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Some Observations on the Tribal Stories and Tribal Organization of the Ming and Yuz of Central Asian Oases

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Abstract

It is known, that Uzbek people included such ethnic components as sedentary population, as well as semi-nomadic tribes, clans of Central Asian oases.

The aim of this paper is to present some data concerning tribal genealogical histories and tribal organization of *Dasht-i Qipchak* Uzbek tribes: *Yuz* and *Ming* of the Samarqand and Djizakh provinces of Uzbekistan. My contribution includes data obtained through field research in the Samarqand and Djizakh provinces of Uzbekistan. I also draw on documents from the Central State Archive of Uzbekistan, materials of the scientific archive of the Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology of Russian Academy of Sciences.

There were a big number of various genealogic legends about the origin of the Yuz and Ming in the past. Descendants of some groups of the Yuz tribe preserve the knowledge of genealogical stories relating to tribe, clan and even sub clan, while descendants of the Ming know only popular legends about the origin of Yuz, Qirq and Ming.

The collected empirical material on genealogies of the above-stated Uzbek tribes finds principal analogies among the tribes of Iran, Afghanistan, and some other parts of the world, though there are also some distinctive features.

Key words: Tribal genealogies, Uzbek tribes, Yuz, Ming, tribal structure, oral history.

Introduction

It is known, that the Uzbek nomadic and semi-nomadic tribes played a prominent role in ethnic and social processes in Central Asian oases in the past.

The aim of this article is to present some data concerning tribal genealogical histories and tribal organization of *Dasht-i Qipchak/Dasht-i Qipchaq* Uzbek tribes: *Yuz* and *Ming* of the Samarqand and Djizakh provinces of Uzbekistan.¹ My choice of *Ming* and *Yuz* was determined by that they were among the most numerous Uzbek tribes and they were mentioned in all known traditional lists of “Ninety-two Uzbek tribes” which were composed between the 16th and the beginning of 20th century. I would like also to compare *Ming* and *Yuz* in order to show common features and distinctions between them in terms of tribal organization and tribal genealogical stories.

In order to distinguish descendants of the Uzbeks, which arrived in the Transoxiana oases in the 16th century from modern Uzbeks I use the term *Dasht-i Qipchaq* ² Uzbeks. Certainly *Dasht-i Qipchaq* Uzbeks included into their tribal structure some groups of Turkic-speaking population of Transoxiana which lived on this territory before the 16th century.

From the ancient time territories of contemporary Samarqand and Djizakh provinces of Uzbekistan were in the center of crucial ethnic and cultural processes in Transoxiana. Various peoples inhabited the region by the beginning of the twentieth century: Tajiks, Iranians, Kazakhs, Kyrgyz, Turkmen, Uzbeks, including the descendants of more than forty *Dasht-i Qipchaq* Uzbek tribes (*Qungrats*, *Qirq*, *Yuz*, *Ming*,³ *Naymans*, *Qipchaqs* etc.). In eastern and south-western areas of

¹ I express my gratitude to Gerda Henkel Stiftung (Germany) for financial support of my research on history of *Qirq*, *Ming* and *Yuz* of the region.

² The term *Dasht-i Qipchaq* was used in medieval written sources for designation of the steppe between Western Siberia and the Dnepr River in Ukraine. At the end of 14th -15th century main part of nomadic population of Eastern part of *Dasht-i Qipchaq* was known as Uzbeks.

³ *Ming* in Central Asian oases was an Uzbek tribe and never had any relations to *Ming* dynasty in China.

Samarqand and Djizakh provinces newly settled semi-nomadic population prevailed over old sedentary population. Ecological conditions (pastures in mountain area, fertile valleys etc.) allowed some groups of population to maintain semi-nomadic lifestyle in eastern and south-western parts of the Samarqand province until the beginning of the 20th century. In the second half of the 19th century there were a lot of tribal stories which were popular among the semi-nomadic population.⁴ In contrary to the Uzbek society in the Bukhara oases, which has no remnant of tribal system,⁵ in many districts of Samarqand province one can find people who know the name of their tribe and even its subgroup. A significant number of villages in the region bear the names of Uzbek clan and tribes. In order to preserve tribal identity, marriage networks of some tribes extend hundreds kilometers beyond their villages. Some groups of the descendants of *Dasht-i Qipchaq* Uzbeks still maintain the custom that every Uzbek should know the names of his seven ancestors (*yetti avlod*). In the considering region the ability of individual Uzbek to trace ancestry for seven ascending generations in the male line was necessary as a proof of identity and claim to membership in a particular Uzbek tribe. Linguistically, the Uzbeks of the Samarqand and Djizakh provinces speak three main dialects of the Uzbek language: *Qarluq/Qarluq*, *Qipchak/Qipchaq* and *Oguz/Oghuz*. There are a lot of examples of mixed dialects and sub-dialects.

It is necessary to note that the issue of the tribal history of *Yuz* and *Ming* of the Samarqand and Djizakh provinces has not been addressed specifically in previous research. To date, there have been several publications that touch on some points of this issue.⁶ Data on the ethnic

⁴ Радлов В.В. *Из Сибири*. Москва, 1989. Р.563

⁵ Finke Peter. *Variations on Uzbek identity, concepts, constraints and local configurations*. Leipzig, 2005. P.132.

⁶ Гребенкин А.Д. "Узбеки". In: *Русский Туркестан*. Вып. 2. Санкт-Петербург, 1872; Соболев Л.Н. "Географические и статистические сведения о Зеравшанском округе с приложением списка населенных мест округа". In: *Записки императорского русского географического общества по отделению статистики*. Том 4. Санкт-Петербург, 1874; Шевяков А.И. "О коренном населении Нурагинских гор и прилегающих районов (материалы полевых исследований 1988-1999)". *Восток*,

and tribal composition of villages of the Zarafshan valley were collected by the commission of Russian Academy of Sciences for the study of the ethnic composition of Russia in 1921.⁷ With regard to the study of the ethnic history of the *Yuz* and *Ming* especially the work of B.Kh.Karmysheva deserves to be mentioned.⁸ Unfortunately, the data collected by her have remained unpublished.

My contribution includes data obtained through field research in the Samarqand and Djizakh provinces of Uzbekistan. I also draw on documents from the Central State Archive of Uzbekistan, materials of the scientific archive of the Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology of Russian Academy of Sciences.⁹ The main research method was the complex analysis of the data collected during the field research, archive and ethnographic materials.

Written sources contain little data on the structure, internal organization and genealogies of the Uzbek tribes. Only oral legends shed some light on these important issues. Tribal knowledge of the past lacks chronology and derives largely from oral sources. Tribal history was a received tradition, a rich canon of memorized stories and poems, some of them demonstrably old. I found that some of the genealogical stories tribesmen told me in recent years had been told by their ancestors, in roughly the same form, to Grebenkin in 1872, Andreev in 1921,¹⁰ and Karmisheva in 1960. Still, I was able to record some tribal, clan genealogies and stories which had never before been recorded by researchers.

The genealogical stories promote understanding of the processes of formation of tribal structures. In case of separation of any clan from the

2000, №3; Салимов Т.У. “Некоторые вопросы формирования населения Зааминского района (конец XIX-XXвв.)”. In: *Древний Заамин*. Ташкент, 1994.

⁷ Central State Archive of the Republic of Uzbekistan (hereinafter – CSAR), fund I-69, O-1, item 64.

⁸ Кармышева Б.Х. Очерки этнической истории южных районов Таджикистана и Узбекистана. Москва, 1976.

⁹ I am grateful to administration of the Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology of Russian Academy of sciences for the opportunities to work in the scientific archive of the institute.

¹⁰ Andreev M.S. participated in ethnographic expedition to Samarqand province in 1921.

basic tribe, its representatives create new myths about the origin and blood relationship of lower social units. Tribal genealogies shed light on intertribal links and unions which existed in the past. Tribal genealogies may serve as an idiom or charter that nomads use to explain their history and politics. These genealogies are, of course, not to be taken as factual. It is known that genealogies are socially constructed and reconstructed according to the interests and perceptions of those concerned. Genealogies exist in fragmentary form in people's minds and in shared oral discourse and are continually subject to contestation, negotiation, and reformulation.¹¹

The collected tribal genealogical stories of the Yuz and Ming can be divided into the following types: 1. Legends about the origin of the *Dasht-i Qipchaq* Uzbeks. 2. Legends about the origin of the *Yuz*; 3. Legends about the common origin of the *Yuz* and *Ming*. 4. Legends about the origin of subgroups of *Yuz*. There are a lot of versions of tribal genealogical legends recorded in various villages and in some cases they even contradict each other.

I argue that the Yuz and Ming developed in certain conditions from the military units and then evolved into more complex tribes. Yuz consistently changed into tribal union. Yuz tribal union included different semi-nomadic tribes, clans of various origin. Main part of the Ming tribe sedentarized earlier than the Yuz. Groups of Ming included also some groups of non-tribal sedentary population. Analyzing the tribal genealogies I assume that some kind of political coalition of Yuz, Ming and Qirq existed in the past. The genealogical legends on common origin of various Yuz subgroups served the purpose of maintaining the unity of the Yuz tribal union which included a range of various ethnic components. These legends also reflect a principle of political seniority and hierarchy among subgroups of tribe, its clans and subclans.

In my opinion, tribal structure of Yuz demonstrates some kind of model of Mongolian tribal federation, where Kiyat Borjigin was a central tribe. One can find central subgroup (tribe) within the Yuz tribal union.

¹¹ Bastug Sharon. "Tribe, confederation and state among Altaic nomads of the Asian steppes". In: *Rethinking Central Asia: Non-Eurocentric Studies in History, Social-Structure and Identity*. Edited by Korkut A. Erturk. Cornell: Ithaca Press, 1999. P.84

This subgroup also included central clan whose members had right to be elected as tribal chief.

Definition of terms: tribe, clan, confederacy

It is known that there are a lot of different understandings of notions tribe, clan and confederacy. In order to clarify these terms which I use in this article I would like to show definitions I support to.

First of all, what is a tribe? The concept of tribe is unclear and controversial. It is impossible to find an analytic terminology that both takes account of indigenous categories and applies widely enough to be useful for comparison and classification. Many anthropologists of the Middle East adopt the notion of tribe as descent group, the classical model of tribal society in the Middle East generally. Such a group may or may not be territorially distinct and politically united under chief, but many modern proponents of this notion of tribe would deny the term to any group without a descent ideology.¹² The question is whether we can apply the term “tribe” to large politico-territorial entities and chiefship, though they lack comprehensive descent ideologies and are heterogeneous in origins and composition? Some scholars have located tribes at a lower level of political structure, referring to the larger groups as tribal confederacies. They use the term “tribe” for first- or second order components numbering at most a few thousand individuals.¹³

Definition of the clan, as group of persons who believe themselves to be related by unilineal descent but who are unable to trace genealogical connections linking all members of the group is now widely accepted.¹⁴ Alternately the term is used to distinguish larger units from smaller ones

¹² Tapper, Richard. “Anthropologists, historians, and tribes people on tribe and state formation”. In: *Tribes and state formation in the Middle East*. Edited by Philip S.Khoury and Joseph Kostiner. Berkeley-Los Angeles: University California press, 1990. P.50,52

¹³ Ibid. P.53

¹⁴ Burnham P. “Clan”. In: *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral sciences*. Editors-in-Chief Neil J.Smelser and Paul B.Baltes. Volume 3. Elsevier, 2001. P.1921.

where genealogical links are remembered and can be traced (technically creating a single, large lineage system).¹⁵

Although the relationships among local clans or lineages were closely tied to kinship roles and marriage alliances, higher levels of tribal were more political than genealogical in nature.¹⁶

The tribal structure in Central Asia was represented as concentric rings: the tribe divided on clans which divided in turn on lower divisions. Principles of clan organization of semi-nomadic Uzbek tribes had similarities with tribal groups in other parts of the world, including Iran, Afghanistan and even Kenya. A clan typically consists of several sub clans, which either be the products of fission of a common group of origin or can be of totally different origins but joined together in an adoptive association, using patrilineal descent as mere model.¹⁷

It has been ascertained that the tribal structure of the nomadic and semi-nomadic Uzbeks was complex and that it has changed much in the course of the history.¹⁸ Most commonly, internal wars for political rule, land property and access to pastures resulted in the merging of some neighboring tribal groups. In other cases different clan groups and even tribes affiliated themselves with one of the great and powerful tribes. Such kinds of tribal unions usually took the name of the most powerful tribe. At the same time some clans tried to keep up their own name, believing it to be a part of the main tribe.

It is always difficult to present a terminological analysis of tribal nomenclature, which varies historically and geographically. Let us begin by examining certain terms relating to tribal organization that are in usage among the descendants of *Dasht-i Qipchaq* Uzbeks.

¹⁵ Rhum Michael. "Clans". In: *The dictionary of anthropology*. Edited by Thomas Barfield. Blackwell publishers, 1997. P.62.

¹⁶ Barfield Thomas J. "Tribe and state relations: the Inner Asian perspective". In: *Tribes and state formation in the Middle East*. Edited by Philip S. Khoury and Joseph Kostiner. Berkeley-Los Angeles: University California press, 1990. P.165.

¹⁷ Schlee Günther. *Identities on the move: clanship and pastoralism in Northern Kenya*. Gideon S. Were press, 1994. P.11.

¹⁸ Иванов П.П. *Восстание китай-кипчаков в Бухарском ханстве: 1821-1825 гг.* Москва-Ленинград, 1937. P.22.

Terms used for tribal nomenclature of *Dasht-i Qipchaq* Uzbeks are contradictory and ambiguous. In most cases descendants of *Dasht-i Qipchaq* Uzbeks use the term *el* for designation of tribal union. However I found that in some areas it was used for subclans. *Urugh* was also used for a designation of tribe, and clan. Among Mongolian tribes the term *urugh* denoted a group that was related mostly patrilineally.¹⁹ Term *ota* which means ‘father’ in Uzbek, for clans within a tribe was used. However in some cases it was used as a synonym of tribe. Another term *oghayni* which means ‘relative’ in Uzbek, for clans within a tribe was used. Term *tup/top*²⁰ designates the subclan or use as a nick-name for group of population. The small-scale tribal group, which lived in multiethnic village, was also considered as *tup*. This term is a symbol through which specific conceptions and behaviour patterns are associated with group membership.

The Ming of Samarqand province and their tribal stories

The Ming was one of numerous Uzbek tribes of the region in the past. Many groups of the Ming live in settlements of the *Urgut* district of Samarqand province, which is in the south-eastern part of the Samarqand province.

The historical origins of the Ming are a matter of dispute. The term Ming means ‘thousand’ in Uzbek. Some groups of *Mings* claimed that their ancestors have come to Central Asian oases during the reign of Chingis Khan. Initially they were nomads on the banks of the Syr-Darya river.²¹

It is interesting, that a rather numerous people of Turko-Mongolian origin lives in Afghanistan – the Hazara, whose name translates from Persian as "thousand", which is similar to Ming. But it is difficult to say, whether they have common roots with Mings or not. It is interesting that

¹⁹ Bold Bat-Ochir. *Mongolian nomadic society: a reconstruction of the ‘medieval’ history of Mongolia*. Curzon press, 2001. P.79.

²⁰ It is supposed to be the local version of the term *tayfe*, which was used for a social group, usually based on kinship.

²¹ Гребенкин А.Д. “Узбеки”... P.73

Hazara as well as Ming have an idea that they are descended from Chingis Khan's soldiers. In the age of Chingis Khan (1155-1227) the group of thousand (Mongolian *myangat* or *myangan*) was the most important military unit, which included warriors of various tribes. The group of 'one thousand' was not a purely military unit, but rather a civil one which was obliged to mobilize at least one thousand warriors.²² It is argued that the word Hazara replaced Turkic word *ming* in the area of present-day Afghanistan, where it eventually came to designate a specific ethnic group.²³ Analyzing the names of Hazara tribes and clans one can say that there is no similar Ming clans names in Central Asia.

The Ming were mentioned in Central Asian oases in the epoch of the Temurids.²⁴ According to written sources the Ming was one of the main Uzbek tribes in the 16th century. Under shibanid Abdulla-khan the Second (1557-1598), a wealthy group of *Ming*, fleeing oppression by the government, left the Zarafshan Valley and moved to the south to Balkh (northern Afghanistan). In the late Middle Ages some groups of Ming lived in a southeastern part of Zarafshan Valley and in Hissar, Boysun, Shirabad, Dehinau, Balkh, Qunduz and Khorezm. The Ming of the Samarqand province, which was a part of Bukharan emirate (1756-1920), established semi-independent *Urgut beklik* (district) in the second half of 18th century.

At the beginning of 20th century the number of Ming was estimated to be forty thousand in Samarqand province.²⁵

Ethnographic data shows that the Ming is a heterogeneous group in terms of culture and the language they speak. In some settlements of the *Urgut* district of the Samarqand province Uzbek-speaking and Tajik-

²² Bold Bat-Ochir. *Mongolian...* P.85

²³ Monsutti Alessandro. *War and migration. Social networks and economic strategies of the Hazaras of Afghanistan*. Translated by Patrich Camiller. Routledge New York & London, 2005. P.60-62.

²⁴ *История Казахстана в персидских источниках. Том 3. Му'изз ал-ансаб (Прославляющее генеалогии)*. Введение, перевод с персидского языка, примечания, подготовка факсимиле к изданию Ш.Х.Вахидова. Алматы: Дайк-Пресс, 2006. P.117-119.

²⁵ Материалы Всероссийских сельско-хозяйственных переписей 1917г. и 1920г. Вып.1, Поволостные итоги Самаркандской области. Ташкент.,1924,с.47

speaking population live together and consider themselves as part of the *Ming* tribe. In the pre-Soviet period some *Ming* were pastoral nomads, while other groups identifying themselves now as *Ming* were sedentarized many centuries ago. Some *Ming* of Urgut and Tayloq districts speak *Qarluk* dialect of Uzbek language and the others dialect is *Qipchaq*. It is supposed that some groups of local sedentary population adopted the name of the powerful *Ming* tribe in order to be protected by them. Being a *Ming* had also economic advantage, which lay in better access to the local resources. Although the *Ming* of the *Urgut* district are a heterogeneous group, which is evident in their dialects and some cultural features, majority of groups of *Ming*, living in different parts of *Urgut* district and other parts of the province believe that all of them have common origin. Wedding parties, funeral ceremonies etc. which are organized by *Ming* of one village and attended by *Ming* from other villages support the feeling of common descent. In perception of local Turks group solidarity of *Ming* is considered to be much stronger than some other groups in the district.²⁶ Nevertheless, I found some cases, when *Ming* of some villages do not recognize as their fellow-tribesmen some groups of population of the *Urgut* district, who claimed to be *Ming*.

In the early 20th century the *Ming* of the Samarqand province divided into the following subgroups (*tups*): *Ak-tugalisi*, *Boglan*, *Qara-Boglan*, *Tele-Ming*, *Tughali*, *Ughlan* and *Vakhtamgali*.²⁷ *Tughali* was considered as *bek tupi*²⁸ (clan of beks, with the term *bek*, which here meaning chief of clan or tribe). The clan *Vakhtamgali* (*Uvoqtamgali*) is found also among the Uzbek tribes *Qungrat*, *Yuz*, *Nayman* and *Tuyaqli*.²⁹ Analysing the *Ming*'s tribal structure one can assume that it was not so extended as that of *Yuz*. The *Ming* regarded themselves as *urugh* (tribe) divided into *tups* (clans).

Analyzing the genealogical legends of *Ming*, which were recorded by scholars one can say that they reflect memory or myth about the common

²⁶ Interview, village Chep of Urgut district of the Samarqand province.

²⁷ CSAR, fund I-69, O-1, item 62, f.57

²⁸ Гребенкин А.Д. "Узбеки"... Р.72

²⁹ Лезина И.Н., Суперанская А.В. *Словарь-справочник тюркских родоплеменных названий*. Часть 1-2. Москва, 1994. Р.137, 389, 398, 421.

ancestry of Ming, Yuz and Qirq. According to one legend Ming, Yuz and Qirq derived from Marka tribe.³⁰ Similar stories can be found among the groups of Yuz in Bulunghur district of Samarqand and in Djizakh provinces. In comparable to Yuz there is no any genealogical legends about the subgroups of Ming.

According to the legend, which was popular among some groups of Ming in Urgut and Taylok districts of Samarqand province many centuries ago governor of Balkh (city in Northern Afghanistan) was sending troops to Samarqand three times. At the beginning there were forty (*Qirq*) soldiers, then hundred (*Yuz*), and at last, one thousand (*Ming*) soldiers. They did not return to Balkh, and started to live in the Samarqand province. They became the ancestors of *Qirq*, *Yuz* and *Ming* tribes.³¹ According to another version, the Qirq, Ming, and Yuz came to Central Asian oases during the military campaigns of Chingis Khan. It is supposed that Qirq, Ming and Yuz formed a union in the past. There was also a tribe with common name Qirq-Yuz.³² These tribal names can be found also among different Turkic-speaking peoples of Eurasia.

Apparently, tribal names Ming, Qirq and Yuz derive from the remnants of some tribal organization, which had military character. This assumption is based on what seems a likely etymology of the names: *Qirq* - forty, *Yuz* - hundred, *Ming* - one thousand. Some groups of Ming of Tayloq district of Samarkand/ Samarqand province refer to the dialect they speak as *sipoyi tili* (language of soldiers in Uzbek). Nowadays it is some kind of mixture of Qarluk and Qipchaq dialects of Uzbek language. They believe that their ancestors were soldiers of Amir Temur – Tamerlane (1336-1405).³³

³⁰ Scientific archive of Institute Ethnology and Anthropology named after N.N.Miklukho-Maklaj (The Russian Academy of Sciences) (hereinafter – SAIEA), fund 23, O-7, item 4753, Dnevnik № 3, B.Kh.Karmysheva. 1960, ff.56-57

³¹ Interview, village Urta kishlak of Taylok district of the Samarqand province.

³² Соболев Л.Н. “Географические и статистические сведения о Зеравшанском округе с приложением списка населенных мест округа”. In: *Записки императорского русского географического общества по отделению статистики*. Том 4. Санкт-Петербург, 1874. P.629

³³ Interview, village Ukrash of Taylok district of Samarqand province.

Tribal stories of Yuz of Samarqand and Djizakh provinces

Uzbek tribe Yuz was mentioned in 16th century sources. Soldiers from a clan Besh-Yuz are mentioned in an army of Shibanid Abdullah the Second (1557-1598).³⁴

In the 17th-18th centuries Yuz was one of the most powerful Uzbek tribal unions in the region. Its unity was destroyed by the strong efforts of rulers of the Bukharan khanate in the second half of the 18th and the first half of 19th century. The power of tribal leaders was weakened. In many areas semi-nomadic Yuz were settling in increasing numbers.

In the 19th century Yuz lived in Samarqand, Djizakh provinces, Hissar (modern territory of southern Tajikistan), Baysun and Shirabad (modern Surkhan-Darya province of Uzbekistan). Some clans lived in Qunduz, Balkh (modern territory of northern Afghanistan) and Khorezm. Some groups of Yuz came to the Zarafshan Valley from Hissar. In the second half of the 19th century Yuz were subdivided into 16 subgroups: *Qtay-Yuz*,³⁵ *Khojaqtay-Yuz*, *Tigirik-Qtay-Yuz*, *Nebusa*, *Qaraqursak*, *Kildan*, *Khojabacha*, *Bishkuli*, *Qushtamgali-Yuz*, *Irgenachlik-Yuz*, *Bish-Yuz*, *Quruq-qazan-Yuz*, *Uraqli*, *Surakhli*, *Qarapchi*, *Parcha - Yuz*.³⁶ According to ethnographic data there were more than 100 subgroups, clans and subclans within the Yuz tribal union.

In the early 20th century the *Yuz* tribe regarded themselves as an *el* (tribe, tribal union) or *urugh* divided into 16 proper *urugh* or *ota* (tribes or clans). Clans divided into subclans (*tup*), which subdivided into groups called *Oulad* (family). Following the above mentioned theoretical concepts of tribe and confederacy I think that in case of Yuz's number and structure term tribal union is more applicable.

At the end of 19th century the number of Yuz was estimated to be fifty eight thousand. As a proverb that was popular among the population of the Zarafshan Valley had it, „Yuz are as numerous as stars in the sky”.³⁷

³⁴ *Хафиз-и Таныш Бухари Шараф-нама-йи шахи (Книга шахской славы)*. Ч.1. Перевод с персидского Д.Салахетдиновой. Москва, 1983.

³⁵ Qtays were descendants of medieval Kara-qitays, which were branch of Khitans – founders of the Liao dynasty in northern China in the 10th century.

³⁶ Гребенкин А.Д. “Узбеки”... Р.92-93

³⁷ Interview, Nurabad district of Samarqand province.

Some subgroups of Yuz lived basically in eastern part of the Zarafshan Valley (modern Bulunghur district of the Samarqand province) together with Qirq, and also near to Ming in Urgut district. Clans of Yuz settled compactly in some villages of Bulunghur and Djambay districts of Samarqand province and the Djizakh provinces. In certain cases two-three clans of Yuz coexisted in one village, and in some cases they live in different blocks. In some villages each clan has its own cemetery.³⁸ Majority of Yuz speak Qipchaq dialect of Uzbek, which divided into several subdialects.

The names of some Yuz's clans were similar to other Uzbek tribes: *Qungrat*, *Qurama*, *Qirq*, *Qipchaqs* of the Zarafshan Valley, *Naymans* and even Turkmens of Nur-ata (mountain area in the north-east of Navoi province of Uzbekistan). According to my observations some groups of Uzbek-Nayman of Samarqand province considered Yuz as *bula* - the descendants of their matrilineal cousins (mother's sister's child). Informant claimed that tribal coalition of Yuz and Nayman existed in the past.³⁹ Presumably the term *bula* derives from Mongolian word *bölö*, which is used with the same meaning among Mongols.⁴⁰

There were a number of tribal genealogical legends which shed some light on various aspects of Yuz's past and I recount six of them here in somewhat abbreviated form.

1. Legends on origin of the *Dasht-i Qipchaq* Uzbeks. The legends on the origin of the *Dasht-i Qipchaq* Uzbeks have appeared in the first half of 15th century.⁴¹ In the sources of 16th-19th centuries one can find legends on origin of Uzbeks and the lists of ninety-two Uzbek tribes. The Bukharan poet of the 17th century Turdi Faraghi uses the image of a body with ninety-two limbs to appeal to Uzbek unity and criticize tribal factionalism.⁴² In Samarqand, Djizakh, and Bukhara provinces scholars found five lists of traditional Uzbek tribes, including genealogical stories

³⁸ Interview, village Beshkuvli of Bulunghur district of Samarqand province.

³⁹ Interview, village Sazagan of Nurabad district of the Samarqand province.

⁴⁰ Krader Lawrence. *Social organization of the Mongol-Turkic pastoral nomads*. Indiana university publications, 1963. P.52.

⁴¹ Мирзо Улугбек. *Турт улус тарихи*. Форс тилидан Б.Ахмедов, Н.Норкулов, М.Хасанийлар таржимаси. Тошкент, 1994. P.226.

⁴² *Ўзбек шеърлари антологияси*. 3-жилд. Тошкент, 1961. P.105.

(*nasab-noma*) on origin of the Uzbeks. According to some versions of traditional genealogies of the “ninety-two Uzbek tribes” they were considered as descent of Isaac and Abraham but in other version they were considered as relatives of Abu Bakr (first caliph - 632-634) and initially they were called Turks.⁴³ Majority of the lists “ninety-two Uzbek tribes” begin with the tribal names Ming, Yuz and Qirq. The “ninety-two tribes” are given prominence in the context of a myth of origin of (Central Asian) nomadic tribes which is inextricably linked with Islam and the Islamization of Central Asian peoples.⁴⁴ In the Djizakh province there was a legend about ruler Uzbek, who had ninety-two sons. Later they became founders of the Uzbek tribes.⁴⁵ I think that in some cases the lists “ninety-two tribes” reflect the political seniority of Uzbek tribes in the considered region.

2. According to the legend which was recorded in the Djizakh province, *Qirq* and *Yuz* were brothers, but from different mothers. *Yuz* was a son of their father's eldest wife and *Qirq* was of the youngest. Therefore at assemblies the food moved to *Yuz* before, and then to *Qirq*. There was also another son from the second wife. After his mother's death he was brought up by the eldest wife. He was called *Qarapchi*. He had two sons, and eldest had three sons.⁴⁶ Some groups of *Yuz* claim that he was the progenitor of *Qarapchi* tribe, which was a considered as *bek-urughi* – tribe of beks (in this case the term *bek* designate chief of tribe). Obviously, this legend reflects memory on tribal union of *Yuz*, *Qirq* and *Qarapchi* in the past. Later *Qirq* separated from this union and became independent tribe. Presumably *Qarapchi* was included into *Yuz* tribal structure, but maintained its high status.

3. In the village Nauka of the Djizakh province a legend used to be told about *Djuz* who had two sons: *Marka* and *Shodi*. *Shodi* had sons: *Qarapchi* and *Parcha Yuz*. *Marka* had sons *Sanchquli* and *Tuyaqli*. The

⁴³ Диваев А. “Предание о происхождении узбеков”. In: *Туркестанский сборник*. Том 440, Санкт-Петербург. 1900. P.57

⁴⁴ Holzwarth Wolfgang. “The Uzbek state as reflected in eighteenth century Bukharan sources”. *Asiatische Studien/Etudes Asiatiques*. LX. 2. 2006. P.343,346

⁴⁵ SAIEA, fund 23, O- 7, item 4753, Dnevnik №3-63, 1960, f.1.

⁴⁶ CSAR, fund I-69, O-1, item 64, f.67.

sons of *Sanchquli* were *Uyas* and *Solin*, *Qtay-Yuz*,⁴⁷ who themselves fathered the corresponding tribes. One can find here one of the numerous versions of political seniority of tribes included into the Yuz tribal union. In order to establish tribal unity the tribal aristocracy created genealogies in which clans were presented as descendants of one common ancestor. According to the written sources Tuyaqli tribe separated from Yuz tribal union in the 17th or 18th century. Apparently this legend was created before this event.

4. According to the legend which was recorded in village Dabul of Bulunghur district of the Samarqand province, Yuz tribe consisted of three parts: *Ulu Yuz* (great Yuz) or *Marka Yuz*, *Parcha Yuz* (piece of Yuz) and *Kendja Yuz* (young Yuz).⁴⁸ This legend is interesting as it describes a historic or mythical structure of Yuz confederacy which is similar to the trinominal division of the Kazakh djuzes. And, it is curious, that even the name Yuz in Qipchaq pronunciation - Djuz is similar to Kazakh Djuz. I think that this issue needs to be investigated specially.

5. I recorded a detailed clan genealogy of one of the subgroups of Yuz - *Qtay-Yuz*. *Qtay-Yuz* is called by locals «*un ikki ota khitoy-yuzi*» - «Twelve clans of *Qtay-Yuz*». *Qtay-Yuz* divided into twelve clans (*ota*): *Sart-Yuzi*, *Khonkhodja*, *Nebusa*, *Qora kuvsoq*, *Beshkuvi*, *Tigirik*, *Moki machoi*, *Olma suvon*, *Mirzo Mughol*, *Chirkirovuk*, *Khojabacha*, *Qurqazon*. There was also a thirteenth clan named *Turkman-Djaloir*, which was considered as originally non-Yuz, but attached to *Qtay-Yuz* later. Clans divided into several subclans - *tups*.⁴⁹ One can find various local versions on clan composition of *Qtay-Yuz*, which in some cases differ from each other.⁵⁰

One of *Qtay-Yuz*'s clan groups was *Sart-Yuz*. According to the oral tradition the founder of this clan was from the *Yuz*, but his wife originated from non-tribal sedentary population, which was designated by nomadic population as *Sart*.

⁴⁷ SAIEA, fund 23, O- 7, item 4753, Dnevnik №3, B.Kh.Karmysheva. 1960, ff.35-36

⁴⁸ SAIEA, fund 23, O- 7, item 290d, 1960, f.24

⁴⁹ Interview, village Novka of Bakhmal district of Djizakh province.

⁵⁰ SAIEA, fund 23, O- 7, item 4753, Dnevnik № 3, B.Kh.Karmysheva. 1960, f.77.

6. In one of the villages in Bulunghur district I was able to record a story on the origin of clans of *Qtoy-Yuz*. According to it one of *beks* (in this case this term designates chief of clan) of clan *Qtoy-Yuz* had three sons. He decided to distribute some property among his sons. Eldest son has got *Qozon* (boiler) and his *el*⁵¹ (this term in this case is used for a designation of clan group) was named *Quruq Qozon*. The second brother has received a sickle - *Uroq* and his *el* became *Uroqli*. The third brother has received five pots - *Besh quvi* and his *el* became *Beshquvi*.⁵² Members of clan *Quruq Qozon* had a high status and a right to be elected as the chiefs of tribe *Qtoy-Yuz* in the past. In my opinion, it was some kind of model of Mongolian tribal federation, where Borjigin or Khiad Borjigin (tribe of Chingis Khan) was a central tribe (*altan urugh* - golden tribe).⁵³ The interesting thing that there was a central tribe in tribal organization of Yuz and this principle was valid for the lower levels. Every tribe included central clan, clans had central subclans and so on. The terms *bek urughi*, *bek tupi* designated these privileged tribes, clans and subclans.

In the same area, but in other village representatives of two clans: *Quruq kozon* and *Nebusa* were very much respected by the other clans. They were sections of Yuz's clan *Qtay-Yuzi*. During any celebrations until their arrival the villagers did not start to eat their traditional meal - *pilav*.⁵⁴

Conclusion

There were a big number of various genealogic legends about the origin of the Yuz and Ming in the past. Their analysis allows concluding that genealogical legends on common origin of various Yuz subgroups served the purpose of maintaining the unity of the Yuz tribal union which included a range of various ethnic components. At the same time oral tradition on origin of the Uzbeks and traditional lists of "ninety-two

⁵¹ In Iran it was used for designation of tribe – *il*.

⁵² Interview, village Beshkuvli of Bulunghur district of the Samarqand province.

⁵³ Bold Bat-Ochir. *Mongolian nomadic society: a reconstruction of the 'medieval' history of Mongolia*. Curzon press, 2001. P.112-113.

⁵⁴ SAIEA, fund 23, O- 7, item 4752, Dnevnik № 1, B.Kh.Karmysheva. 1960, f.174.

Uzbek tribes” was popular among some groups of Yuz and Ming. I think that the lists “ninety-two Uzbek tribes” in some cases reflect the political seniority of Uzbek tribes in the considered region.

The unions of Yuz with some groups of Nayman, Qirq and Turkmens found reflection in newly created genealogical myths. In my opinion Yuz represented a huge tribal union of groups of various origins. A large variety of genealogical legends of the Yuz was recorded. In some of them close relationships between Yuz and Qirq is emphasized, and in others real or mythical blood relationship between different clans of Yuz is indicated. Some legends treat clans as descendants of real persons, indicate their seniority, and describe their relative status. In other words, it is a political charter and not a chronicle of historical facts.

Descendants of some groups of the Yuz tribe preserve the knowledge of genealogical stories relating to tribe, clan and even sub clan, while descendants of the Ming know only popular legends about the origin of Yuz, Qirq and Ming. Tribal structure of Ming was less extended than that of Yuz. Significant part of the Ming included groups that were engaged in irrigated agriculture in Urgut district of Samarqand province.

In the Djizakh province, where Qirq and Yuz live side by side, there were created some other genealogical legends in which the common ancestry of the Yuz and the Qirq was affirmed.

Analyzing the existing data and genealogical stories one can conclude that Yuz was large-scale political entity, which conceived by its members in terms of a common mythic ancestry.

Although common origin and affinity of the Yuz and Ming is emphasized in many tribal genealogical legends, the collected data in the Samarqand and Djizakh provinces show a cultural diversity of the above-stated tribes. These distinctions are visible in customs and dialects etc.

The collected empirical material on genealogies of the above-stated Uzbek tribes finds principal analogies among the tribes of Iran, Afghanistan, and some other parts of the world, though there are also some distinctive features.

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