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Bukhara  
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Bukhara and the Muslims of Russia

Sufism, Education, and the Paradox of Islamic Prestige

*By*  
Allen J. Frank

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Araştırmaları Merkezi Kütüphanesi	
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MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN  
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

Sören Stark\*

## The Arab Conquest of Bukhārā: Reconsidering Qutayba b. Muslim’s Campaigns 87–90 H/706–709 CE

D.271



<https://doi.org/10.1515/Islam-2018-0027>

**Abstract:** This paper reconsiders the existing accounts of Qutayba b. Muslim’s campaigns in Bukhārā in the context of the region’s historical topography. It proposes a new yet more coherent reconstruction of the course of events during these campaigns. The resulting new narrative highlights how difficult this first step of the conquest of Mā warā’-al-nahr was for the Arab armies.

**Keywords:** Qutayba b. Muslim, Khurāsān, Sogdiana, Bukhārā, Mā warā’-al-nahr, Arab Conquest

Buhara (02106)

Kutayba b. Muslim (11455)

### Introduction

The following study offers a close look at the campaigns of Qutayba b. Muslim into the Bukhārā region (including Paikand and Karmīna) between 87/706 and 90/709. They mark the beginning of the actual conquest of Soghd and the neighboring regions beyond the Oxus/Jayhūn/Amū-Daryā (*mā warā’ al-nahr*).<sup>1</sup> My aim is not to exhaustively re-narrate the complete course of events that took place during these campaigns. Instead, I will focus on several odd discrepancies and contradictions in our extant sources with regard to historical topography and the chronological sequence of events – discrepancies and contradictions, which remained largely unnoticed or unexplained by modern scholarship. Although a study in ‘Ereignisgeschichte’ seems by now a somewhat old-fashioned enterprise, a sound evenemental framework for this short period remains an important basis for further studies on the Arab conquest of the territories beyond the Amū-Daryā.

<sup>1</sup> Earlier raids into the region are comprehensively discussed by Гойбов 1989.

**Article note:** I would like to thank Kyle Brunner, Robert Hoyland, Alireza Khounani, Aleksandr Naymark, and two anonymous reviewers for valuable comments and suggestions. Needless to say, all mistakes and inaccuracies are my own.

\*Corresponding author: Sören Stark, New York University, New York, USA, ss5951@nyu.edu

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## DIKK-Materialien

In den Jahren 1998 bis 2000 erschienen unter diesem Titel insgesamt sieben kleinere Schriften mit Hinweisen auf einschlägige Literatur sowie Informationen zu den diversen Sammlungen.

Buhara

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MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN  
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN!

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Eothen, o. J., 2012 München, 141–160.

## DAS SAMANIDENMAUSOLEUM IN BUCHARA:

Ein Monument zwischen prä- und frühislamischer Baukunst  
im iranischen Kulturraum<sup>1</sup>

Dieter F. Kickingereeder

Das Mausoleum der Samaniden in Buchara (Usbekistan), auch als *Mausoleum des Ismā'īl* oder des *Ismā'īl Sāmānī* bezeichnet, stand einst im Bereich eines großangelegten Friedhofs<sup>2</sup>; jedoch wurden im Verlaufe von Restaurierungsarbeiten im Jahre 1934 die anderen Gräber, die aus jüngerer Zeit stammten, beseitigt.<sup>3</sup>

Das Samanidenmausoleum gehört zu den frühesten noch existenten Grabbauten der islamischen Welt. Es veranschaulicht in eindrucksvoller Weise den Einfluß der traditionellen architektonischen sowie dekorativen Gestaltung präislamischer Zeit im iranischen Raum, vor allem des zoroastrischen Feuertempels aus sasanidischer Zeit, auf die frühislamischen Baumonumente. Robert Hillenbrand bezeichnet das Samanidenmausoleum sogar als einen „Feuertempel im islamischen Gewand“.<sup>4</sup> Die Samaniden und ihre Baumeister griffen auf in Mittelasien existente architektonische und dekorative Elemente zurück. Diese waren entweder in der Tradition verwurzelt gewesen oder von den Sasaniden etabliert worden. Lokale Handwerker brachten ihre in vorislamischer Zeit erworbenen Kenntnisse folglich in die Bauwerke der neuen, islamischen Bauherren ein.<sup>5</sup> Huff verweist darauf, daß das Mausoleum *Ismā'īls* „allgemein als wichtigstes Zeugnis des Übergangs von sasanidischer zu islamischer Baukunst gilt“.<sup>6</sup>

Das Samanidenmausoleum, das am Ende des 9. oder zu Beginn des 10. Jahrhunderts errichtet wurde, ist wegbereitend für eine neue Entwicklung in der isla-

<sup>1</sup> Bei diesem Beitrag handelt es sich um eine umfassend überarbeitete Fassung meines Vortrags am 22. Januar 2009 in der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, München.

<sup>2</sup> Blair/Bloom (2000), S. 115.

<sup>3</sup> Gombos (o. J.), S. 20. Restaurationsarbeiten am Mausoleum gab es im Übrigen in den Jahren 1925 und 1939, bzw. Ausgrabungen 1926 und 1939. *Siehe:* Stock (1989), S. 255.

<sup>4</sup> Hillenbrand (2005), S. 104. In der *Grove Encyclopaedia of Islamic Art and Architecture* wird genauer spezifiziert, indem das Samanidenmausoleum als „eines der frühesten bekanntesten säkularen Mausoleen der islamischen Länder“ bezeichnet wird. Das Mausoleum befindet sich im Westen des Stadtzentrums. *Siehe:* Bloom/Blair (2009a), S. 309–310. Zu unterscheiden ist im zoroastrischen Feuerkult zwischen dem *Ātaš-gāh*, dem „Feuerhaus“, und dem *Čahār Tāq*, dem Vierbogen- bzw. nach Erdmann Viertorbau. Erdmann zufolge handelt es sich bei den *Čahār Tāqs* um „monumentale Baldachine über dem im Freien stehenden Altar des öffentlichen Kultes“, jedoch nicht um *Ātaš-gāh*. *Siehe:* Erdmann (1941), S. 10–14. Erdmann bezeichnet die Form des Vierbogenbaus als für die sasanidische Epoche typische Form der Überdachung der Feueraltäre, wobei sich jedoch nicht alle Altäre unter einem *Čahār Tāq* befanden. *Siehe hierzu:* Erdmann (1941), S. 54 und 62. Der *Čahār Tāq* wurde erstmals im Palastbau von Firuzabad „aus seinem architektonischen Zusammenhang gelöst und [ist] zum selbständigen Baldachin geworden“. *Siehe:* Erdmann (1941), S. 64. Schippmann jedoch widerspricht den Ausführungen Erdmanns in Teilen. *Vgl. hierzu:* Schippmann (1971), S. 466 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Pander (1982), S. 150.

<sup>6</sup> Huff (1999), S. 151.

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MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN  
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

biographer of the Jews of Libya, and studied Torah in → Egypt.

A great many of Mūsā's poems were intended for inclusion in the liturgy, centered around the Nishmat prayer, to which some North African communities attached → *piyyutim*. This practice is reflected in the collections of ancient Tripolitanian song and poetry, although it was not customary among Libyan Jews.

Besides liturgical poetry, Mūsā wrote poems for life-cycle events, poems in praise of God, and poems on the subject of exile and redemption, without any connection to particular prayers. His poems in praise of Torah are of special significance because of the atmosphere of serious study and love of Torah they convey. His allegorical poems about love of Torah are especially beautiful. Their adaptation of themes from secular love poetry is a technique in which Mūsā follows the principal poet of North Africa, Mandīl → Abi Zimra.

Mūsā was well versed in the poetry of Spain, the influence of which is obvious in his work. He excelled in setting up wonderfully complex patterns of versification, such as very long rhymes with long lines that divide into many parts, or short lines with dense rhyme patterns that create a rich resonance. He uses syntax to enhance content by changing the usual order of words in a verse or by using very few words, thereby forcing the reader to pay close attention to any given sentence. One would not expect to find a secular poem among his works, but there is one, "The Source of Song in My Heart." A song of ostentation in the Spanish style, it hints at the possibility that he wrote other secular poetry that has not survived.

The Jews of Tunis accepted and preserved Mūsā's poetry. It constitutes the main component of *Shire Zimra* (Livorno, 1772), an important collection of the poetry favored by the Tunis community. Mūsā's poems were published in 1989 in a critical edition with notes that provide a broad-based introduction to his poetry and to the poetry of his time.

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EPHRAIM HAZAN

## Bukhara <sup>021056</sup> aut-Albert Kaganovitch

Bukhara is a large oasis city in the present-day Republic of Uzbekistan. It is one of Central Asia's most ancient cities. Documentary and archaeological evidence (mainly from Turkmenistan) indicates that Jews first settled there during the Achaemenid era, sometime after 559 B.C.E.

From the end of the sixteenth century, after an almost complete breakdown of communications with fellow Jews in neighboring → Iran because of conflicts between the → Šafavids and the Shaybānids, Bukhara became the new ethno-religious center of the Jews in the region. In the nineteenth century, European travelers in Central Asia applied the term "Bukharan Jews" to all of the region's ethnic Jews. They themselves used the terms [*Y*]Isro'el and *Yahūdi*; the latter is also how official Persian (Tājik) and Chaghatay (Uzbek) documents referred to them. The pejorative term *ji[hūd/jūt* (from *johūd*) was also current and was so common that Jews themselves used it until the 1980s. Since then they have been using the Russian terms for "Bukharan Jew" and, less frequently, "Jew" to identify themselves.

### 1. Early History under Islam

Although the first Arab army appeared at the gates of Bukhara in 674, the city did not come firmly under the control of the caliphate until almost the mid-eighth century. No mention of Jews in Bukhara is made by the Arab historians who treat this period. The twelfth-century traveler → Benjamin of Tudela reports that a Jew called Obadiah was the *nasi* of the Jewish community of → Samarqand, but he too does not mention Jews in Bukhara. Islamic sources speak of Jewish communities in other Central Asian towns, such as Marv, → Balkh, and Samarqand, but again do not mention Bukhara.

over, the tombs of two of these failed imams Muḥammad b. Zayd and al-Ḥasan b. al-Qāsim became well known shrines.

## Conclusion

By all accounts, the story of the Caspian Zaydī imamate is a remarkable one. It tells how men of the Prophetic line, hounded from their native lands, made their way to the fringes of the Islamic empire imbued with an undying zeal to right the wrongs done to them and their kin and through them to Islam as a whole. They brought with them an impressive legal, theological, and literary culture that they continued to develop in their new homes while remaining abreast of the scholarship of others, foes and friends alike. The high point of this story may very well lie in Rayy, where under the protective tutelage of the Būyids, leading Zaydīs were given the opportunity to make a notable contribution to the cosmopolitan intellectual life of the city while continuing to maintain their distinctive historical memories and grand aspirations for the future.

But the story of the Caspian Zaydīs is also profoundly troubling for it reveals the extent to which the most high minded of men with the loftiest of ambitions, full masters of the religious and other learning of their times, came to find themselves hopelessly mired in a world of venal political dealings and even worse put into circumstances that either gave rein to or demanded acts of the most brutal violence. It is perhaps no wonder that some of the noblest of these men in their disillusionment renounced their public lives and retreated into a pious seclusion. They realized only too well how utterly unable they were to realize even fleetingly their vision of a just society founded on the law revealed to their forebear, the Messenger of God. The legacy they left to Zaydism did not lie in their military or political successes, for these in the end did not prove enduring, but in their embodiment of the virtues of the true Zaydī imam, who having taken the just measure of himself awaits those worthy to stand with him in his quest to command what is right and forbid what is wrong. Making his way back to Rayy after he found that even his most trusted lieutenants had betrayed him, al-Mu'ayyad is reported to have spoken these lines:

I have fled from my enemies to other enemies: men I had accounted I could trust  
My hopes have been dashed by people who deem my virtues to be vices  
They mightily bestir the misguided against me, but they, I say, are worse than my enemies.<sup>78</sup>

78 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥamza, *Kitāb al-Shāfi*, 1:335.



Jürgen Paul\*

## Nomads and Bukhara. A Study in Nomad Migrations, Pasture, and Climate Change (11th century CE)

Bukhara (021056)

DOI 10.1515/islam-2016-0039

**Abstract:** This article takes a new look at the Seljuq migration into Transoxiana, and in doing so, discusses the theses recently put forward by Richard BULLIET in his *Cotton, Climate, and Camels*. In particular, it raises the question of where the Seljuq Ghuzz – pastoral nomads after all – had their pasture grounds and which animals they herded. The result is that they had only limited access to pasture (in particular summer pasture) and were looking for new places. Their herd was a mixed herd of the well-known Central Asian type, with sheep, horses, and camels; cows were largely absent. This is contrasted with one element in BULLIET's argument about the reasons for the Ghuzz-Seljuq migration: BULLIET sees the Seljuq Ghuzz as camel breeders. In a second step, the question of the relation between this migration and climatic conditions in northern Transoxiana are discussed, in contrast to another element in Richard BULLIET's argument. Paleoclimatic evidence is adduced, showing that there was climate change in the 10th-11th centuries, notably a cooling of the summer temperature and a marked desiccation. But winter temperatures remained more or less constant – no marked chilling of the winters took place. In all, the article rejects BULLIET's causation chain and proposes that the Ghuzz-Seljuq migration into Transoxiana was due to political reasons rather than induced by climate change.

**Keywords:** Bukhara; Khwārazm; Aral Sea; Ghuzz (Oghuz); Qarakhanids; nomads; pasture; camels; climate change; Big Chill; ecological determinism

BRAUDEL started his magnum opus with an observation about the relationship between geography and history. He wrote that he was not satisfied with "ces traditionnelles introductions géographiques à l'histoire, inutilement placées au seuil de tant de livres, avec leurs paysages minéraux, leurs labours et leurs fleurs qu'on montre rapidement et dont ensuite il n'est plus jamais question, comme si les fleurs ne revenaient pas avec chaque printemps, comme si les troupeaux s'arrêtaient dans leurs déplacements, comme si les navires n'avaient pas à voguer

\*Corresponding author: Jürgen Paul, University of Halle, juergen.paul@orientphil.uni-halle.de