TERMS FOR NOMADS IN MEDIEVAL PERSIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY

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Abstract

This paper argues that Persian historiographic sources from the period from ca. 1350 to ca. 1450 do not offer a single unequivocal term for „pastoral nomads" and that in fact social divisions following ways of life seem to be alien to them to a very large extent. The paper offers a detailed analysis of the uses of two terms: *ṣaḥrā-nishīnān* and *hasham/aḥshām*. The latter term occurs far more frequently. It is argued that besides its meaning of „retinue/followers of a ruler/military leader", the term also denotes „military retinue, indeed warriors, mobilized for campaigns, coming from a pastoral nomadic background, and returning to their more peaceful occupations after the campaign".

Pastoral nomads, Iranian-speaking as well as Turkish, Mongol and of other ethnicities, have been an integral part of Iranian life for most of its history, making nomadism part of Iranian identity.[1] But if one were to select a period of Iranian history where pastoral nomads are most prominent and indeed dominated Iranian politics and much of its society, it would be the Mongol and post-Mongol periods, from the early 13th century until the coming of the Safavids around 1500. It is from this period that my corpus is taken.

Speaking of nomads, particularly of pastoral nomads, is a risky affair in some ways. We are used to understanding pastoral nomadism as a form of living or at least of making a living, and there are definitions of pastoral nomadism (in social geography) that make living in tents or other mobile homes with the whole family all year round the decisive marker for it[2]. It can be argued, howe-

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2   SCHOLZ, 1995.

ver, that there are very few "pure" pastoral nomads if this definition is strictly followed. Mixed forms of economy are much more frequent, and if we want to avoid uneasy fuzziness in terminology, calling some people "semi-nomads" and others "half-settled", the best solution probably is to define interaction between pastoralists and agriculturalists and/or urbanites as a standard feature of pastoral nomadic economy. This is particularly appropriate in the Iranian (or Turko-Iranian) sphere (as opposed to the Great Steppe of Inner Asia, the Turko-Mongolian sphere)[3].

Modern terms for pastoral nomads in Persian have mostly been coined or at least put into usage by administrators, military or civilian, and scientists, anthropologists and geographers. Both administrators and scientists want (or wanted) clearly defined social groups allowing unambiguous answers as to who belongs to a given group and who does not. Thus, calling a given group of people "nomadic" or "tribal", belonging to the *ṣaḥrā-nishīnān* or to the *īlāt*, is part of the mapping and classification process that makes up for much of the "civilized" approach to the peripheral worlds[4]. In earlier texts, it is not at all evident that such a classification is at work, and definitions are far from being as neat as modern administrators would have them. It is thus interesting to note that one of these terms – *īlāt* for the tribal, mostly pastoral nomadic population of Iran – does not exist as such in the medieval sources at all (to the best of my knowledge), whereas the other is used only infrequently and does not mean "pastoral nomads" in every instance.

For the present paper, I have collected terms for nomads from a range of historiographic sources spanning the period from ca. 1350 to ca. 1450, that is, roughly the period covering the rise and rule of Timur and the first generation of his successors. [5] This was a period in which pastoral nomads had a central role in Iranian politics; they accounted for much of the military manpower and formed an even more important part of the population than they did in later periods until very recently. One would expect, therefore, that they would be given much space and attention in historiographical writing, and that the terminology referring to them would be unequivocal. But in fact, we are faced with a dilemma. On the one hand, one has the impression that pastoral nomads appear on practically

3   PAUL, 2004, and see there for further references.
4   TAPPER, 1997:14–18; LAMBTON, 1971.
5   See the list of sources at the end of the paper. Hagiography has been left out – according to my reading experience, pastoral nomads seldom turn up in these texts. – I prefer quoting the sources in the text instead of making it unwieldy by a plethora of footnotes.

every page, and on the other hand, they are very elusive at least in a number of works: There is a marked difference between eastern sources – that is, Timurid court historiography written in Khurasan – and western ones, that is, works written for either petty rulers in eastern Anatolia or Western Iran or empire builders in Iran and Central Asia. Whereas western sources are very explicit about pastoral nomads and their role in politics and warfare, eastern ones tend to be much more reserved, to the point that pastoral nomads cannot easily be identified.

I will now present a couple of terms for social groups we would call pastoral nomads. Since space is restricted, I have selected two terms, ṣaḥrā-nishīnān and hasham/aḥshām. In both cases, I try to show that the terms are not unequivocal, and that the connotation of "pastoral nomadic way of life" is so intensely coupled with military meaning that it is difficult to separate the two. This leads to the conclusion that terms which originally denote military groups such as lashkariyān may well "cover" pastoral nomads. Ethnic connotations, that is, a social division of labour along ethno-linguistic lines, are not visible; Turks, Mongols, Turkmen are seen as nomadic no more frequently than Iranian speaking groups and Arabs. This is of course due to the presence of Iranian speaking pastoral nomads (Kurds and Lurs) in western Iran; in a short study based on documents from Central Asia, my conclusion was that the three markers "pastoral nomadic lifestyle", "military potential" and "ethnic Turks" as a general rule went together[6]. This connection is still valid, in my view, for Central Asia, but not for Iran proper (in particular western Iran) and eastern Anatolia, where ethno-linguistic markers do not correspond directly to lifestyle and military prowess.

Other terms which could be analyzed include īl wa ulūs (this however has a clearly tribal connotation and also can denote a territory as well as a group of people), ethno-linguistic terms such as Turkmen, Arab and so forth, including tribal names (but they do not differentiate according to ways of life), and terms taken from Arabic such as ḥāḍir/bādī (they are indeed used in a very restricted number of instances and only in western sources). Among terms taken from Turki and/or Mongol (besides īl wa ulūs), mention should be made of forms derived from the verbal root kūch- which means "to move from one camp to

6   PAUL, 2001.

another one" and thus includes nomadic migrations; but in most instances, it is evident that moving camp when on campaign is meant.[7]

This leads to the general question of when we can be sure that the text really refers to pastoral nomads. My thesis is that this is rarely entirely certain when the sources use one of the terms listed above, including of course *ṣaḥrā-nishīn* and *ḥasham*, if we do not have clues in the context making the reference clearer. I think that a much more reliable marker is to look for the animals and/or the winter-summer migration, if we exclude "royal" summer and winter camps. Speaking of animals, in many cases such huge herds are mentioned that it is difficult to imagine that they could have been managed in other than completely mobile ways. However, this is beyond the scope of this paper.

Ṣaḥrā-nishīn

In this section, nearly the totality of all instances where this term appears in the sources which are the basis of this study will be presented. That is to say that the term is not a very frequently employed one. It is by no means the standard term for pastoral nomads.

To begin with, I will present some of the more literary instances. The term is sometimes used with a clearly derogatory note, but even then, the military connotations are evident. Salmānī (107/148b) describes how Qara Yusuf Qara Qoyunlu mobilized a large army. *turkmānān bā kamān wa tīr * karda bisyār dar jahān nakhchīr * gashta mānand-i dadān dar kūh * jumla-yi ṣaḥrā-nishīn gurūh gurūh * har ki-rā khūrad nīk khūn bāshad * chūn shawad mīz mulk chūn bāshad* "The Turkmen with their bows and arrows * had hunted much all around the world. * All these nomads, group after group, * had become like wild animals in the mountains. * For everybody who wants to eat, blood should be good * in order to have something to eat, they started building an empire". There are no further instances of the term in this source.[8]

Ṭihrānī also favours a literary use of the term, employing metaphors such as "Now that the vanguard of winter and the forerunners of the army of cold

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7   I have treated some of these terms (in an altogether quite preliminary fashion) in PAUL, 2002. The terms *īl wa ulūs* in particular deserve further study.

8   It is quite possible that the Qara Qoyunlu were viewed as "typical" nomads. See QAZWĪNĪ, 1378:63, where this quality seems to be linked to the fact that they never submitted to Timur.

attacked the nomads of summer and autumn." (178) or "As soon as the hero
winter with all the forces of snow and cold cast the tents down onto the steppe,
and Sagittarius, shooting his arrows, had annihilated the Ark of the forty days of
summer heat and, chasing the nomads, made them the victims of snow and rain"
(422). In other places, he uses the contrast between town and steppe in a me-
taphor for law and lawlessness: Certain Turkmen princes have left "the town of
law-abiding for the steppe of lawlessness" (371), and in a moral parallel, but
with inverted meaning: In a victory over an usurper, it is the nomads of reason
who succeed in making the wild animal (*bahīma*) of nature take up its burden.
(504) It is only rarely that this source uses the term to denote "real" nomads. In
such cases, as happens not infrequently in all the sources here considered, the
term *ṣaḥrā-nishīn* is coupled with other terms so that it becomes clear that the
reference is not only to a way of life, but also to military potential: A Timurid
prince is told to gather a military force from the nomads in large regions of
western Iran, from Shiraz to Rayy (318). In another context, Qara Qoyunlu
Turkmen forces have been victorious and this attracts large numbers of nomads
from Ming-Qishlaq and Jalāyir into their winter quarters around Astarābād
(350); the military component in this instance is denoted by the term *sardārān*,
used together with *ṣaḥrā-nishīnān*.

Shāmī employs the term in one place only. In that instance, it refers to
Arabs in the Baghdad region who are being plundered (144). In another place,
he uses the verbal construction *dar ṣaḥrā nishastan*, and the context refers to
Kurds in the region of Darband (who probably were no Kurds, after all), who,
instead of remaining in their habitual winter quarters higher up in the hills, have
had to "sit in the steppe" because of heavy snow and inclement weather (and in
the plain, they are an easy prey for Timur's forces) (245).

Samarqandī refers to *ṣaḥrā-nishīnān* no more than three times in his whole
work. The first instance is from the first volume (year: 742, thus slightly earlier
than the beginning of my time frame). Again, the military components are vi-
sible, and again, an army is brought together, this time in the region of Shiraz:
"in the camping ground of Qaṣr-i zard, [the military leader] brought together a
huge army *az naukarān wa aḥshām wa ṣaḥrā-nishīnān*" (177): in this case, the
military note is struck in the first element of the triad and thus colours the two
remaining elements.

In the second instance, large groups of pastoral nomads were leaving Iraq
and came to Khurasan where they were given pasture (*yūrt*); this was in 870
(and thus slightly later than the end of my time frame) (1296).

In the third case, pastoral nomads are being robbed of their animals (*amwāl*), the successful raider was Ḥusain Baiqarā (1410, year: 874). Pastoral nomads quite frequently appear as victims of raids by Timurid (and Turkmen and other) princes; in most cases, though, the term *ṣaḥrā-nishīn* is not used, but rather a tribal name or another term (including *ḥasham*); in such cases, what makes one think that the persons who are being raided are pastoral nomads is that the sources mention huge quantities of livestock among the booty taken.[9] But usually, pastoral nomads, when they knew sufficiently early that raids were probable due to the impending approach of a potentially raiding army, they tried to hide away in mountainous regions where access was difficult or else to abscond into the remoter parts of the steppe and even desert. Such is the case in one of the two instances where Astarābādī uses *ṣaḥrā-nishīnān* (his book is otherwise replete with references to pastoral nomads, but he uses other terms): When Timur invaded eastern Anatolia for the first time, many people took to flight, and the nomads went into the mountains, *aḥshām wa ṣaḥrā-nishīnān-i aṭrāf az mughūl wa akrād wa tarākima* left their homes and sought refuge on the inaccessible mountain tops (462), just what the Caucasian nomads mentioned above could not do because of the heavy snow. The other instance is more complicated. The source's hero, the qadi and sultan Burhānaddīn of Sivas[10], has turned against groups of nomads in their winter camps in the region of Develi (not far from Kayseri in central Anatolia), but refrained from robbing them. Instead, they were drafted into his military reservoir: *dar silk-i sā'ir-i aḥshām wa ṣaḥrā-nishīnān mundaraj gashtand*, additionally, they were made to move their camps and herds closer to Kayseri (526). (Relocation of nomadic groups is another subject; the reasons for displacing nomads were often military, but sometimes, questions of manpower also seem to have played a role – a desire to fill empty space and to produce revenue).[11]

9   It has been suggested that Timur's army was a nomadic one moving around with large numbers of animals which had to be repleted now and then, and that the favorite method for repleting them was raiding. See MANZ, 1989. Numerous references could be added to those adduced by Manz.

10   NAGEL, 1993:233–68 offers a summary of Timur's dealings with this ruler as well as an overview over the source.

11   One of the most noted examples for a relocated tribe are the Turkmen Qarā Tatār whom Timur deported from their pasture grounds in central Anatolia to Transoxiana. For a short summary, see MANZ, 1989:102, 136. I intend to come back on the question of relocated tribes in a study on "Khalīl Sultan and the Westerners".

Our next author, Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū uses *ṣaḥrā-nishīnān* in quotations from documents, in this case two appointments, both for Ilyās Khwāja who is appointed as governor in 'Irāq-i 'ajam. Such documents frequently contain a section where the addressees of the firman are listed, commonly in pairs making up the totality of people. In one case, the formula enumerates, after several classes of notables and officials, *dahāqīn wa arbāb wa ahālī wa mutawaṭṭinān [az ahl]-i badw wa barr wa a'rāb wa tarākima ṣaḥrā-nishīnān wa ghairihim* (611) – "inhabitants and people in steppe and country, Arabs and Turkmen, nomads and others" – under which rubrics I think that nomadic as well as settled Arabs and Turkmen are included. The other incidence has a list of ethno-linguistic groups and continues with other categories "[a number of ethno-linguistic groups] *wa khalaj wa ṣaḥrā-nishīnān az ahl-i badw wa ḥaḍar*," Khalaj is the last of the ethno-linguistic groups, and the text adds "steppe-and-country dwellers".[12] This makes the reader come to the conclusion that all these groups, including the *ṣaḥrā-nishīnān*, are not necessarily pastoral nomads.

The source where the term *ṣaḥrā-nishīnān* occurs most frequently is Nakhchiwānī, a collection of *inshā'* (literarily transmitted documents in an idealized form). The relevant part of the work has appointment deeds, and some of the offices and positions described have to do with pastoral nomads.

The first office is that of the scribe or secretary for documents written in Mongolian; the Jalāyirid chancery whose practices are reflected in the source issued documents in more than one language so that they could easily be promulgated to various audiences. The document, in the relevant passage, addresses "all military persons and nomads in the well-protected domains *jamā'at-i lashkariyān wa ṣaḥrā-nishīnān-i mamālik-i maḥrūsa*" (42). In variant readings, ethnic terms (44) or both ethnic terms and the terms used in the decimal system of Mongol military organisation (45) are added.

The next office is that of the *yūrtchī* who was in charge of preparing camp sites when the royal camp was on the move (either migrating or on campaign or both). For a man holding this office, it was essential to know where such a camp could be struck, for it had to have enough water and fodder, but it also had to be away from the sown fields of the peasants and the habitual pasture of the nomads (65). Variant forms of such appointments introduce more terms: such camps have to be away from "the sown fields of the peasants in the villages and [the pastures? villages? of] the nomads [lit. "horsemen"] and the dwellers of the

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12   The binary opposition *badw – ḥaḍar*, so prominent in Ibn Khaldun, seems to mean not "nomadic"-"settled", but "urban"-"rural".

oba and the nomads" *mazrū'āt-i ra'āyā-yi dīhhā wa jamā'at-i khail-nishīnān wa sākinān-i ūbahā wa ṣaḥrā-nishīnān* (66, two examples). Pastoral nomads are linked to horsemen, and the tribal term *oba* appears in a way that makes it look like a local one because it comes as an attribute to "dwellers".

The third office is the *balārghūchī* who was a kind of "lost and found" office; he had to collect stray and runaway slaves and animals when the ordu broke camp and return them to their owners. In the relevant passage, all groups of people who are living in the ordu are listed: emirs, viziers, officials, *ṣaḥrā-nishīnān*, merchants and the groups of Mongols, Turks and Tajiks (Persian speakers) (68). Since the merchants come in between the mostly militarily defined groups and the ethno-linguistic groups, we could suppose that the term *ṣaḥrā-nishīnān* is particularly close to the military, perhaps denoting the rank and file warriors.

The two offices we have just examined (the *yūrtchī* and the *balārghūchī*) were related to the royal camp; the next two offices for which we have sample investiture documents concerned everybody: namely, the vizier and the chief qadi. In the vizieral documents, groups of people are named in what would seem to be a complete list of the entire social order, given in what seems to be a descending hierarchy of importance: the senior emirs, the men sitting in the great divan, emirs of 1000 and 100, regional governors (*basqaq*) and men affiliated to the Jalāyirid state (*mulūk wa ḥukkām*), Muslim dignitaries, civilian dignitaries and notables, and in the last place, those we would call ordinary people in a form like this: *'umūm-i ahālī wa jumhūr-i mutawaṭṭinān-i wilāyāt-i mamālik-i maḥrūsa az 'arab wa 'ajam wa turk wa dailam wa mughūl wa tājīk wa lūr wa kurd wa khalaj wa tarākima wa sā'ir-i ṣaḥrā-nishīnān wa jūma-sālārān* (90, another example: 85).[13] The term *ṣaḥrā-nishīnān* is thus inserted into a long enumeration of ethno-linguistic groups (with many of the named groups including pastoral nomads as well as agriculturalists and other settled people), and it is in some instances also coupled with military terms. What is more interesting is an addition given in several places. After the list of ethno-linguistic groups the specification *muqīmī wa kūchkunjī* "settled and nomadic" is added. This addition could refer to either the last item or to all the items in the enumerated list; but since the last item is Turkmen in one place (78) and Arabs in another (150), it is more probable that all the groups in the list could be either settled or nomadic. The binary pair *muqīmī wa kūchkunjī* is the only explicit reference to an opposition in lifestyle I have come across in the sources under study.

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13   I have been unable to find an explanation for the term *jūma-sālārān*.

The list given in the appointment deed for the chief qadi couples ṣaḥrā-nišīnān with lashkariyān: *jamāʿat-i ṣaḥrā-nishīnān az lashkariyān wa aqwām-i mughūl wa tājīk wa lūr wa akrād wa atrāk wa aʿrāb wa khalajān;* again, the enumeration of ethno-linguistic groups does not differentiate between groups known to have had a large portion of pastoral nomads among them and groups known to have been agriculturalists in their majority.

Two more offices concern taxes levied from livestock. The first office deals with an extraordinary tax which makes it necessary to count the herded animals (149–50), and it is evident that all animals are included, even those owned (and managed) by people who are not nomads. The other tax is the Muslim *zakāt* (244), and again, it is levied from all people owning herds large enough for *zakāt* to become a duty. In this respect, thus, herds tended in mobile pastoralism or in other ways were treated equally, the taxes mentioned were no "nomadic" taxes.

The last two offices we shall examine again refer to the military potential of the nomads, but also to their presence in the steppes between the settled centres. The first office is that of *kārwānsālār*, a kind of road guard, and the nomads are asked to come whenever he calls and to lend him armed help (173, with a variant on 175 which omits the specification that their help is understood to be military). And the last office is that of commanders of task forces sent to fight bands of robbers (or those perceived to be a band of robbers), and again, the *ṣaḥrā-nishīnān wa lashkariyān* are asked to proffer military assistance (332, variant reading 333 without *lashkariyān*).

To sum up: *ṣaḥrā-nishīnān* is not used frequently in historiographic writings. It seems to be more common in documents, since some of the offices named in those documents concern nomads directly either with regard to their military potential or as taxpayers, while other offices concern the royal camp, which in a way also migrated in the nomadic fashion. In many cases, documents as well as narrative sources, the term comes very close to *lashkariyān* which can be taken to have a central meaning of "rank and file warriors". It is not always clear whether *ṣaḥrā-nishīnān* means pastoral nomads and nothing else; there are contexts where the literal meaning "steppe dwellers" seems to prevail, and steppe dwellers may also engage in agriculture. But whenever the term comes together with references to large herds of animals, we can be almost sure that pastoral nomads are meant.

Culturally, pastoral nomads are connected with low cultural standards, as is evident from the use of the terms in metaphors.[14]

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14 The cultural value going with a nomadic lifestyle cannot be discussed in this paper.

Ḥasham/aḥshām

In this section, I will proceed as follows. First, I shall show that *ḥasham* is used to denote "pastoral nomads" in the sources; next, I shall argue that in certain contexts the term has military connotations on the same lines as *ṣaḥrā-nishīnān*, and that in this military meaning of the term, it is next to impossible to distinguish nomadic warriors from other warriors. *Ḥasham* has only rarely been translated as "nomads" in modern scholarly literature, more commonly terms such as "retinue" and its equivalents in other European languages have been used[15], with connotations that often point to rather small groups virtually tantamount to a personal following, the equivalent of what has been termed the warband. I do not want to deny that *ḥasham* does have this meaning in many instances. However, I would like to suggest that *ḥasham* has in addition the central meaning of "military retinue, indeed warriors, mobilized for campaigns, coming from a pastoral nomadic background, and returning to their more peaceful occupations after the campaign"[16].

Ḥasham occurs much more frequently in the sources under study than does *ṣaḥrā-nishīnān*, and thus, it is not possible to present more than a small part of the instances. And again, it seems that the "eastern" sources are more reluctant to use exactly this term for "pastoral nomads" or "nomadic warriors", preferring unspecific terms like *lashkariyān* instead.

That a given term at least in some cases means "pastoral nomads" can be proved at least circumstantially. The first clue is the literary use of the term together with typically "nomadic" behaviour (this was also evident with *ṣaḥrā-nishīnān*). To give one example: In a description of spring, Astarābādī refers to the melting of ice and snow, the new vegetation and so on, and he continues with the statement that *qurūm-i rūm wa aḥshām-i shām rūy ba-maṣyaf nihādand* "the pastoral nomads of Anatolia and Syria set out for their summer pastures" (234).[17]

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15   Aubin, *Deux sayyids*: "nomades"; Roemer in his edition/translation of *Shams al-husn*: "Gefolge" and other terms.

16   I have argued elsewhere that "nomadic" armies were formed of: the ruler's personal retinue; an "inner army"; and the "tribal host". Ḥasham would thus be a term for the "tribal host", although in some cases, this large army was not tribally organized. PAUL, 2003, 2004.

17   Evidently, Astarābādī chose these terms (*qurūm* and *aḥshām*) because they rhyme with the regions, in fact, their last syllable repeats the name of the region, giving a particularly full rhyme. But the argument that both terms denote nomads does not suffer from the literary form of the sentence.

Another method of circumstantial deduction is one that we already used with *ṣaḥrā-nishīnān*: the animals appearing together with the humans can tell the reader whether these humans are pastoral nomads. Moreover, the context in which animals appear together with humans often is one in which these humans are being raided. Again from Astarābādī, as quoted above: The people Bur-hānaddīn plans to raid but later integrates into his *ṣaḥrā-nishīnān* are called *ṭāʾifa-ī az aḥshām-i rūm*, "a group of Anatolian pastoral nomads" (526).

Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū uses the term sparingly (he represents the eastern tradition where explicit references to pastoral nomads are much less frequent), but there is at least one clear instance: When Timur started to conquer Khurasan, his son Mīrānshāh left his winter quarters in the region of Balkh, and his army "chased all the pastoral nomads of the Murghāb and Bādghīs region and took lots of booty *ḥasham-i Murghāb wa Bādghīs wa ān nawāḥī majmūʿ ba-rāndand wa öljä wa ghanīmat bisyār giriftand*" (Cinq opuscules, 60). The most spectacular case in this vein is perhaps an undertaking of Timur against Syrian/Anatolian Turk-men tribes, in this case, the Dulgadır. They had tried to flee into the steppe re-gion between Tadmur and the Euphrates, and in the end, they escaped with their camels and horses into the Syrian desert (*bādīya-yi Makka*), but their sheep, so it seems, were captured; the source gives the fantastic number of 200000 head (*dawīst hazār*). These people are called *ḥasham-i Dūlgadır* (ZNY, 250).

Conversely, in some cases people called *ḥasham* are shown as aggressors together with their animals. Ḥasan-i Yazdī has a report about Jalāyir and Īrānjī tribesmen who are shown besieging Kirman city, they were grazing their herds at a short distance, so that a small group of fifty warriors on foot, sallying forth from behind the city walls, could get the animals into the city (159). By the way, it is in his adaptation of this source in "Deux Sayyids de Bam" that Aubin offers the translation "nomades" for *aḥshām*[18].

It also becomes quite clear that the term under study in fact denotes pastoral nomads when groups called *ḥasham* appear together with their animals and are shown to migrate. Ṭihrānī gives an example of that: In a very cold winter, the animals and nomads in a given region were on the verge of dying, and thus, they were allowed to migrate where they wanted (180).

Thus, it should be clear that in a number of instances, *ḥasham* means "pas-toral nomads" even without reference to their military capabilities or in particu-lar to their relationship to a ruler. Consequently, it is not universally appropriate to translate the term into a "military" meaning like "retinue", "followers", "Ge-

18   See above, note 15. Here, p. 65 and passim.

folge", "Truppen" (all these terms suggest not only militarily active people, but also a ruler or at least an amīr at the head of it) or the like, rather, in some cases, it should in fact be rendered as "pastoral nomads".

Let us now turn to the "military" meanings of the term.

In many instances, a tribal name appears together with *hasham*. I think that in these cases, the fighting force of that tribe is meant, whether they are active on their own account or whether they are being mobilized by a central ruler. In order to prove my point, I will first give some examples from the whole array of sources; after that, I propose to concentrate on Ṭihrānī's *Tārīkh-i Diyārbakrīya* and the specific example of the Aq Qoyunlu.

Astarābādī sometimes mentions *hasham-i ṣamāghar* (this is a Mongol tribal group, later on an important ally for Burhānaddīn) (96, 111); they are also called *hasham-i ulūs* (291, 390).

Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū mentions the *hasham-i Arlāt* who disperse after military defeat (Zubdat, 153) and the *ahshām-i Oirat* who are defeated by Aḥmad-i Jalāyir (Zubdat, 399).

Ḥasan-i Yazdī has *ahshām-i qashqāʿī* (41), a combination *ahshām wa qarlughiyān wa qifchāqiyān* (89), and the *ahshām-i Jalāyir wa Īranjī* mentioned above (159). In other instances, the term *hasham* and a tribal component are not so directly coupled, but can be seen as applying to the same group. Thus, Yazdī mentions that in order to suppress a regional "revolt", one of Timur's amīrs is ordered to mobilize an army out of the *ahshām-i Khalaj wa aʿrāb* who are to be found in the region of Sāwa (405)[19].

It could be argued that a tribal name does not necessarily mean that these people were pastoral nomads. This is basically true, but in some cases at least, it can be shown that most of the tribes mentioned here indeed were such, at least in their majority, as with the *ahshām-i Jalāyir wa Īranjī* just quoted.

Another important point is that *hasham* are sometimes linked to a territory, a province or a city. Here it is not so easy to ascertain that the term means "fighting forces coming from this region taken from the pastoral nomadic population living on the territory governed from this city or within this region", but I will argue that in many cases, it does. In investiture documents, the authority over these people is conferred to the appointed governor together with other assets he needs in order to fulfil his office. Thus, Astarābādī mentions that qadi/sultan Burhānaddīn appointed his son ʿAlī Chelebī as governor in Kayseri, and that this meant *iyālat wa ḥukūmat-i ān balada bā dawāzdah pāra-yi shahr wa qalʿa wa*

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19   See MANZ, 1989:101.

aḥshām wa atrāk ki dar ān nawāḥī wāqiʿ ast, "authority over this city and region with altogether twelve towns and fortresses together with the fighting forces of the pastoral nomads and Turks who are living in that region" (527, spring 1397).

Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, in his account of the revolt of Shaikh Nūraddīn, mentions that this amīr brought together a large army out of the *yāsāqiyān wa aḥshām-i ān nawāḥī*, "the people living under the rules of the yasa [that is, the militarily re-levant Turko-Mongol population] and the pastoral nomads of Transoxiana" (Zubdat, 361). According to this same author, the appointment deed (mentioned above) for Ilyās Khwāja (governor in ʿIrāq-i ʿajam), details that the appointee is to care for *ṭawāyif-i ḥasham wa mutajannida* (with an explication of what this means), "the groups of fighting forces drawn from the pastoral nomads and the mobilized warriors in general" (Zubdat, 609).

Ḥasan-i Yazdī, again, has one of the most striking examples. Abā Bakr b. Mīrānshāh is soundly beaten in the region of Darguzīn. He had a large army, made up of *50000 khāna-yi aḥshām-i Tabrīz wa tarākima wa kurdān-i Baghdād chunānki az har ṭaraf lashkar-i ū sī farsakh dar zīr-i chahārpāy wa ādamī khūrd wa buzurg az har nauʿ hamrāh dāsht*, "50000 tents of the fighting forces drawn from the pastoral nomads of Tabriz as well as Turkmen and Kurds from Bagh-dad, so that his army covered thirty farsakhs [more than 150 kilometres] in every direction, animals and people, big and small, of all kinds" (29). This author also mentions *aḥshām-i Shīrāz* who apparently were made up of a tribal group called Qarlugh and another one called Qifchāq (89). In a similar vein, another author, Ṭihrānī, once refers to the *aḥshām* of Aleppo who supported the rebel Tengriv-ermish (153).

The third type of reference to *ḥasham* are those instances when the term appears together with the name of a military leader. I suggest that in such cases, we are permitted to think that these people are military followers of that person, and that sometimes, additionally, they are also pastoral nomads. Thus, the Aq Qoyunlu appear as *ḥasham* of Qarā ʿUthmān in Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū (Zubdat, 357). Amīr Bisṭām-i Jāgīr, one of the most powerful figures in western Iran during Shāhrukh's reign, who is presented as "one of the powerful long-serving emirs in ʿIrāq-i ʿajam [...] was summering and wintering in Sulṭāniyya and Ardabīl together with his *khail wa ḥasham wa ʿabīd wa khadam* (Samarqandī II/III, 290). This no doubt is his pastoral nomadic following. The terms implying social infe-riority (such as *ʿabīd wa khadam*) should probably be understood as implying a general hierarchy: Bisṭām is the commander, and there is no need to conclude

that his followers were really slaves in a legal understanding.[20] A last instance in this group comes again from Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū: He mentions that once, part of the *hasham-i humāyūn* was ordered to stay in the summer camp to protect the royal family, herds and treasure, the *ughruq* (Zubdat 772)[21].

A similar kind of reference can be found in Ṭihrānī: The Aq Qoyunlu prince Jaʿfar Beg had been summering in a place above Erzincan, and his tribal/pastoral nomadic followers – *ahshām-i Jaʿfar Beg* – dispersed due to a military development in the region (148).

In the sources coming from Timur's immediate entourage, the term *hasham* should be understood as a mixture of these components. It seems that in a number of places, the mobilized army coming from a pastoral nomadic background is meant (as opposed to those parts of the armies serving as professional soldiers on the one hand and drafted or voluntary fighters coming from a settled background on the other)[22]. Thus, in the beginning of his career, Timur, when still allied to Amīr Ḥusain, is advised by the latter after the so-called *jang-i lāy* – "mud battle" – to transfer his *īl* and his tents to the other side of the river (the Amu Darya). Timur replied: *īl wa hasham ba-ʿazīmat-i gudhashtan-i āb rafta and*, "the tribesmen and the pastoral nomadic warriors have left in order to cross the river" (ZNS 30) – leaving Timur apparently with a restricted number of personal followers.

Many years later, there is a similar use of the term. During a campaign in the Caucasus which took him up to the Abkhaz, and on the return march, Timur ordered the levied warriors to stay behind; he himself rode on speedily with the personal retinue without waiting for the ordinary warriors who followed at a somewhat slower pace, covering the distance in two weeks. *ba-kūch-i ʿamma-yi lashkar wa hasham tawaqquf na-farmūd wa bā khawāṣṣ-i daulat bar sabīl-i surʿat rawān shud [...] wa sāʾir-i khadam wa ʿamma-yi lashkar dar ʿuqb kūch*

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20 I am aware that *khadam* is widely used as a term for eunuchs, in particular those active as military commanders. The question of the use of military slaves by Mongol and post-Mongol dynasties has to be left open in this context. On the other hand, *khadam* also is a very general term for military retinue, often used together with *hasham* (also because the two words rhyme).

21 This term deserves a separate analysis. For a beginning, see Doerfer. I strongly object to the translation "Troß" in German ("baggage train" in English) which is used consistently by a number of scholars writing in German (among them ROEMER, DOERFER and ANDO), since this implies a form of military logistics entirely alien to medieval Turko-Mongol or Turko-Iranian armies. *Ughruq* should be considered together with *īlghār*, the rapid raid (see note 30, below).

22 For the Iranian or generally settled components of Timur's armies, see MANZ, 1997, 2005.

kunān dar ʿarḍ-i dū hafta wāṣil shud. The difference in these cases between *ḥasham*, *lashkar* and so on (sometimes it is stressed that the latter terms refer to the "ordinary" army) on the one hand and the personal retinue on the other is quite evident.

These observations lead to a different interpretation of one or two passages in Salmānī, one of the most important sources on the succession struggles after Timur's death. Roemer translates *ḥasham* in a different way practically every time the term comes up, but this is not necessary – in fact, it is misleading. In a first report, we are told that after a defeat suffered at the hands of Khalīl Sulṭān, Amīr Khudāydād had to retire.[23] The source states that he flees together with his *īl wa ḥasham* to a place in the mountains. It should by now be clear that this latter terms refers to warriors levied from the pastoral nomads (113/156a), so that Roemer's proposed translation "seinen Stamm und seinen Anhang"[24] should be replaced (I am not sure, either, whether *īl* is best rendered by "Stamm").

In another place, the text reflects on the reasons why Khalīl Sulṭān was not successful. He was unable to win over at least a part of Timur's most important amīrs, and thus, even his lavish distribution of wealth could not save him. In a well-constructed sentence, Salmānī then comments: *lā jarm tūqtāmīshī umūr-i mamlakat wa khadam wa yāsāmīshī qaḍāyā-yi khail wa ḥasham na-tawānist kard* (122/167b), Roemer renders the last passage as "in den Geschicken der Stämme keine Ordnung schaffen"; thus, *khail wa ḥasham* is, in this place, rendered as "Stämme".[25] Again, I suggest that both terms together denote the levied warriors from the pastoral nomadic population (without reference to tribal affiliations which were less important in Timur's army but came to the fore again after his death).[26]

The last example from Salmānī concerns the end of Khalīl's reign. He has been beaten and has had to retire into the fortress of Qaṭwān (not far from Sa-

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23 Khudāydād was an important *amīr*, a Barlas by tribe, and it can be argued that he was the one who made Khalīl lose the throne in Samarqand. ANDO, 1992:86–7; MANZ, 1989:134–6.

24 English: "his tribe and his following". The translation thus uses a very general term to render *aḥshām*.

25 The German is "he could not order the fate of the tribes". The Persian sentence uses a combination of Mongolian terms (for military and administrative order) and Arabo-Persian ones, two different terms for "affairs" and two pairs of expressions denoting the realm and the subjects in the first group and the military in the second, and of course, the two segments rhyme.

26 For the non-tribal character of Timur's army, see MANZ, 1989, 1997. – The reemergence of tribal thinking and behaviour after Timur's death cannot be analyzed within the framework of this paper. For a first approach, see MANZ, 1989:133.

marqand to the east), and there, he was completely absorbed by his wife.[27] Some commanders in his retinue, however, had done what was necessary: they had moved what remained of the army's and the unfortunate sultan's belongings into the fortress. These people are called *baqiya-yi lashkar wa khadam wa khail wa hasham*, and Roemer translates: "der Rest des Heeres, die Dienerschaft, die Reiter und das Gefolge"[28], and, if we stay with Roemer's translations for *hasham*, it is "Gefolge" this time (followers). My suggestion, however, would be "the rest of the army, officers/secretaries, and warriors mobilized from the nomads", taking *khail wa hasham* for synonyms in this place.

There is no denying – this should be kept in mind – that in certain places, *hasham* cannot refer to pastoral nomads but must indeed be rendered as "followers", military ones most of the time, but not invariably so. In the preceding sections, however, I have concentrated on two groups of components in the meaning of the term: First, "pastoral nomads" with only a hint of military capability or even totally without any military connotation; and, second, "warriors mobilized out of the pastoral nomads of a given tribe or region, and these warriors in their entirety".

Let us now turn to Ṭihrānī's *Kitāb-i Diyārbakriyya* and his use of the term *hasham* with reference to the Aq Qoyunlu.

In a confrontation between two Aq Qoyunlu pretenders (Uzun Ḥasan, the hero of the book, and Qāsim Mīrzā) in the region of Ruhā (Edessa, Şanlıurfa), a number of Aq Qoyunlu tribesmen could not decide which one to support. "The Aq Qoyunlu people were in a place called Shīna" *aqwām-i āq qūyunlū dar mawḍiʿ-i Shīna būdand*[29] "and some of them had leanings towards Uzun Ḥasan, and some to Qāsim Mīrzā" *baʿḍī az ān ahshām ba-ṣāḥib-qirān* [Uzun Ḥasan] *mail namūdand wa baʿḍī ba-Qāsim Mīrzā* (185). In the ensuing fights, Uzun Ḥasan orders some *ahshām* (whom the source identifies locally: they are linked to the place Arqanīn/Ergani which was Uzun Ḥasan's appanage at that moment) to go to Kharpurt: *baqiya-yi ahshām-i āq qūyunlū-rā ba-urdū-yi khāṣṣa kūchā-nīda* – "he made the remainder of the Aq Qoyunlu tribal warriors to come to the royal camp" – and together, they left for a place which the source does not iden-

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27   As is well known, most modern scholarship reiterates what Salmānī and other pro-Shāh-rukhid authors say about the violent passion Khalīl had for his wife Shād Mulk, see, for recent examples, NAGEL, 1993:423–4; ROEMER, 1989:124. Manz is an exception in that she takes Khalīl seriously.

28   The German: "the remainder of the army, the servants, the horsemen and the followers".

29   This is where the Habur and the Shina rivers flow together.

tify. But an attack by his enemy Rustam, a Qara Qoyunlu amīr, made these *aḥshām* run away, and Uzun Ḥasan was unable to get them together again; moreover, Rustam succeeded in following these *aḥshām* in a raid and robbing them (187). Shortly after, and way up north, some Qara Qoyunlu troops were devastating the region around Karahisar (between Sivas and Erzincan). People there called for help, and an Aq Qoyunlu amīr, "whom some of the Aq Qoyunlu *aḥshām* we mentioned above had joined," raided them and killed a number of the enemies (208). Again, Rustam Qara Qoyunlu led a raid (*īlghār*)[30] against the *aḥshām-i ṣāḥib-qirān*, that is, Uzun Ḥasan's tribal following. Out of the several possible courses of action open to him, Uzun Ḥasan chose to gather the *aḥshām* together, and to move into an inaccessible region (on the banks of the Euphrates somewhere in what is now Malatya province), together with their belongings and the animals *ba-asbāb wa aḥmāl wa athqāl wa bahā'im wa aghnām* (216). Some time later, Uzun Ḥasan sent his *aḥshām* up to the summer camps (and continued the campaign in the plain, that is, the siege of the fortress of Harpurt, with reduced numbers) (371). They were, however, not very numerous, and the man who was master of Harpurt, Aṣlān Dūlgadır, could plan a raid against the summer camps (395).

Another most revealing passage is the following: When a major confrontation against Jahānshāh Qara Qoyunlu was approaching, there was an uncertainty among the Aq Qoyunlu *aḥshām* which was caused by rumours. They had come to their summer pastures in the region of Bingöl, and their commander was a man called Khalīl tawāchī[31]. He had brought together a small group for a hunting trip, but since they had thought that they were being mobilized for a raid *īlghār*, word spread that there would be a raid, and the enemies were taking counter-measures (410). The confrontation was then reaching a climax north of the Van sea, and Uzun Ḥasan wanted to entrench himself behind some kind of wall. The *aḥshām-i āq qūyunlū* were overcome by fear, and were deserting in groups,

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30 This term also deserves a separate analysis which again should start with DOERFER, 1963–75. In my view, the term signifies a raid undertaken in smaller or larger numbers, up to several tens of thousands participants, with the herds and womenfolk as well as most of the equipment left behind in the *ughruq* or another camp. Participants in such a raid have to take more than one horse with them (in that case, they are called *dū asba* – two-horsed), and such provisions as are necessary. Swiftness is the main feature.

31 This is a title/office. Military leaders active in this function have an important role in bringing together an army, they are in a way responsible for the mobilization process, including the sending out of the rallying call.

Uzun Ḥasan subsequently had them tracked down, and they were severely punished.

It becomes clear from all this that in the case of the Aq Qoyunlu whose nomadic foundation is irrefragable, the * aḥshām* were the ordinary warriors, the tribesmen who led a normal life as pastoral nomads, migrating between summer pastures up in the mountains to the north and winter pastures, mostly in the Syrian lowlands. When Uzun Ḥasan called them to war, they had to follow, but sometimes they were not enthusiastic. When war in the plains was totally incompatible with the migration seasons (e.g., when a fortress had to be besieged and there was not enough water and fodder around for the herds), they could be sent away (probably they would have left anyway and there would have been no way to prevent them from doing so). The ruler was not always with them (or: they were not always with the ruler), but they were under military orders even when they were tending their flocks in the summer pastures. At the beginning, when it was not yet clear that Uzun Ḥasan was the gifted military and political leader he turned out to be, they had problems deciding whom out of the numerous pretenders to support, but as soon as he emerged as a leading figure, they were quite decided to follow him – at least as long as he was successful and did not lead them into situations they thought were too dangerous. To sum up, they were just what we supposed *aḥshām* were: ordinary warriors coming from the pastoral nomadic population.

Conclusion

This paper has been devoted to only two terms, leaving out many others. Both terms, *ṣaḥrā-nishīnān* and *ḥasham-aḥshām*, are multi-faceted and cannot be translated by the same term in every instance. Neither term denotes "pastoral nomads" in every case. Both appear more frequently in sources from western Iran and Anatolia than in books written in Khurasan or Transoxiana, but in neither case can a solid link be established between nomadism as a lifestyle or military capabilities on the one hand and ethno-linguistic markers on the other. Both terms have a clear military component to them, one which is, however, more evident in *aḥshām*. This term is also encountered much more frequently in the sources. *Ṣaḥrā-nishīnān* is very rare in narrative sources, less so in documentary ones. Thus, both terms do not reflect an idea of "pastoral nomadism" as a life style or a way of making one's living only, but the sources make it clear

that pastoral nomads and mounted warriors are one and the same group of people. No clear difference can be made between the two realms. An analysis of terms like *īl wa ulūs* might produce the same result.

As far as the distinction between settled and nomadic goes, there is only one binary pair denoting precisely this difference, viz., *muqīmī* vs. *kūchkunjī*, but these terms are very marginal and of little help in understanding medieval pastoral nomadism in the Turko-Iranian world.

Additional note

After completion of this paper, I had the chance to read Naṭanzī's *Muntakhab at-tawārīkh-i muʿīnī* (ed. Jean AUBIN, Tehran 1336 HS). In this text, the term *ṣaḥrā-nishīnān* is used quite frequently in the passages dealing with the initial stages of Timur's career (before 1370). A most interesting passage refers to the practice of levying one man per tent (out of the nomadic population of Transoxiana which is called *ṣaḥrā-nishīnān* in this case) for the army *lashkar* (p. 201).

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