposed on it.

Baybars had inherited the amirate from a long line of predecessors beginning with al-ʿĀdil, who had created it around the beginning of the seventh/thirteenth century. It may even be that the institutionalisation of tribal intermediaries follows a Saljuq example.⁷⁷ The invasion of the Mongols in 658/1260 and their ongoing threat to Syria greatly increased the relevance of the Bedouin who held sway over the steppe areas between the Mongol Jazīra and Mamluk Syria. According to Ibn ʿAbd al-Zāhir (d. 692/1293), it was when Baybars first received tribal representatives, upon his entry into Damascus in Jumādā II 659/May 1261, that he came into contact with a number of Bedouin leaders (*umarāʾ al-ʿurbān*) whom he honoured and presented with their due 'provisions' (*arzāq*). Furthermore, "he entrusted to them the guarding of the territories up to the frontiers of al-ʿIrāq, making their defence obligatory upon them" (*wa-sallamahum khafr al-bilād wa-alzamahum hifzahā ilā hudūd al-ʿIrāq*).⁷⁸ So there still was not a supreme amir, but a rather a plurality of (basically equal) leaders. Moreover, the fact that they were already 'in office' suggests that their status arose from nomination within their respective tribal groups. The territory or 'country' (*bilād*) for which they were responsible was designated, at least ideally, as an area that extended to a defined unbroken border with no competing claims to control over it.

This concept complies neatly with the unique and exclusive territoriality of a province. Clearly, the Syrian steppe was not subject to administration by any of the Syrian provinces of the time. Within the area of solely Bedouin responsibility, the various groups would have controlled distinct districts related to their respective abodes (*diyār*). These groups are reported by Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī on the authority of the contemporary genealogist Ibn Sayf al-Dawla al-Ḥamdānī (d. 700/1301): the Āl Mānīʿ (or, with reference to Mānīʿ' s grandfather, Āl Faḍl), who wandered in the northern part of the Syrian steppe and the north-western Jazīra and were most

⁷⁷ I am grateful to D. Durand-Guédy for noticing the similarity between the Mamluk *amīr al-ʿarab* and the appointment of a *shihna* over the Türkmens of Gurgān probably from among the ranks of the Türkmens themselves by the Saljuq sultan Sanjar (r. 511-52/1118-57). See Durand-Guédy 2011a, 44-5, and 47-50 for the relevant *inshāʾ* document. Similarly, I oppose Hiyari's view (1975, 513, 515; 1977, 41-58) that previous instances of Bedouin amirs in Syria proper had paved the way for al-ʿĀdil's establishment of the amirate; this earlier use of the term *amīr* did not signify an official technical status but designated tribal leaders in general. See also Franz 2007, 214.

⁷⁸ Ibn ʿAbd al-Zāhir, 47, trans. 140.

relevant to the containment of the Mongols; the Āl 'Alī to the south-east of Damascus; and the Āl Mirā to the south of Damascus, all extending far into the Arabian Peninsula.⁷⁹ These three were also clans of the tribe of Rabī'a b. ʿAyyī' who had superseded, from the early Ayyubid period, the age-old dominance of the Banū Kalb. They therefore dominated the minor groups there who were their 'allies' (*aḥlāf*), or rather clients. Thus far, spatial organisation went along the lines of tribal *diyār*.

Two months after Baybars' first meeting with the tribal representatives, in Sha'bān 659/July 1261, Baybars singled out one Sharaf al-Dīn 'Īsā b. Muḥannā, head of the Āl Mānī, by dint of a diploma as "Amir of *all* Bedouin [of the Syrian steppe]" (*amīr jamī' al-'urbān*).⁸⁰ Another tribal leader who claimed a separate amirate for his own clan, the Āl Faraj (or Farah), who had been prominent under the last Ayyubids, was paid off.⁸¹ The wording *amīr* indicates an important shift. Whereas the plural form *umarā'* had previously been used to denote several tribal heads who each acted as representative to the government on the basis of the legitimacy granted them by their respective tribal groups, we now see for the first time during the Mamluk period that the word *amīr* is used in the singular as a technical term to identify one particular Bedouin as the holder of a military government office. As his official status was confirmed by a letter of appointment (*manshūr*),⁸² his legitimacy no longer derived from the tribal group alone, but was also granted by the sultan. Normatively speaking, the implications are obvious: the amir was ideally to be a subordinate in the military hierarchy, obliged to receive and execute orders. This must have implied that his people too were subordinate to the sultan and that their domains became part of the empire—an interior territory under Mamluk sovereignty, at least in principle.

Baybars' setting aside the arrangement whereby several Bedouin had responsibility in respect of their tribes indicates that he considered it more effective to have one person he could address with regard to everything concerning the Syrian steppe and its nomadic population. But the influence Baybars and his successors had on these individuals was limited and, within less than 20 years, responsibility for the Syrian Bedouin was divided. By

⁷⁹ Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umārī, *Masālik*, 116. On the genealogist, see *ibid.*, 70 with n. 1, and Hiyari 1975, 509.

⁸⁰ Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir, 34, trans. 123. On 'Īsā, see also Tekindağ 1978.

⁸¹ Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umārī, *Masālik*, 118. This candidate was Aḥmad b. Ṭāhir b. Ghannām.

⁸² Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir, 34, trans. 123; al-Maqrīzī, vol. 1, part 2: 465, trans. vol. 1, part 1: 169. See also Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umārī, *Masālik*, 116-17.

the year 679/1280, Sharaf al-Dīn 'Īsā, head of the Āl Mānī', had become 'Amir of the Bedouin in the Eastern and Northern Country' (*amīr al-'urbān bi'l-bilād al-sharqiyya wa'l-shimāliyya*), while the head of the Āl Mirā, Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Ḥajjī, held the title 'Amir of the Bedouin of the Southern Country' (*amīr al-'urbān bi'l-bilād al-qibliyya*).⁸³ The domain of the latter, although irrelevant as far as the Euphrates front was concerned, was nevertheless particularly significant because the pilgrimage route to Hijaz ran through it. By this time, the third notable Rabī'ite clan, the Āl 'Alī, were roaming to the south-east of Damascus and towards the area of Dūmat al-Jandal (today's al-Jawf). It thus appears that they controlled the ancient road through Baṭn al-Sirr (now Wādī Sirhān), whose importance, however, had largely declined since it had last been described by a geographer before the year 1000.⁸⁴ When 'Īsā was temporarily dismissed in the same year (679/1280) for disloyalty to the sultan, two leaders jointly took his place: Fakhr al-Dīn 'Uthmān b. Mānī' b. Hibba (Āl Mānī') and Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr (Āl 'Alī).⁸⁵ So the Āl 'Alī now had an amir of their own, although he had not been accorded a title granting him territorial responsibility such as would have made him the equal of his predecessor 'Īsā and of Aḥmad. b. Ḥajjī. In addition, he was designated to dwell in (and care for) the area east of Aleppo towards the Euphrates, close to the Ilkhanids and remote from his group's usual base, whereas 'Uthmān was allowed to stay in the ancestral areas of the Āl Mānī' in northern Syria. These rather unfavourable circumstances for the Āl 'Alī, together with the government's previous division of the steppe into halves, suggests that there was no proper political place for them; it may be guessed that they came under the aegis of the Āl Mānī' and Āl Mirā.⁸⁶ Regarding the split of the amirate, mention must also be made of another Bedouin amir active

⁸³ Al-Maqrīzī, vol. 1, part 3: 675, trans. vol. 2, part 1: 19.

⁸⁴ Al-Muqaddasī, 250, 253, trans. 209, 212.

⁸⁵ Al-Maqrīzī, vol. 1, part 3: 679, trans. vol. 2, part 1: 23. The reason for 'Īsā's removal was his support for the Mamluk defector Sunqur al-Ashqar.

⁸⁶ The tribal domains were, of course, not demarcated from each other, but it seems that only tribal groups of differing strength overlapped, suggesting that a system of patronage was in place. Regarding the Āl Mānī', for example, they apparently dominated the Āl Bashshār (on both banks of the Euphrates bend), the Banū Kalb (perhaps a remainder of the disempowered Kalbites who previously had held sway over the steppe), the Banū Khālid (around Ḥimṣ), the Banū Zubayd (in the environs of Damascus and the Ḥawrān) and the Banū Ghaziyya (in Hejaz, Najd and the Samāwa steppe). See Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umārī, *Masālik*, 115, 143-6. On the distribution of the tribes, see also Hiyari 1975, 512-13, and Hiyari 1977, map 4.

in the same year, Ḥusām al-Dīn Darrāj b. al-Zāhir (Āl 'Āmir).⁸⁷ Thus, four Bedouin amirates had ultimately come to co-exist.

Upon 'Īsā's death in 683/1284-5 and the succession of his son Muhannā, Sultan Qalāwūn (immediately?) abolished the existing division and established an overall amirate under Muhannā. This strengthening of the Āl Māni' had the unintended consequence of encouraging insubordination and some flirtation with the Mongols. When Muhannā and three of his brothers were arrested in 692/1293 by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (first reign, 693-4/1293-4) and imprisoned in Cairo, the amirate was granted to the rival Āl 'Alī, but it was transferred back to Muhannā on his release the year after next.⁸⁸ Another break in his amirate was caused by his desertion to the Ilkhan Öljeitü in 711/1311, but al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (third reign, 709-41/1310-41) rehabilitated him six years later and re-appointed him amir (717-20/1317-20), together with his brother Muḥammad.⁸⁹ In 720/1320, Muhannā came into conflict with the Mamluks again by blocking a Mamluk expeditionary force at the Palmyrenian village of 'Urḍ and forcing it to abandon its intended assault on Sinjār, then the most important town in the central Jazīra under Mongol sway. The following year, the sultan had the Āl Māni' removed from their ancestral grazing grounds in the north-east and driven into the more arid parts of the steppe deep in the interior.⁹⁰ In response to the 'Urḍ incident, he had given the amirate to the Āl 'Alī again, but it was returned once more to Muhannā when he submitted to the sultan in 734/1334, shortly before his death.⁹¹ In brief, several consecutive sultans clung to the idea of a unitary Amirate of the Bedouin, even though it proved inoperable and sometimes utterly detrimental. In reaction to the blows the Bedouin dealt to the system, the office of amir was transferred to other individuals, but the amirate system was not reconfigured, let alone abolished.

This has shown that the Mamluks' political and spatial organisation of the steppe went through six stages: (1) a short-term multi-partite structure;

⁸⁷ Al-Maqrīzī, vol. 1, part 3: 679, trans. vol. 2, part 1: 23. The area assigned to Darrāj stretched south to al-Rastan, halfway between Ḥamāh and Ḥims, to "al-'Iqābiyyāt" (?), a place or swathe of land presumably somewhere south of the Āl Māni's area, i.e. in the direction of Damascus.

⁸⁸ Baybars al-Manṣūrī, 293; al-Jazarī, 26, no. 148; Ibn Abī'l-Faḍā'il, 1, trans. 48; etc. For this and the subsequent events connected to Muhannā, see Hiyari 1975, 518-19, and Bakhit 1993, 461-2.

⁸⁹ See in particular Ibn Abī'l-Faḍā'il, 7, trans. 61.

⁹⁰ Ibid., 10, trans. 69-70. See also *ibid.*, 12, trans. 74.

⁹¹ Ibid., 57, trans. 166-7. See Hiyari 1975, 519.

(2) a unitary structure; (3) a bi-partite structure; (4) an extended unitary phase; (5) another multiple division; (6) a return to a unitary system, which lasted for a long time, even though there were still many disruptions. To summarise, three observations can therefore be made on the territorial orientation of the Qipchaq Mamluks:

First, both the sultans' handling of Bedouin leaders, and their ambitions to gain supremacy in the steppe, tended to override the spatial disposition of tribal regions. The amirate emerged as a political organisation that to some extent dominated the previous tribal mode of co-existence. In this regard at least, the political strategy drawn up by the Ayyubid and Qipchaq sultanates influenced the Bedouin successfully.

Second, the Qipchaq Mamluks' attempt to institutionalise their relationship with Bedouin leaders resulted neither in effective governmental control nor in the territorial stability of the steppe areas.

Finally, it appears that the eventual united status of Bedouin lands was deemed by the Mamluks to be a very good thing. At the same time, the low level of actual control that the sultans enjoyed makes it likely that this agenda was pursued not so much for the positive results it achieved but in the hope that even a malfunctioning united territory was a lesser evil than overt fragmentation.

The sultans' clinging to the semblance of a subordinate amirate deserves more attention. Institution-building was a favoured method of the Qipchaq Mamluks for implementing their territorial ambitions, and its legal aspect must not be overlooked. The relationship with the Bedouin was based on the decrees (*manshūrāt*) by which amirs were appointed and occasionally dismissed, and on the land grants (*iqṭā's*) they received. Subsidiary devices that underpinned the relationship more frequently consisted in the granting of subsidies to the amirs, visits paid to the sultan by the amirs, the giving of sons or nephews as hostages to the Mountain Castle or the temporary imprisonment there of an amir. These actions did nothing but confirm that the relationship with the Bedouin depended first and foremost on exchange between sultan and amir.

How little the government was established in the Syrian steppe may also be inferred from checking the markers of sovereignty that were most usual in mediaeval Islamic states. As far as is known, the Friday prayer with its pledge of allegiance to the legitimate ruler did not take place in the steppe on a regular basis, no canonical taxes were levied there and no judges were appointed to implement the sharia on the steppe. In these respects, the steppe was virtually extra-territorial. Of course, the circulation

of coins with a sultan's name on them gave some sense of affiliation, but this was not a specific feature of the period, and, as had always been the case, no mint operated in the area. A small number of fortifications, first and foremost Qal'at Shirkūh above Tadmur/Palmyra, and also the more numerous stations of the pigeon post, the optical signalling system, and horse-back courier mail provided the only specific representation of sultanic sovereignty.

Meanwhile, two efforts were made to bring the Amirs of the Bedouin into line institutionally. Both concern administrative functions related to them. The Cairo-based *mihmandār* (or *mihmāndār*) acted as chief of protocol who would host ambassadors and thus also Bedouin amirs, and organise their audiences with the sultan. There was an Ayyubid precedent for this office, which in turn, it has been argued, went back to a Fatimid model.⁹² (The Persian appellation is rather indicative of an Ayyubid borrowing from a Saljuqid office, but this is hypothetical, since their title is not attested in the sources on the Saljuqs.)⁹³ Besides the officer in Cairo, there were provincial *mihmandārs* attached at least to the governors of Damascus⁹⁴ and al-Karak,⁹⁵ although it is not certain that the office was continuously filled in these places.

The second and specifically Bedouin-related office was that of the Damascus-based *wālī al-barr*. The time of the establishment of this role is not exactly clear, but it seems that it was only introduced under an early Qipchaq Mamluk sultan, though not immediately under Baybars (d. 676/1277). The Damascene chronicler al-Jazarī (d. 738/1338) pays particular attention to the local office-holders, using interchangeably the titles *mutawallī al-barr*, *wālī al-barr* and *wālī barr Dimashq*.⁹⁶ The meaning of *barr* ranges from 'country' and 'inland' to 'steppe' and 'desert'. However, al-Maqrizī (d. 845/1442) refers to the office-holder in 791/1389 as *wālī al-'arab*, 'Commissioner of the Bedouin'.⁹⁷ This makes it clear that *barr* in fact referred to the grazable steppe and its nomadic inhabitants. Since there was no comparable office in any other Syrian town, the title *wālī barr Dimashq*, 'Administrator of the Steppe of Damascus', implies that this man was in charge of all the Syrian steppe and Bedouin, at least in principle.

⁹² Saleh 1993. See also al-Subkī, 31-2, trans. 16-18.

⁹³ Personal communication from the editor.

⁹⁴ Haarmann 1970, 69.

⁹⁵ Al-Qalqashandī, 4: 241, trans. 237.

⁹⁶ Al-Jazarī, 25, no. 145; 27, no. 153; 46, no. 299; 55, no. 354; 65, no. 410; 67, no. 424; 75-6, no. 482; 76, no. 483; 78-9, no. 487; 79, no. 490; 79-80, no. 491; 80, no. 494.

⁹⁷ E.g. al-Maqrizī, vol. 3, part 2: 609.

The office ranked fourth in order of precedence after those of the governor of the province (*nāʾib*), the superintendent of administration (*shadd al-dawāwīn*) and the commissioner of war (*mutawallī al-ḥarb*). Thus, the *wālī al-barr* ranked higher than the judges, the treasurer and the supervisor of markets.⁹⁸ Despite this acknowledgement of the *wālī*'s rank and the indication that he administered a certain territory and people, no *wilāya* in the sense of a defined territory is indicated. Authors who deal with geography and administration do not list the steppe as an administrative unit, either in its own right or as part of any other. For instance, al-Qalqashandī (d. 821/1418), in his survey of Syria's administrative divisions, singles out the Bedouin (*ʿurbān*) who "dwell beyond the city of Damascus" only after he has ended the list of territorial units that were part of the province of Damascus. His subsequent account of the Bedouin revolves around their tribal composition and the doings of the Amirs of the Bedouin, without reflecting any notable influence on the part of the Damascus officials.⁹⁹ As the latter apparently stayed within the city walls and had no proper staff or resources at their disposal to establish an administrative, political or military grip on the Bedouin, neither the *mihmandār* nor the *wālī al-barr* had any serious clout with the amirs.

Lastly, we also meet such *wālīs* outside Syria. One acted as supervisor of the nomadic groups of northern Sinai, who had contracted in 661/1263 to support the horse-back courier mail that ran across the sandy coastal al-Jifār desert.¹⁰⁰ The office-holder may therefore be identical with the *wālī* of this desert who resided in al-ʿArīsh¹⁰¹ or with the *mutawallī* of the province al-Sharqiyya, resident in Bilbays.¹⁰² As part of his task, he had to brand (or have branded) the horses they supplied with the government mark to prevent mounts being rented out between suppliers and thus becoming unduly exhausted.¹⁰³ In so doing, he laid down a marker of sovereignty that had no equivalent in the Syrian steppe. Moreover, there is evidence of a *wālī al-ʿarab* in the province of al-Bahnasā (in northern Upper Egypt) in 771/1370,¹⁰⁴ and of another who was apparently responsible for the whole of Upper Egypt in 801/1399.¹⁰⁵ It is thus obvious that these offices did not

⁹⁸ Al-Jazarī, 25, no. 145.

⁹⁹ Al-Qalqashandī, 4: 202, trans. 183.

¹⁰⁰ Al-Maqrīzī, vol. 1, part 2: 481, trans. vol. 1, part 1: 189-90.

¹⁰¹ Yāqūt, 3: 661.

¹⁰² Ibn al-Dawādārī, 9: 114, 117. See Roemer's introduction, 17.

¹⁰³ Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmārī according to al-Qalqashandī, 14: 376.

¹⁰⁴ Al-Maqrīzī, vol. 3, part 1: 184.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., vol. 3, part 2: 933.

entail responsibility for any distinct administrative territories or particular personnel; they rather consisted in a personal responsibility subsidiary in some way to an existing administrative division.

All in all, the territorial strategy of the Qipchaq Mamluks was not effective enough in the Syrian steppe for it to be meaningfully classified as Mamluk territory. At the most, the steppe remained an interstice characterised on the one hand by nominal Mamluk overlordship and a few weak administrative institutions, and on the other by continued *de facto* Bedouin autonomy. This state of affairs was rooted in the Ayyubid period, when the Bedouin had first been commissioned to maintain surveillance over the area, but after the Mongols made it their invasion route, the Bedouin enjoyed greater significance and increasingly dared to enter into conflict with the government. So it is all the more striking that none of the Qipchaq Mamluk sultans dealt with this façade of sovereignty by either discarding the steppe agenda or looking for more suitable means of implementing it. It may safely be assumed that the main reason for this was the lack of an alternative. In particular, posting more Mamluk units to the steppe than were already there (in the castles of Shumaymis, Tadmur and al-Raḥba) was not an option. Little was to be gained, given the vastness of the area and considering that there were, after all, only rare Mongol incursions, and the secondment of a good part of the army to claim the steppe would hardly have been viable.

CONCLUSION AND PERSPECTIVE

Spatial organisation under the Qipchaq Mamluks has been shown to comprise two tendencies. Centripetally, the empire's affairs became largely focused on one city, which was being made the capital of the empire and thereby its centre of decision-making, the sole theatre of elite training, the favourite place for investment and urban construction, the symbolic representation of legitimate power, etc. Cairo's strengthening position as the heart of the empire was assured by its growth into the megacity of the Near East of its time. Meanwhile, the capital cities of what were previously autonomous Ayyubid principalities were reduced to provincial hubs; they thrived, but on a subsidiary scale. These are known developments, which together indicate that the Qipchaq Mamluks followed a centralist approach, with the 'Protected Mountain Castle' as its most tangible and even emblematic manifestation. At the same time, a centrifugal tendency was at work, which consisted in multiple innovative infrastructure-building in the more

remote rural and steppe areas, and also in the institutional involvement of the latter, be it through the granting of offices, the demand for services or the outsourcing of state authority to local nomadic inhabitants. These measures amounted to a general revaluation of the open country, which not only reiterated its inclusion in the usual nominal claim of the government to central rule, but aimed at subjecting it to an effective regime. In this, we find an expression of the Qipchaq Mamluks' territorial strategy.

While these strategies flowed in opposite directions, they did not contradict each other. The communication networks that were used for conveying intelligence exclusively boosted the sultans' command in that they provided the means necessary to communicate orders far afield. In addition, the commissioning of the Bedouin tended to shift ultimate control over the Syrian steppe to Cairo and Damascus, while at the same time giving the area a sort of territorial status, however presumptuous that may have been. Extensive fortification activity, not covered in detail in this article, helped enforce central authority over the provinces, while marks of sovereignty were also set at intervals on the ground in the form of the stations of the governmental communication systems. In these ways, territorialisation functionally reinforced centralisation.¹⁰⁶ Here, we should again be careful not to revert to a blinkered centralist view but recognise that, together, both strategies contributed to the greater integration of the realm.

Now that the pattern of the Qipchaq Mamluks' spatial policies has been unravelled, the question finally arises as to its significance from a broader historical perspective. In particular, how does integration under the Qipchaq Mamluks compare with other periods? A satisfactory answer to this would, however, require a reasonable amount of scholarship to be available regarding the spatial dynamics of Islamic polities as well as the coeval perceptions of space. Alas, the spatial history of the Islamic Near East is largely unwritten. The Abbasid period until about AH 400 (with the writing of al-Muqaddasī in 380/990 as a cornerstone) is incomparably better explored than the later periods. In addition, the reciprocity of text-based historical learning and archaeology leaves a lot to be desired. Hence, I can ultimately make only tentative remarks, briefly, as a postscript requires, on the historical significance of the matter. That being said, I propose that a simultaneous orientation towards the castle and the country, initiated by the Ayyubids and culminating under the Qipchaq Mamluks, typifies a

¹⁰⁶ On the interrelation of the two strategies regarding Bedouin affairs and military organisation, see Amitai-Preiss 1995, 64-71, 74-7; Amitai 2011; Raphael 2011, 206-11.

new spatial pattern of rule in Islamic history that resulted in a high degree of integration. In the sequence of patterns that I shall outline in the remaining lines, it comes third.

The Umayyad century, I suggest, stands out for the considerable congruence that existed then between the area claimed as state territory and the area that was indeed governed by the state authorities. Newly and effectively conquered, the steppe areas of the Near East were no less part of the territory than were the existing urban-rural clusters and new garrison towns. A vital contributory factor to this was the fact that the Bedouin tribal groups of Arabia and Syria, who benefitted from the Arab expansion, were basically loyal to the government and accepted statehood. This attachment made up for the shortcomings of statecraft and administration during the period when the caliphate was still in a nascent state, and it persisted when 'Abd al-Malik's reforms took effect. The extensive non-military construction projects in the Syrian steppe, which have long gone under the label 'desert castles', make it clear that the tribal regions were tranquil areas in the interior where the caliphs' sovereignty was a matter of fact. Elsewhere, Umayyad statehood was heavily disputed and, in regions where revolt was endemic, such as the Jazīra, rebels did not aim at secession from, but at usurpation of the state.

In contrast, the territorial outreach of the caliphate became discontinued shortly after the beginning of Abbasid rule. Construction and development activities in the steppe ceased, military reforms led to the exclusion of most of the Arab soldiery, and the Syrian and North Arabian roads became increasingly unsafe to travel. By the late third/ninth century at the latest, pledges of allegiance from the Bedouin side amounted to mere lip-service, and most of the vast steppe and desert tracts where they held sway had become virtually exterior to the state. What is more, rulers accepted this situation. Mountain areas also became strongholds for unruly populations, and highway robbery posed an ineradicable threat on inter-city roads. Often, the range of effective rule was restricted to urban-rural patches, extended at best to their connecting highways, so that state territory, properly so called, fell short of the areas claimed by the rulers. Despite local variations, it seems that this pattern did not undergo any basic change throughout the Abbasid, Buyid and Saljuq/Fatimid periods. Lasting thus for roughly four centuries, its longevity meant that it came to be regarded as the standard pattern for the way the spatial fabric of rule in the Islamic Near East was structured.

The revision of this pattern in Egypt and Syria came with the Ayyubids, somewhat foreshadowed by the last Zengids. Saladin restored the connection between the eastern and western halves of the Islamic Near East, after it had been split into two when the Crusaders invaded Transjordan (in 509/1115-6) and fortified it from the Dead Sea to the Red Sea (fairly effectively from 525/1132 or slightly later). Having recaptured the area, Saladin and his successors saw to the maintenance of Crusader-period settlements in Transjordan, gave attention to winning over the Bedouin who had been susceptible to Frankish overtures, established the Amirate of the Bedouin, and linked Syria to Egypt by the pigeon post. Thus, a whole bundle of geo-strategic measures was taken that show a reassessment of the previously disconnected hinterlands and converged in an attempt to transform them into connected state territories. The Qipchaq Mamluks intensified and diversified this agenda by means of the measures described above. With their overall policy to lend their rule spatial depth, the Ayyubid/Qipchaq Mamluk strategy resembles that of the Umayyads.¹⁰⁷

During the final phase of Qipchaq Mamluk rule—which it is difficult to consider separately from the demographic havoc wrought by the plague from 748/1347 onwards—government communications networks saw a decline, the Syrian steppe—then a pacified frontier zone—was neglected, and the obstinacy of the Bedouin persisted, occasionally developing into uprisings, though more in Egypt than in Syria. During the Circassian Mamluk and Ottoman periods, governmental control of the settled areas grew stronger again, although government endeavours to integrate the steppe continued to experience ups and downs. The Ottoman continuation of the Amirate of the Bedouin in Syria under the heading *çöl beyliği* ('Beylik of the Desert')¹⁰⁸ was no better than its forerunner in terms of effectiveness. As before, governmental sovereignty over the steppe as part of state territory would have been more pretence than reality.

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¹⁰⁷ Previously briefly indicated by Franz 2008, 136, 137, 139.

¹⁰⁸ Winter (forthcoming). I thank the author for making a draft version available to me.

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CHAPTER ELEVEN

BETWEEN TEHRAN AND SULTĀNIYYA. EARLY QAJAR RULERS AND THEIR ITINERARIES

Nobuaki Kondo

The Qajars (1796-1925) are the last dynasty whose mother tongue was Turkish to have ruled over Iran. This might be a reason why some scholars of medieval Iran have tried to find similarities between the Qajars and the Turko-Mongol rulers they were investigating. Ann Lambton, for example, has found that the Saljuqs (eleventh-twelfth centuries) and the Qajars were very much alike as far as the role of prince governors and matrimonial alliances were concerned.¹ One of the more obvious similarities, though, would seem to have been in their lifestyle. The fact that the Qajars spent a lot of time in Sultāniyya, the summer pasture elevated by the Mongol Ilkhan, Öljeitü, to the rank of capital, is particularly striking.² Lambton points out that the royal court was constantly on the move, and cites the British envoy Sir Gore Ouseley, who remarked that Fath ‘Alī Shāh, “like most members of the Kajār family, and of other northern tribes, preferred an erratic to a settled life; a village to a city, and a tent to a palace”.³ Although several researchers have already referred to the migrations of the Qajar courts, this issue has not been dealt with in any in-depth study.⁴ The aim of this chapter is to analyse as precisely as possible the itineraries of the early Qajars and their relationship with their capital, Tehran, and to assess the extent of these similarities. I have chosen to focus on the cases of Āqā Muḥammad Khān (from 1785 to his death in 1797) and his successor, Fath ‘Alī Shāh (r. 1797-1834), because their reigns were not much affected by modernisation or Westernisation.⁵

¹ Lambton 1988, 91-2.

² In his article on the itineraries of the Öljeitü (end of the thirteenth century), Charles Melville mentions the regular summer migrations of the Qajar court outside Tehran. See Melville 1990, 64.

³ Lambton 1988, 91. Ouseley 1819-23, 3: 151.

⁴ Lambton 1988, 91; Hambly 1972, 89; Scarce 1983, 336; Moghtader 1992, 41; Scarce 2001, 110.

⁵ Although Ebrahimnejad’s stimulating study on the Early Qajars contains some allusions to their residence (Ebrahimnejad 1999, 64-9), it focuses mainly on the formation of

A major problem in previous studies on early Qajar residences is that they relied heavily on European accounts and neglected Persian sources.⁶ European travellers such as Ouseley provide us with vivid eyewitness accounts, but the information is fragmented and cannot ultimately serve as a firm basis for the analysis. In contrast, the chronicles written at the Qajar court give precise data on the dates and the destinations of the royal travels. Furthermore, the chronicles, along with archival documents, provide us with a more complete list of early Qajar buildings, most of which have not survived to the present day. For Āqā Muḥammad Khān, the most important chronicle is Sārawī's *Tārīkh-i muḥammadī* (completed 1211/1796-7). Sārawī served as a *nadīm* (boon companion) and also as a *mullā-bāshī* (chief jurist), and he probably accompanied the shah in most aspects of his life.⁷ The *Tārīkh-i mulk-ārā* by Chūlawī also provides key dates and the Zand chronicles help us with the dates of military confrontations between the Qajars and the Zands. When there are contradictions between the sources, I have followed the *Tārīkh-i muḥammadī* because it is the official history on Āqā Muḥammad Khān and was also compiled earlier than the *Tārīkh-i mulk-ārā*.⁸

For Faṭḥ 'Alī Shāh, the key source is Khāwarī's *Tārīkh-i Dhu'l-qarnayn* (completed before 1255/1839-40). Khāwarī served the grand vizier Mīrzā Muḥammad Shafī' as *mutarassil* (secretary) for 17 years, and, after nine years in Nihāwand as the local vizier, became a private secretary to Faṭḥ 'Alī Shāh in 1828.⁹ He had direct access to the shah and his vizier and may have accompanied them during their travels. He was also able to use earlier chronicles, such as Marwazī's *Tārīkh-i jahān-ārā*, as sources for his work. The *Tārīkh-i jahān-ārā* is particularly useful for its description of the Qajar palaces and thrones.¹⁰ Other chronicles such as Dunbulī's *Ma'āthir-i*

their political and tribal structure and does not deal with their itineraries or their relationship with cities.

⁶ Hambly 1972; Scarce 1983, 333-8; Scarce 2001, 105-11.

⁷ Maḥmūd Mīrzā, *Safīnat*, 629.

⁸ *Tārīkh-i mulk-ārā* was compiled in 1244/1829 on the orders of 'Alī Qulī Mīrzā Mulk-ārā, the second son of Faṭḥ 'Alī Shāh and governor of Māzandarān. See Chūlawī, fol. 3a-b. This work was the main source for later chronicles such as *Mulḥaqāt-i Rawḍat al-ṣafā-yi nāsirī* by Hidāyat.

⁹ Khāwarī a, 6-7, 697; Maḥmūd Mīrzā, *Safīnat*, 558-9.

¹⁰ We need a further survey of the manuscripts of this work. The British Library manuscript, dated 1236/1821 (= Marwazī a), only includes events up to the year of the Tiger (1806-7), while the *Majlis* manuscript, dated 1243/1828 (= Marwazī b), covers events as late as the year of the Pig (1827-8). The last parts of both manuscripts contain descriptions of the palaces and thrones, which are slightly different.

sulṭāniyya and Maḥmūd Mīrzā's *Tārīkh-i sāhibqirānīyya* are not so useful for our purpose (the former because it is a Tabriz-based chronicle, the latter because it is very abridged).

On the basis of a careful analysis of the material extracted from these chronicles, I will argue that, while the travel patterns of the early Qajars might evoke those of, for example, the Ilkhan Öljeitü, appearances are deceptive. I will start by analysing in detail the itineraries of Āqā Muḥammad Khān and his nephew Fath 'Alī Shāh in turn and estimate the time they spent in their summer and winter residences. I will then focus on the way the shah occupied his two main residences in Sulṭāniyya and Tehran. Finally, I will show the political, economic and ideological importance of the capital, Tehran.¹¹

ITINERARIES AND PATTERNS OF TRAVEL

Both the *Tārīkh-i muḥammadi* and *Tārīkh-i dhu'l-qarnayn* are divided into chapters corresponding to the 'Turkish' year (the duo-decennial animal cycle of the solar year starting from the vernal equinox). For this reason, I have reconstructed the itineraries on the basis of the solar year and corrected some discrepancies in the chronology.¹² It should be noted that, unlike the Ilkhanid chronicle *Tārīkh-i ūljaytū*, the Qajar chronicles do not refer clearly to their summer and winter quarters. One has to follow all the itineraries of the rulers and match them with dates and such expressions as *ayylāmīshī* and *qishlāmīshī*,¹³ which were still used in early Qajar chronicles.

Āqā Muḥammad Khān

After taking Tehran in autumn 1785, Āqā Muḥammad Khān lived through 12 winters and 11 summers until he was assassinated in June 1797. Table 1

¹¹ Some content of this essay was previously published in Japanese (Kondo 2006), but has been totally revised for the present chapter.

¹² The discrepancies in Sārawī are as follows: no animal year for 1786-7 (should be Horse), Year of the Monkey for 1787-8 (instead of Sheep), Year of the Cock for 1788-9 (instead of Monkey), Year of the Dog for 1789-90 (instead of Cock), and Year of the Pig for 1790-1 (instead of Dog). He skipped the year 1791-2, so after that his animal year dating is correct (Sārawī, 155, 167, 175-6, 185, 190). Most of the Zand and early Qajar chronicles were divided into chapters to coincide with the animal years. An exception is Shīrāzī's *Tārīkh-i Zandīyya*, a Zand chronicle, which does, however, include some detailed information on the dates of events in the late Zand and early Qajar period.

¹³ For these terms, see Honda 1965, 122-3, 131-2. Doerfer 1963-75, 3: 481-2, 4: 254.

shows the locations of his summer and winter residences during those years.

Table 1. Summer and Winter Residences of Āqā Muḥammad Khān

Year	Summer	Winter	Sources
Snake (1785-6)	–	Tehran	Sārawī, 153; Chūlawī, fol. 123a
Horse (1786-7)	Gūrāndasht ¹⁴	Tehran	Sārawī, 159-160
Sheep (1787-8)	Gandumān ¹⁵	Tehran	Sārawī, 168, 170
Monkey (1788-9)	Gandumān, Pasargadae	Sārī, Bārfurūsh ¹⁶ , Ashraf	Ghaffarī, 750; Chūlawī, fol. 134b
Cock (1789-90)	Hazār ¹⁷ , Qashan ¹⁸	Tehran	Sārawī, 186-9
Dog (1790-1)	Gundamān	Tehran	Chūlawī, fol. 141a; ‘Abd al-Karīm, 326 ¹⁹
Pig (1791-2)	Mushkanbar ²⁰	Tehran	Sārawī, 194, 197
Rat (1792-3)	Shiraz	Tehran	‘Abd al-Karīm, 372; Sārawī, 212
Cow (1793-4)	Āspās ²¹	Astarābād, Sārī, Bārfurūsh etc.	Sārawī, 225, 228; 237-8
Tiger (1794-5)	outside Kirman	Shiraz	Shīrāzī 111; Sārawī 262
Hare (1795-6)	Shusha, Aqsdām ²²	Ganja?	Sārawī, 269, 271;
Dragon (1796-7)	Jājarm ²³ , Jahān Arghiyān ²⁴	Tehran	Sārawī, 286, 291

The table shows that Āqā Muḥammad Khān did not stay in the same place every summer and winter. He spent eight winters in Tehran, but never resided there in summer. He spent most of his summers (seven out of eleven) on pasture lands in the provinces of Isfahan, Fārs and Kirman, which are located south of Tehran. However, these places were not chosen for climatic reasons. In fact, during most of his reign, he was waging a military campaign against the Zands, who held Shiraz and Isfahan. For example, in 1788, Āqā Muḥammad Khān marched to Pasargadae (called in

¹⁴ 55 km south-west of Qazvin.

¹⁵ 100 km south-west of Isfahan—one of the Safavid summer quarters.

¹⁶ Today's Bābul in the Māzandarān Province.

¹⁷ 30 km north of Shiraz.

¹⁸ Today's Kashan, 6 km west of Shiraz.

¹⁹ Sārawī does not mention any event that year, while Shīrāzī states that Āqā Muḥammad Khān made an expedition to Azarbaijan that year (Shīrāzī, 73-4).

²⁰ Today's Mushk ‘Anbar, 43 km north of Tabriz.

²¹ 75 km east of Yasuj, on the northern border of Fārs Province.

²² I cannot locate Aqsdām on the current maps. According to Sārawī (271), it was located in 6 *farsang* (36 km) from Shusha toward Tiflis.

²³ 100 km south-west of Bujnūrd.

²⁴ 85 km north-east of Sabzawār.

the sources Mashhad-i Umm-i Nabī) to fight against Ja‘far Khān Zand.²⁵ The following year, he marched on Shiraz, the Zands’ capital. In late June, he camped by the village of Hazār and defeated the Zand army. Then, he proceeded to Qashan, six km from Shiraz, and stayed there until early September, but was unable to capture Shiraz.²⁶ In early June 1792, he defeated Luṭf ‘Alī Khān Zand at Abraj, 84 km north of Shiraz and, soon afterwards, entered the city at the invitation of the inhabitants and stayed in the Zand palaces, with their beautiful gardens, until late August.²⁷ From June to October 1794, he besieged the city of Kirman, the stronghold of Luṭf ‘Alī Khān Zand. All Āqā Muḥammad Khān’s travels can be explained as being politically and strategically motivated, and there are no grounds to believe that the locations of summer quarters were critically important for him, as they might have been for the Mongol Ilkhans, for example.²⁸ He was always on the way to do combat with the Zands in summer, and would camp somewhere that was not only cool but also convenient for his campaign.

While Āqā Muḥammad Khān camped close to the theatre of military operations in summer, he stayed in Tehran for three-quarters of the winters. Sārawī says that his winter “arrangement” (*qarār dād*) was to stay in Tehran himself and send his soldiers back to their home towns.²⁹ The amount of time he spent in Tehran during his reign highlights the importance of the city.

Unfortunately, the chronicles on Āqā Muḥammad Khān do not provide us with all the dates of his itinerary. Table 2 shows the dates of his arrival at and departure from Tehran, as far as we can tell from the source.

We can distinguish three different patterns. Cases (a) to (d) cover the years when Āqā Muḥammad Khān spent the winter in Tehran. In these cases, he resided there from six to eight months. Considering that he had to lead many military expeditions, he stayed in Tehran for a great proportion of his reign. In addition, as mentioned above, he spent eight out of 12

²⁵ Ghaffārī Kāshānī, 750; Sārawī, 177.

²⁶ Shirāzī, 72-3.

²⁷ Ibid., 94, 100-1; ‘Abd al-Karīm, 372, 374. It is clear that he went first into the castle (*arg*) of Karīm Khān, but he may have stayed at the Zand Royal Gardens in the suburbs during the summer. For the location of the gardens, see Perry 1979, 273, Fig. 3.

²⁸ Honda has highlighted the importance of the summer and winter quarters (*qishlāq* and *yaylāq*) for the Ilkhans (1256-1335). According to him, the summer and winter quarters were not only fundamentally important to explain their itineraries, but were also used for enthronement ceremonies and supreme councils (*quriltai*). See Honda 1976, esp. 98.

²⁹ Sārawī, 170, 179.

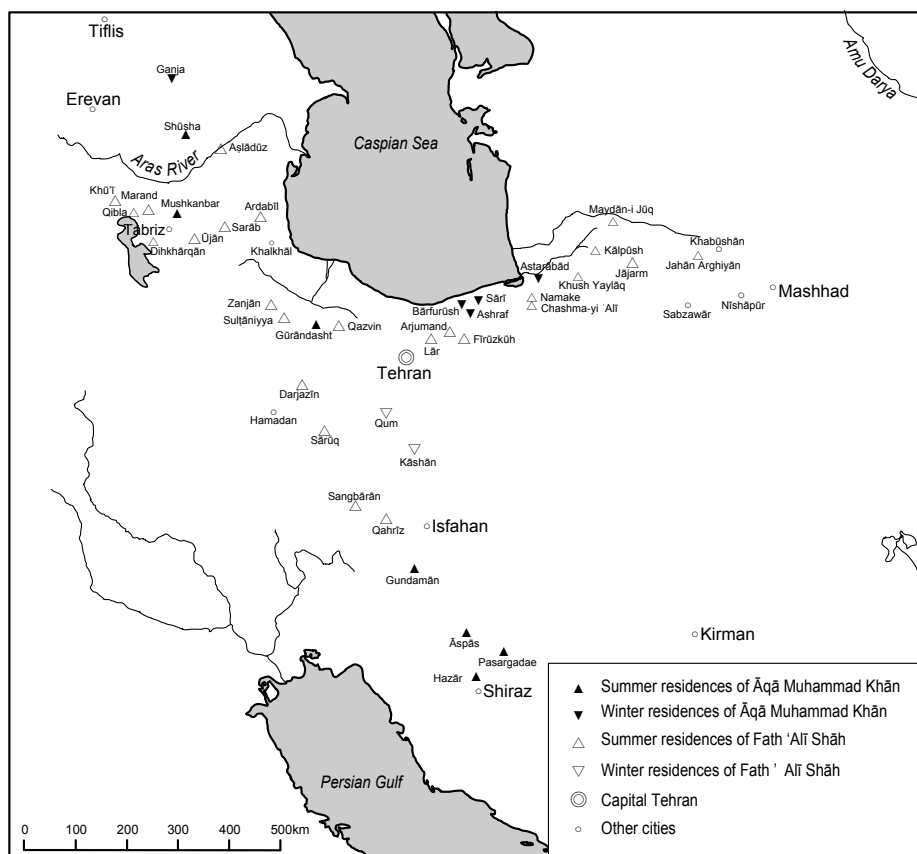


Fig. 1. Summer and winter residences of the early Qajars.

winters in Tehran. The royal court was certainly not constantly on the move as Lambton has claimed,³⁰ and it is clear that he resided in Tehran longer than anywhere else. Apart from Tehran, the place he stayed longest is Kirman (in 1794), but that can be considered exceptional: he besieged the city for four months and stayed there for a month after he captured it from Luṭf 'Alī Khān Zand.³¹ As for his summer residences, Āqā Muḥammad Khān stayed in Shiraz for two months and 20 days in 1792³² and in Āspās for three months and ten days in 1793.³³

³⁰ Lambton 1988, 91.

³¹ Shīrāzī, 111; Sārawī, 253.

³² Shīrāzī, 100-1.

³³ Sārawī, 225, 228.

Table 2. Āqā Muḥammad Khān's stay in Tehran from autumn to summer

Arrival in Tehran	Departure from Tehran	Time spent in Tehran	Sources
a. September 1785 (departure from Hamadan to Tehran on 2 September)	16 May 1786 (for Isfahan)	about 8 months	Sārawī, 152 Chūlawī, fol. 123a
b. 8 September 1787 (from Qazvin)	30 April 1788 (for Isfahan)	7 months 22 days	Chūlawī, fol. 128b; Ghaffarī, 750
c. Late September or October 1789 (departure from Shiraz for Tehran on September 11)	17 May 1790 (for Isfahan)	about 7 months	Sārawī, 189; Chūlawī, fol. 139b
d. 29 September 1792 (from Shiraz)	9 April 1793 (for Āspās)	6 months 10 days	Sārawī, 212, 225
e. 7 December 1789 (from Isfahan)	17 December 1789 (for Māzandarān)	10 days	Chūlawī, fol. 134b
3 March 1789 (from Māzandarān)	probably June 1789 (arrival at Hazār from Tehran at the end of June)	about 3 months	Chūlawī, fol. 136a; Shīrāzī, 72
f. 19 September 1793 (from Āspās)	14 November 1793 (for Āstarābād)	1 month 25 days	Sārawī, 228, 232
Late February or early March 1794 (departure from Sārī on 25 February)	5 May 1794 (for Isfahan)	about 2 months	Sārawī, 239, 248
g. 26 April 1796 (from Khalkhāl)	14 May 1796 (for Mashhad)	18 days (the coronation)	Sārawī, 280, 285

Cases (e) and (f) concern the years when Āqā Muḥammad Khān did not winter in Tehran, which meant that he spent less than three months there. However, Tehran was still the main hub of Āqā Muḥammad Khān's itinerary: his journey started from Tehran, and he stopped there for a while after the summer; he left Tehran again in winter and returned at the end of the year.

The last case (g) concerns the year 1796, when he only stayed in Tehran for 18 days. He was very busy that year. He had led a military expedition as far as Tiflis the year before, returned from there to Tehran, and after this short stay went on another military expedition to Khurasan. However, this was a historical moment, because Āqā Muḥammad Khān's enthronement took place during this stay in Tehran.³⁴ In short, although could not spare the time for a long stay, he nevertheless chose to enter the city, between

³⁴ A few modern researchers claim that Āqā Muḥammad Khān held his enthronement in the Mughān steppe, but without providing references. See Perry 1985, 604; Hambly 1991, 129.

two long expeditions, for his enthronement. This is further confirmation of the importance of Tehran to Āqā Muḥammad Khān.

Fath ʿAlī Shāh

Fath ʿAlī Shāh ruled over Iran for 38 years: 38 summers and 37 winters. Table 3 shows his summer and winter residences.³⁵

He stayed in Tehran for 29 winters, a similar proportion of his reign (78%) to that of Āqā Muḥammad Khān. Like his uncle, Fath ʿAlī Shāh never spent the summer inside the city of Tehran but went out to pasture lands, such as Ūjān (two summers) and, most often, Sulṭāniyya (16 summers, i.e. 42%), two places the Ilkhans had already used for their summer encampment.³⁶ Towards the end of his life, he lived in the summer residences around Tehran, such as Shamīrān (about ten km north of the city wall), or closer still, the Nigāristān Palace, (one km north).

Table 3. Summer and Winter Residences of Fath ʿAlī Shāh

Year	Summer	Winter	
Snake (1797-8)	Qazvin; Zanjān; Sulṭāniyya	Tehran	Khāwarī a, 57, 60, 62
Horse (1798-9)	Darjazīn ³⁷ ; Sārūq ³⁸	Tehran	Khāwarī a, 89-90, 93
Sheep (1799-1800)	Firūz-kūh ³⁹ , Nishāpūr	Tehran	Khāwarī a, 106-7
Monkey (1800-1)	Sabzawār, Kālpūsh ⁴⁰	Tehran	Khāwarī a, 133-9
Cock (1801-2)	Arjumand ⁴¹ , Lār ⁴²	Tehran	Khāwarī a, 152-3
Dog (1802-3)	surroundings of Mashhad	Tehran	Khāwarī a, 163, 165
Pig (1803-4)	Kālpūsh, Chashma-yi ʿAlī ⁴³	Māzandarān	Khāwarī a, 176-7, 179
Rat (1804-5)	Sulṭāniyya	Tehran	Khāwarī a, 196, 212
Cow (1805-6)	Takht-i Ṭāʾūs ⁴⁴ , Aslanduz ⁴⁵	Tehran	Khāwarī a, 232, 230, 232
Tiger (1806-7)	Sulṭāniyya	Tehran	Khāwarī a, 244, 256

³⁵ Scarce mentions his main residences, but her list is quite incomplete and provides no information about the years of the shah's visits. See Scarce 2001, 110.

³⁶ From 1307 to 1316, Ōljeitū spent every summer in Sulṭāniyya (near Zanjān), while his winter quarters were located mainly in Arrān and near Baghdad. See Honda 1976, 87-8 and 94; Melville 1990, 57-8. Regarding Sulṭāniyya, see Honda 1987; also Blair 1986; Haneda 2002, 160-3.

³⁷ Dargazīn. 80 km north-east of Hamadān.

³⁸ 40 km north-west of Arāk.

³⁹ 60 km west of Simnān.

⁴⁰ In Shāhrūd district, about 60 km south-east of modern Gurgān.

⁴¹ 105 km east of Tehran.

⁴² 55 km north-east of Tehran.

⁴³ 25 km north-west of Dāmghān. For details, see Iʿtimād al-Salṭana, *Mirʾāt*, 4: 2212-6.

⁴⁴ About 48 km (8 *farsang*) from Shusha, in Qarābāgh, see Khāwarī a, 223.

⁴⁵ 150 km north-west of Ardabil and 3 km south of the Aras River.

Table 3. Cont.

Year	Summer	Winter	
Hare (1807-8)	Sulṭāniyya	Tehran	Khāwarī a, 261, 268
Dragon (1808-9)	Sulṭāniyya	Tehran	Khāwarī a, 281, 284
Snake (1809-10)	Sarāb ⁴⁶ , Sulṭāniyya	Qom; Kāshān	Khāwarī a, 304, 308, 310
Horse (1810-11)	Ūjān	Isfahan; Kāshān	Khāwarī a, 314, 316
Sheep (1811-12)	Sulṭāniyya	Tehran	Khāwarī a, 325, 331
Monkey (1812-13)	Sulṭāniyya	Tehran	Khāwarī a, 343, 346
Cock (1813-14)	Sulṭāniyya, Ūjān	Qum; Kāshān	Khāwarī a, 356, 359, 374, 379
Dog (1814-15)	Namaka ⁴⁷ , Maydān-i Jūq ⁴⁸	Tehran	Khāwarī a, 391-2, 395, 396
Pig (1815-16)	Khush Yaylāq ⁴⁹	Qum	Khāwarī a, 413, 415, 416
Rat (1816-17)	Sulṭāniyya	Tehran	Khāwarī a, 421, 426
Cow (1817-18)	Sulṭāniyya	Māzandarān	Khāwarī a, 457, 465, 470
Tiger (1818-19)	surroundings of Khabūshān	Tehran	Khāwarī a, 489, 496, 497
Hare (1819-20)	Sulṭāniyya	Qum; Kāshān	Khāwarī a, 504, 506, 511
Dragon (1820-1)	Sulṭāniyya	Tehran	Khāwarī a, 515, 519
Snake (1821-2)	Khush Yaylāq	Tehran	Khāwarī a, 527, 531
Horse (1822-3)	Sulṭāniyya, Hamadān	Tehran	Khāwarī a, 559, 567-8
Sheep (1823-4)	Shamīrān	Tehran	Khāwarī a, 578, 590
Monkey (1824-5)	Sulṭāniyya	Tehran	Khāwarī a, 592-3
Cock (1825-6)	Sulṭāniyya	Tehran	Khāwarī a, 597, 601
Dog (1826-7)	Sulṭāniyya, Ardabil, Dihkhārqān ⁵⁰	Tehran	Khāwarī a, 614, 619, 628-9
Pig (1827-8)	Qibla ⁵¹ , Khuy, Marand	Tehran	Khāwarī a, 647, 649, 651, 656
Rat (1828-9)	summer quarters near Tehran	Tehran	Khāwarī a, 692, 700
Cow (1829-30)	Shamīrān, Sūhānak ⁵²	Shiraz	Khāwarī a, 722, 737, 742
Tiger (1830-1)	summer quarters near Tehran	Tehran	Khāwarī a, 758, 772
Hare (1831-2)	Qahrīz ⁵³ , Sangbārān ⁵⁴	Tehran	Khāwarī a, 783, 784, 794
Dragon (1832-3)	Nigāristān	Tehran	Maḥmūd Mirzā 299; Khāwarī a, 854
Snake (1833-4)	Nigāristān	Tehran	Khāwarī a, 864, 870
Horse (1834-5)	Nigāristān	—	Khāwarī a, 903

⁴⁶ 75 km west of Ardabil.⁴⁷ 35 km north-west of Dāmghān.⁴⁸ 85 km north-east of Gunbad-i Qābūs.⁴⁹ 50 km south of Gunbad-i Qābūs.⁵⁰ 52 km south-west of Tabriz.⁵¹ According to Khāwarī, Chaman-i Qibla belonged to Maḥāl-i Arwanaq of Tabriz. The centre of Arbanāq County is Shabistar, so it should be located at about 50 km west of the city.⁵² 10 km east of Tajrish, north of Tehran.⁵³ Qahrīz Jān, 75 km north-west of Isfahan.⁵⁴ 145 km west of Isfahan.

Table 4a. Travel patterns of Fath 'Alī Shāh: first case

Year	Departure from Tehran	Duration of stay in Sulṭāniyya ⁵⁵	Arrival in Tehran	Duration of stay in Tehran
Tiger (1806-7) ⁵⁶	24 June	5 July– (less than 2 months)	6 September	9 months
Hare (1807-8) ⁵⁷	15 May	25 May–late August (3 months)	10 September	8 months
Dragon (1808-9) ⁵⁸	5 June	(about 5 months)	mid-November	6 months 10 days
Sheep (1811-12) ⁵⁹	1 June	22 June– (less than 3 months)	25 October	7 months 10 days
Monkey (1812-13) ⁶⁰	6 June	23 June–late September (3 months)	16 October	8 months
Rat (1816-17) ⁶¹	3 June	(about 3 months)	mid-September	8.5 months
Dragon (1820-1) ⁶²	8 June	23 June–10 August (2 months 18 days)	20 August	9 months 10 days ⁶³
Monkey (1824-5) ⁶⁴	10 June	29 June–8 August (1 months 10 days)	18 August	9 months 20 days

In order of importance, the main directions of travel taken by the royal caravan leaving Tehran in summer were:

- north-west, i.e. Azarbaijan, towards places such as Sulṭāniyya, Ūjān, Sarāb, Ardabil and Aslandūz: 20 summers (53%)
- eastwards, towards places such as Mashhad, Nishāpūr, Sabzawār, Khabūshān, Khūsh Yaylāq, and Dāmghān: nine summers (24%)
- the immediate vicinity of Tehran, towards places such as Shamīrān and Nigāristān: seven summers (18%)
- south-west, towards places such as Darjazīn, Sārūq and Sangbārān: two summers (5%)

While most of Āqā Muḥammad Khān's summer quarters of were located in the southern provinces (Isfahan, Fārs, Kirman), Fath 'Alī Shāh never

⁵⁵ "Date—" indicates the date of arrival at Sulṭāniyya, and "–date" the date of departure from there.

⁵⁶ Jaubert 1860, 295; Khāwarī a, 256.

⁵⁷ Khāwarī a, 261, 267.

⁵⁸ Khāwarī a, 280, 284.

⁵⁹ Khāwarī a, 325, 331.

⁶⁰ Khāwarī a, 342, 343, 346.

⁶¹ Khāwarī a, 421, 426.

⁶² Khāwarī a, 514-15, 519.

⁶³ Including hunting in Tārum, located between Qazvin and Zanjān, after 20 August.

⁶⁴ Khāwarī a, 592-3.

moved in that direction during the summer because he had no need to lead military expeditions there. On the other hand, he stayed in the north-west regions more than his uncle, because he was involved in two wars with the Russians. Likewise, he carried out military expeditions to Khurasan early in his reign and therefore chose summer residences in the east. His itineraries, like those of Āqā Muḥammad Khān, were clearly guided by the political and military situation. A feature of Faṭḥ ‘Alī Shāh’s travel patterns is the importance not only of Tehran but also of Sulṭāniyya.

We can identify several patterns. First, the years when the shah stayed in Sulṭāniyya in summer and in Tehran in winter (see Table 4a). In these cases, his itineraries were simple: he moved only between Tehran and Sulṭāniyya. In general, Faṭḥ ‘Alī Shāh spent more than seven months a year in Tehran, while his sojourns in Sulṭāniyya lasted less than three months. An exception occurred in 1808-9, when he stayed in Sulṭāniyya for a record five months and in Tehran just six months and ten days.

Another simple pattern emerges when Faṭḥ ‘Alī Shāh moved between Tehran and summer residences other than Sulṭāniyya (see Table 4b). The times of departure and arrival are almost identical to those seen in the previous case: he spent two months or less in summer quarters, while he stayed in Tehran more than eight months.

Table 4b. Travel patterns of Faṭḥ ‘Alī Shāh: second case

Year	Departure from Tehran	Duration of stay in summer residence	Arrival in Tehran	Duration of stay in Tehran
Dog (1802-3) ⁶⁵	20 May	Mashhad ⁶⁶ 10 July– (1 month)	5 September	8.5 months
Snake (1821-2) ⁶⁷	18 May	Khush Yaylāq –27 July (2 months)	21 August	9 months

A third pattern is when Faṭḥ ‘Alī Shāh did not reside in Tehran during the winter. His travel patterns were then more complicated, even when he stayed in Sulṭāniyya in summer (see Table 4c). Even when he did not stay in Tehran for the winter, he frequently entered the city before and after going to summer and winter residences and he stayed there for a total of more than eight months, while he resided in Sulṭāniyya for only two months and in winter residences for half a month.

⁶⁵ Faṭḥ ‘Alī Shāh laid siege to the city that year.

⁶⁶ Khāwari a, 163-5.

⁶⁷ Khāwari a, 527, 531.

Table 4c. Travel Patterns of Fath̄ ‘Alī Shāh: third case

year	Tehran	Sultāniyya	Winter Residences
Cow (1817-18) ⁶⁸	-12 July 22 September-18 February 13 March- (total: 8 months 20 days)	31 July-early September (2 months)	Bārfurūsh, Sārī, Āmul, etc. 18 February*-13 March* (total about 15 days)
Hare (1819-20) ⁶⁹	-21 June 9 September-26 February -17 March (total: 8.5 months)	21 June*-9 September* (about 2 months)	Qum, Kāshān 26 February*-17 March* (total about 15 days)

(*): indicates the dates of departure from, or arrival in, Tehran

The last pattern is more complicated: it concerns the years when Fath̄ ‘Alī Shāh did not stay in Tehran in winter and did not reside in Sultāniyya for the whole summer (see Table 4d). Of these cases, the year 1809-10 may appear extraordinary because the shah spent only five months and 20 days in Tehran, although he frequently entered the city. In the other two cases, the shah resided in Tehran for a total of more than seven months, but in summer and winter quarters for only a few months.

In conclusion Fath̄ ‘Alī Shāh spent at least seven months each year in Tehran, equivalent to the amount of time spent there by Āqā Muḥammad Khān. The importance of Tehran is even more obvious if we consider that Fath̄ ‘Alī Shāh chose in some years to make his summer quarters in the immediate vicinity of the capital, which Āqā Muḥammad Khān had never done. On the other hand—and this is another difference between him and Āqā Muḥammad Khān—we can speak of a real pattern of travel between Tehran and summer residences such as Sultāniyya and Khūsh Yaylāq. Although it would be an exaggeration to say, as some scholars have,⁷⁰ that Sultāniyya was Fath̄ ‘Alī Shāh’s summer capital (he went there less than half of all the summers of his reign), it was nonetheless his favourite summer residence. In the next part, I shall investigate in more detail the shah’s relationship with this summer residence and with his capital.

⁶⁸ Khāwarī a, 457, 465, 466, 470.

⁶⁹ Khāwarī a, 504, 506, 511.

⁷⁰ Hambly 1972, 89; Moghtader 1992, 42.

Table 4d. Travel Patterns of Faṭḥ 'Alī Shāh: fourth case

Year	Tehran	Summer	Winter
Pig (1803-4) ⁷¹	–29 May 25 August–mid-January early March– (total: 7 months)	Sārī, Astarābād, Kālpūsh 29 May*–early August (2 months) Chashma-yi 'Alī (20days) Sulṭāniyya	Mazāndarān late January– early March* (about 40 days)
Snake (1809-10) ⁷²	–early June late October–early February mid-March?– (total: 5 months 20 days)	early June–late July (1.5 months) Ūjān 4–12 August (8days) Sarāb mid-August–19 October (2 months)	Qum, Kāshān early February– mid-March? (about 40 days)
Pig (1815-16) ⁷³	–25 June 27 September–mid- February 12 March– (total: 7.5 months)	Khush Yaylāq late June–9 September (2 months 10 days)	Qum mid-February– early March (less than a month)
year Cow (1817-18) ⁷⁴	Tehran – 12 July 22 September– 18 February 13 March– (total: 8 months 20 days)	Sulṭāniyya 31 July– early September (2 months)	Winter Residences Bārfurūsh, Sārī, Āmul, etc. 18 February*–13 March* (total about 15 days)
Hare (1819-20) ⁷⁵	–21 June 9 September–26 February –17 March (total: 8.5 months)	21 June*–9 September* (about 2 months)	Qum, Kāshān 26 February*–17 March* (total about 15 days)

(*) Date of departure from, or arrival in, Tehran

THE MAIN RESIDENCES

Sulṭāniyya, a Summer Capital?

The choice of Sulṭāniyya to be a favourite summer residence was initially linked to the military operations against Russia. Faṭḥ 'Alī Shāh's summer

⁷¹ Khāwarī a, 176-7, 179.⁷² Khāwarī a, 302-4, 308.⁷³ Khāwarī a, 413, 415-16.⁷⁴ Khāwarī a, 457, 465, 466, 470.⁷⁵ Khāwarī a, 504, 506, 511.

stays in Sulṭāniyya began in 1804, the year when the first Russo-Iran war started. The shah did not always stay on the front line: he marched as far as Azarbaijan just four times in the ten years up to the end of the war. However, he at least advanced to Sulṭāniyya and prepared for potential Russian attacks expected in the summer. The same is true for the years 1825-6 and 1826-7, when the Qajars fought against Russia in the second Russo-Iranian war. The war with Russia also explains why, after the second war, Fath 'Alī Shāh never stayed in Sulṭāniyya in summer: according to Fraser, it was because the Russians had approached so near to Sulṭāniyya when the shah was staying there in 1828.⁷⁶

Between the two wars, Fath 'Alī Shāh travelled to Sulṭāniyya in six summers out of the 11 years of his reign. Khāwarī explains the shah's travel to Sulṭāniyya in 1824-5 as follows:

During this year, there was no matter that required an advance of the victorious army around the country. However, since the shah stayed in Tehran (*dār al-khilāfa*) in the previous year, the prescient shah of shahs decided to travel in order to train the army.⁷⁷

The logic of the chronicle is clear: the shah travelled around the country when it was required politically or strategically. In that particular year, he did not need to go anywhere for political or strategic reasons. However, the shah wanted to train his army and so he moved to Sulṭāniyya.

What were the shah's arrangements in Sulṭāniyya? It is clear that most of the functions of the government and the palace moved to Sulṭāniyya when the shah stayed there. Brydges, an English traveller who visited there in 1809, wrote detailed reports on Fath 'Alī Shāh's camp in Sulṭāniyya. The shah's quarters were set up at one end of the encampment and surrounded by red canvas screens, called *khānāt* or *parda*. On both sides of the public entrance, tents were pitched to accommodate the guards and officers. Two hundred yards from the entrance stood a large elaborate tent called *dīvān-khāna* (or audience hall), which covered more than one acre (4047 m²). Brydges says that "the prodigious extravagance of the Persians in their tents would seem to us almost incredible".⁷⁸ Behind the *dīvān-khāna* tent, there was a portion of the royal enclosure called *miyāna* (centre), which was again separated by another *parda* or *khānāt* and contained beautiful tents: the *miyāna* functioned in the same way as the *khalwat* or private audience

⁷⁶ Fraser 1838, 1: 385; Curzon 1892, 1: 43-4.

⁷⁷ Khāwarī a, 592. Jaubert (1860, 176) also states that the shah would come to Sulṭāniyya to review his army.

⁷⁸ Brydges 1834, 238.

chamber in the palace. Behind the *miyāna*, there were private royal tents, the baths and the ladies' tents. Outside the royal quarters, there was an open space called the *maydān*, which was used for various purposes, such as military reviews and war games. The tents of high state officials occupied the front of the encampment.⁷⁹ Jaubert, who visited Sulṭāniyya in 1806, also mentions the shah's tents pitched in the centre, as well as the tent of *dīwān-khāna* and the tents for the *ḥaram*.⁸⁰

This encampment has many elements very similar to those of previous Turko-Mongol rulers, such as Timur's camp, described by Clavijo.⁸¹ A drawing of the Qajar camp at Sulṭāniyya, which was published by Dubeux in 1841, gives a good idea of what the camp looked like (see Fig. 2). Based on the number of tents in front of the mausoleum of the Ilkhan Öljeitü (recognisable by its dome in the background to the left), this picture is reminiscent of miniatures representing Mongol and Timurid encampments. However a palace is clearly visible on the right-hand side of the engraving. Morier visited Sulṭāniyya in 1809 and saw the palace while it was under construction. He described apartments for women, the shah's private room and the audience hall, also called *dīwān-khāna*.⁸² His account shows that the palace was intended to be the residence of the shah and his *ḥaram*, as well as the venue for official ceremonies. According to Persian sources, the palace was completed in 1812-13 and was named 'Imārat-i sipihr-i barīn ('the Palace of the Supreme Heaven').⁸³

The shah stayed at the palace after its completion. William Price, an English traveller who visited Sulṭāniyya in 1812, wrote:

The room that [Fath 'Alī Shāh] generally occupies is fitted up in a splendid style: the walls are nearly covered with verses, and he generally sleeps under an awning in an octagonal railed gallery at the top of the palace.⁸⁴

⁷⁹ Ibid., 237-9.

⁸⁰ Jaubert 1860, 301-2.

⁸¹ Clavijo, 237-77. See O'Kane 1993, 250.

⁸² Morier 1812, 260-1. Hambly (1972, 90-3) provides us with various European accounts of the palace of Sulṭāniyya. It should be noted that this palace is not given particular importance in the Persian sources. Indeed, Marwazī introduces it as the last palace he describes, and Garrūsī includes just its name between the Māzandarān Palace and the Chashma-yi 'Alī palace. See Marwazī a, fols 227b-229a; Marwazī b, 497; Garrūsī, 34. These authors wrote much more about the palace in Tehran, as we shall see below.

⁸³ Marwazī a, fol. 228b; Marwazī b, 487-8; Garrūsī, 34. The date of completion is provided by a Persian chronogram.

⁸⁴ Price 1832, 1: 44. After the description of the royal tents, Brydges (1834, 241) also wrote that "during this time, the King principally resided in a building, which he had lately erected on an eminence".

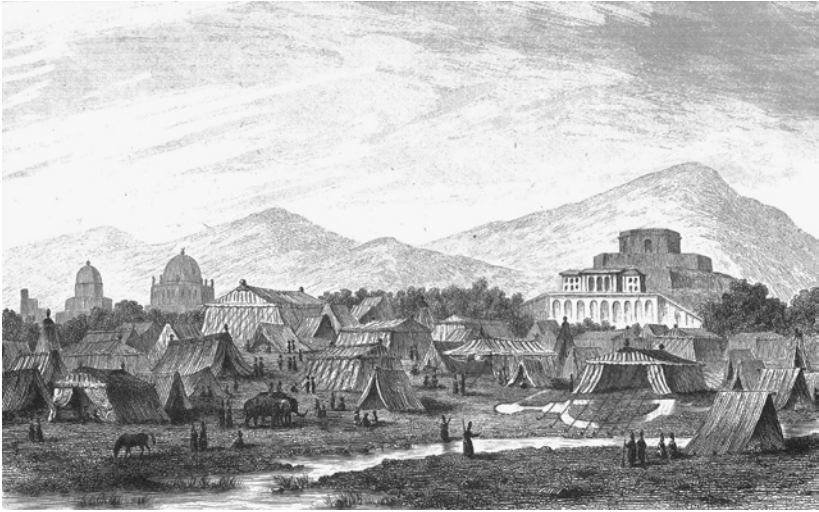


Fig. 2. The Camp and Palace in Sulṭāniyya c.1807-8. (From Dubeux 1841, Pl. 34)

This text provides clear proof that the shah preferred to stay at the palace rather than to camp in a tent. We may therefore also surmise that the many other palaces or pavilions built by Fath ‘Alī Shāh at his summer and winter quarters in Ūjān, Chashma-yi ‘Alī, Fīn and Māzandarān were also used as residences.⁸⁵ In any case, this clearly indicates that Ouseley’s statement that Fath ‘Alī Shāh preferred tents over palaces, a statement on which Lambton also relies, is questionable to say the least.

The Capital Tehran and the Royal Palaces

A characteristic of the early Qajar rulers is their strong relationship to Tehran. According to Adle and Hourcade, the notion of a capital was not so clear for the early Qajars,⁸⁶ but we have seen that they stayed in Tehran longer than has been assumed by previous studies and that the city had a special position on their itineraries. What exactly did it mean to them?

Two chronicles on Āqā Muḥammad Khān cover his entry into Tehran in 1785. Before moving to Tehran, he had already decided to make Tehran

⁸⁵ Scarce (1983, 338) only mentions Chashma-yi ‘Alī and Fīn. All of them are introduced along with the palace of Sulṭāniyya in Garrūsī, 34. The Chashma-yi ‘Alī Palace was named Qaṣr-i Jinān (‘the Palace of Paradise’), while the Māzandarān palace was called Baḥr al-Iram (‘the Sea of Iram’). For description of those two palaces, see Marwazī a, fols 224b-227b; Marwazī b, 496-7.

⁸⁶ Adle and Hourcade 1992, 7.

his 'capital' (in the chronicles: *maqarr-i asās-i sulṭānī*, *maqarr-i iyālat-i wa markaz-i khilāfat*). He therefore brought with him from Isfahan many builders, engineers and artisans to construct and repair the buildings in Tehran.⁸⁷ For Sārawī, the choice of Tehran as the capital was because of its central geographical position between the regions controlled by Āqā Muḥammad Khān. Chūlawī likewise says it was because Tehran was located between 'Irāq (ie. 'Irāq-i 'ajam) and Ṭabaristān (i.e. Māzandarān) and that there was no other serious contender.⁸⁸ Indeed, at that time, Isfahan was controlled by the Qajars but was on the military front line in hostilities with the Zands. Before Qajar rule, in 1760-1, Karīm Khān Zand had already recognised the strategic importance of Tehran, which, according to a Zand chronicle, is located "midway between 'Irāq[-i 'ajam] and Azarbaijan" (*dar wasaṭ-i 'Irāq wa Ādharbāyyān*), and he renovated the city wall and moat.⁸⁹ It was logical, therefore, that Āqā Muḥammad Khān should choose Tehran as his capital for strategic reasons. As early as September 1787, Tehran is given the title *dār al-salṭana* ('House of the Sultanate'), which denoted the capital city.⁹⁰ Sārawī also appended this title to Tehran throughout his chronicle.⁹¹ The title is still found in a sale deed dated October-November 1818, but is not found in later documents.⁹² Gradually, Tehran came to be known by the more majestic title, *dār al-khilāfa* ('House of the Caliphate').⁹³ A *waqf* deed dated August-September 1818 is the oldest example of this that I have found.⁹⁴ We can assume that, around 1818, the title of Tehran had changed from *dār al-salṭana* to *dār al-khilāfa*. While *dār al-salṭana* was appended to former Safavid capital cities such as Isfahan, Tabriz and Qazvin during

⁸⁷ Sārawī, 151-2; Chūlawī, fol. 117a.

⁸⁸ Sārawī, 151; Chūlawī, fol. 117a.

⁸⁹ Ghaffārī, 135.

⁹⁰ *Asnād-i Kākh-mūza-yi Gulistān*, no. 3028, being a sale deed of a *qanāt* near Tehran purchased by Āqā Muḥammad Khan, dated 10 Dhu'l-Ḥijja 1201AH.

⁹¹ It is interesting that the Zand historian 'Abd al-Karīm added the title *dār al-mulk* ('the house of the Kingship') to Tehran under the control of Āqā Muḥammad Khān, following other Zand chronicles that called Shiraz their *dār al-mulk*.

⁹² *Asnād-i Kākh-mūza-yi Gulistān*, no. 2584, dated Muḥarram 1234AH.

⁹³ Although the Qajar rulers had never claimed to be caliphs in the same sense that the Ottomans did, expressions referring to the caliphate are used to speak of Faṭḥ 'Alī Shāh, e.g. *shamsan li-falak al-salṭana wa al-khilāfa* ('like a sun in the sky of the sultanate and caliphate'), and his court, e.g. *dargāh-i khilāfat* ('the caliph's court'). See Khāwārī a, 5; Garrūsī 4.

⁹⁴ *Asnād-i sāzmān-i awqāf*, no. 36, dated Shawwāl 1233AH. The file includes two other *waqf* deeds dated Rabī' I 1227 and Dhu'l-Ḥijja 1228, and the title *dār al-khilāfa* is used in both of them. However, these two documents are not originals but later transcripts, so I do not take them into consideration.

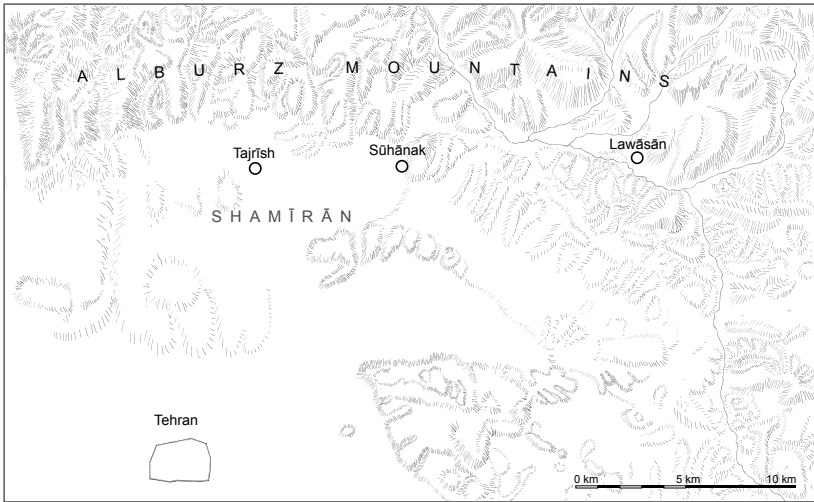


Fig. 3. Surroundings of Tehran in 1857-58. (Drawing based on Polack 1877)

the Qajar period, *dār al-khilāfa* had never been used for cities in Iran other than Tehran. That is to say, Tehran acquired the title as the Qajar capital after 1818. All the chronicles that were compiled after 1818 called Tehran *dār al-khilāfa*.⁹⁵

Where did the Qajar rulers spend their time when in Tehran? We know of numerous palaces located on the outskirts of Tehran. Āqā Muḥammad Khān built a garden called Bāgh-i Shāh in Damāvand, 60 km east of Tehran.⁹⁶ Faṭḥ ‘Alī Shāh built Nigāristān and Bāgh-i Lālazār about one km north of the city walls, and Qaṣr-i Qājār, 5 km to the north (see Fig. 3). He also built Sulaymāniyya in Karaj, 40 km to the west of Tehran.⁹⁷ Jennifer Scarce emphasises the impact of the perpetual migrations of the shah on the architecture of these palaces. She speaks of “structures which can be rapidly erected and replaced as needed”.⁹⁸ However, one may doubt whether the early Qajar rulers spent much time in such palaces. I base this reservation on two arguments.

⁹⁵ Dunbuli and Marwazī used both of the titles for Tehran. Dunbuli 2004a, 100-1; Dunbuli 2004b, 192, 197; Marwazī a, fols 60a, 68a; Marwazī b, 77, 142.

⁹⁶ *Šurat-i khālīšajāt* a, 159.

⁹⁷ For a description of all these palaces except Bāgh-i Lālazār, see Scarce 1983, 336-7. Bāgh-i Lālazār is mentioned in *Šurat-i khālīšajāt* (b), 317. Another garden, Bāgh-i Dilgushā, is referred to in Garrūsī, 33.

⁹⁸ Scarce 2001, 110.

location in the Arg district is not clear. According to Ouseley, the 'Imārat-i Khūrshīd comprised a handsome range of apartments, and the room he visited was ornamented with marble: "The marble formed the wall for about four feet from the floor."¹⁰² Marwazī's description, which is riddled with literary expressions, also conveys an impression of luxury.¹⁰³ It is reasonable to assume that Fath 'Alī Shāh constructed more palaces in the Arg because he spent more time there than in the palaces on the outskirts of Tehran.

The itineraries give us a second proof of the importance of the Arg. It may be true that Fath 'Alī Shāh often escaped from the Arg to visit Nigāristān and spent many hours there, as Ker Porter has written.¹⁰⁴ However, no Persian or Western sources report the shah as being in Nigāristān or other palaces in the suburbs for more than one month at a time, except in the last three summers of his reign. Since the Persian chronicles provide us with detailed information on his itineraries, including Fath 'Alī Shāh's move to Nigāristān, just 1 km from the city wall, it is improbable that his stays there went unrecorded when he was in Tehran. As far as the chronicles tell us, these palaces in the suburbs were put to very limited use. Fath 'Alī Shāh would stop at either Nigāristān or Qaṣr-i Qājār for a few nights before he left for Sulṭāniyya or other summer quarters, or on his way back to Tehran. For example, in May 1818, Fath 'Alī Shāh stayed just three nights at Nigāristān before departing for Khurasan,¹⁰⁵ and he stayed at Nigāristān for ten nights in August 1812 after spending two months in Khūsh Yaylāq.¹⁰⁶ Ker Porter also writes on Nigāristān: "the shah retires thither, for days together, at the beginning of summer, before he removes to more distant and temperate regions."¹⁰⁷ In 1801, the shah stayed just one night at Qaṣr-i Qājār in June and two nights in September.¹⁰⁸ According to Mīrzā Šāliḥ, Fath 'Alī Shāh had 800 women in his harem; he took 100 of them to Sulṭāniyya with him, and sent the rest to Qaṣr-i Qājār in the summer. When he went back to Tehran, all of them also returned there.¹⁰⁹ In other words,

and Kākh-i Almās ('the Diamond Palace') (Marwazī a, fol 221a-b; Marwazī b, 491-2, 494). All these buildings are difficult to identify. Scarce mentions none of them, while Dhukā' just cites Marwazī (a). See Scarce 1983, 335; Scarce 1992, 81; Scarce 2001, 109; Dhukā' 1970, 245-7.

¹⁰² Ouseley 1819-23, 3: 347.

¹⁰³ Marwazī a, fol. 216a-b.

¹⁰⁴ Ker Porter 1821, 1: 337.

¹⁰⁵ Khāwarī a, 478.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 531.

¹⁰⁷ Ker Porter 1821, 1: 338.

¹⁰⁸ Khāwarī a, 151, 159.

¹⁰⁹ Mīrzā Šāliḥ, 1: 33-4. Ker Porter (1821, 1: 335-6) also confirms this description.

Qaṣr-i Qājār was not the palace where the shah stayed for weeks, but where he accommodated most of the women of the harem in summer. The same is true of Sulaymāniyya (in modern Karaj). In June 1826, he stayed there for four days before leaving for Sulṭāniyya.¹¹⁰ In July 1827, he spent four days there before going to visit Azarbaijan.¹¹¹ Except for the last three years of his reign, when he was unwell and stayed at Nigāristān in the summer, the shah himself never resided for very long at these palaces in the suburbs.

The reasons that led the shahs to leave Tehran during the summer deserve some comment. Speaking of the year 1823-4, Khāwarī says:

as there was no matter within the shah's God-protected realm that required an advance of the victorious army, Faṭḥ 'Alī Shāh (*ḥaḍrat-i šāhib-qirān*) decided not to undertake any travels, and spent time hunting at the summer quarters of Shamīrān and the surrounding area.¹¹²

Leaving Tehran in summer was not the exception but the norm. According to the French traveller Olivier, who visited Tehran in 1796, its air in summer was stale and epidemics often spread there. Most of the inhabitants left the city for villages in the suburbs to avoid epidemics. Those who could not be away from the city at least arranged for their wives and children to leave.¹¹³ The English traveller Kinneir states in his book published in 1813 that the population of Tehran reached 60,000 in the winter, while in the summer, from June to September, it fell to less than 10,000.¹¹⁴ We can thus understand why it was usual for the shah to move, even when no military or political reasons gave cause for travel outside of the province of Tehran. It was only in the middle of the nineteenth century that the climate in the capital showed enough signs of improvement to make it feasible to stay in the city in summer.¹¹⁵

Another proof of the Qajars' attachments to Tehran is the extent of the investment they made there. Although modern researchers have not esteemed early Qajar architecture in Tehran very highly,¹¹⁶ their building activity there is notable and was not limited to the construction of palaces. Āqā Muḥammad Khān renovated aspects of the city's infrastructure, such

¹¹⁰ Khāwarī a, 614.

¹¹¹ Ibid., 645.

¹¹² Ibid., 578.

¹¹³ Olivier 1801-7, 5: 91. Gardane (1809, 55) also states: "L'été il ne reste que pauvres. La population se disperse dans les villages voisins en juillet et août." See also Dupré 1819, 191.

¹¹⁴ Kinneir 1813, 119.

¹¹⁵ *Waqāyi' al-ittifāqīyya*, 21: 2, dated 21 Sha'bān 1268/10 June 1852 (*Waqāyi' al-ittifāqīyya* is a weekly newspaper published from 1267/1851 to 1277/1860 in Tehran).

¹¹⁶ Scarce 1992, 81; Moghtader 1992, 41-2.

as the walls and the Bāzār, and built a caravanserai and a public bath.¹¹⁷ Fath 'Alī Shāh built a Friday mosque called Masjid-i Shāh in the Bāzār area, adding to it 34 shops and a public bath.¹¹⁸ If proof were necessary, this shows ample interest in city life in the early stages of Qajar rule.

Of particular interest are the shahs' transactions in real estate within the city. Documents from the Gulistān Palace and an inventory of palace documents provide us with interesting details. Concerning Āqā Muḥammad Khān, seven transactions were recorded. The first is the purchase of a house in the Bāzār quarter dated Dhu'l-Hijja 1200/September-October 1786. He bought the house from a certain Ḥājji Muḥammad Khān Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīmī and other heirs of Ḥājji 'Alī for 15 *tumāns*.¹¹⁹ In 1202/1787-8, he bought a caravansarai (Kārawānsarā-yi 'Abd Allāh) located at Bāzār Square, from two parties, each of whom owned one half of the property.¹²⁰ He purchased two gardens in the Bāzār quarter in 1203/1788-9, and a complete caravanserai in Jumādā II 1207/January-February 1793. He received a donation of a 45% share of the Qayṣāriyya, a large caravanserai located in the middle of the Bāzār, in Rabī' II 1210/October-November 1795.¹²¹

Similarly, in Shawwāl 1213/March-April 1799, Fath 'Alī Shāh leased from a certain Mīrzā Bābā Ṭahrānī a caravanserai and 20 shops inside the city, along with 8 villages, 10 gardens and 5 watermills for 90 years for a rent of 50 *khawār* (=14,850 kg) of grain per year.¹²² In 1215/1800-1, he bought four gardens inside the city and a half share in a caravanserai in the Bāzār area from a certain Āqā Abū Turāb and others for 1700 *tumāns*.¹²³

For all of these transactions, the shahs arranged legal deeds (*qabāla*) in accordance with Islamic law and kept the deeds in the palace. It is possible that the prices were not normal market prices, but from a formal point of view these transactions met all the requirements of Islamic law.

¹¹⁷ Olivier 1801-7, 5: 83; *Ṣūrat-i Khālīṣajāt* b, 318. For his renovation of the bazaar, see Kondo 2007, 164-5.

¹¹⁸ The text of the *waqf* deed is carved on the gate of the mosque, which is called Masjid-i Imām today, although the last part of the text is missing.

¹¹⁹ *Kitābcha-yi dābt-i qawālajāt*, 39; *Asnād-i Kākh-mūza-yi Gulistān*, no. 4246. I am grateful to Mr Bahman Bayānī for permitting me to access this *kitābcha*.

¹²⁰ *Kitābcha-yi dābt-i qawālajāt*, 37, 40; *Asnād-i Kākh-mūza-yi Gulistān*, no. 3402. Āqā Muḥammad Khān paid 100 *dinars* (= 0.01 *tumāns*) to each seller. In Islamic law, this is a kind of donation in return for a very small amount of money.

¹²¹ *Kitābcha-yi dābt-i qawālajāt*, 39, 40.

¹²² *Ibid.*, 51-2.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, 42-3.

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE NAWRŪZ CEREMONY IN TEHRAN

The significance of the ceremony held on the occasion of Iranian New Year (Nawrūz, 20 or 21 March) was of particular importance in Qajar kingship and helps us to understand Tehran's function as the capital. On this date, the likelihood that the shah would be in Tehran was higher than at any other time of the year. In the 12 years following his conquest of Tehran, Āqā Muḥammad Khān spent 11 Nawrūz in the city. Even in the years when he wintered outside Tehran, he returned before Nawrūz—from Māzandarān in 1789 and 1794 and from Shiraz in 1795.¹²⁴ The only exception was in 1796: he could not return in time after his campaign in Georgia and Azarbaijan and was still in Khalkhāl at the time of Nawrūz. He eventually reached Tehran on 26 April and held the enthronement ceremony there.¹²⁵ Fath 'Alī Shāh stayed in Tehran for Nawrūz 36 times in his 37-year reign. In addition, his enthronement ceremony took place in Tehran at Nawrūz in 1798.¹²⁶ He returned there even when he had spent the winter in other provinces—for example, from Māzandarān in 1804 and 1818, from Kāshān in 1810, 1811, 1814 and 1820, and from Qum in 1816.¹²⁷ Only in 1830, after being defeated by the Russians in the second Russo-Iranian war, did Fath 'Alī Shāh stay in Khurramābād in Luristān and hold the New Year ceremony there. According to Khāwarī, because the shah planned to go to the western border after the ceremony, he was expected to be away from Tehran even longer, and this would be detrimental to the city: the demand for grain from the suburbs would have fallen considerably and merchants would not bring any goods to the city. All the leaders of Tehran therefore travelled to Khurramābād and petitioned the shah to return to Tehran.¹²⁸ This episode suggests that the shah's presence in Tehran for Nawrūz had become a custom for the Qajars as well as for Tehran residents, and that the economy of Tehran depended on the shah's presence for the celebrations.

Why were the Qajars keen to be in Tehran for Nawrūz? It is directly linked to the presence of the throne in the capital and the mythological origin of Nawrūz. This day is usually believed to be connected with the mythical Iranian king, Jamshīd. According to the seventeenth-century

¹²⁴ Sārawī, 239, 263; Chūlawī, fol. 136a.

¹²⁵ Sārawī, 280-4.

¹²⁶ Khāwarī a, 70-3. Page 69 of the Tehran edition is identical to page 383, which concerns the Year of the Dog (1814-5) instead of the Year of the Horse (1798-9) as it should be. I therefore refer to the London manuscript (Khāwarī b, fol. 25a-25b).

¹²⁷ Khāwarī a, 179, 310, 379, 416, 470, 511.

¹²⁸ Ibid., 752-3.

Persian dictionary *Burhān-i qāṭi*, it was the night during which the sun entered the constellation of Aries (vernal equinox) that Jamshīd placed his jewelled throne on a high place and sat on it wearing his jewelled crown on his head. When the sun rose, sunlight sparkled on the throne and the crown and lit up everything surrounding the throne. Jamshīd celebrated the day and named it Nawrūz.¹²⁹ A slightly different story is found in Firdawsī's *Shāh-nāma*, according to which Jamshīd made a throne full of jewels and a demon carried it to the sky. The throne shone in the air like the sun and Jamshīd sat on it. People wondered at the miracle, threw jewels upon him, and called that day the new day (*rūz-i naw*).¹³⁰

This legend formed the background to the descriptions of the Nawrūz ceremony in the Qajar chronicles. In the *Tārīkh-i Dhu'l-qarnayn*, "the shah's sitting on the throne" is mentioned as the first event of every year. For example, in 1811:

His highness mighty Faṭḥ 'Alī Shāh (*a'lāḥaḍrat-i šāhibqirān*) at Nawrūz took a shining seat on the sun throne (*takht-i khūrshīd*), and everyone lost their interest in Jamshīd's legend because of the gorgeous feasts that were praised repeatedly.¹³¹

These are more than just literary expressions. We do find examples of the shah *not* taking his place on his throne at Nawrūz. In 1806, he avoided sitting on the throne because the Nawrūz festival fell on the first day of Muḥarram, the month when the Shi'i commemoration of the martyrdom of their third Imam 'Abd-Allāh al-Ḥusayn begins. Instead of holding a banquet, Faṭḥ 'Alī Shāh observed mourning for Imam Ḥusayn.¹³² And again in 1834, he did not sit on the throne at Nawrūz, this time because of his illness.¹³³ But these were exceptional cases. The shah's sitting on the throne at Nawrūz was an important event and Khāwarī mentions it every year.

Khāwarī also identifies which throne was used for the ceremony. The first one, used after 1802, was the Takht-i Khūrshīd ('the Sun Throne'), which was also called the Takht-i Ṭā'ūs ('the Peacock Throne').¹³⁴ This was a gorgeous throne adorned with more than 4,000 jewels. It had been made

¹²⁹ Tabrizī, 587.

¹³⁰ Firdawsī, 1: 44. For the details of the Nawrūz tradition, see Christensen 1934, 138-60; Burūmand-i Sa'īd 1998; Sīmā'ī 2008; Boyce 2009.

¹³¹ Khāwarī a, 321.

¹³² Ibid., 243.

¹³³ Ibid., 894.

¹³⁴ Ibid., 163.



Fig. 5. Portrait of Fath 'Alī Shāh on the Takht-i Khūrshid. (From Curzon 1892, 338-9)

in Isfahan on the shah's orders and cost 100,000 *tumāns*.¹³⁵ This throne can be seen in some of Fath 'Alī Shāh's portraits (see Fig. 5). It resembled a platform decorated with jewels and was obviously designed to accord with the accounts of Jamshīd's throne.

After 1813, however, Fath 'Alī Shāh sat for the ceremony on another throne called the Takht-i Marmar ('the Marble Throne') or Takht-i Sulaymānī ('Solomon's Throne').¹³⁶ This too looked like a platform, but it was made of marble and set in the centre of the ceremonial hall where people could watch the ceremony (see Fig. 6).¹³⁷ In other words, the setting for the ceremony was complete only when the throne was installed inside the palace. The fact that the ceremony was to be held with this particular

¹³⁵ For details of the throne, see Dhukā' 1970, 150-62. The contemporary account is found in Marwazī a, fols 189b-192a; Marwazī b, 468-9.

¹³⁶ Khāwarī a, 341. In Iranian legends, Solomon's throne flew high into the sky, which coincides with the legend of Jamshīd. See Shād, 1045; Sugita 1993, 281-2.

¹³⁷ For the details of the throne, see Dhukā' 1970, 87-110. The contemporary account is found in Marwazī a, fols 192a-193b; Marwazī b, 470-2.

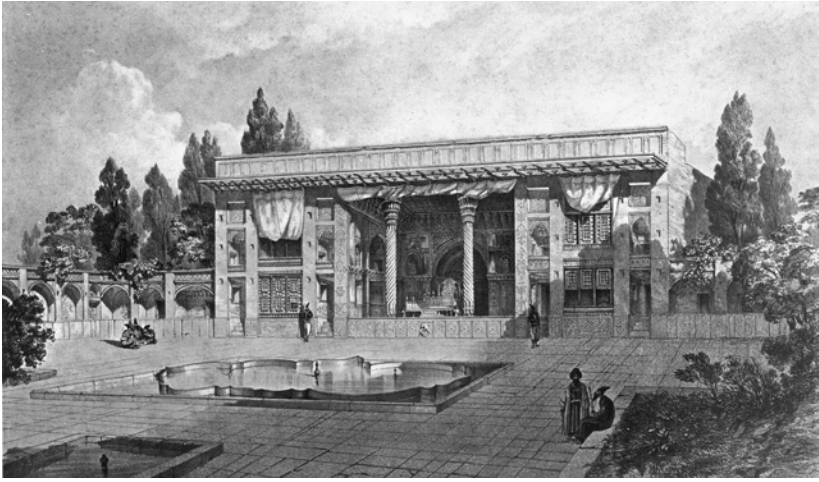


Fig. 6. Īwān-i Takht-i Marmar. (From Flandin and Coste 1851, Pl. 31)

throne in this particular setting makes it easier to understand why the shah had to be in the capital at the time of Nawrūz.

Ker Porter describes in detail the ceremony held in 1818 at the court of Fath 'Alī Shāh. According to his account, all the princes, dignitaries of state and clerics were waiting for the shah, who entered the audience chamber and sat on the marble throne (i.e. Takht-i Sulaymānī). After some words by a cleric and an astronomer, the shah gave a solemn speech of festival congratulations.¹³⁸ Ker Porter interestingly observes that it was Jamshīd, who allegedly initiated the ceremony, who had decided that it should be held in the capital.¹³⁹

Unfortunately, we lack precise information on the Nawrūz ceremony during the reign of Fath 'Alī Shāh. During the reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh (r. 1848-96), there were three ceremonies or royal audiences called *salām* for Nawrūz: the public audience at the time of the *taḥwīl* (the exact moment when the sun passed the equinox point in the eclipse), the public audience with the shah seated on the marble throne, and finally the audience at the gate-house.¹⁴⁰ The ceremony that Khāwārī refers to every year is the second: the audience given from the marble throne held on the second day of

¹³⁸ Ker Porter 1820, 324-9.

¹³⁹ Ibid., 317-8.

¹⁴⁰ Mu'ayyir al-Mamālik, 54-9.

Nawrūz.¹⁴¹ Even in 1892, the famous historian Iʿtimād al-Saltāna wrote on the second day of Nawrūz, just like Khāwarī: “After the ambassadors left, the shah sat for the audience on the marble throne.”¹⁴²

Were the early Qajar rulers the first rulers to stay in their capital during Nawrūz and to hold the ceremony involving the shah sitting on the throne in the palace? This issue has not been explicitly addressed in the scholarship on the Safavid period. Yutaka Hirano and Charles Melville, who have studied the itineraries of Shāh Ṭahmāsp (r. 1524-76) and Shāh ʿAbbās (r. 1587-1629), respectively, do not mention Nawrūz as a key moment in the royal travels,¹⁴³ while Yukako Goto and Sussan Babaie have discussed the importance of Nawrūz at the Safavid court, but they do not mention the ceremony during which the shah sat on the throne.¹⁴⁴

In fact, Safavid rulers spent Nawrūz in their capital far less frequently than the Qajars. For example, after Shah ʿAbbās made Isfahan his capital, he stayed there for Nawrūz only six times in 14 years (1598-1611).¹⁴⁵ Shah Šafi (r. 1629-42) stayed in Isfahan for Nawrūz only five times in 14 years.¹⁴⁶ Shah ʿAbbās II (r. 1643-61) stayed in Isfahan for Nawrūz more often—14 times in 19 years—but this is still less frequently than the Qajars.¹⁴⁷ As for Karīm Khān Zand (r. 1756-63), he spent Nawrūz in his capital (Shiraz) seven times in 13 years, for which Ghaffārī provides precise information.¹⁴⁸ In sum, it seems that for the Safavids and the Zand rulers, the ceremony of Nawrūz did not have the same importance in the royal ideology as it had for the Qajars. At least, they did not hold the Nawrūz ceremony using a special throne in their capital cities every year, as the Qajars did in Tehran.

¹⁴¹ Khāwarī distinguishes the Nawrūz festival (*ʿid-i nawrūz*) from the time of the *taḥwīl*. In 1806, the festival was the day after the *taḥwīl*. See, Khāwarī a, 243. For early examples in the time of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh, see *Waqāyīʿ al-ittifāqīyya*, 60: 1, dated 3 Jumādā II 1268/25 March 1852; 112: 1, dated 13 Jumādā II 1269/24 March 1853.

¹⁴² Iʿtimād al-Saltāna, *Rūznāma*, 862. Farhūdī (1988, 735) states mistakenly that the Takht-i Marmar hall was used for the audience at Nawrūz only until 1882, before the building of Tālār-i Mūza. While the Tālār-i Mūza was used for the *salām-i taḥwīl* ceremony, the public audience in the Takht-i Marmar hall continued until the end of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh's reign.

¹⁴³ Hirano 1997; Melville 1993.

¹⁴⁴ Goto 2005, 100-6; Goto 2008, 81-4; Babaie 2008, 233.

¹⁴⁵ Babaie (1994, 308-14) provides the tables that show the residences of three Safavid shahs, while Goto (2004, 40-1) compiles a table of the residences of Shāh ʿAbbās at Nawrūz, although both need to be revised. For example, Goto omits Shāh ʿAbbās's stays in Isfahan in 1598 and in Mashhad in 1602. See Iskandar Beg Turkmān, 1: 547, 612.

¹⁴⁶ Isfahānī, 46, 128, 245, 253, 290, 297.

¹⁴⁷ He did not stay in Isfahan at Nawrūz in 1643, 1649, 1654, 1655 or 1660. Wāla, 397, 479, 512, 540, 614.

¹⁴⁸ Ghaffārī, 61, 69, 76, 82, 270, 280, 290.

Although the Qajars may simply have modified or systematised something that existed before them, it can also be said that they 'invented' a new tradition that resonated with ancient Iranian legend.¹⁴⁹

CONCLUSION

Fath 'Alī Shāh's simple pattern of travel somehow resembled that of the Ilkhans, as did his encampment. Nevertheless, the differences are more numerous than the similarities. In most years, the first two Qajar rulers spent around two-thirds of the year in their palace inside the city of Tehran. They constructed more buildings in the Arg district of Tehran than in the suburbs and the provinces. As for their summer residence, Fath 'Alī Shāh stopped staying under canvas after a palace was constructed. For this reason, Lambton's judgement about the Qajar court being constantly on the move and rulers preferring tents to the palace is untenable. The Qajars did leave Tehran in the summer, but their travels were guided by political or military motives, or were simply in line with the general trend. They lived inside the city, invested heavily in urban property there, and were totally accustomed to city life.

While the researchers have a strong impression that the Qajars were Turks, an analysis of the sources indicates that their relationship to the city and their utilisation of the Iranian legends as a tool for legitimacy show a radical evolution from the preceding dynasties, although they may indeed share some traditions common to the previous rulers of Turko-Mongol origin. Their passion for Iranian legends is also visible in the creation of the 'Kayanid' crown, as well as in the imitation of the Sasanian rock reliefs during the reign of Fath 'Alī Shāh.¹⁵⁰ In a sense, the early Qajars laid the foundations of the 'Iranian nationalism' of the Pahlavis.

¹⁴⁹ It can be said that the tradition was partly carried on by the Pahlavis because Reza Shah sat on Fath 'Alī Shāh's marble throne for his enthronement, while Mohammad Reza sat on another throne, the Takht-i Nādirī, which was also made by order of Fath 'Alī Shāh and used by him in Sulṭāniyya. See Dhukā' 1970, 83-7, 179, 201-2.

¹⁵⁰ For the Kayanid Crown, see Dhukā' 1970, 138-41; Amanat 2001. For the rock reliefs, see Lerner 1991; Lerner 1998; Luft 2001.

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