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[Sur la biographie de Farroxi.]

Un court article sur la vie du poète Farroxi, présenté dans le contexte de l'histoire du Çagāniyān (X<sup>e</sup>-XI<sup>e</sup> s.). L'Auteur essaye d'établir une datation plus exacte que celles déjà proposées pour les différentes périodes de la vie du poète,  
M. S.

With best wishes,  
CEB  
14.6.81

## THE RULERS OF CHAGHĀNIYĀN IN EARLY ISLAMIC TIMES

BY  
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## THE RULERS OF CHAGHĀNIYĀN IN EARLY ISLAMIC TIMES

By C. E. Bosworth

### I

The region of Chaghāniyān (Arabized form, Ṣaghāniyān) lay on the right bank of the upper Oxus river and comprised essentially the valley, running north-north-eastwards from the Oxus crossing-point of Tirmidh, of the Surkhān river (or Chaghān-Rūdh, as the author of the *Hudūd al-ʿālam* calls it), with its centre at a town of the same name, identified by Barthold, with the support of the eleventh/seventeenth-century Bukhārā historian Maḥmūd b. Amīr Walī, with modern Denau < Dih-i Nau. Much of mediaeval Chaghāniyān fell accordingly within the southeasternmost corner of the modern Uzbek S.S.R., adjacent to the western fringe of the Tadzhik S.S.R.<sup>1</sup> The most significant right-bank affluent of the Oxus, travelling up-river, was the Kāfirnihān river, whose upper basin in early Islamic times included the petty principality of Shūmān and Akharūn/Kharūn (its chief town, also called Shūmān, being tentatively identified by Minorsky with Dushambe, capital of the modern Tadzhik S.S.R.), and whose lower basin spanned the region known as Qubādhīyān.<sup>2</sup> Still further to the east and drained by the Wakhs and Panj rivers lay the principality of Khuttal/Khuttalān, with its own ruler, the Khuttalān-Shāh.<sup>3</sup>

When the Arabs first appeared in Transoxania in the later first/seventh century, Chaghāniyān had a ruler of its own, usually called in the Arabic sources the Chaghān-Khudā. It seems that these lords at times controlled the important Oxus crossing-place of Tirmidh<sup>4</sup> and that they were often at loggerheads with their neighbour, the prince of Shūmān and Akharūn. At this time, the Chinese emperors still considered the Transoxanian and upper Oxus region city states and principalities as coming under their suzerainty, so that Chaghāniyān appears as Che-han-na in Chinese sources, with its ruler regarded as a vassal of Peking.<sup>5</sup> It is a reasonable assumption that this Chaghān-Khudā of the Arabic sources was one of the petty Iranian rulers of this very fragmented region, politically as well as topographically, of eastern Khurasan and Transoxania; for when the Arabs first appeared, the Chaghān-Khudā was to be found amongst the Iranian rulers of Transoxania and the Hephthalite ones of northern Afghanistan who endeavoured to stem the invaders, although the Chaghān-Khudās subsequently adopted a generally more co-operative attitude towards the Muslims than their neighbours (see below). Some light on the political situation along the upper Oxus and its adjacent provinces is thrown by Ṭabarī's account of the events of 91/710, in the middle years of Qutaiba b. Muslim's governorship. In the presence of Qutaiba and his captive, the Hephthalite leader Ṭarkhān Nīzak, the subordinate rulers of Lower Ṭukhāristān (here clearly comprising both right and left banks of the Oxus), named as as-Sabal and ash-Shadhdh, do homage to their suzerain the Jabghūya. H. A. R. Gibb thought that as-Sabal here meant the ruler of Khuttal and ash-Shadhdh the ruler of Chaghāniyān, i.e. the Chaghān-Khudā.<sup>6</sup> The use of such titulature in the region further illustrates the links of this part of "Iran extérieur" with the powers controlling the Eurasian steppes, for both the titles *Yabghu* and *Shadh* (though both probably of ultimately older Iranian origin<sup>7</sup>) were military and administrative ranks in the organizational hierarchy of the early Turkish steppe empires. In the Western Turkish qaghanate—whose influence would naturally be the one felt in Transoxania—the association of the ranks of *Yabghu* and *Shadh* is indeed found, with an explicit linkage in e.g. the Kül-tegin inscription on the Orkhon river in Mongolia. In the Old Turkish inscriptions, the rank of *Yabghu* seems to have precedence over that of *Shadh*, and this is clearly the position as reported in the Arabic sources concerning events in the upper Oxus region mentioned above.<sup>8</sup>

The course of relations between the Arabs and the Chaghān-Khudās in the Umayyad period has been well-surveyed by Gibb, and need not be repeated here.<sup>9</sup> It is sufficient to note that the Chaghān-Khudās, although initially hostile to Arab penetration beyond the Oxus, seem to have soon achieved a *modus vivendi* with the latter which disinclined them to join in subsequent anti-Muslim movements.

Mozaffar, which is, however, more likely to have been the patronymic of Faqr-al-Dawla Čaġānī, who disputed the throne with Tāher and was probably his cousin (see below). The Čaġānīs ruled the region around the Čaġānrūd (q.v.), the northernmost tributary of Amu Darya, and their capital, Čaġānīān (q.v.), is believed to have been on the site either of the present Dehnow (Deh-e Now) or of Sarāsīa, just north of Dehnow.

In 321/933 Tāher's grandfather, Abū Bakr Moḥammad b. Mozaffar was made military governor of Khorasan by Naṣr b. Aḥmad Sāmānī (301-31/913-42). Tāher's father and uncle also held important posts under the Samanids. In the reign of Nūḥ b. Maṣūir Sāmānī (366-87/976-97), during the rebellion of Abū 'Alī Sīmjūrī (military governor of Khorasan) and the general Fā'eq-e Kaṣṣa, Tāher himself was appointed governor of Čaġānīān, replacing his cousin Abū-Mozaffar. The latter then appealed to Fā'eq's forces for help. Tāher responded by marching on Balḵ, where he met with strong resistance. In the ensuing battle he was decapitated and his army dispersed (*Zayn al-aḵbār*, loc. cit.; *Jorīdāqānī*, pp. 93-94). This battle took place in 381/991, so that the claim in some sources that Tāher died in 377/987 is incorrect.

Beside being a man of learning and a poet, Tāher b. Faḏl was a patron of poets and men of letters. Six of his own verses are quoted in *Loġat-e fors* (ed. Eqbāl, pp. 106, 173, 213, 217, 288, 304, 443) to illustrate the use of words, and about thirty more have been preserved in *taḏkeras*, dictionaries, and books of *adab* (e.g., *Rādūyānī*, p. 21; 'Awfī, *Lobāb*, ed. Nafīsī, pp. 27-39, 252, 260; *Čāḥār maqāla*, ed. Qazvīnī, pp. 185-86). These verses bear witness to his ability as a poet, his subtlety of thought, and the breadth of his knowledge. Badī'e Balḵī praised him as a gallant, chivalrous, and generous man.

*Bibliography*: Abū'l-Šaraf Nāṣeḥ b. Zafar Jorīdāqānī, *Tarjama-ye tārīḵ-e yamīnī*, ed. J. Še'ār, Tehran, 1357 Š./1978. Šafā, *Adabīyāt*, 2nd ed., Tehran, 1335 Š./1956, I, pp. 428-29.

(MOḤAMMAD DABĪRSĪĀQĪ)

ČAĠĀNĪĀN, Chaghanids. See ĀL-E MOḤTĀJ.

ČAĠĀNĪĀN (Middle Pers. form: Čaġānīgān, Arabic rendering Šaġānīān, with the common rendering of Iranian č as s; Marquart's speculation [1938, p. 93] of an origin in Mongolian *čagan* "white" is baseless; attested in Sogdian writing as *č'ny* [Henning, pp. 8-9]), a district of medieval Islamic Transoxania substantially comprising the basin of the right-bank affluent of the Oxus, the Čaġānrūd (q.v.), the modern Qarataġ and Sorḵān Daryā rivers, hence now falling mainly within the Uzbek SSR of the Soviet Union. It lay to the north of the Oxus crossing-point Termed (q.v.), although this town was normally administratively separate from Čaġānīān. To its east, in the next river valley of the Oxus affluent, the Qobādīān, modern Kāfermeḥān river, lay the small province of Qobādīān or Qovādīān (q.v.), which was at times attached to Čaġānīān; while to its

north, where these rivers rose, lay the Bottam or Bottamān range of mountains, separating the upper Oxus valley and its right-bank tributaries from the upper valley of the Zaratšān river or Nahr Soġd.

We know very little of the pre-Islamic history of Čaġānīān except that it formed part of the Hephthalite (q.v.) confederation in the 5th-7th centuries A.D. Religiously, it must have been affected to some extent by the Buddhism of the upper Oxus region. In Sasanian times, it had its own local dynasty of rulers with the title Čaġān-kodāh (Tabarī, II, p. 1596; Justi, *Namenbuch*, p. 271), but it really lay beyond the eastern bounds of the Sasanian empire and fell, at least theoretically, within the vague overlordship of Central Asia claimed by the emperors of China; in the Buddhist pilgrim Hsüan-Tsang's travel account, Čaġānīān appears as Č'h'o-yen-na, and as Che-han-na, the eighth administrative division west of Kottal (q.v.), in the Chinese imperial re-organization of the "Western territories" in 661 (Chavannes, p. 157 n. 5; Marquart, *Ērānsahr*, pp. 91, 226-27). Troops from Čaġānīān were among the fugitive Sasanian emperor Yazdegerd III's last defenders against the Arabs in 31/651-52 and in the next year gave aid to the people of Toḵārestān (q.v.) against the Arabs (Balāḏorī, *Fotūḥ*, p. 407; cf. Marquart, op. cit., pp. 64 n. 3, 69). Čaġānīān was thus at this time one of the petty principalities of Transoxania and northern Afghanistan resisting the eastwards advance of the Arabs, but by the time of the conquests of the governor of Khorasan Qotayba b. Moslem (q.v.), its ruler Tīš (thus in Tabarī, I, p. 1180 n. 4; Chinese rendering, Tīshe) adopted a more conciliatory attitude towards the Arabs, apparently as part of a policy of seeking an accommodation with the newcomers in order to have a freer hand for dealing with rival petty rulers of the districts of Aḵarūn and Šūmān in the valley to the east of Čaġānīān (Marquart, op. cit., p. 299), what was later known as Qobādīān (see Gibb, pp. 31-32). Hence although Tīš in 99/718 joined in an embassy of the princes of Sogdia to China, he did not seek Chinese aid against the Arabs, and in the great onslaught of the Western Turks or Tūrgeš against the Arabs in Transoxania of 119/737, Čaġānīān was one of the few remaining Arab footholds across the Oxus (Gibb, pp. 60, 81-82; Bosworth, 1981, pp. 1-2).

The next two centuries or so in the history of Čaġānīān are very obscure, but the gradual islamization of the region must have proceeded. In 179/795, Faḏl b. Yaḥyā Barmakī's deputy governor in Khorasan, 'Omar b. Jamīl, made it his base in the east, and his descendants continued to reside there for a long time afterwards; since all mention of the ancient Čaġān-kodāhs disappears, they had possibly become extinct or were no longer of political significance there. Toward the end of the 3rd/9th century, Čaġānīān must have come within the orbit of the Samanid state built up in Transoxania, as one of the independent principalities of the upper Oxus region and northern Afghanistan which sent presents to the Samanid court at Bukhara but not regular tribute (cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*, p. 233; Bos-

-Čaġānīyān

al-Summāk (in Syria) began to move into Luristān. From these Kurds the dynasty of the Atābegs of the Great Lur [see LUR-I BUZURG] is sprung. Under the Atābeg Hazārasp (600-50/1203-52) the newcomers drove the Shūl back into Fārs.

Towards the end of the 13th century, Marco Polo (Yule-Cordier, i, 83-5) mentions amongst the eight "kingdoms" of Persia, *Suolestan*, which may refer to the new territory around Nawbandjān occupied by the Shūl. The old Chinese map studied by Bretschneider (*Mediaeval researches*, ii, 127) marks a *She-la-tsz'* between Shīrāz and Kāzarūn, which must correspond to Shūlistān. Although the Muslim historians were ignorant of the Shūl dynasty, the tribe in the time of Mustawfī had hereditary governors, the descendants (*nawādakān*) of Nađjm al-Dīn Akbar. A new administrative centre replaced Nawbandjān: during the campaign of 795/1393 Tīmūr halted at Mālāmīr-i Shūl ("the estates" of the Amīr of the Shūl being thus distinguished from Mālāmīr = *Īdhadj* [q.v.]); the position of this place between two water-courses, corresponds to Fahliyān which is now the capital of the district.

The Shūl must form an ethnically distinct unit. The history of the Kurds by Sharaf al-Dīn only mentions them incidentally perhaps because the author excluded them from his category of "Kurds". Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (ii, 88), who in 748/1347 met Shūl at Shīrāz and on his first stage on the road from Shīrāz to Kāzrūn (Dasht-i Ardjan?), calls them "a Persian tribe (*min al-a'ādjm*) inhabiting the desert and including devout people". The Persian dictionaries mention a peculiar dialect *Shūlī* (Vullers, ii, 481: "a kind of *Rāmandī* and *Shahrī* which is spoken in Fārs"). Shihāb al-Dīn Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī (who died in 749/1348) states that the Shūl have very considerable affinities with the *Shabānkāra* [q.v.] and asserts their generosity and hospitality. Their warlike character is evident from the remark of Rashīd al-Dīn, who in speaking of the Tātārs, capable of killing one another "for a few words", compares them to the Kurds, the Shūl, and the Franks (ed. Bérézine, vii, 62). In 617/1220 the Atābeg of Luristān Hazārasp advised Muḥammad Kh'arāzmshāh to entrench himself behind the chain of Tang-i Tālū (Balū? "oak") and to mobilise there against the Mongols, 100,000 Lurs, Shūl, the people of Fārs and *Shabānkāra* (Djuwaynī, 114, tr. Boyle, ii, 383). Rashīd al-Dīn (ed. Quatremère, 380) mentions amongst the valiant defenders of Mawṣil in 659/1260 "the Kurds, the Turkomans and the Shūl".

Established on the great road, the Shūl nomads were themselves exposed to invasions; the Atābeg of Luristān Yūsuf Shāh (673-87/1274-88) attacked them and killed the brother of their chief Nađjm al-Dīn (*Tārīkh-i Guzīda*, 343); in 755/1354 the Muzaffarid Shāh Shudjā' chastised them severely when they attacked Shīrāz (*ibid.*, 660); in 796/1394 'Umar Shaykh marching in the rear-guard of his father Tīmūr pillaged on his way all the unsubdued "Lurs, Kurds and Shūl" (*Zafar-nāma*, 615).

The nomad (or semi-nomad) state and the warlike character of the Shūl, the similarity of their speech to Persian, the inroads of their neighbours, all these factors must have contributed on the one hand to the dispersion of the Shūl and on the other to their assimilation and final absorption.

In modern Persia, the only traces of the Shūl are to be found in the toponomy of Fārs, where there exist in the *shahrastāns* of Shīrāz and Būshahr several villages with Shūl as an element of their names (see Razmārā (ed.), *Farhang-i djuḡhrāfiyā-yi Irān-zamīn*, vii, 142-3).

At the time of the last Šafawids (*Fārs-nāma-yi Nāsirī*, ii, 302) or after the rise of Nādir (Bode, i, 266) Shūlistān was occupied by new invaders, the Mamassanī Lurs, after whom the district became called *bulūk-i Mamassanī*. Its extent was then about 100 by 60 miles, between the following boundaries: to the east Kāmfrūz and Ardakān; to the north and to the west Razgird and the country of the Kūh-Gālū'ī (Kūh-Gilūya) Lurs; to the south Kāzrūn and the mountain of Marra-Shigift (the northern slopes of the Marwak in Dasht-i Ardjan). Of the six cantons of the district four (*čar-buničā*) bore the names of Mamassanī clans: Bakesh, Džawīdī, Dushmanzinyārī and Rustam. In these cantons there were 58 villages and 5,000 families. The clans were governed by their hereditary *kalāntars*. The Mamassanī claimed to possess the annals of their tribe and said that they came from Sīstān (J. Morier, in *JRGS* [1837], 232-42); this legend must have attached itself to the name of Rustam, the name of one of the four clans. The language of the Mamassanī is a Lurī dialect.

**Bibliography:** 1. Sources. Ibn Balkhī, *Fārs-nāma*, ed. Le Strange, 146, 151; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Džamī' al-tauwārikh*, ed. Bérézine, in *Trudi vost. otdeleniya*, v [1858], 49; xv [1888], 95; idem, ed. Quatremère, Paris 1836, i, 380-2, 449, with an ample commentary; Shihāb al-Dīn al-'Umarī, *Masālik al-abšār fī mamālik al-amšār*, tr. Quatremère, in *NE*, xiii (1838), 352; Hamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Tārīkh-i guzīda*, ed. Browne, 537, 539, 540, 543, 660-1; idem, *Nuzhat al-kulūb*, ed. Le Strange, 127, 129; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 88, tr. Gibb, 319; Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī, *Zafar-nāma*, Bibl. indica, Calcutta 1885, i, 599, 615; Ḥasan Ḥusaynī Fasā'ī, *Fārs-nāma-yi Nāsirī*, Tehran 1313, ii, 302, 322 (the author calls attention to the existence of another Nawbandjān in the district of Fasā).

2. Studies. Macdonald Kinnear, *Geographical memoir of the Persian Empire*, London 1813, 73; de Bode, *Travels in Luristan*, London 1845, i, 210-51, 262-75; Kāzarūn-Bahrām-Nawbandjān-Fahliyān-Bāšht; Justi, *Kurdische Grammatik*, S. Petersburg 1881, p. xxi; H.L. Wells, *Surveying tours in Southern Persia*, in *Procs. RGS*, v (1883), 138-63; Bihbahān-Bāšht-Telespīd-Pul-i Mūrt-Shūl-Shīrāz; Curzon, *Persia and the Persian question*, London 1892, ii, 318-20; Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 264-7; E. Herzfeld, *Eine Reise durch Luristān*, in *Peterm. Mitt.*, liii (1907), 72-90; Bāšht-Pul-i Mūrt-'Alī-ābād-Shūl-Shīrāz; O. Mann, *Kurdisch-Persische Forschungen*, part ii, *Die Mundarten der Lur-Stämme*, Berlin 1910, pp. xv, xvi, 1-59 (Mamassanī texts); G. Demorgny, *Les tribus du Fars*, in *RMM*, xxii (1913), 85-150. Cartography: the works of de Bode, Wells and Herzfeld, the map by Haussknecht-Kiepert, Berlin 1882. See also the *Bibls. to LUR and LURISTĀN.* (V. MINORSKY\*)

**SHUMĀN**, a district of the upper Oxus region mentioned at the time of the Arab invasions. It lay near the head waters of the Kāfirniḥān and Surkhān rivers, hence in the upper mountainous parts of Čaghāniyān and Khuttalān [q.v.]. In Chinese sources such as Hiuen-Tsang, it appears as Su-man. In al-Tabarī, ii, 1179, 1181, where the conquests of the governor Kutayba b. Muslim [q.v.] in upper Khurāsān during 86/705 are being described, Shūmān is linked with Akharūn or Kharūn as being under a local prince, whose name seems to be the Iranian one \*Cushtāspān. By 91/710, however, he was in revolt against Kutayba (*ibid.*, ii, 1227-8, 1230), necessitating a punitive expedition by the Arabs.

It appears in the 4th/10th century geographers as

MADDE YATIRILANMIKTAN  
SONRA GELLEN DOKUMAN

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ESADÜS-SAYINLANDIKIYAN  
SONRA SELEN DÖKÖMAN

25 HAZİRAN 1993

## FARRUXİ ÇAĞĀNİYĀN'A NE ZAMAN GİTTİ ?

AHMED ATEŞ

*Prof. H. W. Duda'ya*

Gazneliler devrinde İran edebiyatının en büyük üç kaside şairinden biri olan Farruxî-i Sîstânî, divanı hemen hemen tamam olarak bu güne kadar muhafaza edilmiş olan devrinin yegâne şairidir<sup>1</sup>. Eseri 'Unşurî ve Manûçihri'nin eserlerinden çok, zamanın ve bununla müterafık olan zevk değişmelerinin tahribatına göğüs germiştir. Bu durum onun şiirlerinin, öteki iki şairin şiirlerine nazaran çok daha değerli olduğunu isbat etmeğe yeter bir delildir. Gerçekten zevk, muhit ve şiirde terennüm edilen konuların çok mühim bir şekilde değişmiş olmasına rağmen, Farruxî'nin şiirleri hâlâ kalpleri yüksek bir güzellik, tabiat sevgisi ve yaşama sevinci heyecanları ile doldurmaktadır. Bu şiirlerin bir kısmı aynı zamanda memduhu olan Maḥmūd-i Ğaznawî'nin Hindistan'da islâmiyetin yerleşmesi ve kökleşmesi ile neticelenen eşsiz seferlerinin canlı birer tablosudur. Bu bakımdan bu şiirler islâm tarihinin bu çok mühim devresinin en mevsuk ve aynı zamanda en canlı vesikalarındır. Bu itibarla Farruxî'nin şiirlerine yalnız sanat bakımından değil, aynı zamanda genel anlamda tarih bakımından da büyük önem atfetmemiz gerekmektedir.

Bu büyük ve önemli şairin hayatı hemen hemen tamamıyla meçhulât içinde durmaktadır diyebiliriz. Çünkü genel olarak İran edebiyat tarihi kaynakları çok mahdut olduğu gibi, bunlar da ekseriya şairin hayatı hakkında hemen hiç bir bilgi vermemektedir. Mâlûm olduğu üzere, bunlar arasında yalnız Nizâmî-i 'Arûdî-i Samarqandî Farruxî'nin hayatı hakkında biraz bilgi vere-

<sup>1</sup> Jan Rypka et Milos Boresky, *Farruḥî (Arhiv Orientali, Prag, 1947, XVI, 18 ve krş. s. 23)*; bu son yerde şairin hicivlerinin ve bir takım başka şiirlerinin kaybolması ihtimalinden bahsedilir. Krş. A. Ateş, *Tarçumân al-balāğa, İstanbul, 1949 (İstanbul Üniversitesi yayınlarından, nr. 395), haşiyeler, s. 98 v. d.*

272. BOSWORTH, C.E. «The Rulers of Chaghāniyān in Early Islamic Times». *Iran* 19 (1981), pp. 1-20.

Reconstitution de l'histoire des souverains de la principauté du Čaġāniyān (vallée du Sorxān Daryā sur la rive droite de l'Oxus), notamment aux 10<sup>e</sup> et 11<sup>e</sup> siècles, d'après les sources historiques disponibles. L'A. expose d'abord l'histoire de la famille des Čaġān Xodā qui gouvernait la région à l'époque omeyyade. Le destin de cette dynastie pendant les deux premiers siècles de la période 'abbāsīde reste obscure faute d'informations dans les sources qui n'évoquent guère la situation au Čaġāniyān. Suit un rapport détaillé sur la dynastie des Moġtājīdes (Āl-e Moġtāj) que l'on saisit dès le 10<sup>e</sup> siècle comme souverains de la région grâce au fait que ceux-ci étaient étroitement liés à la dynastie sāmānīde. L'A. dépeint les carrières d'Abu Bakr Moġammad et de son fils Abu 'Ali Aġmad, tous les deux gouverneurs du Khorasan et participants aux luttes complexes pour le pouvoir dans l'État sāmānīde. Les informations sur les derniers représentants des Moġtājīdes après la mort d'Abu 'Ali Aġmad, qui ne sont que très éparées, ne permettent plus de retracer une filiation incontestable ni une description historique des événements sans des lacunes parfois considérables. Ceci est notamment vrai à partir du 11<sup>e</sup> siècle, pour laquelle l'A. présente tout ce qu'il a pu glaner sur l'évolution du Čaġāniyān, jusqu'à ce qu'après la conquête mongole toute trace d'une famille locale y disparaisse définitivement. Le texte de l'article est accompagné de nombreuses notes, d'un tableau généalogique des Moġtājīdes et d'une postface qui décrit des monnaies trouvées en Uzbekistan et qui avaient été frappées au Čaġāniyān. L'A. en déduit quelques informations supplémentaires au sujet des derniers souverains de la région au 11<sup>e</sup> siècle. Nous possédons ici un excellent exposé historique sur une dynastie locale souvent ignorée qui, pourtant, à côté des grandes dynasties musulmanes, joua par moments un rôle important en Transoxiane et dont l'A. interprète le destin avec la plus grande sagacité.

M. Gr.

ČAġĀNIYĀN

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