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978-0-521-51706-5 - The Legendary Biographies of Tamerlane: Islam and Heroic Apocrypha in Central Asia

Ron Sela

Excerpt

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Introduction

In the beginning of the eighteenth century, Central Asia witnessed the enigmatic appearance of imaginary biographies about Tīmūr (Tamerlane), the famous conqueror of much of Central Eurasia three centuries earlier. These texts, authored anonymously in Persian and in Chaghatay Turkic at least three hundred years after Tīmūr's death, quickly gained enormous popularity. But despite their almost uninterrupted production from the eighteenth century until the present, they remain virtually unexplored by scholars and unfamiliar to people outside the region.¹

Tīmūr's "heroic apocrypha," as I label this narrative cycle, consist of lengthy biographies of the hero, in prose, chronologically ordered from his birth to his death and presented in dozens of anecdotes. A "typical" manuscript begins with prophecies announcing Tīmūr's imminent birth, foretold by eminent Sufi shaykhs or by men of mythical, historical, and heroic significance, such as Alexander the Great. The story then develops through the course of Tīmūr's childhood, the young hero's first love, a daring prison rescue by his future bride, and the adventures that lead to his enthronement, including a memorable dream appearance by none other than the Prophet Muḥammad. In the course of the narrative, Tīmūr goes on pilgrimage to the graves of Qur'anic prophets while visiting the holy cities of Mecca and Jerusalem. He experiences countless adventures, battles, crises, and accomplishments, emerging triumphant from his campaigns in India, Russia, and the Ottoman lands.

The biographies are interspersed with many tales, ostensibly based on oral traditions, revealing the significance of different Muslim – more often than not, Sufi – authorities and their role in the formation of diverse peoples and communities in Central Asia.

¹ Central Asia is defined here as the western part of Inner Asia, stretching from the Caspian Sea in the west to Eastern Turkestan (Xinjiang) in the east. The book focuses on the territory of the three Central Asian khanates – Bukhara, Khiva, and Qoqand – that governed most of the region from the eighteenth through the early twentieth century (or 1876, for Qoqand). The center of gravity in this work is the khanate of Bukhara.

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The choice of Tīmūr for the protagonist of these texts is particularly remarkable given that the conqueror's legacy is reputed to have departed from his homeland more or less a century after his death in the year 1405, only to find its prominence elsewhere: in Mughal India, Safavid Iran, the Ottoman Empire, and even in Europe. This alleged disappearance of Tīmūr's legacy is usually assigned to the nomadic invaders and migrants from the steppes who had taken over the Timurid domains in the early sixteenth century. The newcomers – a host of Turkic, predominantly Uzbek tribes led by descendants of Chinggis Khan, commonly known as the Abu'l-Khayrids – seemed to emphasize the break with the Timurids and also to downplay the image of the fierce conqueror. After all, Tīmūr and his descendants had been their mortal enemies for a while, even if they did cooperate on numerous occasions previously. Since most court propaganda under Uzbek and Chinggisid rule would have us believe that Tīmūr was no longer of any real consequence after the sixteenth century, historians simply assumed that they had to look for his legacy elsewhere, above all in places where his fame became instantly recognizable. Nevertheless, it seems that Tīmūr's spirit never really left the land of his birth even if his repute fell into relative dormancy until the beginning of the eighteenth century. Only then, at a time of profound transformation in Central Asian history, did the long-dead ruler come to life in one of the most unusual developments of the period. Moreover, although the appearance of his legendary biographies was probably the most compelling manner for his glorious return, it was not the only one.

My interest in these biographies began almost a decade ago, while conducting research in archives across Eurasia. As I was evaluating different eighteenth-century Central Asian sources, I began to encounter in the Turkish, Hungarian, German, Russian, Swedish, Uzbek, and Tajik manuscript catalogs more and more references to works bearing the generic title *Tīmūr-nāma* (or, *Book of Tīmūr*). Catalog entries hinted at similar contents for these works but at the same time cautioned the reader not to take these texts too seriously because they contained too many “folkloric and fantastic elements” and would therefore prove fairly useless to a self-respecting historian. Having failed to adhere to the catalogers' warnings, I investigated further and discovered that the descriptions of the manuscripts had much in common:

- The manuscripts in question are often extensive works, sometimes up to 500 folios (or 1,000 pages) long.
- All the manuscripts emerged in the eighteenth century and since, not earlier.
- All seem to share similar content.
- All are Central Asian creations: Contrary to many other works that had been produced originally in Central Asia and later copied and recopied in Iran,

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India, and in the Ottoman Empire, the manuscripts in the various archives were authored or copied in Central Asia, not outside the region.

- The authors or compilers of these works are almost always anonymous and no patrons are acknowledged.

Closer inspection of many of the manuscripts themselves (or microfilms thereof) revealed a complicated story that ventures beyond a simple dismissal of the tales as “fantastic.” On the one hand, events in these *Books of Tīmūr* do indeed oscillate between fact and fiction frequently, feature incredible encounters and exhibit many stylistic formulas that border on the hagiographical or the fabulous. On the other hand, Tīmūr’s biographies maintained a very special and interesting relationship with works that have long been considered part of the conventional historical and literary canon in the Turco-Iranian world, most particularly with the extensive and rich historiographical legacy of the Timurids. From Yazdī’s *Zafar-nāma* to Mīrkhwānd’s *Rauzāt al-safā*, from Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū to Mīr ‘Alī Shīr Navā’ī, the official histories are often referenced in Tīmūr’s biographies, many chapter headings were copied directly from the court or dynastic chronicles, and most of the characters are historical figures even if their appearance is anachronistic or made up. *Books of Tīmūr* are therefore apocryphal in the sense that they are noncanonical yet aware of and manipulate the historical canon; they are imaginary and their authorship is unsubstantiated and debatable, yet they claim to be the source of truth. Upon further reflection, it seems that for many in the region, Tīmūr’s “heroic apocrypha” served as Central Asia’s popular history.

Tīmūr’s legendary biographies have been ignored or omitted from nearly all scholarly considerations, partly because the texts seemed to elude traditional categorizations and classifications and therefore remained outside the clear demarcations of genre boundaries. Thus, surveys of literature (Persian, Turkic, Central Asian) tended to disregard the biographies, possibly because the latter were not considered – perhaps justifiably so – sophisticated specimens of literary triumph. Surveys of Central Asia’s epic traditions would not have them either, most likely for lacking established “epic” criteria such as poetic qualities, certain stylistic standards, a clearer oral dimension, and a complex performance. When reviewing official historical sources for the study of Central Asia’s history and culture, the picture becomes a little murkier. The first, rather brief scholarly evaluations of Tīmūr’s legendary biographies estimated, for reasons that will become evident later in this book, that they had been written with the intent to produce a “real” history of Tīmūr and his successors. When it was realized that these biographies probably did not shed any new light on the fourteenth-century Tīmūr – even if they illuminate very brightly his eighteenth-century symbolic reincarnation – modern historical surveys discarded them as well. Ironically, most of the biographical manuscripts are listed in the History section of the different catalogs, occasionally accompanied by a warning to avoid using them as historical sources.

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It is difficult to determine how many manuscripts of *Books of Tīmūr* still exist, partly because the texts have been cataloged under many different titles in addition to the aforementioned *Tīmūr-nāma*. It is also important to emphasize that not every manuscript bearing this rather generic label inevitably belongs to our biographical corpus. Thus, the celebrated “epic poem” *Tīmūr-nāma* by ‘Abdallāh Hātifī (d. 1521) is a very different type of composition, although this work, too, was known to the authors or compilers of the legendary biographies and served to inform a small part of their account. To further muddle up the picture, some of our manuscripts were also labeled *Zafar-nāma* (*Book of Victory*) in the catalogs, a title that has been most commonly identified with Yazdī’s renowned oeuvre. This title has been used – particularly in manuscript catalogs and in historiographical surveys of Indo-Persian literature – to refer to Hātifī’s *Tīmūr-nāma* as well. Lastly, Tīmūr’s so-called autobiographies that appeared in India in the 1630s and became known by such appellations as the *Malfūzāt-i Tīmūrī* (the “utterances” attributed to Tīmūr) and the *Tūzūkāt-i Tīmūrī* (Tīmūr’s “institutes”) also seem to have no direct relationship with the biographies discussed in this book.² These Indian “memoirs” of Tīmūr made their way to Central Asia only in the nineteenth century and their mandatory popularity in present-day Uzbekistan has been a relatively recent phenomenon.

Perhaps it is not surprising, then, that no scholarly work exists, in any language, that discusses Tīmūr’s legendary biographies in depth, neither exploring individual manuscripts nor the corpus as a whole. Although it seems that specialists in Central Asian history have heard of these texts, they have remained largely unfamiliar with their contents and diversity. One may assume that the legendary character of the biographies warded off most scholars. Early on, several explorers and academics wrote them off as simple legends, unworthy of scholarly inquiry, and so there have been no attempts to deal with the texts at any level. In fact, the last time any of these manuscripts were visited at some length – apart from their catalog descriptions (mainly the ones in St. Petersburg, Tashkent, and Dushanbe) or the occasional reference – was over a century ago, when attempts were made by Russian Orientalists to speculate about the nature of some of these compositions. Other than the initial observations, stories that were borrowed randomly from manuscript fragments appeared sporadically in translation in the late nineteenth century and were treated as amusing anecdotes or folk tales, with little to no analysis. The translators did not know that the stories were taken from much more comprehensive texts – and certainly were unaware of their existence as part of a larger corpus – and thus were also unable to

² *The Mulfuzat Timūry, or, Autobiographical memoirs of the Moghul Emperor Tīmūr written in the Jagtay Turky language*, tr. Charles Stewart (London, 1830); for an example of the “Institutes,” see the trilingual edition *Temur tuzuklari = Institutes of Temur = Les instituts de Temour* (Tashkent, 1996), one of numerous recent renditions of the work.

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assess their significance.³ As previously mentioned, Tīmūr's biographies are not brought up in general surveys of Persian or Turkic literature or even in more specific studies on the literary history of Central Asia; they have been equally ignored in bibliographical surveys or in essays devoted to the conqueror and to his legacy. We do not have a scholarly edition of any of the texts, not to mention a translation. Consequently, these works were also never thought of as belonging to one group and were never treated as a genre. In other words, they have been mostly ignored. Nevertheless, *Books of Tīmūr* endured as some of the most popular literary creations in Central Asia over the last three centuries and have been persistently copied and recopied, with relatively little interruption, from the eighteenth century until the present. We have dozens of manuscripts of varying lengths copied in the eighteenth, nineteenth, and early twentieth century, including an extensive lithograph of a manuscript from late-eighteenth-century Bukhara that was reproduced in Tashkent in 1912.⁴ Manuscripts continued to circulate in Central Asia until the Soviet era, when their production seems to have died down, presumably under order of the authorities. However, they were not forgotten, and as soon as the Soviet state collapsed, a new and more concise rendition of one of the texts, in Uzbek, was published in Tashkent and printed in 200,000 copies at a very affordable price.⁵ I am told that more editions are in their planning stage.

The Legendary Biographies of Tamerlane has several goals. The first is to introduce the corpus of manuscripts to the audience, both academic and lay, and to open the gates for further study of these fascinating texts. This volume represents a preliminary exploration and does not profess to offer the final word on this subject. Rather, it should serve as an invitation for more scholars to conduct their own investigations. Many of the stories narrated in the biographies will surely invoke a degree of familiarity from students of the literary and epic traditions of other cultures within and beyond the Muslim world, and I believe and hope that more comparative considerations may also encourage further scrutiny of these texts from different angles.

In introducing the origins of Tīmūr's biographies, this study also seeks to highlight certain aspects of Central Asia's history in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, typically a dark hole in the knowledge of much of the scholarly community, as most publications tend to gloss over the period in question. The book draws attention to the changing agendas of political legitimacy, to the peculiar interaction between Sufis and 'ulamā', the supposed tension

³ H. Vambéry, "Eine legendäre Geschichte Tīmürs," *ZDMG* (1897), 215–32; V. Klemm, "Predanie o rozhdenii Tamerlana," in *Turkestanskii literaturnyi sbornik v pol'zu prokazhennykh* (St. Petersburg, 1900), 304–14.

⁴ *Tīmūr-nāma. Kulliyāt-i farsi*, ed. Mīrẓā Muḥammad Qāsim ibn Mīrẓā 'Abd al-Khālīq Bukhārī (Tashkent, 1912).

⁵ *Temurnoma: Amir Temur Koragon djangnomasi*, ed. P. Ravshanov (Tashkent, 1990).

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between the *sharī'a* and so-called customary practices, as well as Central Asia's place in the history of the Muslim world. It was in the eighteenth century that a new vision in the region emerged – a vision that shaped Central Asia's cultural and political boundaries and its self-image and became the mode of cultural discourse that continued well into the Russian era. Moreover, the eighteenth century – and not the late twentieth century, as many mistakenly presume – also witnessed the origins for Central Asia's claim of Timūr as its model native champion.

Timūr's legendary biographies began as a product of the early eighteenth century, an era that has long been considered the nadir of Central Asia's decline and isolation. Although this perception has been challenged of late, I view the unequivocal dismissal of the 'decline' paradigm not only as premature but as simply erroneous. The crisis theme, displayed very clearly in Timūr's biographies, accompanies this book from start to finish and is at the center of its final chapter. Indeed, I believe that these texts emanated from and responded to a prevailing crisis. The harsh political and economic conditions in Central Asia in the first half of the eighteenth century, coupled with real and imagined fears and anxieties, also led, among other things, to a certain degree of introspection in some quarters. This looking inward was not so much a conscious effort to pontificate philosophically about the causes of the predicament, but rather began as an intuitive reaction that envisioned a glorious past, and through that past imagined a better present and future. Timūr's biographies mirror this perception, although the texts may not have been only passive reflectors of their surrounding culture and may have even actively affected that culture.⁶ In recalling and retelling Timūr's story, Central Asians could discover a model for behavior; could debate and reevaluate the nature of kingship, the responsibilities of spiritual and communal leaders, and also the role of each and every one of them in society. Moreover, they could boast a whole new history of their own with a local hero who had shaped the world, a world that was far removed from their immediate reality. Timūr's legendary biographies also contributed to the initial formation of a more localized Central Asian identity, particularly among segments of the population in Mawarannahr (also known as Transoxiana), a region typically regarded as Central Asia's sedentary heartland.⁷ Like most "identities," this one too is not easy to pin down. But it seems clear from reading *Books of Timūr* that something emerged from our texts: a sense of sharing a unique and accessible past coupled with a clearer understanding of a common fate. Equally important was the growing realization of what Central Asia was not, a realization that had been augmented by geopolitical as well as cultural and religious circumstances. Central Asia was no

⁶ For more on this line of inquiry, see Catherine Gallagher and Stephen Greenblatt, *Practicing New Historicism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001).

⁷ It is often overlooked that the area continued to house also a significant population of nomads well into the nineteenth century.

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longer a part of a larger empire, and the presence of superior (technologically, militarily) and bigger political entities on its doorstep was becoming very real and was serving as a catalyst for profound changes.

Timūr's biographies, although born in the early eighteenth century, continued to be copied and reproduced for three hundred years. With each manuscript, new stories were collected and introduced, and others omitted. Audiences understood (and still understand) their meanings differently over time. The biographies even functioned as a rallying cry for different constituencies to support a particular cause or to unite against a common foe – for example, as motivation for or reflection of resistance to Russian imperialism in the nineteenth century. At the same time, however, the stories remained a source of entertainment, purveyors of didactic messages, and also increasingly imbued their audiences with a sense that they were a part of a historical continuum, a continuum that included explanations about their past, their beginnings, and their growth as a community.

The Plan of This Study

To an extent, this volume emulates the biographical style and is arranged in a similar fashion, treating the manuscripts of the *Books of Timūr* chronologically as if they were themselves the subject of a biography. The sequence presented here, sketching their existence from their point of origin until the present, is probably more orderly and somewhat less disjointed than the way the texts presented the story of their protagonist.

The first chapter, “The Origins and Usages of Timūr's Heroic Apocrypha,” conducts the reader through the original introductions to the texts and the numerous questions that arise from these introductions. We examine the reasons given – or not given – in the manuscripts to explain their own purpose and existence; we look into the puzzling queries of provenance and authorship; and we consider the literary and oral traditions that the authors claimed as their sources and evidence. Such claims lead us into questions of genre and to what we regard as the apocryphal nature of the texts, particularly given the biographies' contention for associations with the older historical sources. At the same time, we do not discount the literary and ideological links that existed between these apocryphal writings and Sufi hagiographies, *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* (stories of the Prophets) and the Arabic *Sīra* (biography). Chapter 1 further introduces the structure and arrangement of the biographies – both as they were introduced in the texts and as they appear in actuality – including the authors' convenient summary of Timūr's life and their brief discussion of Timūr's lineage. We follow with an outline of the manuscript tradition that evolved from the eighteenth to the twentieth century, touching on the chain of transmission or the retelling of these stories, and the pertinent queries of popularity and patronage. Some of the most intriguing uncertainties concern the identity of the audiences for the biographies and the manner in which

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these tales were conveyed to possible readers and listeners, perhaps by way of storytelling. The chapter hints at the role of storyteller guilds in the region, compared with similar institutions in other parts of the Muslim world. Finally, we explore how these works had been understood by the scholars who had first collected and read them, already in the second half of the nineteenth century, and the tradition of scholarship (or lack thereof) that built on the initial explorations.

The following chapters – “Timūr’s Birth and Childhood,” “Youth,” “Inauguration and Kingship,” and “Premonitions” – constitute a literary portrait of Central Asia’s native hero and introduce the biographies with portions of text in English translation, complemented with brief introductions and commentary. Because the biographies were composed of numerous related and seemingly unrelated anecdotes, in many reproductions, the selection of translations reflects some of the different types of stories found in the works and also relies on different renditions of the stories from the eighteenth through the twentieth century. These four chapters present the different stages in Timūr’s life, following the hero from his birth – or even a little earlier – through his busy youth, to his rise to prominence and his dreams and visions of things to come. My annotated translations of different segments in Timūr’s life explore a variety of literary topoi, including characteristic forms of prophecy, dream sequences, symbols and miraculous contests, as well as other themes that occupied the authors and, undoubtedly, portions of Central Asian society in the eighteenth century. Throughout the biographical representations, recurring connections appear between the protagonist and diverse Muslim circles (Sufis, ‘*ulama*’, heretical groups and bearers of ‘Alid charisma), as well as significant historical and mythical figures. The biographies illustrate integration and conflict of lineage and loyalties – for example, between the house of Timūr and the house of Chinggis Khan, and between the house of Timūr and prestigious local families – as well as the break between Chinggis Khan’s successors and tribal leaderships, a potent characteristic of the eighteenth century. The crisis theme, expressed, among other things, by unrelenting apocalyptic dreams and visions, is also presented.

The final chapter presents the biographies’ origins in their greater historical context, particularly within the political, social, and economic circumstances in the region in the first half of the eighteenth century. These circumstances were clearly reflected in our biographies, but also in a myriad of other sources, from dynastic histories to travelers’ reports. The old notion of a region in “decline” was never thoroughly explained, and the recent trend in scholarship that assumes a crisis-free era is also discussed. This chapter explores in some depth the nature of the crisis and the development of different methods of coping with it in Central Asia: the emergence of new forms of political and religious symbolism, the impact of Islamic movements from India, the birth of a new political order, the surfacing of new centers of power, changes in the economy, and ultimately, for our present purpose, the appearance of our texts.

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The eighteenth century – a period of immense transformation in the region; indeed a period that planted the seeds for future developments in Central Asia – is regrettably understudied. Perhaps because most of the important historical works are still in manuscript form and often difficult to access, or because of the period's reputation as an age of decline, there is hardly any work in English that discusses any aspect of the eighteenth century in depth. By exploring the major causes for the transformation, this chapter seeks to outline the crisis in the first half of the eighteenth century and to offer a perspective that may enable a better evaluation of the creation and the meaning of Tīmūr's legendary biographies, as well as the complicated legacy of the ruler in Central Asian history.

Tīmūr's Legacy in Central Asia⁸

The veneration of Tīmūr, Uzbekistan's national hero whose statues have replaced those of Soviet political and cultural champions in the squares of the young republic's towns, immediately attracted the attention of many visitors, scholars, and commentators. Observers were quick to recognize the significance of the impressive new monuments⁹ and promptly evaluated them within the framework of new (or rather, old) insights into questions of national identity and related issues. In short, all the rhetoric of theory now found a new target, and the so-called cult of Tīmūr rapidly and perhaps paradoxically multiplied its audience.¹⁰ As part of the fashionable inquiries, there were also those who rebuked the choice of Tīmūr for a national hero – why should the Uzbeks choose such a “ruthless” conqueror, indeed “one of history's worst mass murderers” as their symbol?¹¹ At the same time, even the skeptics acknowledged with a sympathetic nod that this was simply another characteristic of nation building. The only continuity with Central Asia's past that most analysts

⁸ A preliminary version of this segment was published as Ron Sela, “A Different Reassessment of Tīmūr's Legacy in Central Asia,” in *Emir Tīmūr ve Mirasi*, eds. Abdulvahap Kara and Ömer İşbilir (Istanbul, 2007), 23–31.

⁹ Not to mention the roads, parks, and subway station named after him, as well as museums, funds and medals, portraits, films, novels, plays, the publication in Uzbek translation of several Timurid historical chronicles, and the colossal celebration of the 660th anniversary of Tīmūr's birth.

¹⁰ Among the host of publications, see, for example, Ken Petersen, “Celebrating Amir Tīmūr,” *CAM* 5 (1996), 14–15; Shahram Akbarzadeh, “Nation-Building in Uzbekistan,” *CAS* 15/1 (1996), 23–32; S. Pollock, “Historiography, Ethnogenesis and Scholarly Origins of Uzbekistan's National Hero: The Case of Tīmūr,” in *Materials of the International Scientific Conference “Amir Temur and His Place in World History”: 23–26 October, 1996 Tashkent*, 44–47; M. V. Shterenshis, “Approach to Tamerlane: Tradition and Innovation. Ending 600 Years of Historiography of Tīmūr,” *Central Asia and the Caucasus* 2 (2000), 193–200. A more informed approach was taken by Stephen Hegarty, “The Rehabilitation of Temur: Reconstructing National History in Contemporary Uzbekistan” *CAM* 1 (1995), 28–35. For the Uzbek “defense,” see Muḥammad Ali, “A Few Words about Amir Tīmūr,” *CAM* 3 (1996), 36–38.

¹¹ See, for example, Critchlow, “Uzbekistan's Prospects,” *CAM* 4 (1998), 1; Lutz Klevevan, *The New Great Game: Blood and Oil in Central Asia* (New York: Grove Press, 2004), 169.

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discovered was a succession and justification of the authoritarian state, demonstrated, in this case, within the context of post-Soviet power worship. Islam Karimov, it was claimed, Uzbekistan's president since 1990, was merely trying to be perceived as a contemporary mirror image (perhaps somewhat less affecting) of Tīmūr, assuring Uzbekistan's populace that Tīmūr's professed legacy of governance was the right path to follow.

Students of Central Asian history, or anyone else with an interest in the region, learn about Tīmūr by and large in the context of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries or that of the late twentieth century. We learn about Tīmūr's rise to power, his successful campaigns and triumphs throughout the Middle East, in northern India, and over the Ottoman Empire, and about his meetings with some of the most distinguished public figures of his time. Ibn Khaldūn, the noted historian and philosopher, even referred to Tīmūr after meeting him outside Damascus as "one of the greatest and mightiest of kings ... favoured by Allah."¹² Many seem to be under the impression that after his death in 1405 and the demise of his house approximately a century later, Tīmūr – the man and the symbol – virtually disappeared from Central Asia and for nearly five hundred years found his prominence elsewhere: in Mughal India, Safavid Iran, the Ottoman Empire, and even in Europe.¹³ True, many artists, artisans, and intellectuals, especially from the province of Khorasan, who had flourished under Timurid rule, still enjoyed a certain degree of patronage in the courts of Bukhara, Samarqand, Tashkent, and Balkh. In addition, several Timurid traditions, most notably in systems of administration and taxation, were still maintained and developed under the Timurids' successors.¹⁴ However, Tīmūr's commanding legacy that had enjoyed such a forceful presence in Central Asia in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries practically faded away. The Uzbeks, led by the Abu'l-Khayrids, descendants of Chinggis Khan, generally emphasized the break with the Timurids – their great rivals, at least in the beginning – and naturally downplayed the image of the fierce conqueror and, for some, the usurper of the throne. Since most, although not all, court propaganda under Uzbek and Chinggisid rule would have us believe that Tīmūr was no longer of any real consequence, historians simply assumed that they had to look for his legacy elsewhere.

Having lost the battle for Mawarannahr to the Uzbeks, Zāhīr al-Dīn Muḥammad Bābur (1483–1530), himself a descendant of Tīmūr (and Chinggis Khan), was forced to flee to Hindustan (India) where he would be celebrated

¹² Walter J. Fischel, *Ibn Khaldun and Tamerlane: their historic meeting in Damascus, 1401 A.D. (803 A.H.): a study based on Arabic manuscripts of Ibn Khaldun's "Autobiography": with a translation into English, and a commentary* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1952).

¹³ See, for example, Stephen Frederic Dale, "The Legacy of the Timurids," *JRAS* Series 3, 8:1 (1998), 43–58. Beatrice Manz also passes over most Tīmūr-related developments in sixteenth-nineteenth century Central Asia in her otherwise very valuable survey of Tīmūr's legacy. See Beatrice Forbes Manz, "Tamerlane's Career and Its Uses," *JWH* 13/1 (Spring 2002), 1–25.

¹⁴ M. E. Subtelny, "Art and Politics in Early 16th Century Central Asia," *CAJ* 27 (1983), 121–48.