

STUDIES IN PERSIAN CULTURAL HISTORY

MONGOLS, TATARS, AND TURKS IN THE PERSIANATE WORLD

Essays in Honor of István Vásáry

Edited by

Ferenc Csirkés & Benedek Péri



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Mongols, Tatars, and Turks in the Persianate World

Studies in Persian Cultural History

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Introduction

Ferenc Csirkés and Benedek Péri

It is a special honor to compile this festschrift for its dedicatee, Professor István Vásáry. While both editors and several of the contributors to the volume were his students at Eötvös Loránd University in Budapest, in one way or another the entire international field of Turkic and Central Asian Studies at large is beholden to his scholarship. There are few scholars whose expertise spans as many fields as Vásáry. The sheer breadth of his work is overwhelming, as it ranges from Turkic and Hungarian historical and comparative linguistics to Mongol history, medieval East European history, Central European intellectual history, runology, numismatics, etc., just to mention the most prominent. These diverse fields are organically intertwined with his personal and intellectual development. To us, who have the luck to know him personally or have even worked with him, he is a mentor and intellectual model, and a gentleman and scholar of integrity who represents the best traditions of maintaining those qualities while facing historical challenges.

On the paternal line, Vásáry hails from a high middle-class Calvinist family from Debrecen, today East Hungary, who had risen to prominent positions in society and politics in the first half of the twentieth century. His grandfather, also by the name of István Vásáry (1887–1855), was a prominent mayor of the city in the interwar period and was Minister of Finance in the interim government at the end of World War II, only to be forced out of political life after the Stalinist turn of the country in 1947; and the internationally famous conductor Tamás Vásáry (1933–) is his cousin. On the maternal line, he has German ancestors; one of his uncles was an important Classical Philologist and his grandfather a scholar of pedagogy. Vásáry was born in Budapest a few days after the Second World War was over in Europe, where his mother had fled from the advancing Red Army of the Soviets towards the end of the war in 1944, his parents having gotten married only for his father to go to the front shortly afterwards and spend the next few years in Soviet prison camps, whence not many returned home.

Vásáry had a high middle-class upbringing despite the unfriendly environment of Communist Hungary. The first decade of his life saw the rapid Stalinization of politics, aimed at the total control of society and the forced industrialization of a predominantly agrarian economy. Like almost everyone, Vásáry has vivid memories of the *Generalissimus's* death and the hysterical public mourning around it all over the Soviet Bloc, a sign of the effectiveness

of mass propaganda. At the age of eleven, he was too young to realize the full gravity of what was happening during the Hungarian Revolution of 1956, but he sensed the easing of harsh repression afterwards, as the excesses of a Stalinist regime gradually gave way to a milder form of dictatorship, popularly labeled as “Goulash Communism,” rendering Hungary the “happiest barrack,” which fostered a sense of well-being and relative cultural freedom in exchange for Hungarian society’s political submission to the Communist rulers of the country.

Vásáry was a very hardworking student, committed to the study of the humanities, especially languages, already at an early age. By the time he finished high school, he had learned English, which was a veritable tradition in his family, and Russian, mandatory and therefore deeply unpopular in the Communist era. Vásáry was a relative rarity among his high school peers to actually master Russian, but it would serve him extremely well later as a scholar, giving him access to both Russian sources, secondary and archival, and Soviet scholarly circles in Moscow and Saint Petersburg. In addition, Vásáry taught himself Polish and German during his high school years, started Turkish, and earned acceptance to university by placing second in the national high school Latin competition. His thirst for languages was not quenched yet. At university, he learned Italian, French, and Persian, and as part of the curriculum, he acquired a strong reading knowledge in several Turkic languages, extinct and spoken, such as Old Turkic, Old Uyghur, Chaghatay and Qipchaq on the one hand, and Ottoman, Tatar, and Uzbek, on the other hand; and his research has also led him to read Romanian, Bulgarian, and Mongolian. The review of Vásáry’s D.Sc. thesis written by the medievalist Pál Engel remarks that in addition to the aforesaid languages of primary sources, it quotes sources written in 12 modern languages.

At university, Vásáry studied as an English and Turkish major between 1963 and 1968, his choice of the latter subject motivated by his interest in early Hungarian history.¹ Despite the regime’s close control over universities, the intellectual and scholarly networks the young aspiring philologist entered had a great deal of continuity with the “long nineteenth century” and the interwar period. Vásáry’s two chief mentors, Gyula Németh (1890–1976) and Lajos Ligeti (1902–1987) were products of the start of Oriental Studies in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and took an active role in the integration of

1 Eötvös Loránd University had been renamed after a famous Hungarian physicist following World War II, the name Eötvös more tolerable for the heavily anticlerical Communist regime than the institution’s previous designation, Royal Hungarian Pázmány Péter University, Cardinal Péter Pázmány (1570–1637) having been a major figure in the sixteenth-century Catholic Counter-Reformation.

this field of inquiry into national Hungarian scholarship. Their intellectual make-up and scholarly profile were also informed by liberal nationalism in the Kingdom of Hungary in the nineteenth century, where a broader nationalist discourse called for a search for the origins of Hungarian ethnicity and the Hungarian language. They were deeply impacted by the shock of World War I and the resulting territorial losses and irredentism in the interwar period, coupled with Hungarian cultural and educational policies that aimed at reaching cultural supremacy vis-à-vis the surrounding countries, which had benefited territorially from the peace treaties at Hungary's expense. The latter half of Ligeti and Németh's careers coincided with Hungary's tragic role and defeat in World War II, the country's subsequent Soviet occupation, and the enforcement of Communism during the Cold War.

While in the West, Oriental Studies were in the service of colonialism from the late nineteenth century, in Hungary, they formed part of a nationalist project. The Chair of Oriental Studies was originally established in 1870 by Emperor Franz-Joseph (r. 1848–1916), who appointed to it the famous Orientalist Arminius Vámbéry (1832–1913) as Professor. A colorful self-made man with a Jewish background, Vámbéry was known internationally for his contributions to Central Asian Turkic philology and for his staunch Russophobia in politics, a position that he shared with the majority of the elite in Austro-Hungary, and which made him popular in Britain. Within Hungary, however, Vámbéry was much better known for his views about Hungarian ethnogenesis and for supporting the debunked theory that the Hungarian language is related to Turkic. When Vásáry started his studies, the chair was still held by Gyula Németh, who had succeeded to Vámbéry's vacant position in 1916 through an appointment by the last Habsburg king of Hungary, Charles IV (r. 1916–1918), and who founded the Department of Turkic Philology and Early Hungarian History in 1930.² Németh paradigmatically shaped the development of Turkic Studies or Turkology in Hungary, while also maintaining close contacts with the field at large at the international level. In a lecture he delivered in 1928 at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences—an institution born in 1826 of Hungarian nationalism and progressive social, cultural and political reforms—Németh defined Turkology in Hungary as part of the study of the origins of the Hungarian language, early Hungarian history (i.e., the history of Hungarians prior to their settlement in the Carpathian Basin), and the history of Ottoman Hungary.³ This definition made Turkic Studies part of the so-called “national sciences,” and it also fit well the nationalist political vision of the Hungarian elite in the

2 Charles I as Emperor of Austria Charles IV as King of Hungary.

3 Németh, Gyula, “Akadémiánk és a keleti filológia,” *Budapesti Szemle* CCXI (1928), 80–95.

interwar period, which after the 1920 Treaty of Trianon found itself in a much smaller country surrounded by mostly unfriendly nations that ruled over huge communities of ethnic Hungarians.

The other profound influence on Vásáry's formation as a scholar came from Lajos Ligeti. Earning a doctorate in Mongolic, Chinese, and Tibetan philology at the Sorbonne as a student of the great Sinologist Paul Pelliot (1878–1945), Ligeti was the Orientalist *par excellence* before World War II who spent several years of research in China, doing field work in Inner Mongolian Buddhist monasteries. Returning to Hungary, he continued to work on Mongol and Tibetan philology, Inner Asian Studies, and Hungarian comparative and historical linguistics. Both Németh and Ligeti shaped scholarship and intellectual life in an institutional sense as well. Németh served twice as Dean of the Humanities and once as Rector of ELTE in the 1930s and 1940s, and he was the director of the Research Institute for Linguistics at the Academy of Sciences between 1950 and 1965. Sensing the political currents of the time, Ligeti, who himself never joined the Communist Party, was one of the founders of the Hungarian-Soviet Society of Friendship in 1945 and the longest-serving Deputy Chairman of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (1949–70). While he held a firm grip on the field of Oriental Studies and its practitioners in Hungary, his position of considerable power and influence also helped him extend a protective shield over Oriental Studies, which was thus largely spared from infiltration by the regime at the personal and ideological level, and also made it possible that the field maintain extensive contacts with international academia despite the Iron Curtain.

It was Ligeti who first offered Vásáry an academic position after the latter's graduation in 1968, inviting him as a Research Associate to his Altaic Research Group at the Academy, where the young scholar worked until 1980, when he returned to Eötvös Loránd University. On the face of it, Vásáry rose steadily in the promotion system fashioned according to the Soviet model.⁴ In 1971, he received his *Doctor Universitatis* (Dr.) degree with a thesis that contains the edition of a seventeenth-century Armenian-Qipchak chronicle, and his *Candidatus Scientiarum* degree in 1981 with a dissertation about the chancery

4 Following the Soviet system, academic promotion in Hungary at the time was entirely under the auspices of the politically controlled Academy of Sciences, except that the first degree of promotion, *dr. univ.* was granted by universities. The second degree was the so-called *candidatus* degree, the third and last the D.Sc. "doctor of sciences" degree, each three ranks requiring the completion and public defense of a dissertation. D.Sc. holders could then be elected first corresponding and then regular members of the Academy of Sciences at its annual convention.

of the Golden Horde.⁵ He received two *Habilitations*, both at the University of Szeged: in Language Sciences in 1995, and in history in 1997. In 2002, he was awarded the Doctor of Science (D.Sc.) degree at the Academy of Sciences about the role of Cumans in the pre-Ottoman Balkan.⁶ He would sometimes joke to his doctoral students about the tight control of the state and of the Communist Party over academia that his generation of scholars had to write three Ph.D.'s during an academic career.

His rise in the academic hierarchy continued. He was Chair of the Department of Turkic Studies in 1992–93 and 1998–99, and he directed the Institute of Oriental Studies between 2006 and 2011. At the Academy of Sciences, he chaired the Committee of Oriental Studies between 1996 and 1999, being elected Corresponding Member of the Academy in 2013 and full member in 2019. Vásáry collaborated with several prominent scholars, including Turkologists and Mongolists like István Mándoky-Kongur (1944–92) and András Róna-Tas (1931–), Ottoman historians like Géza Dávid (1949–) and Pál Fodor (1955–), Armenologist Edmund Schütz (1916–1999) and cultural historian Lajos Tardy (1914–1990). In 2012, he co-founded the Early Hungarian Research Group at the Academy of Sciences, which brings together an interdisciplinary cohort of scholars including historians, archeologists, musicologists, folklorists, etc., and has greatly revised key issues in the study of early Hungarian history. He retired in 2015, becoming an emeritus professor but continuing to be remarkably prolific. Most recently, he has co-written a major monograph on the Szekler Runic Script.⁷

Vásáry was a fellow at the Wilson Center during the 1989–90 academic year in Washington, DC, accompanied by his family. It was the first time he had spent an extended period in a western research environment, Hungarian citizens having been allowed to visit western countries every three years since the 1960s. However, it was never a foregone conclusion that one would be issued a passport by the authorities, and the officially available amount of foreign currency was never enough to pay for expenses during travel. Hungarian Turkologists and Mongolists were lucky that at least some of the financial and bureaucratic hurdles could at times be mitigated by the good offices of Denis Sinor (1916–2011). Sinor, a scholar of Inner Asian history, had been a Ligeti

5 Published as “Armeno-Kipchak Parts from the Kamenets Chronicle,” *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 22 (1969): 139–189.

6 Published as *Cumans and Tatars: Oriental Military in the Pre-Ottoman Balkans, 1185–1365* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

7 Benkő, Elek, Klára Sándor, and István Vásáry, *A székeley írás emlékei* (Budapest: Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont kiadó, 2021).

student in the 1930s, and worked with Pelliot in Paris. He had risen to international prominence by turning Indiana University Bloomington into the most important center of Inner Asian and Central Asian research, and founded and acquired funding for, such institutions as the Permanent International Altaic Conference (PIAC), which regularly brought together academics from both sides of the Iron Curtain.

By the late 1980s, the Communist system was decadent enough to loosen some of its control over society, but Vásáry most likely shared with everyone the surprise that the system would collapse so fast. The research facilities of the Library of Congress as well as the wealth and the personal and intellectual freedom he encountered in the US were in profound contrast with what he considered as a corrupt and shabby atmosphere in the Hungary of the 1980s in general and the backward, underfunded conditions in Hungarian academia in particular, so he was tempted to try his luck and stay. However, the changes that were taking place in 1989, the quick collapse of the regimes in the Eastern bloc, made him reconsider. He did not want to miss history as it was happening and returned to Hungary after the end of the fellowship.

His life trajectory launched him on the path of scholarship, but the political changes in Europe in the early 1990s allowed him to do two stints of diplomatic service. Back in Hungary, his life took a turn that would have been impossible for someone with his bourgeoisie family background during Communism. Hungary was transitioning to a democratic political system, and the newly elected first free government, a moderately conservative coalition, needed a new cadre of diplomats that had not been compromised during the Communist era and had expertise regarding the countries Hungary had diplomatic ties with. Vásáry had been friends with the new Minister of Foreign Affairs, Géza Jeszenszky (1941–), and had also known Prime Minister József Antall (1932–93) from before, who invited him to represent Hungary as consul in Istanbul, filling several other diplomatic vacancies with academics. Vásáry held this position for a year, when he was appointed ambassador in Ankara, a position he filled until a new, left-wing government came to power four years later. His diplomatic career was not over, however, as he became ambassador of Hungary in Tehran between 1999 and 2003. While he greatly appreciated these opportunities, as they gave him access to some of the regions he had been working on as a scholar throughout his career to an extent that would have been impossible before, Vásáry never thought he would remain in the foreign service and was all too happy to return to academia afterwards.

Vásáry is a member of the post-Second World War generation of the 1960s. The bulk of his career took place in the Cold War, and, as we have seen, he was trained by scholars who had seen two world wars, the breakdown of more

than one modern imperial ventures, and the rise of totalitarian regimes in the first half of the twentieth century. His work has been deeply impacted by how the nation state was challenged by the ostensibly internationalist ideologies of Communism during the Cold War and by postmodern globalization after the collapse of the Soviet Union and the rejoining of Hungary to the West by entering NATO and the EU. As he would often put it to his students, "A scholar can be a nationalist, but scholarship is international."

The overall themes that unify Vásáry's work are language and ethnicity, continuing but also greatly expanding the tradition he inherited from his mentors, Németh and Ligeti. His early work was accordingly philological and etymological, largely in their wake, and he was also interested in the Szekler Runic script and its relations to the Old Turkic Script. Conscious of the need to contextualize his own work in the history of scholarship, Vásáry developed an interest quite early on in how the modern fields of study came about, as well as in the historiography of medieval, early modern and modern Orientalism. His pursuits in early Hungarian history led him to study the Hungarians of "Magna Hungaria," i.e., scattered groups of ethnic Hungarians who had become separated from the main body that settled in the Carpathian Basin at the end of the ninth century and who disappeared during the expansion of the Mongols in Eastern Europe in 1235–41. In a related fashion, and also following in Németh's footsteps, Vásáry's attention was drawn to another subject, the Cumans and Qipchaqs, Turkic tribal confederacies that had ruled the western Eurasian steppe prior to the rise of the Mongols.

However, it is his work on the history of the Mongol Empire, especially two of its successor states, the Golden Horde and Ilkhanid Iran, that would establish his name in international academia. The subject was also connected to his earlier research on early Hungarian history, in that Mongol history could help him contextualize it in the broader history of the medieval Eurasian steppe. His familiarity with Russian sources as well indigenous sources from the Mongol empire, written in Turkic, Mongolian, or Persian, allowed him a special perspective on the *long durée* history of interaction between sedentary and pastoral societies in Eurasia and on how the myriad facets of that relationship informed various imperial projects all over history, from the Xioungnu to the Turkic Qaghanates, the Uyghurs, the Khazars, the Ghaznavids, the Kharakhanids, through the Mongols down to the Russians. He also expanded into other regions in the Mongol and post-Mongol world, such as the Jalayirids and the Crimean Khanate. Equally notable, he connected the history of the medieval Eurasian steppe and Balkans by writing about the Cumanians in the Balkans in the eleventh through the fourteenth century, and in a parallel vein, he has worked on continuities of political culture between the Mongols

and Russia. While he has always remained a philologist at heart, the range of sources he works with has also substantially expanded over the years to include numismatics and archeology. Vásáry's work has fundamental implications for the study of politics and social consciousness in pre-modern pastoral societies in Eurasia, the study of which has frequently been appropriated and abused by various forms of modern ethno-nationalism. In some sense expanding from the study of Hungarian ethnogenesis, Vásáry tries to understand early Hungarian, Central Asian, Iranian, and Balkan history in terms of the connection of these regions to the Eurasian steppe, which profoundly shaped their ethnic history and political culture. For example, searching for a framework beyond ethno-nationalism to broach the study of premodern pastoral societies, he has relied on concepts like *gentilism*. Originally coined by Reinhard Wenskus regarding the Germanic tribes in the late Roman period and applied to early Hungarian history by Jenő Szűcs, *gentilism* refers to the ideology of a political group with a fictive consciousness of a common origin. Recently, he has become greatly interested in the broader ideological basis of Mongol rule, comparing the sharia or Islamic revealed law with the Yasa, the law code associated with Genghis Khan, which as a form of dynastic law and manifestation of charismatic authority profoundly informed political theology in the Perso-Islamic world in the medieval and early modern periods.

Vásáry is a highly prolific scholar. His publications, mostly in English and Hungarian, but some also in Russian, Turkish and German, are marked by precision, a thorough familiarity with and integration of the sources, penetrating insight, and lucidity. The sheer breadth of his scholarship makes him an authority in multiple fields. At the same time, he does not take his position for granted. He is not aloof of public outreach, taking his role to represent scholarship for the public seriously, be it a public talk, or an article in a newspaper or in a popular science magazine.

The present volume has taken a long time to prepare, largely due to the vicissitudes in the editors' life. We therefore thank our contributors for their enthusiasm and patience that has kept the project running. We note with profound regrets that David O. Morgan (1945–2019), a leading expert on Mongol history, passed away before he could see his chapter published.

As Vásáry has distinguished himself in four distinct although related fields—i.e., early Hungarian history, historical linguistics, the history of Orientalism, and Central Asian history—we have opted for a certain thematic unity instead of trying to represent all these fields, and decided to solicit papers that focus on the last subject, i.e., Central Asian history or the history and culture of the Eurasian steppe. This editorial decision regarding a festschrift that is addressed to an international audience can be justified by the

fact that most of Vásáry's works for international academia are related to this subject, whereas his research in the other three fields was chiefly addressed to a Hungarian readership. Indeed, the 2020 special issue of the Hungarian journal *Keletkutatás*, "Oriental Research," celebrated him with papers in Hungarian in all the aforesaid fields. The biographical part of this introductory salutation has also benefitted from a biographical interview book written about him.⁸ The cover image is the work of the Tehran-based Hungarian-Iranian painter, Gizella Varga Sinai. We are grateful to her for allowing us to use her painting.

8 Ézsaiás, Erzsébet, *A boldogító tudás: Vásáry István életpályája* (Budapest: Lexica Kiadó, 2020).

PART 1

Mongols and Muslims



How “Mongol” Was the Mongol Empire?

David Morgan† (1945–2019)

The Mongol Empire was the largest contiguous empire in the history of the world. In terms of total area, it was not the largest. That distinction is held by the British Empire, which was not only that, but, according to a notable imperialist, Lord Curzon, “the greatest instrument for good that the world has seen”¹—a view perhaps not as prevalent today as it may have been, in some circles, in 1894. Until recently, few have held the Mongol Empire to have been exceptionally beneficent. However, there have lately been marked changes in the historiography of the subject, usefully delineated in a valuable survey by Peter Jackson for the period up until 1999.² The scholarly consensus now tends to attribute markedly positive features to Mongol rule, while not attempting, except in some rather extravagant cases,³ to deny the reality of the appalling impact of the initial Mongol invasions on the lands and peoples they invaded and conquered. But what we undeniably have to consider is a vast empire—stretching uninterruptedly from Korea to Hungary—which had been acquired by a far from vast people. So, it is worth asking: what kind of an empire was this? In what sense can it be said to have been a “Mongol” empire?

Let us first look at the traditional view. According to this long-enduring school of thought, the Mongol contribution to their empire was essentially a military one. What they provided was an army of cavalry steppe archers, led by Mongols, but the rank and file must increasingly, as expansion continued, have been composed of Central Asian Turks, because there were simply not enough Mongols to go round. Such an army, if well organized and led—which the Mongol army undoubtedly was—would be virtually invincible in the field, in thirteenth-century conditions. Admittedly, it would not have been effective in siege warfare, so that it proved necessary to recruit siege engineers, from

1 Quoted by Kenneth Rose, *Superior Person. A Portrait of Curzon and his Circle in Late Victorian England* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1969), 86.

2 Peter Jackson, “The State of Research: the Mongol Empire, 1986–1999,” *Journal of Medieval History* 26/2 (2000): 189–210. See also David Morgan, “The Mongol Empire since 1985: the rise of cultural history,” in R. Amitai and M. Biran (eds), *Eurasian Nomads as Agents of Cultural Change* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2015), 271–282.

3 See, e.g., Jack Weatherford, *Genghis Khan and the Making of the Modern World* (New York: Crown Publishers, 2004).

both Muslim societies and from China. Nor was the Mongol army always effective when it attempted to fight away from the plains, as in south China and Southeast Asia, or at sea, as when invasions of Japan were launched. But with such an army, when suitably reinforced, enormous conquests were possible, even though the Mongols seem to have introduced few if any military innovations. Chinggis Khan's much-vaunted decimal organisation of his troops, for example, was in no way something new. What he did was to implement what had long been standard steppe tactics, albeit with consummate efficiency and on a very large scale.

In other respects, apart from mere military achievement, the Mongols have generally been seen as uncouth and brutal barbarians; and it has to be admitted that they did get off to a somewhat unpromising start. They were, it was agreed, much better at demolition than at construction, and at best it might be admitted that when they came to rule over their conquests, they proved to be pragmatic and willing to learn from others, insofar as they had left them alive. Even the script that was adopted for the writing of Mongolian—previously an unwritten language—was borrowed from a more advanced Central Asian people, the Uighurs. In essence, it was believed, the Mongols were uninterested in the processes of government and administration, as long as they could be sure that taxation revenue would continue to come in. What they themselves wished to spend their time doing was nomadizing, drinking, hunting and fighting.

So who did, in fact, run the empire? The evidence appeared to suggest that in its early days, very strong influence was exercised by the Uighurs and the Khitans. The Uighurs were a literate steppe people with an imperial past—they had ruled in Mongolia until evicted to the Tarim basin (in modern Sinkiang) by the Kirghiz in the mid-ninth century—and with a present which was unusual in that they seem to have become subject to the Mongols voluntarily. The Khitans were a people who appear to have been ethnically (and probably linguistically) related to the Mongols: they had, as the Liao Dynasty, ruled north China and much of Mongolia from the tenth to the early twelfth century, and at the time of the rise of Chinggis Khan what had originally been a surviving splinter-group of the dynasty prevailed over much of Central Asia in the shape of the empire of Qara-Khitai.⁴ Many Khitan personnel have been found to be in Mongol service, whether originating from the Qara-Khitai or from

4 On the Uighurs see Michael C. Brose, *Subjects and Masters: Uyghurs in the Mongol Empire* (Bellingham: Center for East Asian Studies, Western Washington University, 2007). On the Qara-Khitai see Michal Biran, *The Empire of Qara Khitai: Between China and the Islamic World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

north China, and Khitan influence has been detected in various Mongol imperial institutions, such as the *yam*, the postal-courier network, and the office of *darughachi* (Mongol) or *basqaq* (Turkish): a kind of governor of conquered territory or peoples.⁵ It was once suggested that “[t]here is a sense in which the Mongol Empire was a successor state, on a much grander scale, to the Qara-Khitai empire.”⁶ Here it may be appropriate to enter a caveat. The search for “influences” can be fruitful, but there is perhaps the danger of assuming that no one is ever capable of thinking of something independently. The similarities between the Khitan and Mongol postal-courier networks are indeed striking: but it is arguable that it might occur to anyone who had conquered a territory stretching across the length of Asia that a communications system would be necessary, without such a conqueror having to look about for an historical precedent.

After 1260, as both much of the Islamic Middle East and the southern Chinese empire of the Sung came under Mongol rule, the conventional view has been that the traditional bureaucracies of those sedentary civilisations acquired pervasive influence on how the Mongol Empire was run. There were differences. In China, the former examination system for entrance into the civil service was not restored until late in the Mongol period, but the lower and middle levels of the bureaucracy did continue to be filled by traditional Chinese bureaucrats. The top jobs, however, tended to be filled by non-Chinese officials. Marco Polo, who according to his own account was one of those officials, says that this was because there was something of a question mark over the degree of loyalty that the Mongols could expect from their Chinese servants: hence it was felt to be prudent to entrust the most powerful positions to persons who had no local Chinese loyalties. In Iran, the situation was, by contrast, that the bureaucracy was headed by Persian bureaucrats—most famously, Rashīd al-Dīn—or even by members of very old-established bureaucratic families, such as the Juvaynīs. The Mongols, it seems, regarded the Persians as less potentially dangerous to the stability of their rule than the Chinese.

5 On the *yam*, see Adam Silverstein, *Postal Systems in the Pre-Modern Islamic World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 141–164. On *darughachi* and *basqaq*, see Paul D. Buell, “Sino-Khitai Administration in Mongol Bukhara,” *Journal of Asian History* 13/2 (1979): 121–151; and see further István Vásáry, “The Golden Horde term *daruga* and its survival in Russia,” *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 30 (1976): 187–197, and István Vásáry, “The origin of the institution of *basqaqs*,” *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 32 (1978): 201–206; both reprinted in István Vásáry, *Turks, Tatars and Russians in the 13th–16th Centuries* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007).

6 David Morgan, *The Mongols*, 2nd ed. (Malden and Oxford: Blackwell, 2007), 44.

Hence, the long-established scholarly view would have it that the Mongol Empire was ‘Mongol’ in the sense that the Mongols were the generals who headed the armed forces and they were also the principal beneficiaries of empire. The empire, then, was ruled by the Mongols. But it was not a Mongol Empire in that the army was wholly Mongol (it contained very large numbers of Turks, as well as Persians, Chinese and other auxiliaries), nor in that the Mongols actually ran the empire. Institutions of government, and personnel, were largely Uighur, Khitan, Persian, Chinese, and so on. And that is what they remained: it is notable that the non-Mongol subjects of the Mongol Empire did not become “Mongols” as so many subjects of the Arab Muslim Caliphate had eventually become “Arabs,” whatever their ethnic origins may have been.⁷

It seems clear, however, that such a view can now be held only with considerable reservation, and that revision of it is necessary. First, it is important to pay some attention to the nature of the available primary source material. One of the problems with which historians of the Mongol Empire have always had to contend is that there survives almost nothing from the Mongols themselves which would give us some sense of what their own perspective was. The only major Mongol source, in Mongolian, which has come down to us is the sometimes enigmatic document known as the *Secret History of the Mongols*. The survival even of that appears to have been simply good luck: someone transcribed it into Chinese characters, using the characters for their phonetic value, irrespective of their meaning. Hence it must have seemed gibberish to any Chinese reader. But it did look like some form of Chinese, so it escaped destruction when Mongol rule in China collapsed. Then there is the *Altan Debter*, a Mongolian text—a compilation of historical material rather than a coherent chronicle, it would seem—which has not, apparently, survived, but whose contents can to a degree be determined from its use in other sources, Persian and Chinese. Beyond those, we are dependent on works written either by the Mongols’ enemies, for example what was written in Mamluk Egypt and Syria, and by Europeans, or on what was written by the Mongols’ conquered subjects—Persian, Chinese, Russian and so forth. There is a further complication in that the sources originating from within the Mongol Empire are largely the work of members of the bureaucratic classes. In Chinese, the principal source is the *Yuan-shih*, the official dynastic history of the Mongols in China, produced in the traditional way immediately after the fall of the Mongol dynasty in 1368, on the basis of ‘Veritable Records’ which had been kept by the bureaucracy throughout the period of Mongol rule. There was nothing

⁷ For the point of view rehearsed above, see e.g., David Morgan, “Who ran the Mongol Empire?”, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1982/2: 127–136; more briefly, Morgan, *The Mongols*, 94–8.

quite like this in Iran, though it is possible to argue that the most celebrated Persian chronicle of the Mongol period, the *Jāmi‘ al-tavārikh* of Rashīd al-Dīn, shows—uniquely in the Persian historiographical tradition—the marked influence of the Chinese practice of collaborative history.⁸ But all the most significant Persian historians of the period—Juvaynī, Vaṣṣāf, Ḥamd Allāh Muṣṭaufī Qazvīnī, Rashīd al-Dīn himself—made their careers as bureaucrats in Mongol service. This of course tended to mean that such historians were very well informed. But it also presents us with a problem of perspective. As we use sources such as these, we are, perhaps, unlikely to find that they understate the Chinese and Persian administrative input.

Even though that may be the case, if we look a little harder, we soon discover, even in our bureaucratic sources, evidence that points in a rather different direction. Let us take the *Secret History of the Mongols*. This text, although it was tinkered with over a number of years, appears to have been substantially completed by 1228: that is, before the later conquests and expansion which brought Persian and Chinese officials significantly into Mongol service. It contains a long account of the *quriltai* of 1206, an assembly of princes and notables in which the overall supremacy of Chinggis Khan in Mongolia was acknowledged. This covers thirty pages in Igor de Rachewiltz’s magisterial translation.⁹ It includes an enormously detailed description of administrative arrangements that were decreed and implemented by Chinggis Khan—in the main military in character, but there was, at this point, hardly a military/civil distinction in the eyes of the Mongols. Far from suggesting that the Mongols were not interested in administration, this account testifies instead to a virtual obsession with it.

If we turn to the Persian sources, at least one fact stands out in respect of how the administration of the Mongol realm in Iran, the Ilkhanate, was run. This is in the matter of who held the highest administrative position, that of *vazīr* or *ṣāhib-dīvān*. Contrary to what has often been supposed, there was no Persian bureaucratic monopoly.¹⁰ In the early period, a particularly long-standing high official was Arghun Aqa, an Oirat Mongol who effectively functioned

8 See David Morgan, “Persian and non-Persian historical writing in the Mongol Empire,” in *Ferdowsi, the Mongols and the History of Iran: Art, Literature and Culture from Early Islam to Qajar Persia. Studies in Honour of Charles Melville*, ed. Robert Hillenbrand, A.C.S. Peacock, and Furuza Abdullaeva (London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 2013), 120–125.

9 *The Secret History of the Mongols. A Mongolian Epic Chronicle of the Thirteenth Century*, tr. and ed. Igor de Rachewiltz, 2 vols (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2004), vol. 1, 133–162.

10 See the list of such office-holders in Bertold Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran*, 4th ed. (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1985), 238–40.

as a “Persian” bureaucrat.¹¹ In 1295, his son Naurūz, instrumental in assisting Ghazan Khan on to the throne of the Ilkhanate and, perhaps, in encouraging him to adopt Islam, is referred to by Rashīd a-Dīn as *vazīr*. Another Mongol, Buqa, was the head of the supposedly Persian bureaucracy between 1284 and 1289. One way and another, there are enough such examples to suggest that the Mongols were much more concerned with running their empire, and even with the minutiae of administration, than has usually been supposed. Nor, in this connection, should we neglect the fact, which must be significant, that the leading bureaucrats customarily travelled around with the Ilkhans’ peripatetic court: they did not remain firmly sedentarized in a capital city.¹²

If we are to reassess what kind of an empire that of the Mongols was, we need also to take into account the work of its leading contemporary historian, Thomas Allsen. In three major books and numerous articles, Allsen has persuaded most of us to rethink much of what we previously thought we knew.¹³ He is able to do this in part because of the range of languages he knows, which enables him not only to read more of the relevant sources than most of us are able to do, but also—and most significantly—to make those sources (most importantly, those in Persian and Chinese) reflect on and illuminate each other. This linguistic expertise, in an ideal world, would be a prerequisite for any historian of the Mongol Empire; but in the last century or so only a handful of other scholars, such as Paul Pelliot, Joseph Fletcher and, most recently, Michal Biran, have been able to claim such skills. What Allsen’s work demonstrates, above all, is the active role played by the Mongols—the Mongols themselves, not just their non-Mongol subjects—in cultural transmission and exchange in a wide variety of fields, across the length of Eurasia. These included textiles (Muslim textile workers were transported eastwards to satisfy the insatiable Mongol appetite for gold brocade); historical writing; geography and cartography; agriculture, cuisine, medicine, astronomy and printing. Members of the imperial house were in many cases deeply involved in this, but so were other Mongol notables. A major role was played by Bolad Aqa, otherwise known as Bolad Chingsang (“Chingsang” being a version of the Chinese word for “minister”). He was a Mongol who had served the Great Khan Qubilai in China, and

11 See George Lane, “Arghun Aqa: Mongol bureaucrat,” *Iranian Studies* 32/4 (1999): 459–482.

12 On these points, see further David Morgan, “Mongol or Persian: the government of Ilkhanid Iran,” *Harvard Middle Eastern and Islamic Review* 3, 1/2 (1996): 62–76.

13 Thomas T. Allsen, *Mongol Imperialism: The Policies of the Grand Qan Möngke in China, Russia, and the Islamic Lands, 1251–1259* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1987); *Commodity and Exchange in the Mongol Empire: A Cultural History of Islamic Textiles* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); *Culture and Conquest in Mongol Eurasia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

was then sent as Qubilai’s ambassador to the Ilkhanate, where he remained for nearly thirty years, until the end of his life, as a kind of permanent Imperial High Commissioner. In Tabriz, for most of the time the Ilkhanid capital, he collaborated with Rashīd al-Dīn to the extent that he may be seen as effectively a co-author of the *Jāmi’ al-tavārikh*. In the words with which Allsen concludes the most influential one of his books, “pastoral nomads were the chief initiators, promoters, and agents of this exchange, and their cultural preferences, as articulated in the form of imperial policy, go far to explain what passed between East and West in the Mongolian era”.¹⁴

In summary, then, it seems that in the past historians have tended to have gravely underestimated the Mongols, and this perhaps for two main reasons. First, it was not easy to believe that a people who began their imperial career with such an orgy of massacre and destruction could also, subsequently, prove to have been both constructive and administratively competent. And second, as we have seen, we have virtually no primary sources originating from the Mongols themselves, with the aid of which, had we had such, we might have been able to see them more clearly. It is certainly true that the Mongols were adaptable and pragmatic, and that they were happy to learn from others and to make use of others’ talents and skills. But it is, surely, inherently improbable to suppose that an empire of the size and durability of the Mongols’ could have been acquired and maintained solely on the basis of military efficiency. We should remember that—most unusually for a nomadic-based empire—it continued to expand for half a century after the death of its charismatic founder. This must indicate that institutional foundations of significance had already been laid in the lifetime of Chinggis Khan. We have, it can now be seen, ample enough evidence to believe that the Mongols were far more concerned with the day-to-day government of their empire than used to be supposed. That empire, then, was indeed a Mongol Empire that was both ruled and governed by the Mongols, whatever their indebtedness may have been to other peoples.

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14 Allsen, *Continuity and Change*, 211.

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Early Mongol Rule in Northern Persia and the Nizārīs

Miklós Sárközy

1 Introduction

The present chapter examines the earliest contacts between the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs and the Mongol Empire from the time of the arrival of the Mongols in Northern Iran in 617/1220 until the death of Jalāl al-Dīn Mingbūrnī, the last ruler of the Khwārizmian Empire, in 628/1231. Though evidence is rather scarce, our two main sources relating to this period, the accounts of Nasavī and the *Dīvān-i Qāʾimiyyāt* suggest that the Nizārī Ismāʿīlī state in Northern Iran was a keen follower of the dramatic events around the realm, and successfully balanced between contending powers. This highly diplomatic approach apparently lacked any kind of open, ideologically motivated hostility towards the Mongols until the death of Jalāl al-Dīn Mingbūrnī and the final Khwārizmian collapse. As a result, the Nizārī Ismāʿīlī state successfully continued its expansionist policy which had started in the decades preceding the first Mongol conquest of Persia in 617/1220. In the last section of our chapter, we try to show what changed in the Nizārī Ismāʿīlī attitude to the Mongols after 1231. The chapter thus problematizes the strictly binary picture of the struggle between the Nizārīs and the Sunni world, offering a more nuanced analysis of how they were integrated into regional politics in the Caspian.

2 The First Mongol Conquest of Northern Persia and the Nizārīs

The decades between 590/1194, the fall of Ṭughril III (r. 1176–1194), the last Saljūq ruler in Western Persia, and 617/1220, the arrival of the first Mongol armies in the Caspian provinces, marked a period of growing Nizārī power in Northern Persia, their influence and expansionist policies resulting in significant territorial changes.

The first Mongol attack against Persia and Central Asia occurred between 616/1219 and 619/1222, during the the last years of Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan's

(Ḥasan III, r. 607–618/1210–1221) imamate.¹ As in other cases, the Nizārī Ismāʿīlī leadership of Northern Persia were quite well-informed about the current political events of the time, and according to Juvaynī, Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan was the first Muslim ruler to try to come to terms with the Mongols after the latter had crossed the Oxus in August 617/1219. In the spring of 618/1221, Nizārī envoys visited the camp of Chinggis Khān near Balkh.²

It is not exactly known what the direct objectives and aims of these Nizārī visits in the Mongol camp were; the Nizārīs may have realized the menace the Mongols posed against Eastern Iran and tried to seek official acknowledgement and diplomatic contacts with them at a very early period. It is important to note that we do not hear about any Nizārī-Mongol clashes during the first Mongol campaign against Iran.

However, it would be interesting to see to what extent the Nizārī areas and their neighbors in the Caspian provinces were affected by the the first Mongol invasion. As peripheral areas that were protected by enormous mountain ranges with a largely humid and unwelcoming climate, and characterized by urban centers much smaller than those in other provinces in Iran, Gilān and Māzandarān in Northern Iran under Nizārī control were perhaps initially less lucrative in the eyes of the Mongols than other regions.

However, the Mongol armies did not leave the Nizārī-controlled core-areas entirely unspoiled during their first campaign. The ostensible reason for the Mongol penetration into the Caspian region was the flight of Khwārizmshāh Muḥammad II (r. 1200–1220) to the Caspian provinces after his unsuccessful attempts to halt the Mongols. He first fled to Ṭabaristān in 617/1220 and then

1 For the period of Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan's imamate, see 'Atā Malik Juvaynī, *Kitāb-i tārikh-i jahāngushāy*, ed. Muḥammad Qazvīnī (Tehran: Afrāsiyāb, 2002), vol. 243–248; Minhāj-al Dīn Jūzjānī, *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāsirī*, 2nd ed., ed. 'Abd al-Ḥayy Ḥabībī (Tehran: Asāṭir, 2010), 2: 182–183; Abū'l-Qāsim 'Abd Allāh Kāshānī, *Zubdat al-tawārikh, bakhsh-i Fāṭimīyān va Nizārīyān*, ed. Muḥammad Dānishpazhūh (Tehran: Mu'assasa-i Muṭāla'āt va Taḥqīqāt-i Farhangī, 1987), 214–217; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Tārikh-i guzīda*, ed. 'Abd al-Ḥusain Navā'ī (Tehran: Amīr Kabīr, 1960), 524–525; Rashīd al-Dīn, Faḫrallāh Hamadānī, *Jāmi' al-tawārikh, tārikh-i Ismā'īliyān*, ed. Muḥammad Rawshan (Tehran: Intishārāt Mirās-i Maktūb, 2007), 174–178; Marshall S. Hodgson, *The Order of Assassins: The Struggle of the Early Nizārī Ismā'īlīs against the Islamic World* (The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1955), 217–225; Marshall G.S. Hodgson, "The Ismā'īlī State," in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 5, *The Saljuk and Mongol Periods*, ed. John Andrew Boyle (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), 422–482; Bernard Lewis, *The Assassins: A Radical Sect in Islam* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson Press, 1967), 78–81; Farhad Daftary, *The Ismā'īlīs: Their History and Doctrines*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 375–386; Farhad Daftary, "Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan III," in *Encyclopaedia Iranica Online Edition*, <https://iranicaonline.org/articles/jalal-al-din-hasan-iii>, 15 December 2008.

2 Daftary, *The Ismā'īlīs*, 383.

to the Caspian littoral area of Astarābād in 618/1221. It is also known that he visited Āmul during his hasty flight, where unknown local princes advised him to take refuge on the islands of the Caspian. The unhappy Khwārizmshāh was believed to die on the island of Ashūrada due to immense grief and the stress of having lost his harem during his flight (or, according to Nasavī, because of a serious pneumonia).³

The Mongol forces led by Jebe and Sübötei were in hot pursuit of the Khwārizmian ruler, penetrating into the Caspian region for the first time in 618/1221, but failing to capture him. During these campaigns, Māzandarān suffered more than Gīlān. According to Juwaynī, when Jebe's forces entered Māzandarān from the Juwayn, they reeked havoc in the region, pillaging the city of Āmul in their search of the Khwārizmian ruler.⁴ Furthermore, Jūzjānī claims that the Mongols raided his encampment in Tamīsha in Eastern Māzandarān. Juwaynī confirms Jūzjānī's statement, but says that the Mongols invaded Māzandarān for the first time from Gurgān through the so-called gate of Gurgān, which might mean the strategically weakest point of the Caspian region, being a corridor at its easternmost parts.⁵ The Mongols in Māzandarān in 618/1221 failed to capture the Khwārizmian ruler, but they managed to capture his harem by taking the castles where the wives and concubines of Muḥammad II had taken asylum.

Meanwhile, the forces of Sübötei subdued the area of Dāmghān, arriving from Nishāpūr, which they had razed to the ground. The local elite of Dāmghān had already fled to the neighboring mighty Nizārī fortress of Girdkūh. According to Juwaynī, only some *runūd*, i.e., disorganized elements of Dāmghān, resisted the invading Mongols.

Sübötei's forces headed west and swiftly conquered Simnān and Rayy, destroying both and decimating the local population. During this first Mongol campaign, the main objective of which was the capture of the Khwārizmian ruler, we do not hear of any attack against the Nizārīs, and neither did the Nizārīs attack the Mongols.⁶

The Nizārīs kept their cool and did not get involved in these military conflicts for two reasons. First and foremost, the Nizārī Ismā'īlī state was the outspoken opponent of the Khwārizmians, having clashed with them on numerous

3 Shahāb al-Dīn Muḥammad Khurandizī Zaydarī Nasavī, *Sirat-i Jalāl al-Dīn Mankubirmī, tarjuma-i fārsī az aṣl-i 'arabī az mutarjīm-i nāshinās dar qarn-i haftum-i hijrī*, ed. Mujtabā Minuvī (Tehran: Shirkat-i Intishārāt-i 'Ilmī va Farhangī, 2015), 68–69.

4 Juwaynī, *Kitāb tārikh-i jahāngushāy*, 1: 115.

5 Jūzjānī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 2: 108–109.

6 Juwaynī, *Kitāb tārikh-i jahāngushāy*, 1: 115.

occasions in the preceding decades. On the other hand, the Nizārī leaders witnessed the military prowess and ruthlessness of the new conquerors. Therefore, it is plausible to hypothesize that the forces of Jebe and Sübötei did not waste their time attacking the Nizārī Ismā'īlī fortresses in 617–618/1220–1221, because their designated sole task was to capture the Khwārizmian ruler. Since the Nizārīs had been the local rivals of the Khwārizmians, it would be interesting to see traces of their possible tacit support given to the Mongols. However, although this would have been a logical step, our sources mention no pro-Mongol activity on the part of the Nizārīs during the Mongol campaign in Māzandarān and Gīlān in 618/1221.

Another possible reason of the limited Nizārī reaction during the Mongol-Khwārizmian war was their ongoing local conflicts with different local adversaries in Gīlān and Māzandarān. This enduring petty warfare between, e.g., the Nizārīs and the Bādūspānids continued well around and after 618/1221. However, our Caspian sources, such as Ibn Isfandyār, Āmulī and Mar'ashī's respective chronicles, contain very limited information about these local conflicts, making it impossible to link them to the much more grand-scale Mongol wars.

3 'Alā al-Dīn Muḥammad and the Ideological Impact of the Mongol Conquest on the Nizārīs

The Nizārī imam based in Alamūt, Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan (Ḥasan III), suddenly died in 618/1221. He was succeeded by 'Alā al-Dīn Muḥammad (Muḥammad III, r. 1221–1255), whom, along with his alleged boon companion, Ḥasan Māzandarānī, Juvaynī depicts in an entirely negative manner. However, other sources, such as Rashīd al-Dīn and Mustawfī Qazvīnī, do not confirm Juvaynī's accusations.⁷ The possible reasons behind this ardent anti-Nizārī attitude of the latter historian can be attributed to 'Alā al-Dīn Muḥammad's complicated and at times pro-Mongol policies, which contradict the later portraiture of the Nizārī Ismā'īlīs as the arch-enemies of Sunnis and Mongols.

The relatively long reign of 'Alā al-Dīn Muḥammad can be divided into two main periods. Apparently, in the early years of his rule (after 1221) he followed in the footsteps of his father with his religious policy. Since he was only nine years old upon his accession to power, as the only son of his father he could exert only nominal influence on politics, which was allegedly managed by his

⁷ Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmi' al-tawārikh, tārikh-i Ismā'īlyān*, 181; Mustawfī, *Tārikh-i guzīda*, 526.

father's vizier, 'Imād al-Dīn Muḥtasham. In this period, when the Mongols overran Central Asia and Northern Iran, we do not hear too much about the childhood of the new Nizārī Imam.

However, later the new leadership in Alamūt gradually distanced itself from Sunni Islam. Hodgson is more or less right when he says that with the reign of Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan (Ḥasan III) the dispensation of the *Qiyāma* definitely came to an end, a policy that was his personal endeavour regarded by the majority of contemporary Nizārīs as a form of *taqīyya*, "pious dissimulation."⁸

On the other hand, it must be noted that we do not hear of any official statement issued by 'Alā al-Dīn Muḥammad to refute Sunni Islam, and the gradual alienation from Sunni ideas in Alamūt mainly characterized the later decades of this Nizārī imam.

In the period after 618/1221, one can detect a twofold political structure. For the Nizārīs, the political situation during the decades after 618/1221 recalled the expectations of the heroic days of Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ and the early Nizārī state. Similar to Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ, who quickly despatched his groups of deputies to different areas of the Saljūq Empire after the death of the Saljūq ruler Malikshāh (r. 1072–1092) and his vizier Niẓām al-Mulk (1018–1092), exploiting the chaos and wars between the contending sons of Malikshāh, the Nizārīs of the early thirteenth century also aimed to quickly fill the political vacuum and space left by the sudden collapse of the the Khwārizmian Empire in Northern Iran.

The takeover of the local administration by Mongol governors in the conquered regions of Iran and Central Asia in 1221 was not without problems, as it took the new Mongol administration time to set up. Right from the early years, Mongol viceroys, such as Chin-Temür and Chormaghun, often had serious quarrels with each other over the administrative division of these areas.

In the meantime, Jalāl al-Dīn Mingburnī, the last Khwārizmian ruler, made tireless efforts to restore his empire after 618/1221, and he did achieve some success in this.⁹ During this chaotic period, both before and after the Mongol conquest, the Nizārī leadership of Alamūt took the opportunity to strengthen its political influence by extending its rule to new areas. It seems that some Nizārī circles felt that the dramatic events in the Middle East brought about by the Mongols had eschatological implications for the Nizārī state.

⁸ Hodgson, *The Order of Assassins*, 227.

⁹ John Andrew Boyle, "Djalāl al-Dīn Khwārazm-Shāh," in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. 2, ed. Bernard Lewis, Charles Pellat, and Joseph Franz Schacht, (Leiden: Brill, 1965), 392–393.

In the *Rawzat al-taslim* of Nāṣir al-Dīn Ṭūsī, a prominent contemporary Ismāʿīlī scholar, we find a striking prophecy about the Nizārī conquest in certain regions. He claims that the Nizārī imam will first conquer the Caspian provinces, taking Daylamān, Māzandarān, Gīlān, and Mughān, and then Hind, Rūm, and Chīn.¹⁰ It is a matter of interpretation what we understand under Hind and Rūm. Hodgson thinks they refer to global areas, and does not consider these terms as synonyms with present-day Punjab and Anatolia, which would seem have been more likely directions for Nizārī expansion in the early thirteenth century, while this would be the earliest possible instance of Nizārī Ismāʿīlī missionary activity in India. However, given that this excerpt from the *Rawzat al-taslim* has the character of a messianic prophecy, it would be futile to try and identify what actual geographical areas Ṭūsī's passages might refer to. Another version of the same myth can be found in the *Haft bāb-i bābā Sayyidinā*, an anonymous Nizārī doctrinal treatise written in 596/1199–1200.¹¹ The origin of this Ismāʿīlī prophecy is not known, and it is still unclear whether it was an earlier variant incorporated by Ṭūsī into his *Rawzat al-taslim* or it can be interpreted as a sign of enthusiasm and millenarism in Ṭūsī's age, the years around 618/1221. If so, this text certainly has further implications, since it probably suggests contemporary political expectations of the Nizārīs, who believed in the miraculous revival of the Nizārī *daʿwa* in these years of turmoil caused by the Mongol conquest. To them, the political situation in 1221 showed striking similarities with the extraordinary conditions that had surrounded the foundation of the Nizārī State in 483/1090 or what had preceded the announcement of the *Qiyāma* in 559/1164.

Another sign of heightened Nizārī political expectations is mentioned by Nasavī. A historian, secretary, and diplomat under Jalāl al-Dīn Mingburnī, he offers a great deal of intriguing details about the diplomacy of the last Khwārizmian ruler. For example, he claims that the Syrian Ismāʿīlīs boasted to the Anatolian Saljūq ruler Kay Qubād (r. 1220–1237) that upon hearing the false news of the death of his master, Jalāl al-Dīn Mingburnī, they, i.e., the Nizārīs of Alamūt, were on the verge of attacking ʿIrāq-i ʿAjam formerly held by the Khwārizmians.¹²

On the other hand, the situation was not without risk and danger, and the Nizārīs' hesitation to declare clear political preferences noticeably demonstrates their strategy of caution in balancing between the major powers of the

10 Nāṣir al-Dīn Ṭūsī, *Paradise of Submission: A Medieval Treatise on Ismaili Thought*, ed. and transl. Sayyid Jalal Husaini Badakhchani (London: I.B. Tauris, 2005), 134.

11 Hodgson, *The Order of Assassins*, 250.

12 Nasavī, *Sirat-i Jalāl al-Dīn Mankubirnī*, 68–69; Hodgson, *The Order of Assassins*, 251.

day, as well as their remarkable diplomatic talent to maintain amicable relations with each of them. Their presence was recorded both in the entourage of Mongol viceroys and at the court of Jalāl al-Dīn Mingburnī.¹³ It seems that this kind of shrewd diplomacy was both the continuation of earlier Nizārī traditions and an actual necessity brought about by the circumstances at the time.

4 Nizārī Policies in Northern Iran after 618/1221

The nearly three decades of ‘Alā al-Dīn Muḥammad’s rule as imam can be considered the peak of Nizārī Ismā‘īlī influence in the Caspian provinces. His intensified activities and success are due to the political vacuum and chaos that characterized Iran in general and Northern Iran in particular during the three decades before 1256. It was only the Nizārīs that benefited permanently from the changes that took place in Northern Iran between 590/1194 and 628/1231. Although Nizārī expansion had started prior to the Mongol conquest, the Mongols unwittingly contributed to it after 618/1221. Undoubtedly, the Nizārīs benefitted well from the collapse of the last Iranian Saljūqs in 590/1194.

An equally important opportunity offered itself with the fall of the Iṣṣahbadiyya branch of the Bāwandids in 601–607/1205–1210, which meant the elimination of the Nizārīs’ most dangerous local archfoe in Māzandarān. In addition, when the Iṣṣahbadiyya branch of the Bāwandids in Ṭabaristān also fell, it resulted in the extension of Nizārī Ismā‘īlī power in the Caspian provinces as well as in the weakening of the pro-Bāwandid ruling line of the Bādūspānids in Rūyān between Ṭabaristān and Daylamān. Caspian historians, such as Āmulī and Mar‘ashī, briefly lament over the loss of the “Kings [*mulūk*] of Māzandarān,” i.e., the Bāwandids. As there was no more continuous support coming from the latter dynasty against the Nizārīs, the Bādūspānids’ position in their local military conflicts against the Nizārīs in Rūyān became more uncomfortable.¹⁴

Nizārī conquests in Rūyān and Daylamān continued under ‘Alā al-Dīn Muḥammad. This, in addition to the political support given to local pro-Nizārī princes, meant that the ultimate Nizārī goal was the subjugation of all the Caspian provinces. Already under Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan the Nizārīs started to

13 See notes 21–25 and the last three sections of the present chapter.

14 Āmulī, *Mawlānā Awliyā Allāh, Tārīkh-i Rūyān*, ed. Manūchīhr Sutūda (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Bunyād-i Farhangī Irān, 1968), 152–153; Mar‘ashī, *Mīr Sayyid Ḥāshim al-Dīn, Tārīkh-i Ṭabaristān va Rūyān va Māzandarān*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥusayn Tasbiḥī (Tehran: Mu‘assasa-yi Matbū‘āt-i Sharq, 1966), 30–31.

support a new, pro-Nizārī branch of the Bāvandids in Ṭabaristān. Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan married his daughter to a Bāvandid prince by the name of Shahriyār around 617/1220. That even the Bāvandids, who had been their archenemies only a few decades before, accepted their offer for a dynastic marriage, clearly illustrates the growing influence of the Nizārīs in Ṭabaristān as the most influential local power at the beginning of the thirteenth century. Further Nizārī territorial acquisitions included the cities of Abhar and Zanjān, following, as we shall see further below, Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan's successful campaign against the rebellious Īldigüzid governor Minglī in 'Irāq-i 'Ajam around 614/1217.

Nizārī Ismā'īlī expansionism continued under 'Alā al-Dīn Muḥammad. We learn from Nasavī that the Nizārīs conquered the city of Dāmghān and perhaps Qumis in the vicinity of Girdkūh, following the Mongol attack in 618–619/1221–1222. These acquisitions were highly important, because these were rich commercial centers that now fell under direct Nizārī control. The cities of Abhar and Zanjān could have been freed from direct Nizārī rule by this time, but the conquest of Dāmghān and perhaps Qumis possibly by Nizārīs from Girdkūh proved to be as significant as the conquest of the area of Zanjān and Abhar had been in 614/1217. The exact date of the capture of Dāmghān and possibly Qumis, however, remains unknown. The Nizārīs might have been highly active following the first Mongol raids. Their main aim was to infiltrate the areas lost to the Khwārizmians and not yet ruled directly by the Mongols. Ibn al-Athīr and Nasavī say that there was constant warfare between the Nizārīs, Jalāl al-Dīn Mingburnī and his brothers for six years, as the latter—i.e., Jalāl al-Dīn and his brothers—aimed at restoring the Khwārizmian empire. These reports suggest that the Nizārīs captured the area of Dāmghān at a very early date, possibly after the Mongol raids. We also hear about Nizārī activity around Rayy, where a group of Nizārī *dā'īs* (“deputies” or “agents”) intended to convert local people who had survived the disastrous Mongol attack against the city, thus making Rayy loyal to 'Alā al-Dīn Muḥammad. However, according to Nasavī, Rukn al-Dīn, the brother of Jalāl al-Dīn Mingburnī, had the *dā'īs* arrested and put to death immediately.¹⁵

Echos of the Nizārī conquest of Dāmghān, Bistām, and perhaps Mihrīn can also be found in the *Dīvān-i Qā'imīyyāt*, a recently rediscovered and published interesting collection of *qaṣīdas* composed for 'Alā al-Dīn Muḥammad by various Nizārī poets sometime before 637/1240. This important and hitherto lesser known literary source contains some interesting material relating to the last decades of the Nizārīs in the Caspian provinces during the reign of 'Alā al-Dīn

15 Nasavī, *Sīrat-i Jalāl al-Dīn Mankubirmī*, 68–69, 95; Daftary, *the Ismā'īlīs*, 384.

Muḥammad. *Qaṣīda* no. 124 is of particular importance in the light of political events, since it celebrates Nizārī territorial gains following the collapse of Khwārizmian rule in Northern Iran. The poem explicitly mentions the penetration of Nizārīs into Dāmghān after the Mongol attack, and stresses that the Nizārīs conquered castles and fortresses in Qaṣrān province (*qal'ahā-yi khitta-yi Qaṣrān*) and 'Irāq (perhaps in 'Irāq-i 'Ajam). It also mentions the Khwārizmian governor (*hākīm*) of Khalkhāl, who resisted the Nizārīs in Western Gilān and Azerbaijan, hinting that Nizārī forces appeared also around Khalkhāl. He was eventually murdered by three *fidā'īs*, whom the poem praises for their deed.¹⁶ The *Dīvān-i Qā'imīyyāt* mentions the conquest of Biṣṭām and Mihrīn in another poem. In *qaṣīda* no. 73 we learn about the Nizārī conquest of Biṣṭām and Mihrīn, although the latter is mentioned explicitly only in the prose introduction of this *qaṣīda*. Thus, it is apparent that Nizārī forces based in Girdkūh conquered some important fortresses which had been conquered by the Bāvandīd Shāh Ghāzī Rustam (r. 1142–1165) before 561/1166 and which later possibly came into the possession of the Khwārizmians.¹⁷

5 The Khwārizmian Response to the Nizārī Expansion after 622/1225

Modest but constant Nizārī expansion is detected around Tārum and in some unknown localities of Northern Iran. These actions suggest a considerable surge of renewed Nizārī military manoeuvres, aimed at bringing the whole area of Northern Iran under direct Nizārī control. The Khwārizmian Empire, having lost its former power in these regions, was seemingly unable to topple the Nizārīs and only upon the arrival of Jalāl al-Dīn Mingburnī did it succeed in forcing them to retreat from some areas and to sign a treaty with them.

After he had been defeated by Chinggis Khān in 618/1221, Jalāl al-Dīn Mingburnī spent three years in India and only in 621/1224 did he make his way to Southern and Western Iran, and Mesopotamia. It is important to note, however, that Jalāl al-Dīn Mingburnī was assisted by Nizārī groups when he was fleeing from the Mongols after the Battle of the Indus.¹⁸

16 Ḥasan Maḥmūd Kātib et al., *Dīvān-i Qā'imīyyāt*, ed. Jalāl Ḥusainī Badakhshānī (Tehran: Mirās-i Maktūb, 2011), 330.

17 Kātib et al., *Dīvān-i Qā'imīyyāt*, 204.

18 Nasavī, *Sīrat-i Jalāl al-Dīn Mankubirni*, 34–36. Maḥdī Farhānī-Munfarid, "Dīplomāsī-i *gustarish va guftigū, pazhūhishī dar takāpūhā-i sīyāsī-i ismā'īlīyān-i Alamūt, 618–653/1221–1255*," *Farhang* 56, Zimistān (Winter) 1384 / 2005, 84, 88.

By 622/1225 Jalāl al-Dīn Mingburnī had managed to dislodge his brother Ghiyāth al-Dīn from Baghdad, and in 622/1225 he subdued Muẓaffar al-Dīn Uzbek, the last Īldigüzid atabeg in Tabrīz. Soon after this, Jalāl al-Dīn Mingburnī turned his attention to Northern Iran. The Nizārīs were traditionally considered the enemies of the Khwārizmshāhs, since under Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan the Nizārīs had allied against them with the ‘Abbāsīd Caliphate and the Īldigüzids. After 622/1225, Jalāl al-Dīn tried to recapture the areas that had been taken by the Nizārīs after 618/1221, but he failed to reach his goals. In contrast to his successes against the Īldigüzids and his brother, however, he was unable to remove the Nizārīs from their fortresses. The exact details of this war, however, remain unclear. Only Ibn al-Athīr mentions very shortly the Khwārizmian counterattacks led by Jalāl al-Dīn Mingburnī against the Nizārīs after 622/1225,¹⁹ but this chronicler’s reports are often controversial, since not long after his account of Jalāl al-Dīn Mingburnī’s attacks against the Nizārīs, he praises the Khwārizmian ruler for allegedly helping the poor Nizārīs who had suffered a great deal from poverty and starvation after the Mongol attack.²⁰

Important changes came in the relations between the Nizārīs and Jalāl al-Dīn Mingburnī following the murder of a Khwārizmian military leader, Urkhān, in Ganja by local Nizārī *fidā’īs*. He was a close confidant of Jalāl al-Dīn Mingburnī, who gave him Khurāsān as an *iqṭā’*. An archenemy of the Nizārīs, he was largely responsible for the raids conducted against them in Qūhistān and possibly in Northern Iran. As the Nizārīs retaliated by murdering Urkhān, Jalāl al-Dīn Mingburnī was forced to make concessions to them in Northern Iran by concluding a peace treaty with them.

According to Nasavī, this treaty was made in 624/1227. The details of the treaty were carefully prepared by Sharaf al-Mulk, the vizier of Jalāl al-Dīn Mingburnī, and Badr al-Dīn Aḥmad, the envoy of ‘Alā al-Dīn Muḥammad of Alamūt. Originally, the Nizārīs agreed to keep Dāmghān on condition that they pay Jalāl al-Dīn Mingburnī 30,000 golden dinars per annum for it. During the preliminary negotiations, however, Badr al-Dīn Aḥmad displayed too much self-confidence by praising the Nizārīs who held office in the Khwārizmian administration. In order to make his point, he called on five of these alleged Nizārī agents. A furious Jalāl al-Dīn Mingburnī, however, lashed out against this purported Nizārī conspiracy and ordered Sharaf al-Mulk to execute the agents the Nizārī envoy referred to. Sharaf al-Mulk felt that this step would greatly jeopardize the success of the peace talks, needlessly triggering further

19 Ḍiyā’ al-Dīn Naṣr Allāh Ibn al-Athīr, *The Chronicle of Ibn al-Athīr for the Crusading Period from al-Kāmil fī’l-ta’rīkh*, transl. D.S. Richards (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 3: 283.

20 Farhānī-Munfarid, “*Diplomāsī*,” 90.

bloodshed between the Nizārīs and the Khwārizmians in the shadow of the Mongol menace. He pleaded with Jalāl al-Dīn Mingburnī to change his mind, but to no avail, as the latter was adamant, and the Nizārīs were burned alive, screaming the name of Muḥammad III.

However, the Nizārīs replied to Jalāl al-Dīn Mingburnī's abrupt brutality in a more sophisticated manner than was expected, dispatching Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn 'Alī, another Nizārī envoy, to the Khwārizmian camp. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn 'Alī openly threatened Jalāl al-Dīn Mingburnī for the execution of the Nizārī agents and demanded 10,000 dinars in recompense. Finally, a second agreement was reached when the Khwārizmian vizier, Sharaf al-Mulk, who had apparently much more diplomatic tact than his master, consented to reducing the annual tribute of Dāmghān to be paid by the Nizārīs by 10,000 dinars for a period of five years.²¹ These bargainings are carefully recorded by Nasavī, who, as a possibly active participant in the Nizārī-Khwārizmian negotiations, casts a rare light on the tactics of Nizārī diplomacy.

But the truce agreement of 624/1227 did not last too long, and Nizārī-Khwārizmian relations remained relatively tense. According to Nasavī, the Nizārīs hosted two prominent Khwārizmian political emigrants in Alamūt around 624/1227. One of them was Malik Khāmūsh, the son of the last deposed Īldigūzid ruler Muḥaffar al-Dīn Uzbek, who had been defeated by Jalāl al-Dīn Mingburnī in 622/1225. As has been referred to above, after earlier hostilities, the Īldigūzids became allies of the Nizārīs under Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan, who himself had helped Muḥaffar al-Dīn Uzbek depose his rebellious governor Minglī in 614/1217. Both the Nizārīs and their western neighbors thus became enemies with the Khwārizmians, a state of affairs that apparently continued during the reign of 'Alā al-Dīn Muḥammad.

In 625/1228, none other but Ghiyāth al-Dīn, a brother to Jalāl al-Dīn Mingburnī, was given refuge by the Nizārīs in Daylamān. This Khwārizmian prince had formerly ruled western Persia, but upon the arrival of Jalāl al-Dīn Mingburnī in 622/1225, he was forced to concede power to his elder brother. According to Nasavī, the 'Abbāsids also supported Ghiyāth al-Dīn with financial means. Thus, the Nizārīs, the 'Abbāsids, and the Īldigūzids continued their cooperation well into the reign of Muḥammad II.

Greatly angered by the escape of his brother to Alamūt, Jalāl al-Dīn blocked the roads around the region in order to capture him. However, the Nizārīs managed to smuggle Ghiyāth al-Dīn out and get him as far as Kirmān. There, however, he was betrayed by his entourage and swiftly put to death on the

21 Daftary, *The Ismā'īlīs*, 384–386.

order of Jalāl al-Dīn Mingburnī. Nasavī, Ibn al-Athīr, and Juvaynī all mention Ghiyāth al-Dīn's stay at Alamūt. While Nasavī explicitly says that the Nizārīs gave Ghiyāth al-Dīn active support and sent him off to Kirmān accompanied by three-four hundred Nizārī horsemen,²² Juvaynī—whose hostile attitude to the Nizārīs is more than obvious—states that Ghiyāth al-Dīn departed from Alamūt of his own accord during the Nizārī-Khwārizmian negotiations.²³ By contrast, Ibn al-Athīr suggests some hesitancy on the part of 'Alā al-Dīn Muḥammad, who had acknowledged Ghiyāth al-Dīn's political importance by giving him shelter at Alamūt, and was disinclined to play off Ghiyāth al-Dīn against Jalāl al-Dīn Mingburnī.²⁴ According to Nasavī, Nizārī envoys from Alamūt appeared in Rayy at the court of the Khwārizmian ruler after this truce, offering him their service as *fidā'īs*. After some hesitation, Jalāl al-Dīn Mingburnī declined this offer, fearing that the Nizārīs would become too influential at his court and in his realm, and would also acquire too much intimate information about the Khwārizmian army.²⁵

6 Nizārī–Mongol Cooperation against the Khwārizmians between 625/1228 and 628/1231

As a sign of his deep mistrust in the truce with the Nizārīs, Jalāl al-Dīn Mingburnī promptly renewed warfare with them on a small-scale and had a prominent Ismā'īli beheaded who had been captured by his *iqṭā'* holder of Sāwa. However, the Nizārīs tried to counter the growing power of Jalāl al-Dīn Mingburnī not only by sending in their *fidā'īs* but also by remarkable diplomacy. They dispatched emissaries to both the 'Abbāsids and the Mongols. According to Nasavī, it was the Nizārī vizier Badr al-Dīn Aḥmad who was sent personally to the Mongols, though it is unknown whether this meant the court of the great khan Ögödei or that of Chormaghun, the Mongol viceroy of Central Asia.²⁶

The fact that the Nizārīs had established contact with the Mongols is evident from the angry reaction of Jalāl al-Dīn Mingburnī. In 626/1229, he ordered all long-distance trade between the Oxus and the Mediterranean suspended,

22 Nasavī, *Sīrat-i Jalāl al-Dīn Mankubirnī*, 163–166.

23 Juvaynī, *Kitāb tārikh-i jahāngushāy*, 2: 204–205.

24 Ibn al-Athīr, *The chronicle of Ibn al-Athīr*, 3:288.

25 Nasavī, *Sīrat-i Jalāl al-Dīn Mankubirnī*, 177. Farhānī-Munfarid, "Dīplomāsī," 94.

26 Ibn al-Athīr, *The Chronicle of Ibn al-Athīr*, 303. Timothy May, "A Mongol-Isma'īli Alliance? Thoughts on the Mongols and Assassins," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 14, no. 3 (2004): 231–239.

suspecting that the caravans might be joined by Mongol agents who would be guided by the Nizārīs to the ‘Abbāsids or to another local power hostile to him. Not long after this decision, his vizier Sharaf al-Mulk executed seventy Nizārī merchants in Azarbaijan, who were travelling westwards; Sharaf al-Mulk suspected that there were Mongol spies among the Nizārīs or the Nizārīs were hired by the Mongols for espionage. The Nizārīs of Alamūt threatened Jalāl al-Dīn Mingburnī after this serious incident with retaliation and demanded compensation and amends, which Jalāl al-Dīn Mingburnī promised but, according to Nasavī, never delivered on.²⁷

As a response to this bloody incident against Nizārī merchants as well as the lack of recompensation for the loss of Nizārī lives and property, the Nizārīs refused to pay the full amount of the the tribute of Dāmghān. An enraged Jalāl al-Dīn Mingburnī then sent his experienced diplomat, Nasavī, to Alamūt with a harshly worded letter. According to his own account, Nasavī departed for Alamūt with much anxiety and trepidation about possible retribution from the Nizārīs. Only after much hesitation, was he eventually persuaded by other courtiers to go to Alamūt. At Alamūt, Nasavī insisted that ‘Alā al-Dīn Muḥammad receive him in person. Finally, he was granted audience by the Nizārī imam and the vizier ‘Imād al-Dīn Muḥtasham. Despite his earlier hesitation, Nasavī—according to his own words—showed a great deal of courage in the presence of the *khudāvand* of Alamūt, who treated him generously, giving him twice the usual amount of gifts and robes of honour.²⁸

Jalāl al-Dīn Mingburnī’s demands were serious and numerous. He urged the Nizārīs to reintroduce in their realm the recitation of the Friday Prayer in the name of the Khwārizmshāhs, which they had abandoned after the death of Khwārizmshāh Muḥammad II. Second, he reproached the Nizārīs for having dispatched emissaries to the Mongol court, and demanded the rest of the tribute of Dāmghān the Nizārīs had refused to pay.

The Nizārīs’ response to the demands of the last Khwārizmshāh was sophisticated enough to calm down his hostility. In his reply, ‘Alā al-Dīn Muḥammad insisted that he and his followers had already pledged their allegiance to the Khwārizmians, and it was Jalāl al-Dīn who had broken his word by attacking the Nizārīs. While the Nizārīs helped the Khwārizmshāh to get rid of Shihāb al-Dīn Ghūr in eastern Iran, they suffered great losses in men and property at the hands of the Khwārizmians when the latter turned against them and confiscated the Nizārī taxes sent from Qūhistān to Alamūt.

27 Nasavī, *Sīrat-i Jalāl al-Dīn Mankubirnī*, 163–166; Daftary, *The Ismā‘īlīs*, 386–387.

28 Nasavī, *Sīrat-i Jalāl al-Dīn Mankubirnī*, 232–233.

With regard to his relationship with the Mongols, 'Alā al-Dīn Muḥammad replied diplomatically that the Mongols were the neighbours of the Nizārīs, and thus it was his duty to have official contact with them, just as much as he had relations with the Khwārizmians. As to Dāmghān and its tribute due to the Khwārizmians, the Nizārīs asked Sharaf al-Mulk, the vizier of Jalāl al-Dīn Mingburnī, to reduce it. Nasavī denied the latter's competence in the matter, but the senior Nizārī officers who were present insisted that this was, indeed, Sharaf al-Mulk's responsibility, since unsurprisingly, the leadership of Alamūt had been familiar with the innermost circles of Jalāl al-Dīn's court. In the end, it was agreed that the Nizārīs would continue to pay the tribute of Dāmghān but at a reduced level.

The sheer oddity and complexity of these provisional political alliances is clearly reflected by the account of Ibn al-Athīr, who in the rest of his account of Nasavī's mission at Alamūt mentions that Nasavī was accompanied by a Nizārī envoy to Jalāl al-Dīn Mingburnī's court, and that this Nizārī emissary was exceptionally familiar with the courtiers of Jalāl al-Dīn Mingburnī. Indeed, he had there both friends and enemies among the members of Jalāl al-Dīn's entourage.²⁹

According to Ibn al-Athīr, the new envoy from Alamūt had great enmity for Sharaf al-Mulk, the vizier of Jalāl al-Dīn Mingburnī and a very important actor in Nizārī-Khwārizmian relations at the time, a statement that suggests extreme proximity in personal relations between the Nizārīs and Khwārizmians around 617/1230. Indeed, the Nizārī envoy was said to be so familiar with the most intimate circles of Jalāl al-Dīn's court that he was able to turn the Khwārizmian court against Sharaf al-Mulk, who in turn openly accused the Nizārī envoy of undermining Khwārizmian interests and of having persuaded the Mongols to attack Jalāl al-Dīn Mingburnī.

In such an ambiguous, unstable political atmosphere, when actual political preferences frequently fluctuated, nothing seems to have been impossible. The Nizārīs did have their Mongol contacts, and their good old sense of Realpolitik to support the enemies of their enemies may have left some common space for cooperation with the Mongols around this period.

In sum, the relationship between the last Khwārizmian ruler and the Nizārīs was something of a stalemate. From a Nizārī point of view, it greatly resembled their bargainings and dealings with their former opponents, the Saljūqs and

29 Nasavī, *Sīrat-i Jalāl al-Dīn Mankubirnī*, 229–233.

the Bāvandids. In his account of the pragmatism, sophistication, and flexibility of Nizārī diplomacy, Nasavī sheds a sharp light on the methods they applied.

7 Periods of Nizārī-Mongol Relations and the *Dīvān-i Qā'imīyyāt*

As regards political relations between the Nizārīs and their adversaries, the *Dīvān-i Qā'imīyyāt* preserves interesting details about the last decades of the Nizārī state. If we are to believe this literary source, the Nizārīs had mixed feelings about the final collapse of the Khwārizmian Empire. In addition to Ibn al-Athīr and Juvaynī, the *Dīvān-i Qā'imīyyāt* also reports about the Nizārī conquest of numerous Northern Iranian strategic points after the first Mongol conquest, including Bisṭām, Dāmghān, Mihrīn, and possibly the area of Khalkhāl. On the other hand, at least in some *qaṣīdas*, the *Dīvān-i Qā'imīyyāt* also laments over the loss the Islamic world suffered at the hands of the Mongols. For example, in the elegiac *qaṣīda* no. 57, the author bemoans the decline of the Islamic world, explicitly mentioning the massacre of the population of Bukhara, Samarqand, and Khurāsān by the Mongols, where “even the throne of Khwārizm was not left to the Sultan.”³⁰

30 O soul, do not worry about the sorrows of this world,
 Since intelligent men do not worry about things which do not remain long.
 Either the lands of Islam will be consumed by Yājūj,
 Or the throne of Khwārizm will be taken away from the Sultan.
 Either the people of Bukhārā and Samarqand will be massacred,
 Or the splendour around Khurāsān will not remain.
 It is said that in this period of the *qiyāmat*,
 The secret will be unexpectedly revealed, for it will not remain hidden.
 And due to this attack by the ruler of this age,
 Power and leadership will not remain long in the hands of the enemies of the world.
 Neither peace for the enemy, for the faith on the earth,
 Through which the breast breathes, nor the battle remains long.
 When things developed further, everybody saw
 That this Turkic state will not remain for long.
 Not even a small piece all over the world with all its beauties,
 From their useless (Turkic) state will remain for long.
 And for these (Turkic) masters of the sword, when things were made,
 Both the house became pillaged and the Khān has not remained for long.
 Kātib et al., *Dīvān-i Qā'imīyyāt, qaṣīda*, 169; no. 57: 1704, 1708–9, 1716–1721.
 All the translations from the *Dīvān-i Qā'imīyyāt* were made by the present author.

Remarkably, however, not all the poetry in the *Dīvān-i Qā'imīyyāt* condemns the Mongols, which should make us cautious when assessing these events. One of the most intriguing poems of this collection, which was put together in the last decades of the Nizārī state, relates the story of the “two Chinggis.” According to the poem, Chinggis Khān was magnanimous and thus the Mongols showed mercy to the Nizārīs, leaving them in peace. The poem claims that it was actually because of this clemency and generosity to the Nizārīs that the Mongols conquered the Middle East. In another instance, *qaṣīda* no. 49 refers to the divine blessing of the Nizārī imam as contributory to the Mongol successes. However, in *qaṣīda* no. 78, we see Chinggis Khān later change his mind and attack the Nizārīs, who retaliate by sending *fidā'īs* to the Mongol camp, in order to assassinate him.³¹ Another legendary element incorporated in this story as well as *qaṣīdas* no. 49 and no. 133, is the account about Chinggis II (*Jingīz-i thānī*), who is likely identical with Ögödey, and who sent a certain

31 The time has come for the victory which elevates heaven
 From beneath the illusion of the veil of the ruining oppression.
 None of you have seen before these spiritual miracles,
 Since the eyes of your soul have been covered by the fog of oppression.
 But this time a person with the light of the Qā'im
 Appeared like a candle in the dark night.
 You all look at the deeds of Chinggis Khān when he appeared
 With all of his countless grace and devotion.
 His ring caught the hands and eyes of the Qā'im until
 He (the Imām Qā'im) took up his clothes from the earth and left this transient world.
 The Imām gave an order to Chinggis Khān, saying, 'speak as a friend with them (the
 Nizārīs),
 And do not cease supporting them in all things.'
 Chinggis Khān did so and behaved obediently in his lands,
 He was kind with his clients and generous with the poor people.
 Then he turned from that firm advice and wrote a command
 For his majesty, diverting from the way of human intelligence.
 Chinggis Khān wished that you (the Imām) should turn your face,
 To my court in proper time to perfect your cause.
 When brave *fidā'īs* were informed about this plan,
 They departed, risking their lives through their desire and light.
 The commander, and leaders and the Mongol army said
 That there were a thousand Isfandiyārs in one coat of mail in the place of revenge.
 When Chinggis Khān tasted the sherbet of the sword, and his dark soul departed,
 The wickedness of the fire of hell increased through its smoke.
 Kātib et al., *Dīvān-i Qā'imīyyāt*, 211–213, *qaṣīda* no. 78: 2288–2292

Chaghatāy against the Nizārīs. As per some of the poems, Chaghatāy was also murdered by Nizārī *fidāʿīs*.³²

As far as the identification of this Chaghatāy is concerned, it is possible that the *Dīvān-i Qāʾimīyyāt* refers to someone who could not be the same as the second son of Chinggis Khān, as it is known that one of the most prominent *noyons*, i.e., high ranking Mongol military leaders, was also called Chaghatāy. Chaghatāy Qorchi (“Chaghatāy the quiver-bearer”) was one of Chormaghan’s (an important Mongol governor of Northern Iran) lieutenants who appeared in 634/1236, in the Caucasus area, when he subjugated numerous important Georgio-Armenian fortresses, such as Lori, Tbilisi, Dumanis and Shamshuldis.³³ Chaghatāy Qorchi noyon was involved in the military affairs of Armenia and, according to Ganjakeçi, he was killed by Ismāʿīlī agents after 638/1240. The alleged Nizārī killing of Chaghatāy Qorchi was of huge importance, since he was the only high-ranking Mongol victim of the Nizārīs before 654/1256.

The *Dīvān-i Qāʾimīyyāt* contains reference to neither the last and decisive attack of Hülegü’s Mongols in 653/1256 against the Nizārīs, nor to Hülegü’s actions in general, which should date the bulk of this poetical compilation long before 1256. The fact that the *Dīvān-i Qāʾimīyyāt* records only the first and second major Mongol attacks (616–620/1219–1223, 637–639/1240–42) and, as has been mentioned, it neglects to mention Hülegü’s campaigns and the ultimate fall of the Nizārī state, should remind us that Nizārī-Mongol relations were more complex than post-Alamūt Nizārī sources would have us believe.

32 Tell us now the story of the killing of Chaghatāy,
Who was the sign of illegitimacy and image of hatred.
One day Chaghtāi boasted of himself to the world,
I will attack and conquer a thousand well-fortified fortresses.
I do not fear would I get from the sword wound and I do not
Show an iota of dignity to the *mujāhids* of the world.
Ḥusām al-Dīn Ḥasan b. ʿAlī Javānmardī, Who became the sign of generosity in the world
and in faith.

He stood up, desiring to defend his opinion,
Embracing perfect decision, the right goal and firm view.
Four other amīrs agreed with him as well,
And made their way to the table from the throne.
The killing and the turmoil had become so much in that field,
As if a cloud had made there a blossoming meadow from rubies.

Kātib et al., *Dīvān-i Qāʾimīyyāt*, no. 133: 4003–4012, 350–351.

33 Bayarsaikhan Dashdondog, *Mongols and Armenians (617/1220–1335)*, (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 253–254. Juvaynī, *Kitāb-i tārikh-i jahāngushāy*, 277; Peter Jackson, *The Mongols and the Islamic World, from Conquest to Conversion*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2017), 125–126.

The *Dīvān-i Qā'imīyyāt* praises the Mongols, who showed generosity towards the Nizārīs, and glorifies Chingis Khān and the memory of the first Mongol expedition before 620/1223. Indeed, around 617/1220 the main enemy of the Nizārī State was not the emerging Mongol Empire, whose dimensions and military potential remained perhaps unknown even for the Nizārīs, but the Khwārizmians. However, the second major Mongol military operation under Ögödey in 637–639/1240–42, when they invaded Anatolia and—once again—parts of Iran, gets a completely different treatment. The difference between how the *Dīvān-i Qā'imīyyāt* depicts the two Mongol campaigns is perhaps due to the geopolitical change caused by the ultimate fall of the Khwārizmian Empire in 628/1231. Thus, some passages in the *Dīvān-i Qā'imīyyāt* celebrate the arrival of the Mongols.³⁴ With its eschatological tone when speaking about the first Mongol conquest, this collection of poetry is clearly connected to Nizārī messianic expectations, as can be demonstrated by the following lines:

وعدہ مستنصر و نزار بر آمد	مہلت دارای دین رسید بہ پایان
کز قبل لشکر تبار بر آمد	فتنہ آخر زمان بہ امر الہی
تا بہ سپہر بری غبار بر آمد	در ہمہ عالم برفت و از طرف خاک
اول از اخلاص دوستار بر آمد ³⁵	خان نخستین کہ بود چنگز و با ما

The grace of the Lord of Faith came to end, the promise about Mustanşir and Nizār has been fulfilled,
 The *fitna* of the end of times by the divine command came about through the Tatar army
 (This army) spread over the world, and dust rose from the earth to the highest heaven,
 The first *khān* was Chinggis and first he treated us with loving devotion.

On the other hand, the passages relating to the “Second Chinggis” or Chaghatāy are filled with anti-Mongol sentiments, the bravery of the *fidā'īs* who had been sent against the Mongols receiving attention instead of Mongol generosity to Alamūt. These verses clearly reflect the changing political milieu around 637/1240, when the Khwārizmian threat against the Nizārīs was over and the Nizārīs made unsuccessful efforts to get in the good graces of the Mongols,

34 وعدہ مستنصر و نزار بر آمد. See below.

35 Kātib et al., *Dīvān-i Qā'imīyyāt*, 49: 1486–1489, 151.

who denounced the Nizārī emissaries sent to the courts of Mongol viceroys. Hence, the different verses of the *Dīvān-i Qā'imīyyāt* might reflect the different subperiods of Nizārī-Mongol relations.

8 Conclusion

The years between 617/1220 and 628/1231, i.e., the arrival of the Mongol armies in Northern Persia and the death of Jalāl al-Dīn Mingbūrnī, led to an unexpected expansion of the Nizārīs in Northern Iran. Continuing their earlier military and political successes, the Nizārīs quickly exerted their power over areas overrun by the Mongols and abandoned by the Khwārizmians. The Nizārī Ismā'īlī ambition to create a Nizārī state with hitherto unseen new territorial dimensions in Northern Iran was seen by contemporary literati as evoking the heroic past of Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ. Their steady success after the collapse of the Saljūqs in 590/1194 had already resulted in significant territorial expansions before 617/1220, on the eve of the first Mongol campaign in Northern Persia.

During the first Mongol invasion, the Nizārīs gained a lot of territory and successfully expanded their influence in Northern Iran, as attested by the accounts of Nasavī and the *Dīvān-i Qā'imīyyāt*. Although the Nizārīs noticed the dramatic collapse of the Khwārizmians and even gave shelter to Khwārizmian refugees, their main interest lay in the constant extension of their own power. Therefore, they were strongly inclined to pursue Mongol-friendly policies following the renewed attacks of Jalāl al-Dīn Mingbūrnī, traces of which are preserved in the poems of the *Dīvān-i Qā'imīyyāt*. This pro-Mongol attitude of the Nizārīs changed only slowly after 628/1231, when the last Khwārizmian ruler died and the geopolitical situation in Northern Iran dramatically changed, Mongol expansionism not having to contend any longer with the Khwārizmians and coming face-to-face with the Nizārīs.

Retrospectively, one could also argue for the short-sightedness of Nizārī diplomacy, saying it failed to appreciate the size of the Mongol threat, which led to the Nizārī state continuing to be bogged down in regional conflicts, instead of allying with their erstwhile rivals, such as the Bāwandids, the Khwārizmians, or the 'Abbāsids. The poetry of the *Dīvān-i Qā'imīyyāt*, on the other hand, should remind us that Nizārī-Khwārizmian-Mongol relations were a negotiated process, which cannot be simply characterized by ideology or religion, as it was constantly recalibrated and adapted to how the Nizārīs perceived the geopolitical situation of the day.

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Continuity and Regionality of Late Nomadic Close-Combat Weapons

Comments on the Edged Weapons and Polearms of the Mongol Conquests

Gergely Csiky

The formidable military success of the transcontinental Great Mongol Empire of Chinggis Khan was in no small measure due to the Mongol warriors, described as tireless, strong and dreadful enemies by medieval authors of the settled civilizations of China, Central Asia and Europe. Aside from their training and disciplined, swift and skilled maneuvers on the battlefield, their outstanding military performance was at least to a certain extent the result of their equipment.

Compared to studies on military history, relatively little has been written on the arms and armor of medieval nomads of the thirteenth-fourteenth centuries, and nomadic weaponry is usually ignored in monographs of general weapon history.¹ Except for Witold Świątosławski's monograph and some popular books printed by Osprey Publishing, no treatment on Mongol military equipment is accessible to an English-speaking audience.²

The arms and armor of the "Late Nomadic" population—a general term for medieval nomads of the tenth–fourteenth centuries—were much better studied in the Soviet Union and its successor states, resulting in an extensive literature in Russian on Mongol military equipment. Relying on both archaeological and iconographic sources, this literature has made great strides with complex

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- 1 John Hewitt, *Ancient Armour and Weapons in Europe* (London and Oxford: John Henry and James Parker, 1860); Wendelin Boeheim, *Handbuch der Waffenkunde* (Leipzig: Verlag von E.A. Seemann, 1890); Claude Blair, *European Armour circa 1066 to circa 1700* (London: Macmillan, 1958); R. Ewart Oakshott, *The Archaeology of Weapons: Arms and Armour from the Prehistory to the Age of Chivalry* (Dover: Dover Publications, 1996); David Nicolle, ed. *A Companion to Medieval Arms and Armour* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2002); Kelly DeVries and Kay Douglas Smith, *Medieval Military Technology*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto, 2012).
 - 2 Witold Świątosławski, *Arms and Armour of the Nomads of the Great Steppe in the Times of the Mongol Expansions (12th–14th centuries)* (Łódź: Oficyna Naukowa, 1999); Stephen R. Turnbull and Angus McBride, *The Mongols, Men-at-Arms 105* (Oxford: Osprey, 1996, first published in 1980); Stephen R. Turnbull, *Genghis Khan & the Mongol Conquests 1190–1400* (Oxford: Osprey, 2003); Stephen R. Turnbull and Wayne Reynolds, *Mongol Warrior 1200–1350* (Oxford: Osprey, 2003).

analyses of medieval Central Asian weaponry,³ the classification of separate weapon-types and the reconstruction of armor.⁴ However, these studies have left scarcely a mark on the English literature about the topic, in spite of the great interest in the West in military history and weaponry on the part of both experts and non-professionals. This calls for a reassessment and presentation of the available record.

The present chapter focuses on two chief issues with Mongol weaponry, continuity and regionality, by studying two major categories of offensive close-combat weapons: edged weapons and polearms. Continuity is crucial for understanding to what degree arms and armor changed during Mongol expansion. Our second main question is whether the Mongol Empire's armed forces used standardized military equipment or not. The cultural unity of the steppes is usually supposed for arms and armor, too,⁵ but because Russian scholars have chiefly focused on regional analysis,⁶ very few comparative studies have been published so far. In addition to their potential for answering the above-described problems, I have chosen to study edged weapons and polearms because I can now try to apply to thirteenth–fourteenth century

3 V.F. Nemerov, "Voinskoe snariaženie i oruzhie mongol'skogo voĭna XIII–XIV vv.," *Sovetskaĭa Arkheologĭa* 1987, no 2, 212–227; Īu. S. Khudiakov, *Vooruzhenie tsentral'noaziatskikh kochevnikov v epokhu rannego i razvıtogo srednevekov'ia* (Novosibirsk: Nauka, 1991); Īu. S. Khudiakov, *Vooruzhenie kochevnikov Īuzhnoi Sibiri i Tsentral'noi Azii v epokhu razvıtogo srednevekov'ia* (Novosibirsk: Nauka, 1997); A.N. Kirpichnikov, *Drevnerusskoe oruzhie* (Leningrad: Nauka 1966–1971); A.N. Kirpichnikov, *Voennoe delo na Rusi v XIII–XIV vv* (Leningrad: Nauka, 1966); G.A. Fedorov-Davydov, *Kochevniki Vostochnoi Evropy pod vlastyu zolotoordynskikh khanov. Arkheologicheskie pamiatniki* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Moskovskogo Universiteta, 1966).

4 A.F. Medvedev, *Ruchnoe metatel'noe oruzhie (luk i strely, samostrel) VIII–XIV vv.* (Moscow: Nauka, 1966); A.V. Evgelevskĭi, and T.M. Potemkina, "Vostochnoevropeiskie pozdnekochevniĭskie sabli," in *Stepi Evropy v epokhu srednevekov'ia*. vol. 1. ed. A.V. Evgelevskĭi (Donetsk: Donetskĭi Gosudarstvennĭi Universitet, 2000), 181–208; M.V. Gorelik, "Ranniĭ mongol'skĭi dospekh (IX–XIV vv.)," in *Arkheologĭa, etnografĭa i antropologĭa Mongolii*, ed. A.P. Derevĭanko and Sh. Nacagdordzh (Novosibirsk: Nauka, 1987), 163–207.

5 Cf. Świentoslawski, *Arms and Armour*, 20, who supposes that "peoples of the Eurasian steppes ... [s]hared the same way of life, which was instrumental in shaping their customs and material culture ..."

6 Some examples for regional studies: for Southern Siberia and Eastern Central Asia see Khudiakov, *Vooruzhenie tsentral'noaziatskikh kochevnikov*; for Transbaikalia see I.V. Aseev and I.I. Kirillov and E.V. Kovychev, *Kochevniki Zabaikal'ia v epokhu srednevekov'ia* (Novosibirsk: Nauka, 1984); for Western Central Asia, see Khudiakov, *Vooruzhenie kochevnikov Īuzhnoi Sibiri*; Western Kazakhstan see A.A. Bisembaiev, *Arheologicheskie pamiatniki kochevnikov srednevekov'ia Zapadnogo Kazakhstana (VIII–XVIII vv.)* (Ural'sk: Zapadno-Kazakhstanskĭi oblastnoi tsentr istorii i arkheologii, 2003); for Eastern Europe, see Fedorov-Davydov, *Kochevniki Vostochnoi Evropy*; Evgelevskĭi and Potemkina, "Vostochnoevropeiskie pozdnekochevniĭskie sabli."

artefacts the methodology which I used with large quantities of early medieval close-combat weapons.⁷ This approach has the advantage of preparing a basis for comparative analyses, and it makes possible to overview the long-term evolution of certain weapon-types in the steppes.

1 The Sources

1.1 *Archaeological Remains of Weapons Deposited in Burials*

The archaeological find reaches the museum after its deposition and the post-depositional formation processes mostly under the soil. As to the first part, the deposition can be accidental or culturally determined. Most of the weapon remains known to us from the thirteenth–fourteenth centuries have been excavated from nomadic burial sites, suggesting that the deposition was indeed culturally determined and intentional.⁸ The burial is a result of the funeral ceremony conducted by the community or family of the deceased, therefore all artefacts found in the grave are the result of an intentional selection, which is motivated by the burial rites of the community, the will of the deceased and his family or closer environment of the person buried.⁹

The will of the deceased and their family is obviously unidentifiable, but rites related to the funeral ceremony are a well-studied field in burial archaeology. Unfortunately, the study of burial rites in medieval nomadic societies is still in its infancy, but luckily, there are some written accounts that can help to elucidate the funeral ceremony of the Mongols in the thirteenth century.¹⁰ Probably our best source for weapon burial rites among the Mongols is Kirakos of Gandzak's *History of the Armenians* from the thirteenth century, who describes not only the deposition of weapons and horses at burials, but also offers an explanation: "... they also put the horse in since, they say, warfare there

7 Gergely Csiky, *Avar-Age Polearms and Edged Weapons: Classification, Typology, Chronology and Technology* (Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2015).

8 Heinrich Härke, "Intentionale und funktionale Daten: Ein Beitrag zur Theorie und Methodik der Gräberarchäologie," *Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt* 23, no. 1 (1993): 141–146; Michael B. Schiffer, *Formation Processes of the Archaeological Record* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press 1996).

9 P.J. Ucko, "Ethnography and Archaeological Interpretation of Funerary Remains," *World Archaeology* 1, no. 2 (1969): 262–280; Heinrich Härke, "Grave Goods in Early Medieval Burials: Messages and Meanings," *Mortality* 19, no. 1 (2014): 41–60.

10 For the burial rites of the late East European nomadic population: Fedorov-Davydov, *Kochevniki Vostochnoi Evropy*, 120–194.

is fierce.”¹¹ This account depicts grave goods in burial places as equipment for the hereafter.¹² Some short notes on weapons in the graves of wealthier men was made by C. de Bridia, only mentioning bow, quiver and arrows,¹³ while Juzjāni describes in his *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāširi*¹⁴ weapons deposited to the burial of Batu Khan. Nothing is preserved in the accounts of John of Plano Carpini or William of Rubruck about the role of weapons in funeral ceremonies in spite of their detailed narratives on military issues.¹⁵

As Delgermaa Amina Jambajantsan notes in her Ph.D., dissertation on early Mongol burials, the burial rite was socially stratified. She identifies four social groups: A. common people, B. *noyans* (nobles unrelated to Chinggis Khan), C. Chinggisids (offspring of Chinggis Khan), D. khans. In written sources on funeral ceremony, weapons are only mentioned in the funerals of the second group (the tribal aristocracy, *noyans*), while the absence of arms and armor in the other categories is striking.¹⁶ According to the archaeological record, the weapon burial rite in Late Nomadic archaeology is over-represented compared to historical sources.

Excavated and published burials from the thirteenth century are few in number, especially in Central Asia.¹⁷ The state of research is somewhat better in Eastern Europe in the territory of the Golden Horde, but only about 2,000

11 Kirakos Gandzakets'i, "A brief description of the T'atars' appearance," in *History of the Armenians*, trans. Robert Bedrosian, 233–37. <http://www.attalus.org/armenian/kg9.htm#32> (Last accessed: 25 May 2020).

12 Härke, "Grave Goods," 46.

13 A. Īurchenko, *Imperiā i kosmos: Real'naia i fantastičeskaia istoriā pokhodov Čingis-khana po materialam frantsiskanskoj missii 1245 goda* (Sanktpetersburg: Evraziā, 2002).

14 *The Ṭabaqāt-i nāsiri of Aboo Omar Mūhaj al-Dīn Othmān, ibn Sirāj al-Dīn al-Jewzjani*. ed. W. Nassau Lees, Khadim Hosain Mawlawis and Abd al-Hai (Calcutta: The Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1864), 407.

15 Both authors describe both funeral ceremony and military equipment, but do not mention the deposition of weapons into burials. *The Story of the Mongols whom We Call the Tartars by Friar Giovanni DiPlano Carpini*. Translated with an Introduction by Erik Hildinger (Boston: Branden, 1996), 48–49; *The journey of William of Rubruck to the eastern parts of the world, 1253–55, as narrated by himself, with two accounts of the earlier journey of John of Pian de Carpine*, trans. William Woodville Rockhill (London: Hakluyt Society, 1900), 80–83.

16 Delgermaa Amina Jambajantsan, "Középkori (11–14. század) temetkezések Mongóliában a korabeli források és a régészet tükrében," (Ph.D. Diss., Eötvös Loránd University (ELTE), 2013), 37. For the burial customs of the medieval Mongols: Ulambayar Erdenebat, "Altmongolisches Grabbrauchtum—Archäologisch-historische Untersuchungen zu den mongolischen Grabfunden des 11. bis 17. Jahrhunderts in der Mongolei," Ph.D. Diss. (Rheinischen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität, Bonn, 2009).

17 Khudiakov, *Vooruzhenie tsentral'noaziatskikh kochevnikov*, 95–166.

burial places are known from the period between the eleventh and fourteenth centuries.¹⁸

Some introductory notes should be made on Mongol weapon burials and their interpretation. The Mongol Empire was multi-ethnic, composed of several nomadic and settled ethnic groups; therefore, not every nomadic burial from the thirteenth–fourteenth centuries can be regarded as Mongol. As Fedorov-Davydov have already proved, late nomadic burials bear no ethnic character; therefore, the term Mongol only has chronological and no ethnic significance, referring to burials dated after the Mongol invasion of people who lived under the rule of Mongol Khans.¹⁹ All of the special characteristics described are thus of a chronological or regional significance.

Several types of burials are known from the Eurasian steppes in the thirteenth century: burials in rocks or caves,²⁰ burials dug in the soil, burials with a side-niche,²¹ kurgans,²² and in some cases in Eastern Europe, even stone statues on kurgans (“kamennye babi”), usually identified with a Cuman (Polovets) burial custom.²³ Despite the silence of written sources, most of the male burials, especially the rich ones, contained elements of arms and armor.

The incomplete and fragmentary nature of elements of the military equipment selected to be buried with the dead can be well illustrated with lamellar armor. In most of the cases, it is not a complete armor but only some fragments of the lamellar armor or smaller rows of lamellae that are found in burials;²⁴ a similar custom could be observed in Avar-age burials.²⁵ Such fragments of armory reveal the symbolic nature of burial rites. Most likely, these ancient populations believed parts of the armory to remain intact in the afterlife in the sense of “pars pro toto.” All these considerations warn us not to suppose that the set of weapons found in a grave is identical with the original equipment of the warrior in the sense of the transformation theory recently

18 Evgelevskii and Potemkina, “VostochnoevropeiskieVostochnoevropeiskie pozdnekochevnickeskie sabli,” 120.

19 Fedorov-Davydov, *Kochevniki Vostochnoi Evropy*, 9–10.

20 U. Erdenebat and Ch. Amartivshin, *Dugui tsakhryn khadny orshuulga (X–XII zuun)*. Studia Archaeologica Institutii Archaeologici Academiae Scientiarum Mongolicae XXVIII (Ulaanbaatar: Bembi San, 2010); Jambajantsan, “Középkori (11–14. század) temetkezések Mongóliában,” 129–130.

21 Jambajantsan, “Középkori (11–14. század) temetkezések Mongóliában,” 128.

22 Bisembaiev, *Arheologicheskie pamiatniki kochevnikov*, 121–124.

23 Fedorov-Davydov, *Kochevniki Vostochnoi Evropy*, 166–194.

24 Nemerov, “Voinskoe snarazhenie,” 212–21; Khudiakov, *Vooruzhenie tsentral'noaziatskikh kochevnikov*, 140–144.

25 Csallány Dezső, “Avarkori páncélok a Kárpát-medencében,” *A Nyíregyházi Jósa András Múzeum Évkönyve 1 (1969–1971)* 7–42.

used by archaeologists, according to which various environmental and cultural formation processes transform objects of everyday use into dysfunctional artefacts found in excavations in a degraded state.²⁶

After the abovementioned fragmentary deposition of these items to the burial, a long post-depositional (or environmental) formation process begins destroying most of the organic material (wooden arrows, wooden and horn parts of the bows, most parts of the quivers, the leather of the belt, the wooden hilt of the swords, the wooden shaft of the polearms, etc.).²⁷ All what remains in the grave is mostly made up of inorganic materials: mainly metals or petrified remains of bones.

The majority of medieval weapons were made of ferrous metal, mostly steel, which is an iron-based alloy the carbon content of which is less than 2.1 percent. Therefore, except for cast iron artefacts made mainly in China,²⁸ almost all ferrous metal artefacts found in burials are made of steel of various quality. Ferrous metal artefacts heavily corrode over time if exposed to oxygen and water. Iron corrosion (rust) does not form a closed oxide layer preventing further bulk corrosion, as in the case of copper alloys; therefore, the original shape and surface of most iron artefacts found in excavations is not known.²⁹ As a result, rust fundamentally influences every study of ferrous metal artefacts, including arms and armor.

After the long and destructive centuries of the post-depositional processes, it is archaeological excavations that basically determine our knowledge of medieval military equipment. Unfortunately, very few late nomadic burials are known or have been excavated in general. The state of research is somewhat better in Eastern Europe on the territory of the Golden Horde; however, Fedorov-Davydov could only use some 900 burials in his synthesis on late nomadic burial archaeology (tenth-fourteenth centuries),³⁰ while Evgelevskii and Potemkina mention more than 2,000 known burials from the same area.³¹ On the other hand, much fewer excavated and published graves are known

26 Schiffer, *Formation processes*, 141–150.

27 Ibid.

28 Alan Williams, *The Sword and the Crucible: A History of the Metallurgy of European Swords up to the 16th Century* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2012), 38–39.

29 D. Neff et al., “Corrosion of iron archaeological artefacts in soil: characterisation of the corrosion system,” *Corrosion Science* 47, no. 2. (2005): 515–535; P. Dillman et al., *Corrosion of metallic heritage artefacts. Investigation, conservation and prediction for long-term behaviour*. European Federation of Corrosion Publications 48. (Cambridge: Woodhead, 2007).

30 Fedorov-Davydov, *Kochevniki Vostochnoi Evropy*, 3.

31 Evgelevskii and Potemkina, “Vostochnoevropěiskie pozdnekochevnicheskie sabli,” 120.

from Central Asia: only 103 burials from the twelfth–fourteenth centuries were presented from western Kazakhstan by Bisembaev,³² while the excavated and published burials are much smaller in number in southern Siberia, including Tuva, Minusinsk Basin, and Transbaikalia,³³ and even fewer in Mongolia, where only 235 burials were studied by D.A. Jambajantsan.³⁴ Only a small fragment of the listed burials belonged to armed male individuals: according to the calculations of Evgelevskii and Potemkina, only 16.6 percent of the known Eastern European late nomadic (tenth–fourteenth century) burial sites contain a saber.³⁵

The excavated artefacts are mostly studied with a typological approach, using various attributes identified mainly by the shape of the objects. During the process of classification, these attributes are used in a hierarchical system to create types, while metrical or statistical analyses are much less frequent. Unfortunately, very few metallographic analyses have been carried out.³⁶ The potential of such analyses can be highlighted if we mention that a thirteenth-century Mongol armor is proved to be made of crucible steel of the highest standards.³⁷

1.2 *Close-Combat Weapons*

Although Mongol warriors are mainly known as archers, close combat-weapons played a significant role in how they fought. We can illustrate the role of archaeology in the reconstruction of a Mongol warrior's equipment by comparing it to the edged weapons and polearms from the Avar-age Carpathian Basin, already studied in detail by the author of the present chapter. By selecting these two categories, we can make comparisons between two groups of artefacts that are distant from each other both chronologically and geographically.

The number of the artefacts belonging to these two categories is very low, because both belonged to wealthy persons. As mentioned earlier, contemporary

32 Bisembaev, *Arheologicheskie pamiatniki kochevnikov*, 122.

33 Only 19 burials; see Aseev and Kirillov and. Kovychev, *Kochevniki Zabaikal'ia*, 45–58.

34 Jambajantsan, "Középkori (11–14. század) temetkezések Mongóliában," 126.

35 Evgelevskii and Potemkina, "Vostochnoevropeiskie pozdnekochevnicheskie sabli," 120.

36 N.M. Ziniakov, "Ferrous metallurgy and Blacksmith Production of the Altay Turks in the Sixth to Tenth Centuries A.D.," *Arctic Anthropology* 25, no. 2. (1988): 84–100. For new results on ferrous metal artefacts of the Mongol Empire, see: Jang-Sik Park and Susanne Reichert, "Technological Tradition of the Mongol Empire as Inferred from Bloomery and Cast Iron Objects Excavated in Karakorum," *Journal of Archaeological Science* 53 (2015): 49–60.

37 Cited by Williams, *The Sword and the Crucible*, 33–34.

written accounts also emphasize that these close-combat weapons were untypical for the Mongols, who were described as more talented in archery.³⁸

Some preliminary notes should be made on the available dataset: the number of artefacts that have already been subject to scholarly study is very different in the seventh–eighth century Carpathian Basin and in tenth–fourteenth-century Eurasia: 717 edged weapons and 656 polearms are known from the Avar-age Carpathian Basin,³⁹ while the number of edged weapons is only 34 from tenth–fourteenth century Eastern Europe.⁴⁰ According to a recent study by Evgelevski and Potemkina, there are 372 sabers (135 of which are classifiable),⁴¹ 5 from south Siberia and Mongolia⁴² and 4 from Central Asia.⁴³ The number of polearms is much less, only 36 pieces being known from tenth–fourteenth century Eastern Europe,⁴⁴ 17 from Southern Siberia and Mongolia,⁴⁵ and 6 from Central Asia.⁴⁶ Thus, the total number of late nomadic (tenth–fourteenth century) edged weapons is 381 and that of polearms 59 from all over the Eurasian steppes, which is only one tenth of the examined “Avar” examples. Moreover, this distribution is more than disproportionate, which causes difficulties in the comparison of Eastern European and Central Asian remains.

Table 3.1. Distribution of edged weapons and polearms in the archeological record in the Eurasian steppe in the tenth–fourteenth centuries

TABLE 3.1 Quantity of polearms and edged weapons

	Edged weapons	Polearms
Avar-age Carpathian Basin	717	656
10–14th c. Eastern Europe	372	36
Siberia and Mongolia	5	17
Central Asia	4	6

38 Friar Giovanni Di Plano Carpini, *The Story of Mongols whom we call the Tartars*, trans. and ed. Erik Hildinger (Boston: Branden Publishing, 1996), 72–74.

39 Csiky, “Az avar kori szúró- és vágófégyverek,” 61.

40 Fedorov-Davydov, *Kochevniki Vostochnoi Evropy*, 22–24.

41 Evgelevskii and Potemkina, “Vostochnoevropeiskie pozdnekochevnicheskie sabli,” 120.

42 Khudiakov, *Vooruzhenie tsentral'noaziatskikh kochevnikov*, 129–131.

43 Khudiakov, *Vooruzhenie kochevnikov Īuzhnoi Sibiri*, 16–18, 71, 114–116.

44 Fedorov-Davydov, *Kochevniki Vostochnoi Evropy*, 24.

45 Khudiakov, *Vooruzhenie tsentral'noaziatskikh kochevnikov*, 79–81, 133–137.

46 Khudiakov, *Vooruzhenie kochevnikov Īuzhnoi Sibiri*, 18–19, 50, 71, 130–131.

In addition to the striking quantitative differences in the material to be studied in the present chapter, there are methodological problems: while statistical methods can be used for Avar-age close-combat weapons with great reliability, their low number does not allow for the application of these methods for Central Asian weapons, although some attempts have been made with regard to Eastern European sabers.⁴⁷

The same is true for typological variability. It is mostly Russian scholars who have sought to classify edged weapons and polearms of late nomadic populations both in Eastern Europe and Central Asia. In a theoretical study, Khudiakov has even tried to create a classification for nomadic weapons based on a hierarchical system combining various attributes.⁴⁸ Unfortunately, he had access to but a small number of artefacts; this was aggravated by his decision to classify weapons from different regions and archaeological cultures separately, which further lowered the available number of artefacts he could study and prevented him from detecting long-term typological developments between his classes or types.⁴⁹ Fedorov-Davydov offered a new overall system of classification, too, which is based on a hierarchical order of various attributes, different combinations of which yield different types,⁵⁰ but luckily, contrary to Khudiakov, in his book on archaeological statistics he applied his method to a longer timespan and a larger geography.⁵¹ This system relies on statistical correlations of several attributes, using coefficients.⁵² A similar approach was used by Evgelevskii and Potemkina, too, but without conclusive results.⁵³

1.3 *Edged Weapons*

Edged weapons are offensive close-combat weapons with a long blade—which is suitable both for cutting and thrusting—and a short hilt. Edged weapons can be classified as double- and single-edged swords (the latter is often called

47 Evgelevskii and Potemkina, "Vostochnoevropéiskie pozdnekochevnichestkie sabli," 125.

48 Khudiakov, Iu. S., "Voprosy metodologii i metodiki oruzhievedeniia," in *Metodologiia i metodika arkheologicheskikh rekonstrukcii*, edited by A.P. Derevianko and Iu. P. Kholiushkin (Novosibirsk: Nauka 1994), 13–17.

49 Khudiakov, *Vooruzhenie tsentral'noaziatskikh kochevnikov*, 6.

50 G.A. Fedorov-Davydov, "Arkheologicheskaiia tipologiia i protsess tipobrazovaniia (na primere srednevekovykh bus)," in *Matematicheskie metody v sotsial'no-ekonomicheskikh i arkheologicheskikh issledovaniiaakh*, ed. I.D. Koval'chenko (Moscow: Nauka, 1981).

51 Fedorov-Davydov, *Kochevniki Vostochnoi Evropy*, 22–24.

52 G.A. Fedorov-Davydov, *Statisticheskie metody v arkheologii* (Moscow: Vysshiaia Shkola, 1987).

53 Evgelevskii and Potemkina, "Vostochnoevropéiskie pozdnekochevnichestkie sabli," 125.

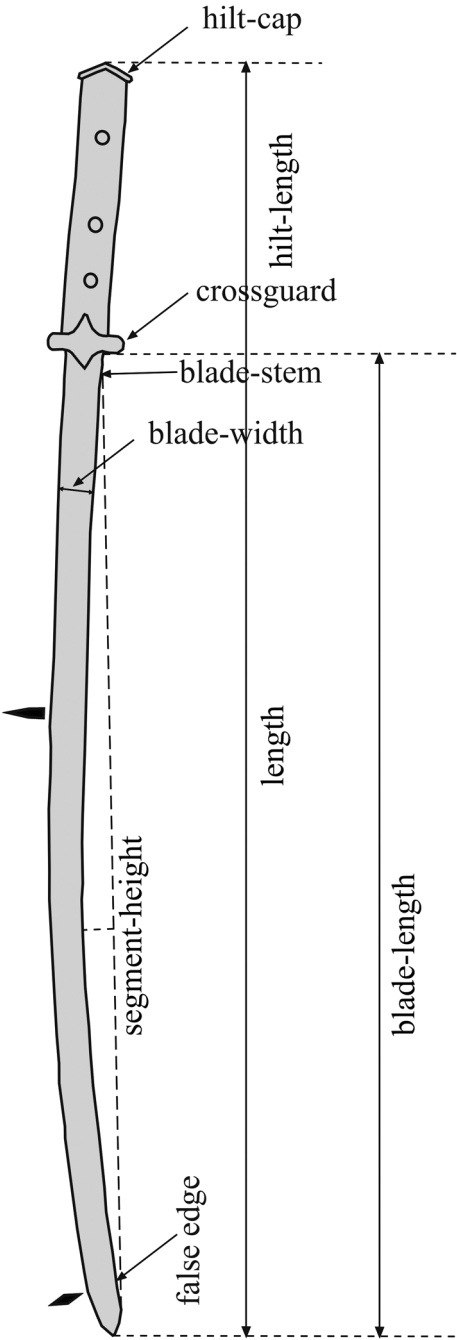


FIGURE 3.1
The main parts and measurements of a sabre

palash in Russian literature) and sabers with a curved blade. Most of the edged weapons of the medieval steppes belong to the latter category.

The study of sabers is hindered by some serious terminological and methodological problems. First of all, there is no unambiguous definition for the saber, since different authors used different criteria for it, such as the curved blade, the false-edge or the bending of the hilt. I will summarize these as discussed by Evgelevskii and Potemkina, and add a few additional observations.⁵⁴

The main problem in the terminology of sabers is the lack of a clear definition. Although most researchers agree that curvature is an indispensable attribute for sabers, however, some allow for straight blades, too. Most of the problems are rooted in the lack of a sufficient term for straight single-edged blades, which is often called *palash* in Russian literature, following Rybakov's proposal.⁵⁵ This term, however, does not fit these bladed weapons, since it was a name for sixteenth-century single-edged swords used by heavy cavalry, and is thus probably not of much use for earlier periods.⁵⁶ Moreover, several authors have tried to use the term *saber* for straight-blade edged weapons,⁵⁷ while others clearly state that the curved blade is not a necessary attribute for sabers.⁵⁸ Some serious theoretical works discuss the terminological problems of "cutting and thrusting" weapons, emphasizing their physical characteristics as starting points for any further classification.⁵⁹ Their main point revolves around the difference between how a straight and a curved blade is wielded in a fight.

54 Evgelevskii and Potemkina, "Vostochnoevropéiskie pozdnekochevnickheskie sabli," 117–120.

55 B.A. Rybakov, "Materialy i issledovaniia po Arkheologii SSSR," vypusk VI.—Etnogenez vostochnykh slavian vol.1, ed. M.I. Artamonova, M.-L., 1941," *Vestnik drevnei istorii* 1 (1946): 123.

56 Evgelevskii and Potemkina, "Vostochnoevropéiskie pozdnekochevnickheskie sabli," 118.

57 M.R. Polesskikh, "Boevoe oruzhie i snariazhenie iz mogil'nikov armievskogo tipa," *Sovetskaia Arkheologiia* 1968, no 1, 198–207; A.P. Runich, "Dva bogatykh rannesrednevekovykh pogrebeniia iz Kislovodskoi kotloviny," *Sovetskaia Arkheologiia* 1977, no. 1, 253; G.F. Korzukhina, "Iz istorii drevnerusskogo oruzhiia XI. v.," *Sovetskaia Arkheologiia* no. 13 (1950), 80; S.A. Pletneva, *Ot kochevyi k gorodam* (Moscow: Nauka, 1967), 158.

58 A.G. Atavin, "Pogrebeniia VIII—nachala VIII vv. iz Vostochnogo Priazov'ia," in *Kul'tury Evraziiskikh stepei vtoroi poloviny I. tysiacheletia n.e.*, ed. L.V. Kuznecova and D.A. Stashenkov and A.F. Kochkina (Samara: Samarskii oblastnoi istoriko-kraevedcheskii muzei im. P.V. Alabina, 1996), 209; S.A. Pletneva, *Pechenegi i guzy na Nizhnem Donu (po materialam kochevnickheskogo mogil'nika u Sarkela-Beloi Vezhi)* (Moscow: Inst. Arkheologii AN SSSR, 1990), 43; A.V. Tsirkin, *Material'naia kul'tura i byt narodov Srednego Povolzhia v I. tys. n.e.* (Krasnoiarsk: Izdatel'stvo Krasnoiarskogo universiteta, 1987), 163.

59 Plotnikov, Iu. A. "Rubyashchee oruzhie priirtyshskikh kimakov," in *Voennoe delo drevnikh plemen Sibiri i Tsentral'noi Azii*, edited by Iu. S. Khudiakov (Novosibirsk: Nauka, 1981), 162–167; A.I. Solov'ev, "O nekotorykh kharakteristikakh klinkovogo oruzhiia," in *Problemy*

In my definition, sabers are edged weapons with a curved blade and a false edge. The definition and classification of curved blades is not easy, because we need to define the extent of the curvature, which actually started quite late. When S.A. Pletneva first classified saber blades based on their curvature, she described it as a height of a circular segment composed by a chord between the tip and stem of the blade and the back of the blade; she observed the rise of curvature from the eighth to the thirteenth century, following Kirpichnikov.⁶⁰ The segment height became a standard measurement for saber-blades in the works of Hungarian archaeologists,⁶¹ Evgelevskii–Potemkina⁶² and Kochkarov, who used new attributes in his study of Caucasian sabers, examining the correspondence between the curvature and length of the blade both of which increased chronologically.⁶³

In my opinion, every blade should be regarded as curved, if the midline, including the curved form of the edge and the back of the blade, is not a straight line. The curvature can be described as a circular segment created by a chord. Thus, every saber blade can be described by two segments, an outer one following the edge and an inner one following the back of the blade. The inner segment is necessarily smaller than the outer one. The curved edge of the saber is especially suitable for cutting, since its cutting mechanism basically differs from that of a single-edged sword. The straight blade first presses the surface to cut, while the curved blade slips on the surface and slits into the flesh.

The measuring of the curvature cannot be limited to the segment height, since the same measurement can belong to a different blade-length, which effects the rate of the curvature. The curvature is thus described by the quotient of the height of the inner segment and length of the chord, showing the percentage of the segment compared to an imaginary circle. The problem with

rekonstrukcii v arkeologii (Novosibirsk: Nauka, 1985), 147–154; Evgelevskii and Potemkina, “Vostochnoevropeiskie pozdnekochevnicheskie sabli,” 118.

60 Pletneva distinguished 5 types of sabers based on their curvature. S.A. Pletneva, *Drevnosti Chernykh klobukov*. SAI vyp. E1–19. (Moscow: Nauka, 1973), 17–19.

61 József Hampel, *Altertümer des frühen Mittelalters in Ungarn*, (Braunschweig: Verlag von Friedrich Vieweg und Sohn, 1905), 1: 195–196; Csiky, *Avar-age Polearms*, 101–103; Gergely Csiky, “Sabli avarskogo perioda v Karpatskoj kotlovinе: Voprosy tipokhronologii,” in *Kul'tury stepei Evrazii vtoroi poloviny I. tysiacheletia n.e. IV. Mezhdunarodnaia arkeologicheskaiia konferentsiia*, ed. D.A. Stashenkov and A.F. Kochkina (Samara: Samarskii oblastnoi istoriko-kraevedcheskii muzei im. P.V. Alabina, 2010), 207–216.

62 Evgelevskii and Potemkina, “Vostochnoevropeiskie pozdnekochevnicheskie sabli,” 118.

63 U. Iu. Kochkarov distinguished 8 saber-blade types by the correlation of their curvature and length, which was illustrated on a diagram. U. Iu. Kochkarov, *Vooruzhenie voinov Severo-Zapadnogo Predkavkaz'ia VIII–XIV vv. (oruzhie blizhnego boia)* (Moscow: TAUS, 2008), 25–27, 39.

this method is that most blades are not symmetric or regular, as in some cases the upper third of the blade is straight and only its end curves; its advantage is that it can be measured quickly and offers a good comparison.⁶⁴

The second attribute usually used for categorizing a saber is the so-called false edge (or *elman* in Russian literature), which is the double-edged part at the lower third of a single-edged blade. The determination of the function of the false edge is ambiguous in the literature: according to Hungarian scholars in the wake of Gyula László, its main function was cutting.⁶⁵ However, Gábor Szöllősy's experimental study suggests that the false edge facilitated thrusting, as a lenticular cross-section has several advantages compared to a triangular cross-section.⁶⁶ However, he does not examine the length of the false edge, and we should add that most false edges are very short and not suitable for cutting; therefore, they were probably used for thrusting.⁶⁷

Although not uniform and subject to changes in various parts of the blade, the cross-section of the blade is an important attribute. The triangular cross-section is usual in seaxes and single-edged swords, while a pentagonal cross-section was used for saber-blades.

Sabers from late nomadic burials have been studied in detail by Fedorov-Davydov, Kirpichnikov, Khudyakov, Evgelevskii and Potemkina, using mostly metrical data to define types and applying statistical methods.⁶⁸ Unfortunately,

64 For similar methods, see: Hampel, *Alterthümer*; Pletneva, *Drevnosti*, 17–19; I.L. Kyzlasov, “Mech iz Priirtish'ia na fone rubiashchego oruzhiia stepnoi Evrazii,” in *Drevnosti epokhi srednevekov'ia evrazijskoi lesostepi. Sbornik nauchnykh trudov*, ed. A.Z. Vinnikov, A.D. Priakhin, I.V. Zin'kovskaia and S.K. Kondrat'eva (Voronezh: Izdatel'stvo Voronezhskogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta, 2008), 75; Kochkarov, *Vooruzhenie*, 25–26.

65 Gyula László elaborated his theory on false edges in the wake of István Kovács. Both of them supposed that the main purpose of the false edge was to injure the opponent's horse. Similarly, the cutting function of the false edge, as supposed by Csaba Hidán, also suggests that the false edge was mainly used for cutting, adding that it could be most effective against the adversary's forearm and hands. See Gyula László, *A honfoglaló magyar nép élete* (Budapest: Magyar Élet, 1944), 352; István Kovács, “Hogyan használta a honfoglaló magyar a szablyát?” *Közlemények az Erdélyi Nemzeti Múzeum Érem- és Régiségtárából*, 1941, no. 1, 129–131; Csaba Hidán cited by Gábor Szöllősy, “Mi célt szolgál a szablya fokéle?” In *A Wosinszky Mór Múzeum Évkönyve* 23, ed. Attila Gaál (Szekszárd: Wosinszky Mór Múzeum, 2001), 278.

66 Szöllősy, “Mi célt szolgál,” 279.

67 Csiky, “Sabli avarskogo perioda,” 213–215.

68 Fedorov-Davydov, *Kochevnik i Vostochnoi Evropy*, 22–23; Kirpichnikov, *Voennoe delo*, 61–70.; Khudiakov, *Vooruzhenie tsentral'noaziatskikh kochevnikov*, 95–141; Khudiakov *Ūzushnoi*; Evgelevskii and Potemkina, “Vostochnoevropéiskie pozdnekochevniccheskie sabli,” 117–179.

the raw metrical data was not published, only some results in percentages. The authors had already manipulated the input data at the beginning of their analysis by dividing the numerical batch into three metrical groups (long, medium, and small). They used correlation coefficients to reveal similarities between batches, but without success. According to their dataset, blade length, curvature and hilt-length do not correspond to each other. After this failure, they simply stopped trying other methods, reviewing metrical data instead, although a cluster or principal component analysis probably would have provided much better data.⁶⁹

The main results of the abovementioned analysis correspond to the observation often cited by Russian specialists⁷⁰ that the length and curvature of sabers was constantly rising.⁷¹ A similar process was observed in relation to Caucasian sabers by U. Iu. Kochkarov.⁷² The double-edged lower part of the blade and the bent hilt is a common trait of these edge weapons, most of which were equipped with a cross guard.

Merely from a typological point of view, no striking differences can be observed on sabers from the Mongol Period and tenth-twelfth century edged weapons; all of the differences are a result of a slow process of transformation with a very smooth transition.⁷³ Sabers seem to be of an interregional character, coming more or less from the whole steppe belt only with minor typological differences. However, some level of regionality is observable in the Minusinsk Basin,⁷⁴ where, similar to the earlier half of the Kimak Period (late-ninth to early eleventh century), straight single-edged blades remained dominant, while curved sabers do not occur. In fact, sabers with curved blade were not popular in Central Asia and Southern Siberia before the thirteenth century,⁷⁵

69 Evgelevskii and Potemkina, "Vostochnoevropeiskie pozdnekochevicheskie sabli," 125–126. For the use of multivariate statistical analysis on metrical data of edged weapons, cf. Csiky Gergely: "A számok bővületében: Az avar kori vágófegyverek metrikus adatainak értékeléséről," in *Népek és kultúrák a Kárpát-medencében: Tanulmányok Mesterházy Károly tiszteletére*, ed. Kovács László and Révész László (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2016), 243–269.

70 Kirpichnikov, *Voennoe delo*, 61–72.

71 Evgelevskii and Potemkina, "Vostochnoevropeiskie pozdnekochevicheskie sabli," 146–150.

72 Kochkarov, *Vooruzhenie*, 25–27.

73 Fedorov-Davydov, *Kochevniki Vostochnoi Evropy*, 22–23; Evgelevskii and Potemkina, "Vostochnoevropeiskie pozdnekochevicheskie sabli," 146–150.

74 Khudiakov, *Vooruzhenie kochevnikov Īuzhnoi Sibiri*, 16–17.

75 Khudiakov, *Vooruzhenie kochevnikov Īuzhnoi Sibiri*, 131.

while sabers were the predominant edged weapons in Eastern Europe from the tenth century on.⁷⁶

1.4 *Polearms*

Polearms or pole weapons are offensive close-combat weapons with a long shaft and small tip, thus extending the effective range of the attack. Polearms can also be used for thrusting, cutting and throwing, therefore their function is the best way to classify them. Polearms were not so popular among the Mongols, although some forms of them were particularly suitable for the heavy cavalry charge.

Archaeology is the best source of our knowledge about historical polearms, since these weapons are usually not represented in detail in pictorial sources, which usually only contain the shafts. Unfortunately, only the tip of polearms survives in archaeological finds related to nomads, because the shaft was made of wood and has thus disappeared with the passage of centuries. The tip of the polearm consists of the blade and the socket: the former was used to injure or kill the enemy, while the latter fixed the metal tip to the wooden pole or shaft. Scholars have used various attributes to classify these artefacts, such as the shape and cross-section of the blade, the shape and manufacture of the socket, and their proportions. Fedorov-Davydov offers a classification for Eastern European late nomadic polearms, while Khudiakov studied them in Central Asia and Southern Siberia.⁷⁷ Unfortunately very few specimens are dated to the thirteenth-fourteenth century either in Eastern Europe (36 specimens) or in Central Asia (17 specimens), this lack of statistical significance making their comparison difficult.⁷⁸

The comparison between East European and Central Asian polearms are rendered even more difficult by the different methods used for classification. Fedorov-Davydov used the shape of the blade so as to distinguish 5 different types; for Khudiakov the main attribute was the cross-section of the blade, while its shape was only of secondary importance.⁷⁹ As a result, Khudiakov distinguished spear-heads with lenticular, rhombic and triangular cross sections, and divided them into 6 types, 4 of which belonged to the “First group”

76 Evgelevskii and Potemkina, “Vostochnoevropeiskie pozdnekochevicheskie sabli,” 117–179.

77 Fedorov-Davydov, *Kochevniki Vostochnoi Evropy*, 24; Khudiakov, *Vooruzhenie tsentral'no-aziatskikh kochevnikov*, 133–134.

78 Fedorov-Davydov, *Kochevniki Vostochnoi Evropy*, 24; Khudiakov, *Vooruzhenie tsentral'no-aziatskikh kochevnikov*, 79–81, 133–137.

79 Fedorov-Davydov, *Kochevniki Vostochnoi Evropy*, 24; Khudiakov, *Vooruzhenie tsentral'no-aziatskikh kochevnikov*, 133–134.

(lenticular cross-section).⁸⁰ Hence, East European and Central Asian spearheads from the period are hardly comparable, even if we disregard the former classifications; only conical spearheads with lenticular cross sections are similar to some East European spearheads (type 1),⁸¹ while all other blade-shapes are different.

From a functional point of view, the typological variation of polearms is great, since thrusting, cutting and throwing weapons can be distinguished among them. Most polearms known from late nomadic burials both from Eastern Europe and Central Asia are thrusting weapons. These are usually narrow bladed, the cross-section of the blade is quadrangular or rhombic, their tip is sharp; therefore, these artefacts are only suitable for frontal attack.⁸² Some thrusting spears have rhombic or triangular blades with rhombic cross-section, which was already typical in Old Turkic weaponry.⁸³ These types are more or less evenly distributed in Eurasia and considered to be universal thrusting weapons.

In addition to thrusting weapons, polearm-tips with a single-edged blade regarded as cutting weapons with a short shaft used for fencing also appear from late nomadic burials. Such weapons are only known from east Central Asia, such as Mongolia and Transbaikalia, but are completely unknown west of the Altai Mountains.⁸⁴ In the Russian literature on the subject, this type is usually called *pal'ma*, which denotes a weapon used by Evenki and Yakut tribesmen.⁸⁵ The known artefacts belonging to this type are single-edged, their blade-length varies between 10 and 15 cm, and their socket opens with two short rims on both sides, which is not typical for spearheads.⁸⁶ More recent specimens from ethnographic research from Siberia are usually much longer, with a blade length reaching 50 cm.⁸⁷ The so-called *pal'ma* is in fact an early form of the halberd, which was well-known in China already during the reign of the Shang dynasty (c.1,600 BCE–1,046 BCE). However, it is important

80 Khudiakov, *Vooruzhenie tsentral'noaziatskikh kochevnikov*, 133–134.

81 Khudiakov, *Vooruzhenie tsentral'noaziatskikh kochevnikov*, 134; Fedorov-Davydov, *Kochevniki Vostochnoi Evropy*, 24.

82 Fedorov-Davydov, *Kochevniki Vostochnoi Evropy*, 24; Khudiakov, *Vooruzhenie tsentral'noaziatskikh kochevnikov*, 133–134.

83 Khudiakov, *Vooruzhenie tsentral'noaziatskikh kochevnikov*, 41.

84 Khudiakov, *Vooruzhenie tsentral'noaziatskikh kochevnikov*, 136.

85 G.M. Vasil'evich, *Evenki: istoriko-etnograficheskie ocherki, XVIII–nachalo XX v.* (Leningrad: Nauka, 1969), 65; F.M. Zykov, *Traditsionnye orudie truda ĭakutov (XIX–nachalo XX veka)* (Novosibirsk: Nauka, 1989), 71–75.

86 Khudiakov, *Vooruzhenie tsentral'noaziatskikh kochevnikov*, 136.

87 Vasil'evich, *Evenki*, 65; Zykov, *Traditsionnye orudie*, 71–75.

to emphasize that the artefacts under discussion do not belong to either the “Ji-halberds,” the “Guandao-halberds” or the Japanese “naginata-halberd” (although they are similar to the latter).⁸⁸ Khudiakov stresses that these kinds of weapons were in use in the northern peripheries of the Mongol populations, but he does not pay attention to their East Asian analogies.⁸⁹ It is striking that this type of polearm was only in use in the areas which later belonged to the Yuan Dynasty and where the Mongols lived, while in most parts of the Eurasian steppes, which was populated by Turkic-speaking communities, it was not in use at all.

2 Conclusion

Late Nomadic arms and armor has primarily been studied with the aim to reconstruct medieval nomadic military equipment and tactics. Scholars have paid much less or no attention to the formation processes of the archaeological record resulting in the fragmentary, selective and in some cases even symbolic nature of burials. Every burial studied by archeology is fragmentary, because not everything has survived; selective, because not everything was put in the grave; and symbolic, as the meaning of objects placed in the grave goes beyond their everyday function and meaning. Weapon burial rites play a crucial role in understanding the decisions why, how and in what quantity specimens of certain weapon types were deposited in a grave.

The archeology of weapons has been chiefly studied from a typological point of view, while the regional approach of most scholars have seriously limited the scope for comparison. There have been attempts at statistical methods, but most of these were limited to a binary analysis, never rising to the level of multivariate statistics. A number of studies have struck new ground with a functional approach that distinguishes between how straight single-edged and curved saber blades could be used to strike.

This short overview of “late Nomadic” edged weapons and polearms from the so-called “Late Nomadic Period” demonstrates that the Mongol invasion did not significantly change the nomadic military equipment already in use, but weaponry evolved from it gradually. Some earlier regional characteristics

88 Świątosławski, *Arms and Armour*, 54; Jwing-Ming Yang, *Ancient Chinese Weapons. A Martial Artist Guide* (Boston: YMMA Publication Centre, 1999), 38–40; Karl F. Friday, *Samurai, Warfare and State in Early Medieval Japan: Warfare and History* (London: Routledge, 2004), 86–87.

89 Khudiakov, *Vooruzhenie tsentral'noaziatskikh kochevnikov*, 136.

remained important even during the thirteenth–fourteenth centuries, such as the prevalence of the *pal'ma* and “whistling” arrowheads in East Central Asia, and their absence in the western part of Central Asia and Eastern Europe.

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PART 2

Post-Mongol Historiography



The Disappearing Khanate

Thomas Welsford

1

Sometime in around 1559–1560, the Central Asian Naqshbandī shaykh Maulānā Luṭfullāh Chūstī was confronted with a crisis.¹ Following an unsuccessful bid to inherit the spiritual mantle of the late famed Sufi leader Aḥmad Kāsānī, Chūstī had recently left Bukhara in order to cultivate affiliations in the territorial margins of the Uzbek Abū'l-Khayrid khanate.² Having arrived in Sayrām, an ancient settlement in what is today southern Kazakhstan, he fell ill, and as he lay recuperating he learned some bad news: a group of Qazaqs was primed to attack the town. In a hagiographical work entitled the *Sirāj al-sālikīn va laṭā'if al-ʿarīfīn*, ʿUbaydullāh al-Naqshbandī al-Samarqandī relates what happened next:

According to Niẓām al-Dīn Maulānā Aḥmad, son-in-law to his excellence and one of his closest associates, in about 967/1559–1560, all of the Qazaq sultans, numbering some twenty or thirty, had come to the vicinity of Sayrām with a numberless army, with a view to invading the province (*vilāyat*) of Transoxiana (*Mā varāʾ al-nahr*). The sultans and amirs of this region, together with all the Muslim population, were greatly afflicted in spirit on account of the enemy's combined great number, and lacked the will to fight. As divine will would have it, at this very time his Excellency our Maulānā—may God increase his stature—was suffering from the fever; for almost three months he had been confined to bed, and he was now at his very weakest. Despite being so ill, he turned his mind to this highly perilous situation, as to how the Muslim population might become

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- 1 In preparing this chapter, I have benefited from the generous assistance of Bakhtiyar Babajanov, Lola Dodkhudoeva, Scott Levi, Daniel Prior, Alexander Morrison, and my former students in the History of Kazakhstan class at Nazarbayev University, for all of which I am most deeply obliged. Even more particularly, though, I am grateful to István Vásáry for his friendship, advice and kindness over the years.
 - 2 For the background to this episode see Florian Schwarz, „*Unser Weg schließt tausend Wege ein*“: *Derwische und Gesellschaft im islamischen Mittelasien im 16. Jahrhundert* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 2000), 190–191.

more resolute. For at the time everyone who came to report on the situation was ever more distracted and afflicted: it was clear that this was a heavy blow to them. So he would say, “Give me my prayer beads: I want to pray that the tyrants and enemies be defeated and cannot enter Muslim territory.” For several days his Excellency was engaged in this fashion. And the outcome was that after several days they brought news that there had been such a battle between the sultans of the district and the Qazaq army as is beyond recounting. First of all, the local party had achieved a victory which left the Qazaq tribe disheartened and its members inclined to flee, when on divine orders there suddenly came a great strong wind from our direction which enveloped the enemy army and its camp, so that the army was completely laid low and, afflicted with the dust of vexation, everyone turned to flight. They say that in this battle close to twenty or thirty sultans were killed.³

- 3 *naql kardand khidhmat-i Niẓām al-Dīn Maulānā Aḥmad, dāmād-i ān-ḥazrat, ki az a'izza-yi aṣḥāb va ajilla-yi aḥbāb būdand, dar ḥudūd-i sana-yi saba' va sittīn va sab' mī'a ya'nī dar sāl-i nuḥ ṣad va shaṣṭ [va] haft būd ki jamī'ī salāṭīn-i Qazāq, bīst sī sultān kamā pīsh, bā lashkar-i bī-'adad tā navāḥī-yi Sayrām āmada būdand bi qaṣd-i jang va giriftan-i vilāyat-i Mā varā' al-nahr, wa jamī'ī umarā va salāṭīn-i īn diyār va jumla-yi musulmānān bi jihat-i kaṣrat va ittīfāq-i lashkar-i a'dā' va mukhālīfān quvā parīshān va muẓṭarab al-aḥvāl būdand, va ṭāqat-i jang na-dāshtand / ghālīban maqṣūd ān ki dar hamān ayyām ḥazrat-i Maulānā-yi mā ('azama allāhu qadrahu) ṣāḥīb-i qurāsh būdand, qarīb-i si māh dar takya būdand va ẓa'f-i akhīr-i īshān dar hamān auqāt būd / gharaẓ-i ān ki ān-ḥazrat bā vujūd-i ranj va ẓa'f dar ān vāqī'a-yi ṣa'b-i basī mutavajjih būdand ki īn tafriqa-yi musulmānān bi-khayr guzarad / va zīr ki dar ān auqāt har kasī ki khabarī mī-āvurd bi-majlis-i sharīf-i ān-ḥazrat ft'l-jumla muqovvā-yi tafriqa va parīshānī mī-būd, iżṭirāb-i 'ajabī dar īshān fahm mī-shud / va dar ān daurān [va] zamān mī-guftand ki tasbīḥ-i ma-rā bi-man bi-dahīd, mī-kh'āham ki bandī andāzīm tā ẓalīmān va mukhālīfān maghlūb va mankūb gardand na-tavānand bar vilāyat-i musulmānān dar āmadan tā chand rūzī mashghūlī-yi ḥazratash hamīn rang būd, ḥāṣil-i ān ki ba'd az chand rūz khabarī āvurdand ki dar miyān-i salāṭīn-i bilād va lashkar-i Qazāq chunān jaṅgī vāqī' shuda bi-taqrīr va taḥrīr na-mī-ganjad / avval ān-jumla ghalaba karda būda-and chunān-chi īn ṭā'ifa dast va pā gum karda hama rūy bi-hazīmat mī-kh'āsta-and, ki 'āqibat al-amr az nāgāh bi-farmān-i malik-i ān ki bād-i qavī az jānīb-i ān jamā'a bar kh'āsta dar lashkar va lashkar-gāh-i mukhālīfān pīchīdan girift, chunān-ki ān lashkar tamām dar zīr kard va ghubār mānda har āyina rū bi hazīmat nihāda-and / gūyand ki dar īn jang qarīb-i bīst sī sultān bi-qatl rasīdand. Sirāj al-sālikīn va laṭā'if al-'arīfīn, ms, Dushanbe, Semenov Collection No. 113, ff. 203b–204b. Drawing on a manuscript presently in private hands in Uzbekistan, Abdulloho'ja Ma'rufxo'ja and Shuhrat Sirojiddinov render a similar but shorter version of this passage into Uzbek in *Mavlono Lutfulloh Manoqibi* (Tashkent: Imom al-Buxoriy halqaro jam'armasi, 2002), 122. The work translated into Uzbek seems in fact not to be the *Sirāj al-sālikīn* but a second, very similar hagiography of Maulānā Lutfullāh Chūstī by a certain Muḥammad Muftī Aḥangarānī. The relationship between these multiple “Chūstīd” hagiographies remains unclear, despite an excellent initial investigation of the subject in Bakhtiyor Babajanov, “Mawlānā Lutfullāh Chūstī: An Outline of His Hagiography and Political Activity,” *Zeitschrift der Deutschen**

In a verse passage immediately following the above account, the hagiographer famously identifies the leader of the Qazaq party as somebody called Būydāsh Khan.⁴ Famously, that is, because controversially, according to widely prevailing opinion, what we know of both the chronology and the structure of the sixteenth-century Qazaq khanate makes it an impossibility that this particular individual, widely identified as the son of Adik b. Jānī Bīk—and thus grandson of one of the supposed “founders” of the Qazaq khanate⁵—should have been alive and active at so late a date.⁶

In what follows, by contrast, I want to suggest that the *Sirāj al-sālikīn*'s chronological account of events is in fact considerably more epistemologically robust than certain scholars have assumed, and that the work demands to be taken just as seriously as our other, more widely-cited sources for sixteenth-century Qazaq history. Further, I want to show how, in chafing against that conventionalized picture of the sixteenth-century Qazaq khanate which accrues from other sources, the Būydāsh narrative in the *Sirāj al-sālikīn* can serve as a useful spur for us to reassess what we think we know about the nature of political dynamics in the early modern Qazaq steppe, and to reconsider what exactly was that entity we call the Qazaq khanate.

2

A century or so ago, scholars took the *Sirāj al-sālikīn*'s Būydāsh narrative seriously. V.V. Bartol'd noted the passage in 1920 as evidence that Būydāsh died in 1559–1560,⁷ and a couple of decades later it was cited to the same effect by

Morgenländischen Gesellschaft 149, no. 2 (1999): 245–270. One reason for this continued confusion is that Babajanov was unable to secure access to the Semenov Collection manuscript, and to compare it with similar manuscripts held in Tashkent.

- 4 *Sirāj al-sālikīn*, f. 204b. This detail does not appear in Ma'rufxo'ja and Sirojiddinov's Uzbek-language text.
- 5 See e.g. Maḥmūd b. Amīr Valī, *Baḥr al-asrār*, MS 10 1496, f. 5b. The London manuscript of this work, like the manuscripts of the anonymous *Tavārikh-i guzīda-i nuṣrat nāma*, ed. A.M. Akramov (Tashkent: Fan, 1967), 173, renders “Adik” instead as “Atik/Itik.”
- 6 It is not my purpose here to rehearse a full biographical outline for Būydāsh or any of the other individuals who come under discussion over the course of the chapter; readers seeking such details will find them in the works of numerous modern Kazakhstani scholars. For Būydāsh's biographical details see e.g., T.I. Sultanov, *Kochevye plemena Priaral'ia v XV–XVII vv.* (Moscow: Nauka, 1982), 116–117.
- 7 V.V. Bartol'd, “Otchet o komandirovke v Turkestan (Avgust-dekabr' 1920 g.),” reproduced in *Sochineniia*, vol. VIII (Moscow: Nauka, 1973), 380.

A.A. Semenov.⁸ More recently, however, the *Sirāj al-sālikīn* has become for most historians of the Qazaq khanate a distinctly *maudit* source. Several collections of textual extracts about the history of the fifteenth- to eighteenth-century Qazaq khanate that have been published since the 1960s include no entry for the *Sirāj al-sālikīn*—a decision that is perhaps less surprising in the case of 1969's *Materialy po istorii kazakhskikh khanstv XV–XVIII vekov*,⁹ published at a time when Soviet scholars were generally wary of using religiously themed sources, than it is in 2007's *Istoriia Kazakhstana v persidskikh istochnikakh, V tom: Izvlecheniia iz sochinenii XIII–XIX vekov*,¹⁰ a post-Soviet publication which embraces the recent “religious turn” in Central Asian history with extracts from a number of other hagiographic works. Even as historians of the Qazaq khanate range ever wider in their search for new perspectives on the history of the steppe, scholars have tended to remain suspicious of the *Sirāj al-sālikīn*. While a few recent Kazakhstani historians have engaged with the text,¹¹ its account of Büydash's death remains excluded from what has become an increasingly canonized corpus of published excerpts for the history of the Qazaq khanate.

The problem pertains to the *Sirāj al-sālikīn*'s chronology of events. The *Sirāj al-sālikīn* is unwelcome, it seems, because it makes a nonsense of the chronology offered elsewhere, most scholars having determined that the person called Büydash had already died at least twenty years earlier than the hagiography suggests. In determining thus, scholars have generally referred to the *Tārīkh-i*

8 A.A. Semenov, “Unikal'nyi pamiatnik agiograficheskoi sredneaziaticeskoi literatury XVI v.,” in *Izvestiia Uzbekskogo filiala Akademii Nauka SSR* 1941, no. 3, 37–48. Unfortunately, I have been unable to consult this article myself, and rely here on the citation in Babajanov, “Mawlānā Luṭfullāh Chūstī: An Outline of His Hagiography and Political Activity,” 247.

9 S.K. Ibragimov et al., eds., *Materialy po istorii kazakhskikh khanstv XV–XVIII vekov* (Alma-Ata: Nauka, 1969), offering just dismissive passing reference to the work in a single footnote, 406.

10 M.Kh. Abuseitova, ed., *Istoriia Kazakhstana v persidskikh istochnikakh, V tom: Izvlecheniia iz sochinenii XIII–XIX vekov* (Almaty: “Daik-Press,” 2007).

11 See particularly M.Kh. Abuseitova, *Kazakhskoe khanstvo vo vtoroi polovine XVI veka* (Alma-Ata: Nauka, 1985), 44, citing the passage only to reject it, and V.P. Iudin, “Tarikh-i Kashgar,” in M.Kh. Abuseitova and A.B. Baranova, eds., *Pis'mennye istochniki po istorii i kul'ture Kazkhstana i Tsentral'noi Azii v XIII–XVIII vv.* (Almaty: “Daik-Press,” 2001), 307, offering a sceptical assessment. By contrast, T.I. Sultanov, in his works *Kochevye plemena Priaral'ia v XV–XVII vv.*, 117, and *Podniatie na beloi koshme: Potomki Chingiz-khana* (Almaty: “Daik-Press,” 2001), 182, as well as N.A. Atygaev, in “Khronologiiia pravleniia kazakhskikh khanov (XV–seredina XVI v.),” in *Tiurkologicheskii sbornik 2006* (2007), 56, offer more positive assessments of the *Sirāj al-sālikīn*'s significance, the latter of these two authors, however, invoking the passage in support of a convoluted, and very odd, account of events, as will be discussed below.

Rashīdī, a Persian-language history of Moghulistan composed by Mīrzā Ḥaydar Dūghlāt between 948/1541–42 and 952/1545–46,¹² which of all our extant sources offers the most detailed account of the early years of the Qazaq khanate. Various scholars from V.V. Vel'iaminov-Zernov in the mid-nineteenth century onwards have cited the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* as evidence that Büydash (or Büylash or Birlash, or a further variation thereof: there is some inconsistency in how the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* renders names), after acceding to authority in place of his brother Ṭāhir, ceased to exist in 940/1533–34.¹³ In the face of this prevailing body of opinion, the *Sirāj al-sālikīn*'s rogue chronology would seem to be self-evidently incorrect, and as such best disregarded.

In fact, however, a reading of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* shows that it does not entirely justify the claims premised upon it. The passage in it which is conventionally taken as evidence of Büydash's early death is by no means so clear-cut as we might assume: verbal ambiguities in the original Persian and/or textual discrepancies between individual manuscript copies yield a variety of construals as to its meaning, some such readings indeed explicitly taking Büydash to have died in 940/1533–34,¹⁴ while others by contrast make no such explicit identification.¹⁵ In light of the textual difficulties

12 For a good description of the work see e.g. B.A. Akhmedov, *Istoriko-geograficheskaja literatura Srednei Azii XVI–XVIII vv.* (Tashkent: Fan, 1985), 39.

13 V.V. Vel'iaminov-Zernov, *Issledovanie o kasimovskikh tsariakh i tsarevichakh* (St. Petersburg: Tipografiia Imperatorskoi Akademii Nauk, 1863–1887), 2:140, followed in turn in e.g., K.M. Baipakov and B.E. Kumekov, "The Kazakhs," in Chahryar Adle, Irfan Habib, and Karl M. Baipakov, eds., *History of Civilizations of Central Asia, Volume v—Development in contrast: from the sixteenth to the mid-nineteenth century* (Paris: UNESCO Publishing, 2003), 94. Having discussed the account of events as found in the *Sirāj al-sālikīn*, Abuseitova, *Kazakhskoie khanstvo vo vtoroi polovine XVI veka*, 44, as above, cites the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*'s account as grounds for rejecting the former.

14 Mīrzā Ḥaydar Dūghlāt, *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, ed. N. Elias, tr. E. Denison Ross as *The Tarikh-i Rashidi of Mirza Muhammad Haidar, Dughlat* (London: S. Low, Marston, 1895), 82: "[Kásim Khán] was succeeded by his son Mimásh Khán, who was succeeded by his brother Ṭáhir Khán. During the rule of this Ṭáhir Khán, the Kazáks began to diminish; after him his brother Birlásh [sic] reigned. During his rule there were only 20,000 Kazáks left. In 940 he died, and the Kazáks disappeared entirely." This last sentence is a rendering of the Persian *ba'd az sál-i nuh šad u chihil vay nēz namānd, Qazāq bi'l-kull musta'šal shud* (Vel'iaminov-Zernov, *Issledovanie o kasimovskikh tsariakh i tsarevichakh*, 11,141; *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, ed. Mīrzā Muḥammad Ghaffārī-Fard (Tehran: Mīrās-i maktūb, 1383/2004), 119); it will be noted that *namānd* means not "died," or even necessarily "did not exist" (as rendered in both Vel'iaminov-Zernov, *op. cit.*, 11,141, "Posle 940 (1533–4) g. ne stalo i Buidasha" and *Materiały po istorii kazakhskich khanstv*, 195: "[...] Posle deviat'sot sorokovogo goda ego (t.e. Buidash-khana) takzhe ne stalo"), but more literally "did not remain."

15 W.M. Thackston (tr.), *Tarikh-i-Rashidi: A History of the Khans of Moghulistan* (Harvard University: Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, 1996), 11, 144:

inherent in using the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* as a source with which to date Būydāsh's death, a number of modern scholars refrain from dating it precisely to 1533–1534, yet nevertheless continue to prefer a date in the 1530s to one twenty years later: the eminent scholar V.P. Iudin, for instance, suggests that claims that Būydāsh was active still in the 1550s founder in consequence of Būydāsh's post-940 AH disappearance from the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*'s account of events.¹⁶

One modern Kazakhstani writer who by contrast accepts the *Sirāj al-sālikīn* narrative is N.A. Atygaev. In a 2002 article, Atygaev argues that the *Sirāj al-sālikīn*'s dating of Būydāsh's death to 1559–60 should be taken as authoritative—squaring this assertion with Iudin's argument to the contrary. Atygaev suggests that in the 1530s it was somebody else who succeeded Ṭāhir and then died soon thereafter. He proposes that this mysterious figure was an older brother of Būydāsh called Bāūsh, who, he suggests, was killed in battle with the Chaghatayid Moghuls in 1537.¹⁷ This is a creative solution to the impasse, but alas not a convincing one. While the name Bāūsh (or a variation thereof) does indeed appear in our sources, it is unclear whether it refers to a distinct individual or is just an alternative rendering of Būydāsh's own name.¹⁸ In any case, to place Būydāsh's putative brother in authority in the

[...] After him was his brother Boylash [sic] Khan. There were twenty thousand Kazakhs left in Boylash Khan's time. After the year 940 [1533–1534] that number ceased to exist, and the Kazakhs were reduced to naught." Thackston thus construes as the grammatical subject of *namānd* not Boylash / Būydāsh but rather the number twenty thousand.

16 Iudin, "Tarikh-i Kashgar," 307. It is not in fact clear if Būydāsh does disappear from the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*'s post-940 AH narrative: see n. 17, as below.

17 N.A. Atygaev, "O preemnike Takhir-khana," in K.S. Aldazhumanov and E. Zh. Valikhanov, eds., *Voprosy istorii Kazakhstana: Issledovaniia molodykh uchenykh, vypusk III* (Almaty: Institut istorii i etnologii im. Ch. Ch. Valikhanova MON RK, 2002), 49–63, cited in turn in his "Khronologiiia pravleniia kazakhskikh khanov (xv–seredina xvi v.)," 56–57; the argument appears also in some synoptic histories, e.g. M. Koigeldiev, Z. Kinaiatuly and K. Uskenbai, eds., *Istoriia kazakhskoi gosudarstvennosti (drevnost' i srednevekov'e)* (Almaty: "Adamar," 2007), 397. The battle in which Atygaev suggests Bāūsh was killed is dated to Šafar 944/July 1537 in Zayn al-Dīn Vāšifi, *Badā'ī' al-vaqā'ī'*, excerpted in Russian translation in *Materialy po istorii kazakhskikh khanstv*, 181–182, and *Baħr al-asrār*, MS 7418, f. 226b, again excerpted in Russian translation in *Materialy po istorii kazakhskikh khanstv xv–xviii vekov*, 330–331. Neither source makes any mention of Bāūsh's death, however; the passage in the *Baħr al-asrār*, furthermore, explicitly identifies the Qazaq commander not as Bāūsh but as Būydāsh. One reading of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* (Elias and Ross, 453) does identify the commander as Bāūsh, but another (Thackston, 2: 175) refers to Badish, a name orthographically similar enough to Būydāsh to suggest that this is just a variant thereof; like the *Baħr al-asrār*, the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* furthermore makes no explicit mention of anyone's death.

18 *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, as noted in fn. 17 above; Qādir 'Alī Bīk Jalāyir, *Jāmi' al-tavārikh*, ed. I. Berezin as *Sbornik letopisei* (Kazan': Tipografiia gubernskogo pravleniia, 1854), 164:

1530s instead of Būydāsh himself requires that we read the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*'s aforementioned references to Būylāsh or Birilāsh as referring to Bāūsh, and not to a figure whose name as rendered in Arabic script, بويداش, is orthographically much more similar to said variants بويلاش or بويلاش.

Successive generations of historians of the Qazaq khanate have thus premised their response to the *Sirāj al-sālikīn*'s account of Būydāsh's death upon their readings of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*—either rejecting it outright as a consequence of placing *too much* faith in the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*'s textual authority, or accepting it outright as a consequence of not placing *enough* such faith. One further scholar to respond to the *Sirāj al-sālikīn* is the British historian Audrey Burton. Relating the circumstances of Būydāsh's death in her monumental work *The Bukharans*, Burton recounts the basic outlines of the *Sirāj al-sālikīn* narrative, but suggests that the events in question actually occurred sometime earlier.¹⁹ Instead of invoking the authority of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, however, Burton premises her argument somewhat differently. In a footnote she states that while Bartol'd dates the episode in question to 1559–60, this is contradicted by the fact that by 1556 an individual called Ḥaqq Naẓar is attested to have been in khalif authority. Ḥaqq Naẓar b. Qāsim is widely known in scholarly literature as a famous sixteenth-century Qazaq dynast who ruled in the years after Būydāsh.²⁰ As Būydāsh's successor, Burton observes, Ḥaqq Naẓar could hardly have styled himself Ḥaqq Naẓar Khan while Būydāsh himself was still alive. Therefore, she suggests, the proposed date of death as derived by Bartol'd from the *Sirāj al-sālikīn* is an impossibility.

The *Sirāj al-sālikīn*'s account of events thus finds itself assailed from multiple directions, with all but a handful of scholars over the last hundred years preferring a death date for Būydāsh substantially earlier than that indicated by the hagiographer; even Atygaev's attempt to vouch for the historicity of the passage, meanwhile, does little to strengthen its credentials. Should one be tempted, however, to follow the majority opinion in rejecting the late chronology of the *Sirāj al-sālikīn*, a passage in Qādir 'Alī Bik Jalāyir's early seventeenth-century Turkic-language *Jāmi' al-tavārikh* may give one pause. In a section of the work devoted to the genealogy of the Chinggisid Qazaqs, Qādir 'Alī Bik writes as follows:

[...] *ammā Bāūsh Būydāshning oghli Ādik Sultān turur* [...]. The wording "Bāūsh Būydāsh" could be read here appositionally.

19 Audrey Burton, *The Bukharans: A Dynastic, Diplomatic and Commercial History 1550–1702* (Richmond, Surrey: Curzon, 1997), 21.

20 For Ḥaqq Naẓar's biographical details see, e.g., Sultanov, *Kochevye plemena Priaral'ia*, 117–118, and Abuseitova, *Kazakhskoe khanstvo vo vtoroi polovine XVI veka*, 45–70.

[Adik Sultan]'s son was Büydash. Adik Sultan's offspring were [together] known as the Bish Ūghul. All 24 sultans who were offspring of the Bish Ūghul were killed in a battle between Büydash Khan and Darvish Khan b. Barāq.²¹

Although the *Jāmi' al-tavārikh* has been widely used by historians of the Qazaq khanate ever since the publication of Berezin's text edition in 1854, the chronological significance of this passage has been generally overlooked.²² Darvish was the son of the prominent Tashkent-based Abū'l-Khayrid dynast Barāq, otherwise known as Navrūz Aḥmad. Upon Navrūz Aḥmad's death in 1556, Darvish acceded to authority over Tashkent and other towns to the north of the Syr Darya, ruling the region until 1579, when he was killed by Bābā Sultan b. Navrūz Aḥmad, his brother and rival in the mid-sixteenth-century Abū'l-Khayrid appanage war.²³ Darvish's date of birth is unknown; given, however, that he fails to feature in an extensive Ottoman-language list of Abū'l-Khayrid appanage- and sub-appanage-holders from 1533, we lack any evidence to suggest that Darvish had come of age by the time that Iudin and others would date Büydash's death.²⁴ That is to say, it is *possible* that the *Jāmi' al-tavārikh* refers to a confrontation between Darvish and Büydash in the 1530s, but there is certainly nothing to support such a claim. It is logically possible, equally, to square the narrative of the *Jāmi' al-tavārikh* with Burton's chronology, which requires only that one date the confrontation to sometime before that point in 1556 when Haqq Naẓar is attested in khalal authority; here too, however, the complete silence in our sources about Darvish's activities prior to his succeeding his father that same year denies Burton's chronology any sort of empirical support. By contrast, however, the *Jāmi' al-tavārikh* does offer grounds, albeit circumstantial, for supporting the version of events found in the *Sirāj al-sālikīn*.

21 *Jāmi' al-tavārikh*, 164: *anınq oghli Büydash Khān turur / Adik Sultān naslını Besh Oghul deb erürlär / ammā Büydash Khān Barāq oghli Darvish Khān toqushunda tamāmī Besh Oghul naslı yigirmi tört sultān an-da shahīd boldılar*. The passage is rendered, with emendations, into modern Kazakh Cyrillic script in R.G. Syzdykova, *Iazyk "Zhami' at-tavārikh" Zhalairi* (Alma-Ata: Nauka, 1989), 237.

22 An exception is Sultanov, in *Kochevye plemena Priaral'ia v XV–XVII vv*, 117, and *Podniatie na beloi koshme. Potomki Chingiz-khana*, 182, as above. However, Sultanov overlooks the important structural affinities of the passage with the passage in the *Sirāj al-sālikīn*, as outlined below.

23 For this episode see e.g. Thomas Welsford, *Four Types of Loyalty in Early Modern Central Asia* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2013), 129.

24 See Topkapı document E.1291, reproduced in Jean-Louis Bacqué-Grammont, "Une Liste ottomane de princes et d'apanages Abu'l-Khayrides," *Cahiers du Monde russe et soviétique* 11 (1970), 430–431.

This becomes clear as we note several familiar elements in the account of the confrontation offered by the *Jāmi' al-tavārīkh*. Two details, in particular, are strongly redolent of what we find in the hagiography. As the post-1556 ruler of the towns north of the Syr Darya, Darvīsh was ruler also of Sayrām, the site of Luṭfullāh Chustī's supposed intervention against the Qazaq marauders. Qādir 'Alī Bīk Jalāyir's mention of how 24 Qazaq sultans died in the confrontation puts us in mind, meanwhile, of the 20 or 30 Qazaq sultans noted in the *Sirāj al-sālikīn* as accompanying Būydāsh on his doomed raid. What begins to transpire, therefore, is that the two passages in fact pertain to the same episode, one in which Būydāsh and his associates were defeated and killed by Darvīsh b. Navrūz Aḥmad during an abortive attack on Sayrām, the hagiographic account, however, reconfiguring events such as to accord responsibility for Būydāsh's death to its own saintly protagonist.²⁵ Supported as it is by two independent narratives, we have strong circumstantial grounds to prefer this version of Būydāsh's death to the textually flimsy alternatives outlined above. With the *Sirāj al-sālikīn*'s outline of events independently substantiated by the *Jāmi' al-tavārīkh*—a work composed far away in European Russia, and showing no other narrative affinities with the hagiography—we have strong circumstantial grounds also to accept the chronology of the former work, and to follow the hagiographer's proffered date for Būydāsh's death.

This still leaves us, of course, with Burton's observation that Būydāsh cannot have still been alive during his own successor's khalid rule. But it is questionable how much weight should be given to this objection. The evidence that Ḥaqq Naẓar was already khalid prior to 1559–60 comes primarily from three sources, each of them somewhat problematic for the claim that Burton is making here. The first of these sources is the late seventeenth-century *Tārīkh* of Shāh Maḥmūd b. Mīrẓā Fāẓil Churās, which recounts how Ḥaqq Naẓar Khan was defeated and killed in battle by the Moghul khalid 'Abd al-Rashīd, in vengeance for Ḥaqq Naẓar's killing the latter's son 'Abd al-Laṭīf.²⁶ As 'Abd al-Rashīd is known to have died in 1560, Churās implies that Ḥaqq Naẓar must already have been ruling for some duration before this time. As is widely noted, however,²⁷

25 Such hagiographic reconfigurations of narrative are not uncommon: see e.g. Jo-Ann Gross, "Khoja Ahrar: A Study of the Perceptions of Religious Power and Prestige in the Late Timurid Period" (Ph.D. Diss., New York University, 1982), 95–109, for the working by Naqshbandī hagiographers of the circumstances behind the accession to power of the mid-fifteenth-century Timūrid dynast Abū Sa'īd.

26 Shāh Maḥmūd Churās, *Tārīkh-i Churās*, ed. O.F. Akimushkin as *Khronika: Kriticheskii tekst, perevod, kommentarii, issledovanie i ukazateli* (Moscow: Nauka, 1976), 10–12.

27 See e.g. O.F. Akimushkin, "K voprosu o vneshnepoliticheskikh sviazyakh Mogol'skogo gosudarstva s uzbekami i kazakhami v 30-kh godakh XVI v.—60-kh godakh XVIII v.,"

Churās's account is contradicted both by the mid-sixteenth-century *Tazkira-yi Khvāja Muḥammad Sharīf*, which ascribes the murder of ‘Abd al-Laṭīf instead to a party of Kyrgyz raiders,²⁸ and by a Bukharan source, the *Sharaf-nāma-yi shāhī*, which more persuasively dates Ḥaqq Naẓar’s death to a point some twenty years later at the hands of the aforementioned Abū’l-Khayrid warlord Bābā Sultan.²⁹

The second such source, and the one on which Burton premises her argument, is a Ṣafavid chronicle entitled the *Aḥsan al-tawārikh*, composed in ca. 1572 by Ḥasan Bik Rūmlū. In his account of events in the year 963/1555–56, Ḥasan Bik Rūmlū relates that after the death of Barāq—which is to say the Abū’l-Khayrid dynast Navrūz Aḥmad, father of the aforementioned Darvīsh—“Ḥaqq Naẓar Khān Qāzāq moved from the country of Qurq and Qurbā, with the hope of getting Tāshkand.”³⁰ Taken on its own, this ascription to Ḥaqq Naẓar of khalnal status in the mid-1550s, at a time when the *Sirāj al-sālikīn* would instead have us believe that Būydāsh was still ruling, seems quite straightforward: reference to Navrūz Aḥmad’s death in 1556, for instance, is a corroborating detail that finds ample confirmation elsewhere.³¹ But Ḥasan Bik Rūmlū’s statement is somewhat undermined when we note that this is not the first passage in which Ḥaqq Naẓar appears: recounting the death in 930/1523–24 of the famed Qazaq ruler Qāsim b. Jānī Bik, the Ṣafavid chronicler has already told how “[a]fter him

Palestinskii Sbornik 21 (1970): 233–248, and Devin DeWeese, “The ‘Competitors’ of Ishāq Khwāja in Eastern Turkistan: Hagiographies, Shrines, and Sufi Affiliations in the Late Sixteenth Century,” in İlker Evrim Binbaş and Nurten Kılıç-Schubel, eds., *Horizons of the World: Festschrift for İsenbike Togan* (Istanbul: İthaki Tarih, 2011), 136–137.

28 *Tazkira-yi Khvāja Muḥammad Sharīf*, ed. Masami Hamada in *idem, Hagiographies du Turkestan Oriental: Textes çagatay édités, traduits en japonais et annotés avec une introduction analytique et historique* (Kyoto: Graduate School of Letters—Kyoto University, 2006), 296–297.

29 Ḥāfīz-i Tanīsh, *Sharaf-nāma-yi shāhī*, excerpted in Russian translation in *Materialy po istorii kazakhskikh khanstv*, 292–294; this version of events is followed in e.g., Sultanov, *Kochevye plemena Priaral’ia v xv–xvii vv.*, 118. A dating of ca. 1580 for Ḥaqq Naẓar’s death is supported also by Russian-language diplomatic communications: in May 1581, Noghay envoys to Moscow reported that “Da kazattsogo Aknazara tsaria i Chalyma tsarevicha v zhivote ne stalo.” See I.V. Erofeeva et al., eds., *Istoriia Kazakhstana v russkikh istochnikakh, I tom: Russkie letopisi i ofitsial’nye materialy xvi–pervoi treti xviii v. o narodakh Kazakhstana* (Almaty: “Daik-Press,” 2005), 175.

30 Hasan-i Rūmlū, *Aḥsan al-tawārikh*, ed. and tr. C.N. Seddon as *A Chronicle of the Early Safavis Being the Aḥsanu’l-tawārikh of Ḥasan-i Rūmlū* (Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1931), 2: 174.

31 See e.g. Ḥāfīz-i Tanīsh, *Sharaf-nāma-yi shāhī*, ms StPOIVAN D 88, ed. and tr. M.A. Salakhedinova as *Sharaf-nama-ii shakhi (Kniga shakhskoi slavy)*, vol. 1 (Moscow: Nauka, 1983), l. 84b (Persian text), 189 (Russian translation).

his son Ḥaqq Naẓar Khān became Khān, and he is now the Ruler of the Plain.”³² In thus presenting Ḥaqq Naẓar as Qāsim’s direct successor, and omitting from his narrative any mention of the khal rule of either Ṭāhir or Būydāsh, Ḥasan Bik Rūmlū challenges not only the account of events in the *Sirāj al-sālikīn*, but also what we find in the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*.³³ Instead, he appears to be drawing upon the work of his Ṣafavid near-contemporary Qāzī Aḥmad Ghaffārī Qazvīnī, whose *Nuskha-yi jahān-ārā* of ca. 972/1564–1565 gives a successional sequence of the khans of the eastern Dasht-i Qipchāq which similarly culminates in the consecutive figures of Qāsim and Ḥaqq Naẓar.³⁴ Ghaffārī’s account, widely followed by later Ṣafavid and Mughal chroniclers,³⁵ influentially thus confers upon Ḥaqq Naẓar in 930/1523–24 a khal status to which other sources by contrast indicate he only later acceded. Even if one rejects Ghaffārī’s account of events, though, the *Nuskha-yi jahān-ārā* remains an important chronological reference point, indicating—as the earliest known source to identify Ḥaqq Naẓar as khan—that by at least the mid-1560s there existed a belief that Ḥaqq Naẓar enjoyed pre-eminent political status among the Qazaqs of the time.³⁶ With the *Aḥsan al-tavārikh* appearing almost a decade after the *Nuskha-yi jahān-ārā*, by contrast, Ḥasan Bik Rūmlū’s claim that Ḥaqq Naẓar was khan in 1556 could very well be an anachronism born in the light of this belief. While Ḥasan Bik Rūmlū’s account certainly indicates that Ḥaqq Naẓar was *active* in the mid-1550s—there is no reason why he or his informers should have invented the episode—the question of Ḥaqq Naẓar’s khal authority around this time is considerably less certain.

32 *A Chronicle of the Early Safavids*, 2: 90.

33 The *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, incidentally, differs from the *Aḥsan al-tavārikh* also in not dating Qāsim’s death to 930/1533–34, with various renderings of the work dating it instead to either 924/1518–19 (*Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* / Elias and Ross, 273) or, more vaguely, sometime after that latter date (*Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* / Thackston, 2: 177).

34 Qāzī Aḥmad Ghaffārī Qazvīnī, *Nuskha-yi jahān-ārā*, ed. Ḥ. Narāqī as *Tārīkh-i jahān-ārā* (Tehran: Īstigāh-i Sarchashma, 1342/1963–64), 206–207.

35 See e.g., ‘Abdī Beg Shīrāzī, *Takmilat al-akhbār* (ca. 1570), ed. ‘Abd al-Ḥusayn Navā’ī (Tehran: Nashr-i Nay, 1369/1990–1991), 159; Ṭāhir Muḥammad b. ‘Imād al-Dīn b. Sulṭān ‘Alī b. Ḥājī Muḥammad Ḥusayn Sabzavārī, *Rauzat al-ṭāhirīn* (ca. 1606), MS Bodleian Elliot 314, f. 337b; Ḥasan-Bik b. Muḥammad Bik Khāqī Shīrāzī, *Muntakhab al-tavārikh* (ca. 1612), MS BL Or. 1649, f. 256a; and Shaykh Muḥammad Baqā, *Mirāt al-‘ālam* (ca. 1667), MS BL Add. 7657, f. 163b.

36 This impression finds strong support in a 1569 diplomatic report by Semen Mal’tsev, envoy to the Russian tsar Ivan IV (r. 1547–83), which identifies “Aknazar” as tsar of the Qazaqs, and the figures of “Shigai” and “Chelym” as tsareviches. The report is reproduced in *Istoriia Kazakhstana v russkikh istochnikakh: Russkie letopisi i ofitsial’nye materialy XVI–pervoi treti XVIII v. o narodakh Kazakhstana*, 151–152.

The third and final source to attest to Ҳаққ Назар’s khalal authority in the mid-1550s is a late seventeenth-/early eighteenth-century Turki-language work, the *Tārīkh-i Kāshghar*. The anonymous author of this history states that “in that region the Qazaq[s] had two khans, Ҳаққ Назар Khan and Navrūz Aҳmad Khan.”³⁷ In implying thus that Ҳаққ Назар and Navrūz Aҳmad were ruling simultaneously in the period before the latter’s death in 1556, the statement supports the chronology underlying Burton’s argument that since Ҳаққ Назар was khan already by the mid-1550s, Būydāsh therefore could not still have been alive at the end of that decade. But if it supports Burton’s dating of Ҳаққ Назар’s khalal rule, its suggestion that Ҳаққ Назар and Navrūz Aҳmad were both khans together undermines a premise that is fundamental to Burton’s argument, namely the idea that one person’s being Qazaq khan precludes anyone else from being Qazaq khan at the same time: if, according to the *Tārīkh-i Kāshghar*, Ҳаққ Назар and Navrūz Aҳmad could be Qazaq khans together, the question arises why Būydāsh and Ҳаққ Назар could not equally both simultaneously be Qazaq khans, too.

3

The implications of this question are far-reaching. Before we proceed to consider them, therefore, it may be as well at this point to acknowledge a potential objection, namely that we should disregard the testimony of the *Tārīkh-i Kāshghar* on the grounds that Navrūz Aҳmad, as an Abū’l-Khayrid dynasty, by definition could not have been a Qazaq khan. In the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, the people who are identified as Qazaq are those who rejected Abū’l-Khayrid authority, and aligned themselves instead under the authority of a rival Chinggisid lineage which included the likes of Būydāsh and Ҳаққ Назар amongst its members.

It is by understanding the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*’s employment of the term “Qazaq” thus—as denoting not ethnicity or descent but rather an anti-Abū’l-Khayrid political affiliation which might gain or lose currency according to events—that we can best make sense of Mīrzā Ҳайдар’s account of how, during the reign of Būydāsh/Būylāsh/Birilāsh, the “Kazakhs were reduced to naught”³⁸—before

37 *Tārīkh-i Kāshghar*, published in facsimile with introduction and appendices by O.F. Akimushkin as *Tārīkh-i Kāshghar: Anonimnaia tiurkskaia khronika vladetelei Vostochnogo Turkestana po konets XVII veka* (St Petersburg: Peterburgskoe Vostokovedenie, 2001), 171: *ol maҳalda Qazāqnung ikki khāni bār edi, Ҳаққ Назар Khān va Navrūz Aҳmad Khān*.

38 *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* (Thackston), II,144, as cited above.

then, according to the *Aḥsan al-tavārikh* and other materials, making their presence again felt a couple of decades later: this was plainly an instance not of ethnic extinction and rebirth but of a group's hemorrhaging members and then regaining them.

The idea that being under non-Abū'l-Khayrid authority was a necessary, if not sufficient, condition for being Qazaq appears also in the aforementioned *Tārīkh* of Shāh Maḥmūd b. Mīrzā Fāzil Churās, where we read of “the army of Shībān and Qadhāq (*sic*) and Qirqīz.”³⁹ The wording here suggests that being “Shībānid” (a dynastic-political term broadly equivalent in meaning to “Abū'l-Khayrid”) and being Qazaq were mutually exclusive. But Churās' suggestion that Shībānids and Qazaqs might, in certain circumstances, together align themselves within a single army raises the possibility that Navrūz Aḥmad may indeed have exercised authority over a Qazaq population that ostensibly rejected Abū'l-Khayrid rule. The *Tārīkh-i Kāshghar*'s attribution to Navrūz Aḥmad of Qazaq khal authority is odd, certainly, and the fact that the work was written some 150 years after the events in question invites us to question details of its historicity—but it is perhaps not the *a priori* impossibility that we might assume.

Leaving aside the question of whether or not Navrūz Aḥmad's background precluded him from being khal, the suggestion found in the *Tārīkh-i Kāshghar* that he and Ḥaqq Naẓar may both have exercised Qazaq khal authority at the same time still remains a highly anomalous suggestion, running against the content of most modern Qazaq khal chronologies, which commonly insist on a narrative sequence whereby, from the late fifteenth century to the early eighteenth, with little exception one single and exclusive khal always succeeds another.⁴⁰ Such insistence, however, greatly impedes any attempt to reconcile the contents of the *Sīrāj al-sālikīn*, the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, the *Aḥsan al-tavārikh* and the other sources presently under discussion. It also threatens to make a nonsense of another sixteenth-century source which further complicates our picture. This is the Ottoman-language *Tārīkh* by the historian Seyfī Çelebī. Seyfī Çelebī tells how, during the reign of Navrūz Aḥmad Khan—conventionally

39 Churās, *Tārīkh-i Churās*, 11.

40 This is true not only of the scholarly works cited here, but also of various works of modern Kazakhstani “lay” historiography, much of which nowadays circulates online; see e.g., https://alashainasy.kz/kazak_tarihy/kazak-handaryinyin-kestes-70138/, which proposes a linear succession of exclusive monarchical rulers except for just the confused period 1535–1537, when it suggests there were multiple ruling princes, and the years 1613–1627, when the figure of Tursūn is attested to have been in power at the same time as Ishim b. Shighāy.

dated to 1552–1556⁴¹—the Qazaqs in the Dasht-i Qipchāq were assailed by Qalmyq forces, and the Qazaq khan appealed to Navrūz Aḥmad for assistance. As in the *Aḥsan al-tawārīkh*, the Qazaq khan in question was not Būydāsh; however, again problematically for Burton's argument, nor was it Ḥaqq Naẓar, or even Navrūz Aḥmad. According to Seyfī Çelebī, in the mid-1550s there was yet another individual exercising khal authority in the Qazaq steppe. This other individual was somebody called Tavakkul.⁴²

We know about Tavakkul. The son of Shighāy b. Jadiq b. Jānī Bik, he was one of the most prominent Qazaq dynasts of the sixteenth century, and Seyfī Çelebī is by no means unusual in describing his activities.⁴³ But what precisely Seyfī Çelebī tells us about Tavakkul presents a major challenge to our conventional understanding of dynastic politics in the Dasht-i Qipchāq. Not only does the account sit in tension with the *Sirāj al-sālikīn* and *Jāmi' al-tawārīkh*, the *Aḥsan al-tawārīkh* and the *Tārīkh-i Kāshghar* alike in ascribing to Tavakkul in the mid-1550s a khal status which they instead attribute respectively to Būydāsh, Ḥaqq Naẓar or some khal partnership between Ḥaqq Naẓar and Navrūz Aḥmad, but it also sits uneasily with other sources which relate Tavakkul's activities only in the 1580s and 1590s, following the death of Ḥaqq Naẓar in 1580.⁴⁴ One source tradition claims, furthermore, that first Tavakkul's father Shighāy and then Tavakkul himself held authority among the Qazaqs merely as Abū'l-Khayrid vassals, and that even following the death of Shighāy in or after 1582, it was not until after the death of the Abū'l-Khayrid ruler 'Abdallāh 11 b. Iskandar in 1598 that Tavakkul threw off the reins of allegiance and claimed for himself full khal authority.⁴⁵ In identifying Tavakkul as khal, therefore, Seyfī

41 For Navrūz Aḥmad's accession to khal authority in 1552, see Ḥāfiẓ-i Tanīsh, *Sharaf-nāma-yi shāhī*, ed. and tr. Salakhedinova as *Sharaf-nama-ii shakhi 1*: 156 (translation), l. 69a (text); for his death in 1556, see passage noted above in n. 31. This dating of his reign is followed in most modern works: thus e.g., Burton, *The Bukharans*, 557.

42 Seyfī Çelebī, *Tārīkh*, ed. Joseph Matuz as *L'Ouvrage de Seyfī Çelebī: Historien Ottoman du XVI^e siècle* (Paris: Maisonneuve, 1968), 72 (French translation); 73 (Ottoman Turkish text), rendering his name as Tevekkül. See also Matuz, "Altan Chan und die Qalmaq in der Chronik des Seyfī Çelebī," in *Acta Orientalia* 32 (1970), 152.

43 For Tavakkul's biographical details see Sultanov, *Kochevye plemena Priaral'ia*, 119, and Abuseitova, *Kazakhskoe khanstvo vo vtoroi polovine XVI veka*, 76–93.

44 Thus Ḥāfiẓ-i Tanīsh's earliest reference to Tavakkul is in 990/1581–82: Ḥāfiẓ-i Tanīsh, *Sharaf-nāma-yi shāhī*, MS BL Or. 3497 f. 167a.

45 Iskandar Bik Munshī, *Tārīkh-i ālam-ārā-yi Abbāsī*, ed. Īraj Afshār (Tehran: Mu'assasa-yi intishārāt-i amīr-i kabīr, 1350/1971–1972), 552. Ḥājī Mir Muḥammad Salīm, *Silsilat al-salātīn*, MS Bodleian Ouseley 269, f. 148a, reworks Iskandar Bik Munshī's narrative to suggest that it was instead upon the death of the Tūqāy-Tīmūrid dynast Tursūn Muḥammad b. Yār Muḥammad that Tavakkul assumed the khal title.

Çelebî's narrative ascribes to him in the mid-1550s a status that most sources would identify as the prerogative of others for another thirty or forty years.

In her *Kazakhskoe khanstvo vo vtoroi polovine XVI veka*, M.Kh. Abuseitova attempts to remedy this problem. The events that Seyfî Çelebî dates to the mid-1550s, she suggests, in fact occurred "at the end of the sixteenth century."⁴⁶ Abuseitova's insouciant solution to our chronological impasse is undermined, however, by the fact that Seyfî Çelebî is known to have died in 1583, precluding us from dating the episode to any point thereafter.⁴⁷ Re-dating the episode to 1582–1583 would of course still allow us to reconcile Seyfî Çelebî's attribution to Tavakkul of khal status with a 1582 death date for Shighây. However, the grounds for any such chronological re-arrangement are shaky. Most obviously, re-dating the episode to a later juncture would require us to overlook Seyfî Çelebî's explicit account of Tavakkul's interaction with Navrûz Aḥmad, whose death in 1556 we noted above. Of course, one could explain away this narrative detail as an ahistorical legend, of a sort hardly unknown to historians of Central Asia, but any such move lacks even circumstantial evidentiary basis. Although we do not know Tavakkul's date of birth, for instance, the fact that the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* dates the death of Shighây's father Jadiq to ca. 1503⁴⁸ makes it entirely plausible that Tavakkul should have been born by ca. 1535, and that he should thus have been of age by the time that Navrûz Aḥmad was still ruling Tashkent.

As a less cumbersome alternative to re-dating the episode, therefore, several other scholars seek to account for its problematic successional chronology instead by suggesting that Seyfî Çelebî, as an Ottoman author writing at a remove from the events in question, is confused in his use of titlature, mistakenly identifying the young Tavakkul as khal at a time in the mid-1550s when Ḥaqq Naẓar was in fact still khal and Tavakkul himself merely a junior dynast.⁴⁹ Requiring as it does on our part a less complex series of conjectures than that necessitated by any attempt to re-date events, this move is much the preferable way of reconciling Seyfî Çelebî's account with a more conventional chronology of khal succession. But in drawing attention to how the fact of Seyfî Çelebî's writing at a distance may have undermined the accuracy of his account, the move has the unintended consequence of highlighting how precarious are all our other accounts of life in the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Dasht-i Qipchâq, composed as they are almost without exception by authors similarly

46 Abuseitova, *Kazakhskoe khanstvo vo vtoroi polovine XVI veka*, 63.

47 Matuz, "Altan Chan und die Qalmaq," 147.

48 Vel'iaminov-Zernov, *Issledovanie o kasimovskikh tsariakh*, 2:324.

49 T.I. Sultanov, "Kratkoe opsianie sochineniia Seifi (XVI v.)," *Izvestiia AN KazSSR* no. 1 (1970), 47–48.

looking on from afar, and substantiated only rarely—as for instance in the case of the *Sirāj al-sālikīn*'s ironically maligned account of Būydāsh's death—by other sources produced independently elsewhere. In disputing the historicity of Seyfī Çelebī and the *Sirāj al-sālikīn*, while treating as authoritative selected extracts from Ḥasan Bīk Rūmlū's *Aḥsan al-tavārikh* and other works even more epistemologically compromised than this last⁵⁰—and, crucially, proceeding almost universally from the premise that Qazaq khanal authority was an exclusive monarchical prerogative—scholars inadvertently tell us much about the sorts of claims they wish to make about the early Qazaq khanate.

4

Scholars make many claims about the early Qazaq khanate. One such common claim, prevalent particularly among contemporary Kazakhstani scholars, is that in the Qazaq khanate we discern an étatist entity in which can be traced the origins of the modern Kazakh nation-state. “One of the primary problems of domestic historical research at the present state of development,” writes Atygaev, “is the study of statehood in the territory of Kazakhstan during antiquity and the middle ages.”⁵¹ “A longstanding question in domestic historiography over the last few decades,” he writes elsewhere, “has been the date of the foundation of the Kazakh khanate, the first national state in Central Asia.”⁵²

Estimates as to the date of foundation differ. T.I. Sultanov dates it to 1470–1471, when Girāy and Jānī Bīk defected from the Abū'l-Khayrid confederation,⁵³ while A.P. Chuloshnikov dates it instead to the turn of the sixteenth century,⁵⁴ S.K. Ibragimov dates the foundation somewhat later, to the

50 Thus, for example, N.A. Atygaev, “Problema vzaimootnoshenii kazakhskogo khanstva i sefevidskogo (kyzylbashskogo) gosudarstva v XVI v.,” in M. Kh. Abuseitova and S. Abdullo, eds., *Istoriko-kul'turnye vzaimosviazi Irana i Dasht-i Kipchaka v XIII–XVIII vv.* (Almaty: “Daik-Press,” 2004), 235, nonchalantly treats as authoritative details about Qāsim b. Jānī Bīk contained in the anonymous, and largely apocryphal late seventeenth-century *Ālam-ārā-yi Šafavī*.

51 Atygaev, “Problema vzaimootnoshenii kazakhskogo khanstva,” 233.

52 *Idem*, “Vremia obrazovaniia kazakhskogo khanstva: nekotorye aspekty problem v istoriografii i v istochnikakh,” in *Otan tarikhy* 2006, no. 1, 96.

53 Sultanov, *Podniatie na beloi koshme*, 133.

54 A.P. Chuloshnikov, *Ocherki po istorii kazak-kirgizskogo naroda v sviazi s obschimi istoricheskimi sud'bami drugikh tiurkskikh narodov* (Orenburg: Kirgizgosizdat, 1924), 1:200–203, cited in K.A. Pishchulina, *Iugo-vostochnoi Kazakhstan v seredine XIV–nachale XVI vekov* (Alma-Ata: Nauka, 1977), 249.

1530s or 1540s,⁵⁵ while the American scholar Martha Brill Olcott suggests that already under Qāsīm b. Jānī Bik in the early 1500s there existed a “centralized and unified Kazakh khanate”.⁵⁶ Notwithstanding such differences of opinion, these scholars commonly share two mutually related assumptions: first, that the date of foundation is ascertainable on the basis of the sources available to us, and secondly, that in dating the foundation of the Qazaq khanate we are discerning the establishment of a political entity which conforms to our conventional conceptions of statehood.

Both these assumptions are self-evidently misplaced. From the earlier part of this chapter it should already be apparent that our sources fail to afford us any sort of Archimedean vantage point from which to establish exactly when the Qazaq khanate passed into being from a prior state of non-existence. And, while focusing on the Qazaq khanate as an étatist political entity has at least the merit of decoupling it from anachronistic modern ethnic associations, it is scarcely less anachronistic in retrojecting to the sixteenth century those various tools and resources of statehood which in fact did not emerge until the twentieth. Setting such notions aside, therefore, I propose for the remainder of the chapter instead to consider a less self-evidently absurd, and more deeply fundamental assumption which we find widely at play in the work of Kazakhstani and non-Kazakhstani scholars alike. Putting to one side the straw-man question of whether or not the sixteenth-century Qazaq khanate constituted anything resembling a modern state, I want instead to consider whether it is meaningful to speak of the Qazaq khanate even as a khanate.

5

The prime difficulty in studying the early modern Qazaq steppe is the absence of indigenous written sources produced from within the field of study, and our resultant dependence on materials produced by outsiders looking on from afar. Such dependence on outside perspectives has two particular consequences. The first, and most obvious, is that we often find ourselves unable to reconcile the apparently mutually-contradictory accounts offered on the one hand, say, by the Şafavid narrative tradition represented by the *Nuskha-yi jahān-ārā* and the *Aḥsan al-tavārikh*, and on the other hand by the Ottoman

55 S.K. Ibragimov, “K istorii Kazakhstana v xv v.,” in I.A. Orbeli, ed., *Voprosy filologii i istorii stran sovetskogo i zarubezhnogo vostoka* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo vostochnoi literatury, 1961), 180.

56 Martha Brill Olcott, *The Kazakhs*, 2nd ed. (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1995), 9.

author Şayfi Çelebî's perspective on events. The second, related, consequence is that we often find ourselves hostage to the cultural assumptions of outside authors attempting to rationalize unfamiliar steppe practices with reference to their own domestic political lexicon.

As one such example of misleading assumptions, we may consider the aforementioned account by Ghaffārī and subsequent Şafavid and Mughal chroniclers of how the Qazaq khan Ḥaqq Naẓar acceded directly upon the death of Qāsim. Ghaffārī's failure to make any mention of Tāhir or Büydaş is puzzling, but it may partly be explained by the Iranian historian's apparently confusing what was happening on the distant early sixteenth-century Qazaq steppe with events in the similarly distant Khanate of Astrakhan: Ghaffārī seems to conflate the figure of Qāsim b. Jānī Bīk (whom he identifies, anomalously, as Qāsim b. Sīdak/Saydak Khan b. Jānī Bīk) with that of the late fifteenth-century Astrakhani ruler Qāsim b. Maḥmūd, claiming as he does that the former figure acceded to authority directly after the mid-fifteenth-century dynast Muḥammad Sultan b. Tīmūr Khan, grandfather of Qāsim's Astrakhani namesake.⁵⁷ But the suggestion that Ḥaqq Naẓar's reign immediately followed Qāsim's perhaps also reflects a more significant conflation, namely a confounding of the logic of *succession* with the logic of *descent*, in what appears to have been a conventional sedentarist's assumption that khal authority on the Qazaq steppe should have been a patrilineal prerogative passing from generation to generation.

The problem of grappling with such assumptions was familiar to the Princeton historian Martin Dickson. In 1960, he presented a paper at the 25th Congress of Orientalists in Moscow. To this day, the paper remains a crucial point of reference in any attempt to understand the workings of Chinggisid dynastic polities in late medieval and early modern Central Asia. In it, Dickson describes how, while working on his doctoral dissertation "Shāh Tahmāsb and the Ūzbeks: The Duel for Khurāsān with 'Ubayd Khān (930–946/1524–1549),"⁵⁸ he realized that his project was complicated by a tendency on the part of his sources—mostly Persian, and many of them produced in Şafavid Iran—to misrepresent the political dynamics of the Abū'l-Khayrid khanate. "It became clear," he says, "that the chroniclers, largely representing the "settled" tradition,

57 *Nuskha-yi jahān-ārā*, 207. For Muḥammad Sultan b. Tīmūr Khan, otherwise known as Kūchūk Muḥammad, see e.g., I.V. Zaitsev, *Astrakhanskoe khanstvo* (Moscow: Vostochnaia literatura, 2006), 30–38.

58 Martin B. Dickson, "Shāh Tahmāsb and the Ūzbeks: The Duel for Khurāsān with 'Ubayd Khān (930–946/1524–1549)" (Ph.D. Diss., Princeton University, 1958).

were attempting to describe a totally different political system—that of the “steppe”—in terms of familiar concepts and clichés.”⁵⁹

Like a number of thematically similar works by Joseph Fletcher and İsenbike Togan, Dickson’s work offers rich insight into the political dynamics of the steppe, showing up the assumptions of sedentary chroniclers and conceptualizing in their place a more distinctively fluid “Inner Asian” dynastic politics.⁶⁰ Even though Dickson is not writing about the Qazaq khanate, his conception of an “Uzbek dynastic theory” offers a substantially better departure point from which to start making sense of dynastic politics in the Qazaq steppe than do any of the anachronizing nationalist histories of Kazakh medieval statehood that one finds in Kazakhstani bookshops today. But there are limits to the applicability of this heuristic: while the little which we can glean from our sources indicates that political dynamics in the Qazaq steppe infinitely more closely resembled the workings of a khanate as conceptualized along Abū’l-Khayrid lines than those of a modern state, we shall see that certain details stubbornly resist being rationalized into the model of a Qazaq polity merely mirroring the practices of its Uzbek southern neighbour.

Given that Dickson’s model remains useful, though, it is worth rehearsing its basic outlines. Setting aside the sedentarist’s commonsensical assumption that monarchical authority necessarily devolves in a patrilineal fashion, Dickson’s reading of his sources shows that steppe dynastic practices as observed among the Abū’l-Khayrid Uzbeks were in fact rather more complicated, with khal authority devolving gerontocratically and across collateral lines within a larger family unit whose members were commonly descended from a mutual ancestor. In place of a single monarchical ruler, he shows, there existed instead what we might term a *ruling collective*, among whose members potential khal eligibility was a shared family entitlement; within the mid-sixteenth-century Abū’l-Khayrid khanate, this collective comprised all living descendants of the eponymous mid-fifteenth-century Shībānid dynast Abū’l-Khayr b. Davlat Shaykh, grandfather of the famed Muḥammad Shībāni Khan. In the light of Dickson’s observation, we see that a comparable state of affairs seems to have obtained among the mid-sixteenth-century Qazaqs, where there appears to have existed a ruling collective comprising descendants

59 M.B. Dickson, “Uzbek Dynastic Theory in the Sixteenth Century,” in *Trudy xxv kongressa vostokovedov*, vol. 3. (Moscow: Izdatel’stvo Vostochnoi literatury, 1960), 208.

60 Joseph Fletcher, “Turko-Mongolian Monarchic Tradition in the Ottoman Empire,” *Harvard Journal of Ukrainian Studies* 3/4 (1979–1980), 236–251; İsenbike Togan, “Ottoman History by Inner Asian Norms,” in Halil Berktaş and Suraiya Faroqhi, eds., *New Approaches to State and Peasant in Ottoman History* (London: Frank Cass, 1992), 185–210.

of the mid-fifteenth-century dynast Jānī Bik b. Barāq.⁶¹ This perhaps explains why, despite their omission in the works by Ghaffārī and Ḥasan Bik Rūmlū, Ṭāhir and Būydash are identified in our Central Asian sources as having exercised khal authority: although, unlike Ḥaqq Naẓar, they were not sons of the late Qāsim b. Jānī Bik, as sons instead of Qāsim's brother Adik, they nevertheless shared a claim to khal eligibility by dint of their membership of a "Jānī-Bikid" dynastic collective—a dynastic collective whose outlines the likes of Mīrzā Ḥaydar Dūghlāt, author of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, and Maḥmūd b. Amīr Walī, author of the *Baḥr al-asrār*, may have recognized even as Ghaffārī and Ḥasan Bik Rūmlū failed to do so.

Dickson proceeds then to consider how such a collective might regulate itself over time. With each new generation resulting in a geometric increase in the number of members, he observes, and a correspondingly increased pressure on the tightly bounded set of prerogatives contingent on membership, the Chinggisid ruling collective was a highly fragile political ecology. Periodically, therefore, dynastic subgroups within the collective would range themselves in opposition to one another, attempting to exclude rival subgroups from membership and thus confine the prerogatives attendant on membership to their own closer kinsmen, until such time as pressure on resources caused this reformulated collective in turn to divide itself anew. Among the Abū'l-Khayrids, the most significant instance of such contestation took place over the course of the later sixteenth century, when a number of dynastic subgroups descended from different sons and grandsons of Abu'l-Khayr engaged in a long-running appanage war, the upshot of which saw descendants of Abu'l-Khayr's grandson Jānī Bik b. Kh^vāja Muḥammad monopolize authority at the expense of their more distant fellow Abū'l-Khayrid cousins.⁶²

Analogous processes appear to have occurred also on the Qazaq steppe, where the ruling collective seems similarly to have reconfigured itself so as to confine khal eligibility just to members of a particular subgroup. One such instance seems already to have occurred in the early sixteenth century, in the establishment of the Jānī-Bikid dynastic collective itself. Prior to this period, khal eligibility appears to have been a perquisite shared also with descendants of Girāy b. Pūlād, Jānī Bik's second cousin and fellow defector from the Abū'l-Khayrids; khal authority seems indeed to have been dyarchical, shared first between Jānī Bik and Girāy, and thereafter between their respective sons Qāsim and Burūndūq. But according to the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, during Qāsim and Burūndūq's shared reign Qāsim came to predominate at

61 See e.g. Sultanov, *Podniatie na beloi koshme*, 133.

62 For a summary of these events see Welsford, *Four Types of Loyalty*, 125–129.

the expense of his co-ruler;⁶³ and following the death of Burūndūq in ca. 1511, observes Mīrzā Ḥaydar Dūghlāt, no Girāyid dynast ever acceded to khalal authority.⁶⁴ Reference in late sixteenth-century Noghay diplomatic correspondence to “the Qazaq yurt of the Barāqid princes” suggests also just how entirely non-descendants of Jānī Bik b. Barāq were by then excluded from conceptions of power.⁶⁵

A second such shift, meanwhile, appears to have occurred towards the end of the sixteenth century. After several decades of authority passing between dynasts sharing a common ancestor no closer than the mid-fifteenth-century figure of Jānī Bik, eligibility seems to have been reformulated around this time as a substantially more exclusive prerogative. Accordingly, Jānī Bik’s aforementioned grandson Shighāy b. Jadiq was succeeded sequentially by the latter’s sons Tavakkul and then Īshīm,⁶⁶ followed in turn by Jahāngīr b. Īshīm⁶⁷ and then, in the later decades of the seventeenth century, by Tavka b. Jahāngīr.⁶⁸ The absence of indigenous sources means that the circumstances of this shift from what we might term a “Jānī-Bikid” ruling collective to a significantly more patrilineal “Shighāyid” entity remain uncertain. But we perhaps get a Bukharan perspective upon the dynamics at play from material in the *Sharaf-nāma-yi shāhī*. In 994/1585–86, Ḥāfīz-i Tanīsh tells us, Qazaq forces under the leadership of Tavakkul b. Shighāy made an assault on Tashkent.⁶⁹ In 996/1587–88, there occurred a second Qazaq attack, but one in which Tavakkul apparently took no part; leading the Qazaq contingent in this second assault were instead two individuals called Mungatāy and Dīn Muḥammad, whom Ḥāfīz-i Tanīsh identifies as sons of Ḥaqq Naẓar.⁷⁰ Tavakkul’s apparent failure to support the activities of Mungatāy and Dīn Muḥammad has been taken by some scholars as evidence of competition or hostility between the Shighāyids and a residual “Ḥaqq-Naẓarid” dynastic faction in the years following Ḥaqq Naẓar’s death in 1580.⁷¹ To judge from our Central Asian sources, it was presumably as the outcome of this contestation that authority was thereafter reconfigured as a

63 *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* (Elias and Ross), 273, noting how “Kāsīm Khān obtained complete ascendancy, and Baranduk was Khān in name only.”

64 *Ibid.*, 274.

65 V.V. Trepavlov, *Istoriia nogaiskoi ordy* (Moscow: RAN, 2002), 202.

66 For Īshīm’s biographical details see Sultanov, *Kochevye plemena Priaral’ia*, 119–120.

67 For Jahāngīr’s biographical details see *ibid.*, 120–121.

68 For Tavka’s biographical details see *ibid.*, 121.

69 *Sharaf-nāma-yi shāhī*, MS Or. 3497, f. 234b.

70 *Ibid.*, f. 249a.

71 See particularly M.Kh. Abuseitova, “Nekotorye svedeniia “Sharaf-name-yi Shakhi” Khafiza Tanysha o Tashkentском vosstanii 1588 goda,” *Vestnik AN KazSSR*, 1978, no. 10, 72.

Shighāyid prerogative, just as authority in the sixteenth-century Abū'l-Khayrid khanate was similarly reconfigured from the perquisite of one dynastic grouping to that of the next.

In its broad outlines, therefore, Dickson's paper offers an invaluable template with which to make sense of those scattered attestations which together constitute our sources for the early Qazaq khanate: thinking by analogy with Dickson's Uzbek model allows us to join the dots between discrete points of textual detail whose significance would otherwise be immensely harder to construe. But our sources for the early Qazaq khanate contain other details that accommodate themselves less easily to the Uzbek model, and which show up the limits of analogical thinking. Let us consider, for instance, the problem with which we were grappling earlier, namely how our various sources for the history of the Qazaq khanate indicate that in the mid-1550s there were multiple people identified as khan at the same time. Addressing this difficulty by way of analogy with the Abū'l-Khayrid khanate may seem to offer a more sophisticated way of resolving the issue than do the cruder expedients (namely, ignoring those problematic sources that challenge one's preferred regnal chronology, arbitrarily casting such sources as epistemologically inferior to other materials, and tacitly rewriting or re-dating them so as to dilute their disruptive effect) which, as we saw above, individual historians of the Qazaq khanate have variously employed. In our Abū'l-Khayrid materials we frequently encounter more than one person being called khan at any one time—and yet, as Dickson shows, notwithstanding the term's proliferation, it remains possible to abstract from our sources a clear and robustly attested narrative of sequential Abū'l-Khayrid khanal succession. By contrast, it is doubtful how far historians of the Qazaq khanate can similarly abstract a clear successional sequence out of narrative disorder.

Thus, for instance, in the case of the Abū'l-Khayrid khanate, we can partly explain away how multiple people are sometimes called khan by noting how in the *Sharaf-nāma-yi shāhī*, say, the term is sometimes used onomastically—as part of a name, that is, rather than a title.⁷² But this argument avails little to historians of the Qazaq khanate, since the usage of the term in the *Aḥsan al-tavārikh* (when applied to Ḥaqq Naẓar) the *Tārīkh-i Kāshghar* (applied to Ḥaqq Naẓar and Navrūz Aḥmad) and Şeyfi Çelebi's *Tārīkh* (applied to Tavakkul) is in each case clearly attributive. (References to “Büydāsh Khan” in the *Sirāj al-sālikīn* and *Jāmi' al-tavārikh* could simply be onomastic, but to read them thus would require us to ignore the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*'s prior

72 See e.g. the figure of Ja'far Khān Qipchāq, in *Sharaf-nāma-yi shāhī* (Salakhethdinova), 1, ll. 59a, 67a (Persian text); 135, 152 (Russian translation).

ascription to Būydāsh of khalal authority.) In a superb recent work Robert McChesney offers a second way of explaining the term's proliferation in the Abū'l-Khayrid khanate, meanwhile, by refining Dickson's model to show how within the khanate there existed in fact a finely gradated system of titulature: references to two individuals simultaneously holding the title, he shows, indicate not a confusion as to at any one time who was exercising authority but rather a distinction in the nature of the authority thereby denoted, as signaled "by the use of contrasting terms such as "nominal khan" (*khān-i šūrī*) and "real khan" (*khān-i ma'navī*), or in other words, regnant khan and puissant khan,"⁷³ with a clear line of succession observable for each of the two offices. The idea that in the Abū'l-Khayrid khanate the term "khan" could thus apply to more than one person at any time would seem, on the face of it, to offer a promising way of accounting for the proliferation of people so identified in the mid-sixteenth-century Qazaq steppe. This is an idea for which we find parallels widely elsewhere in Inner Asian history: aside from the aforementioned phenomenon of dyarchical rule among the Qazaqs in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, and prior instances of two-person rule in earlier medieval Turkic political formations, it chimes also with what we know of the thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century Mongol empire, where a single pan-imperial *qaghan* exercised suzerainty over the multiple khans who ruled over the empire's territorial sub-units.⁷⁴ Faced as we are with attestations to the simultaneous khalal authority of Būydāsh, Ḥaqq Naẓar, Navrūz Aḥmad and Tavakkul, the idea that khalal authority among the Qazaqs in the mid-sixteenth century was a similarly non-exclusive asset—whether a gradated sequence of mutually distinct offices, as McChesney shows was the case in the Abū'l-Khayrid khanate, or simply a status which could be shared by mutual consent among multiple persons—appears a reasonable way of resolving the difficulty. But there is a problem with this solution. The problem is not so much that it runs in the face of conventional modern understandings of post-ca. 1520 Qazaq khalal authority as a monopolistic resource (such conventional understandings, as we have seen above, frequently collapsing under the weight of their anachronistic assumptions), nor that it lacks textual attestation (a shortage of explicit attestation, after all, characterizing almost everything that can be said about the sixteenth-century Qazaq khanate) but rather that

73 R.D. McChesney, "The Chinggisid restoration in Central Asia: 1500–1785," in Nicola Di Cosmo, Allen J. Frank and Peter B. Golden, eds., *The Cambridge History of Inner Asia: The Chinggisid Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 280–281.

74 See e.g. Peter Jackson, "The Mongol age in Eastern Inner Asia," in Di Cosmo et al., eds., *The Cambridge History of Inner Asia: The Chinggisid Age*, 40.

it lacks parsimony, requiring of the historian a complex set of unsubstantiated conjectures in order to envisage circumstances in which the four aforementioned persons should have agreed to divide or share khalid authority between themselves.

There is, by contrast, another, more parsimonious way of making sense of the proliferation of persons identified as Qazaq khan: one that requires on our part much less conjectural scaffolding, and has the further merit of chiming with a detail in our sources which suggests that dynastic politics in the Qazaq steppe were very different from the situation among the Abū'l-Khayrid Uzbeks to the south. The detail is one that we noticed in passing above when discussing the accounts of Būydāsh's death in the *Sirāj al-sālikīn* and the *Jāmi' al-tavārikh*, namely the reference in both works to the number of Qazaq sultans—twenty to thirty in the hagiography, twenty-four in the chronicle—who accompanied Būydāsh during his assault on Sayrām. What is striking is that the two authors, one writing in Transoxiana and the other apparently in the Volga-Ural region, commonly deem the number to be worthy of mention. Nor are they thus unusual: many other onlookers, when recounting events on the Qazaq steppe, are similarly at pains to identify how many Qazaq Chinggisid dynasts were active in some particular field of engagement. In the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, Mīrzā Ḥaydar Dūghlāt relates how some 30 or 40 Qazaq sultans accompanied Qāsim b. Jānī Bik on an embassy to the Moghul khan,⁷⁵ while a Noghay document from the early 1530s reports how at the time of writing the Qazaq dynast Kh'āja Muḥammad was living in exile among the Noghays with fifteen of his sons.⁷⁶ Qādir 'Alī Bik Jalāyir recounts how 37 Qazaq sultans were killed in a single battle at Chagat,⁷⁷ and a 1569 report by Semen Mal'tsev, envoy to the Russian tsar Ivan IV, relates the activities of the Qazaq "tsar" Ḥaqq Naẓar alongside some 20 Qazaq "tsareviches."⁷⁸ The late sixteenth-century Naqshbandi hagiography, the *Żiyā al-qulūb*, meanwhile, goes even further, claiming that the prominent Sufi shaykh Kh'āja Ishāq b. Aḥmad Kāsānī cultivated relations with Tavakkul Khan and 120 Qazaq sultans.⁷⁹ Although we may question the accuracy of these figures, this enumerative tendency in our sources is strongly telling, suggesting

75 *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, 275–276.

76 Vel'iaminov-Zernov, *Issledovanie o kasimovskikh tsariakh*, 2: 325.

77 *Jāmi' al-tavārikh*, 163. This episode is perhaps to be identified with that 1537–1538 battle against the Moghuls as noted in the *Baḥr al-asrār* and the *Badā'i' al-vaqā'i'*, as above.

78 Erofeeva et al., *Istorii Kazakhstana v russkikh istochnikakh, I tom: Russkie letopisi i ofitsial'nye materialy XVI–pervoi treti XVIII v. o narodakh Kazakhstana*, 151–152.

79 Mullā Avāz, *Żiyā al-qulūb*, MS StPOIVAN 3498, f. 36b; the passage is discussed in V.P. Iudin, "Izvestiia 'Ziya al-kulub' M. Avaza o kazakhakh XVI veka," *Vestnik AN KAzSSR* 1966, no. 5, 71–76.

that onlookers from all sides—Russians, Noghays and Bukharans alike—saw in such numbers something distinct about the Qazaq political environment that was worthy of mention.

According to the modern Kazakhstani scholar T.I. Sultanov, the reason why our sources note the existence of so many Qazaq dynasts is that there was a high fertility rate within the ranks of the ruling collective.⁸⁰ As Sultanov observes, our sources regularly ascribe to each Qazaq dynast some nine or ten male heirs.⁸¹ But high birth rates alone cannot explain the phenomenon: sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Bukharan sources regularly ascribe to Abū'l-Khayrid dynasts similar numbers of offspring, yet neither these sources, nor others produced further afield, apply to the Abū'l-Khayrids that same sort of enumerative trope that we find applied to the Qazaqs. If *high birth rates* are insufficient, then, to explain the anomalous multiplicity of Qazaq dynasts, *low elimination rates* must also be part of the answer. And there is strong evidence to suggest that this is the case.

It may be instructive to turn, for example, to the mention in one redaction of the *Musakkkhir al-bilād*, a Bukharan chronicle from ca. 1607, of how at the turn of the seventeenth century a certain Qazaq called “Tinīm Sultan b. Ḥaqq Nazar” briefly exercised authority over Tashkent.⁸² Tinīm appears to be the same person as that Dīn Muḥammad whose assault on Tashkent in 1587–1588 we noted above: twelve years after the earlier episode, and a full two decades after Ḥaqq Nazar’s death and the beginnings of what—in the light of Dickson’s Abū'l-Khayrid model—seems to have been a transition to Shighāyid rule, elements of a Ḥaqq-Nazarid dynastic faction thus appear still to have been active. That is to say, the reconfiguration of the Qazaq ruling collective *did not automatically bring with it the elimination of those dynasts thereby excluded from the group*.

Nor is this the only such example of dynastic perpetuation. Material in the *Jāmi‘ al-tavārikh* indicates that long after the descendants of Girāy b. Pūlād seem to have been excluded from khalid eligibility, they continued to survive and indeed to retain a privileged dynastic status: at some point probably in the 1510s or 1520s Burūndūq’s daughter Dādīm married Shighāy,⁸³ for instance,

80 T.I. Sultanov, “Soslovie sultanov v kazakhskom khanstve v XVI–XVII vv.,” in A.Kh. Margullan, ed., *Kazakhstan v epokhu feodalizma* (Alma-Ata: Nauka, 1981), 146.

81 See e.g., *Tavārikh-i guzīda-yi nuṣrat nāma*, 173, and *Baḥr al-asrār*, MS 10 1496, f. 5b, ascribing nine sons to Jāni Bik b. Barāq.

82 Muḥammad Yār Qataghān, *Musakkkhir al-bilād*, ed. Nādira Jalālī (Tehran: Mirās-i maktūb, 1385/2006–2007), 165; the passage is noted in Abuseitova, “Nekotorye svedeniia ‘Sharaf-name-yi Shakhi,’” 72.

83 *Jāmi‘ al-tavārikh*, 164–165.

and a couple of decades later Dādim's niece, the daughter of Kīmsīn Sultan b. Burūndūq, married Shighāy's son Ūndān.⁸⁴ An even more striking instance of dynastic survival presents itself when we turn to events in the early eighteenth century. In ca. 1717, following the death of the Shighāyid Qazaq ruler Tavka b. Jahāngīr, there acceded to authority over part of the Dasht-i Qipchāq an individual called Abū'l-Khayr. According to traditions still circulating in the nineteenth century, Abū'l-Khayr descended not from the line of Shighāy b. Jādiq b. Jānī Bik, but instead from a line tracing its descent from another son of Jānī Bik called Ūsāk.⁸⁵ For more than a century after the establishment of a Shighāyid khalal dispensation, therefore, members of a rival family grouping had been able to survive and prosper in defiance of its apparent exclusion from khalal eligibility.

This is very different from what we find among the Uzbeks. The reconfiguration of khalal eligibility which attended the sixteenth-century appanage wars was violent, with few of the unsuccessful claimants for authority remaining *in situ* to witness the establishment of the new regime. By either killing or forcing into exile almost all their rivals, members of the victorious party were able to establish a degree of monopolistic control over the prerogative that they had won for themselves, just as the controlled application of intra-familial violence similarly allowed Ottoman and Şafavid rulers to preserve the exclusivity of their own authority through the elimination of actual or potential dynastic collateral lines. It is perhaps not too crude a geographical determinism to suggest that one reason why this seems not to have been the case among the Qazaqs was the steppe environment in which they found themselves. Away from the urbanized oasis landscape to the south, in an environment where wealth inhered less in agrarian production than in mobile livestock, and power less in the ownership of land than in the contingent willingness of nomadic groups to align themselves with one leader or another, there was a less clearly demarcated set of territorial resources available for exploitation, and a consequently greater flexibility as to what constituted the hubs and spokes in a network of power.⁸⁶ Within this flexible, mobile environment, there was much

84 *Ibid.*, 165.

85 Vel'iaminov-Zernov, *Issledovanie o kasimovskikh tsariakh*, 2: 269, followed in turn in N.G. Apollova, *Prisoedinenie Kazakhstana k Rossii v 30-kh godakh XVIII veka* (Alma-Ata: Nauka, 1948), 93–94, and Alan Bodger, "Change and Tradition in Eighteenth-Century Kazakhstan: the Dynastic Factor," in Shirin Akiner, ed., *Cultural Change and Continuity in Central Asia* (London: Routledge, 1991), 346–347.

86 The diffuse nature of political authority among the nomadic Qazaqs is a topic that has generally been better discussed by anthropologists than by historians. See particularly S.E. Tolybekov, *Kochevoe obshchestvo kazakhov v XVII–nachale XIX veka* (Alma-Ata: Nauka,

greater scope for rival dynastic and sub-dynastic parties to co-exist, and also for competing claims to authority to co-exist. Thus the late sixteenth-century establishment of a Shighāyid supremacy needed to entail neither the elimination of a rival Ūsākid party's claim to khalal authority, nor even necessarily the elimination of a rival Ūsākid party's *exercising* khalal authority beyond the reach of the Shighāyids' own pretensions to monopolistic rule. When, for instance, in the early seventeenth century, Īshīm b. Shighāy found his authority under sustained attack by Tursūn, a rival of unclear ancestry, it is very possible that Tursūn in turn was articulating the claims of a non-Shighāyid descent group which had hitherto simply co-existed beyond the boundaries of Shighāyid territorial sway.⁸⁷

Attestations in our sources to the simultaneous khalal authority of Būydāsh, Ḥaqq Naẓar, Navrūz Aḥmad and Tavakkul need not mean, therefore, that the sources are axiomatically incorrect in attributing the khalal title to more than one individual at a time; nor, however, do they give us confidence that the mid-sixteenth-century Qazaq khanate was a constitutional entity with sophisticated mechanisms enabling the consensual sharing of khalal power. The easier way of making sense of our sources is by taking them as attestations to institutional weakness, evoking a political environment where multiple persons could claim and exercise khalal authority *because nobody else could stop them*.

It could be objected, of course, that in drawing this conclusion we are in danger of being led astray by the distorting optics of our non-Qazaq sources, attributing khalal status to individuals who did not in fact possess it and failing to distinguish between authoritative and non-authoritative claims to power. (It is worth wondering, by way of an ironizing counter-factual, what impression we would derive of the workings of the Abū'l-Khayrid khanate if we had no recourse to the emic perspective afforded by works such as the *Sharaf-nāma-yi shāhī*, and had to rely instead on what Qazaq onlookers had to say about the matter.) But in the absence of evidence with which to distinguish between real and non-real khalal authority, and authoritative and non-authoritative claims to power, such questions remain purely speculative. The simplest way of reconciling the sources available to us is to conclude that for much of the sixteenth century, at the very least, khalal authority remained a contested resource.

1971); Anatoly M. Khazanov, *Nomads and the Outside World* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1994), especially xx.

87 For Tursūn's biographical details see Sultanov, *Kochevye plemena Priaral'ia*, 119–120.

Did there exist a sixteenth-century Qazaq khanate? The question is perhaps counter-intuitive: but one wonders how meaningful it is to describe as a polity one in which a ruling party cannot prevent other factions from simultaneously establishing themselves also in power. Given the likelihood, then, that in the sixteenth-century Qazaq steppe there existed a proliferation of rival claims and legitimacies, one might be tempted to conclude that in place of that single Qazaq khanate whose history we find endlessly rehearsed in modern scholarship and lay historiography, we instead see an articulated multiform polity, co-substantial with what would later be identified as the Qazaqs' tripartite *zhuz* structure.⁸⁸ This is possible. But in the absence of any but the most tenuous evidence around this time for the existence of a tripartite political machinery,⁸⁹ a simpler conclusion presents itself: not that in place of a single khanate there existed three such entities, but that there instead existed none.

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88 See e.g. A.F. Miller, “Mezhdunarodnoe polozhenie Kazakhstana vo vtoroi polovine xvi veka,” in *Istoricheskii zhurnal* 1942, no. 8, 54; V.V. Vostrov and M.S. Mukanov, *Rodoplemennoi sostav i rasselenie kazakhov: konets XIX–nachalo XX v* (Alma-Ata: Nauka, 1968), 65; and V.P. Iudin, “Ordy: Belaia, Siniaia, Seraia, Zolotaia,” in E.A. Tulepbaev, ed., *Kazakhstan, Sredniia i Tsentral’naia Aziia* (Alma-Ata: Nauka, 1983), 106–165, reproduced in *idem, Chingiz-Name* (Almaty: Ghylym, 1992), 14–56, particularly 40–44. Note also of course how the title of *Materialy po istorii kazakhskikh khanstv XV–XVIII vekov* is worded.

89 The earliest known reference to a Qazaq “horde” appears in a 1616 letter from the Cossacks T. Petrov and I. Kuznitsyn to the Tobol’sk voevod I. Kurakin (TSGADA, f. Dzhungarskogo dela 113 (1616), l.77–78), published in I. Ia. Zlatkin and N.V. Ustiugov (eds.), *Materialy po istorii Russko-Mongol’skikh Otnoshenii 1: 1607–1636* (Moscow: Izdatel’stvo Vostochnoi Literatury, 1959), 53; the letter makes no mention, however, of any sort of tripartite state structure.

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Timurids and Ming Chinese on the Remnants of the Chingisid Empire

Zsombor Rajkai

1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the resemblance and divergence in the politico-cultural formation of the Timurid Empire and Ming China at the turn of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries under the shadow of the once powerful Chingisid Mongol Empire. The study of Timurid-Ming Chinese relations has aroused a growing academic interest in Western, Chinese, Japanese, and Central Asian academic circles since the early twentieth century.¹ Many of the related studies tend to discuss the two empires from what can be called a *macro-level* perspective with special attention to diplomatic relations.² Nonetheless, it must be noted that the shared historical experience of the newly established Timurid dynasty and Ming China has hitherto not been sufficiently utilized for comparative studies. Though the politico-cultural impact of the Chingisid heritage lasted for a shorter time in Ming China than in the Timurid Empire, this heritage functioned as a kind of overall shadow of the past in the formation of the two empires' politico-cultural orientation. The ways these newly emerged powers attempted to adjust diverse ideological sources to legitimize their rule and to shape the characteristics of their governance deserves careful academic attention. The Turco-Mongol heritage combined with a Persianate orientation

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- 1 See Zsombor Rajkai, "Japanese and Chinese Research on the Timurid–Ming Chinese Contacts," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 63, no. 1 (2010): 63–103; and Zsombor Rajkai, *The Timurid Empire and Ming China: Theories and Approaches Concerning the Relations Between the Two Empires*, Budapest Monographs in East Asian Studies 5 (Budapest: Eötvös Loránd University, Department of East Asian Studies, 2015). The current chapter builds on an expanded discussion of the ideas initially explored in the latter work written by the present author.
 - 2 This subject, particularly the study of the lives of and interactions between (semi-)nomadic peoples and Chinese officials and commoners living through *macro-level* politico-cultural shifts, has also great potential for *micro-level* (cultural anthropological) perspectives. See Zsombor Rajkai, "Early Fifteenth-Century Sino–Central Asian Relations: The Timurids and Ming China," in *Frontiers and Boundaries: Encounters on China's Margins*, ed. Zsombor Rajkai and Ildikó Bellér-Hann (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2012), 87–105; and Rajkai, *The Timurid Empire and Ming China*, 2015.

towards Islam and the revival of Confucianism in China after having several decades of Mongol-style governance provide great opportunities both for historical studies on East and Inner Asia and for the study of the co-existence and dynamic change of various (seemingly incompatible) values and beliefs. Given this particular historical condition, this chapter aims to fill in a gap in the related academic literature by revealing so far unnoticed dimensions in the way these newly established empires attempted to adapt to the challenges they faced. The ideological sources that showed a certain degree of overlap in the two cases through the two empires' exposure to the Chingisid legacy opened up potential ways in the support of legitimacy and of the exercise of power and at the same time created challenging restrictions.³ Studying the way these ideological sources were utilized—with special attention to the interplay of (the official) ideology and pragmatism—reveals both the complexity and commonality of the difficulties the two newly established dynasties in question were forced to face.⁴

2 Historical Sources on the Contacts of the Two Empires

Established on the remnants of the Chingisid Empire, the Timurid Empire and Ming China displayed varying degrees of interest in keeping record of official contacts. The main primary sources include classical Persian and Chinese texts, the latter greatly outnumbering the former. The dominance of Chinese sources may derive from the lack of a systematic China-policy in Timurid foreign relations.⁵ There is also a remarkable difference between the two dynasties' historiographies in terms of content. Timurid chroniclers tended to focus on *recording events* rather than *describing geography*. In contrast, sources in classical Chinese provide limited information about topics such as the administrative structure or military organization of the Timurid Empire, as, due to a strong interest in geographical conditions, they tend to focus on the description of local products, customs and habits, as well as locations.

3 In the case of Ming China the ideological sources in question include both the native Chinese ideology of Confucianism and the Chingisid heritage from Yuan (Mongol) times. In the case of the Timurid Empire, the ideological sources refer to the Chingisid heritage through the Chagatay Khanate and the Islamic tradition.

4 On the discrepancy between Confucianism as official ideology and *Realpolitik* in Ming China, see Alastair Iain Johnston, *Cultural Realism: Strategic Culture and Grand Strategy in Chinese History* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995).

5 Ralph Kauz, *Politik und Handel Zwischen Ming und Timuriden* (Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2005), 20.

One of the most important Persian sources about Ming China is the *Zubdat al-tavārikh* by Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū (d. 1430). By making use of several historical works, Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū compiled the history of the Timurid dynasty from the time of Timur's assumed birth in 1336 up to 1426/1427 and provides a record—albeit not a complete list—of the Chinese and Timurid embassies. He chiefly relies on the *Zafarnāme* by Niẓām al-Dīn Shāmī and the *Muntakhab al-tavārikh* by Mu'īn al-Dīn Naṭanzī, to both of which he adds his own personal experiences.

Another important historical source in Persian is the *Maṭla'ī sa'dayn va-majma'ī bahrayn* by Kamāl al-Dīn 'Abd al-Razzāq Samarqandī (d. 1482). This work addresses a longer time span than that of Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū: from 1304/1305 to 1470/1471. Samarqandī, however, similar to the aforementioned *Zubdat al-tavārikh* by Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, does not mention the Timurid–Chinese embassies after the year of 1426/1427, and his data about these embassies also show a great similarity to Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū's work.⁶

A third source in Persian that needs to be mentioned is the account of a journey to China (1420–1422), written by a certain Ghiyās al-Dīn Naqqāsh. The information it provides about early Ming China is more abundant than any other Persian source. Though the original travel account is no longer available, it was compiled into the works of the two aforementioned chroniclers (Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū and Samarqandī), and has a Turkic translation by Ḥājjī b. Muḥammad completed in AH 900 (1494/1495).⁷ Finally, the work of a certain Central Asian merchant called 'Alī Akbar Khatā'ī on China titled *Khatāy-nāme* and devoted to

6 Aside from these works above, the following four also deserve attention: Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī's *Zafarnāma*, Fasīḥ Aḥmad b. Jalāl al-Dīn Khwāfi's *Mujmal-i Fasīḥi*, Mirkhwānd's *Tarikh-i rawḍat al-ṣafā*, as well as Khwādamir (Mirkhwānd's grandson)'s *Ḥabīb al-siyar*. See Kauz, *Politik und Handel*, 16–20 for further details.

7 Ildikó Bellér-Hann, who translated this Turkic source into English and studied it from a linguistic point of view, assumes that Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū and Samarqandī might have used a third, likely potential Persian text as the original account. By studying the Western editions of the Naqqāsh account in detail, Bellér-Hann concludes that the translation of Henry Yule (*Cathay and the Way Thither: Being a Collection of Medieval Notices of China*, 4 vols. (London: Hakluyt Society, 1913–1916)) must have been based on Samarqandī's version, while the translation of K.M. Maitra (*A Persian Embassy to China: An Extract from Zubdatu't Tawarikh of Hafiz Abru* (New York: Paragon Book Corporation, 1970)) must have relied on Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū (Ildikó Bellér-Hann, *A History of Cathay: A Translation and Linguistic Analysis of a Fifteenth-Century Turkic Manuscript* (Bloomington: Indiana University, 1995)). The work of Edward Rehatsek, "An Embassy to Khata or China AD 1419: From the Appendix to the Rouzat-al-Ssafa of Muhammad Khāvend Shāh or Mirkhond," *The Indian Antiquary* (March 1873): 75–83, also includes a translation from the text found in the appendix of the aforementioned Mirkhwānd's *Tarikh-i rawḍat al-ṣafā*.

the then Ottoman ruler, Sulṭān Sulaymān I (r. 1520–1566), also deserves careful academic attention.⁸

As for the sources in classical Chinese, Zhang Wende 張文德 provides a list of all the important works regarding Timurid-Ming contacts.⁹ Among them, the *Mingshilu* 明實錄¹⁰ is the most valuable source for the study of Ming China's encounters with the outside world.¹¹ Besides the *Mingshilu*, two

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- 8 'Alī Akbar spent long years in Beijing. Later he settled down in Istanbul, where, in 1516, he produced an account of his experiences. Bellér-Hann (*History of Cathay*) draws attention to the fact that although 'Alī Akbar's account was written a century after the travel account of Ghiyāṣ al-Dīn Naqqāsh, the two show certain similarities in terms of the subjects covered and the literary genre. Moreover, similar to the Naqqāsh account, the original work was written in Persian, which was later translated into Ottoman Turkish in 1582. These similarities led to some confusion in later times. Furthermore, Bellér-Hann also asserts that the two accounts complement each other, since Naqqāsh as an envoy and 'Alī Akbar as a merchant experienced China from different perspectives. Addressed to both the Ottoman court and a larger Muslim urban public, 'Alī Akbar's *Khaṭāynāma* provides an interesting glimpse into how the Chinese polity, as well as its bureaucratic and legal system, was perceived by a Muslim writer. According to Kaveh Hemmat, 'Alī Akbar's work called for a shift to more centralized bureaucratic governance and codification of law—well before such a shift came to be realized in Muslim polities (including the Ottoman Empire) during the sixteenth century (Kaveh Hemmat, "A Chinese System for an Ottoman State: The Frontier, the Millennium, and Ming Bureaucracy in Khaṭāyī's Book of China" (Ph.D. diss., The University of Chicago, 2014)).
- 9 Zhang Wende 張文德, *Ming yu Tiemu'er wangchao guanxishi yanjiu* 明與帖木兒王朝關係史研究 [A study of the contacts between the Ming and Timurid dynasties] (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2006).
- 10 The *Mingshilu* was based on various kinds of official documents, such as imperial edicts and orders, official reports, archives, as well as other historical writings. Its abundant contents on historical events serve as a great source to study Ming China from political, economic, military, and cultural aspects. The section about the Western Region (Xiyu 西域) offers valuable information about China's foreign relations with Central Asia, although the compilers were not sufficiently knowledgeable about this region, and thus the work contains a few mistakes, such as the mixing-up of places and dates, names of persons, as well as in the records of events. Also, in many cases it remains unclear whether the events described in the *Mingshilu*—such as the imperial orders to dispatch embassies—did take place in reality, or they were just *planned* but never carried out. Despite these deficiencies, however, the *Mingshilu* can be considered the most complete source about Ming China. See Kauz, *Politik und Handel*, 16.
- 11 For a critical edition of the two accounts with detailed commentaries, see Zhou Liankuan 周連寬, *Xiyu xingcheng ji* 西域行程記, *Xiyu fanguo zhi* 西域番國志, Zhongwai jiaotong shiji congkan 中外交通史籍叢刊 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1991). For a detailed discussion about the history of the two accounts, see Zsombor Rajkai, *Xiyu xingcheng ji és Xiyu fanguo zhi: két 15. század eleji kínai forrás Közép Ázsiáról* [*Xiyu xingcheng ji* and *Xiyu fanguo zhi*: Two early fifteenth-century Chinese sources about Central Asia], Konfuciusz Könyvtár 6. (Budapest: ELTE Konfuciusz Intézet, 2023).

further sources deserve scholarly attention: the *Xiyu fanguo zhi* 西域番國志 and the *Xiyu xingcheng ji* 西域行成記¹²—two accounts written by a Chinese scholar-official, Chen Cheng 陳誠 (1365–1458).¹³ The two accounts together provide the most important information on early fifteenth-century Central Asia from a Chinese perspective.

In addition to the sources in Persian and Chinese above, two further accounts need to be mentioned, both written in European languages. One is the work by Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo (d. 1412), who in 1403 was sent as an envoy of King Henry III of Castile to Timur (1336?–1405) in Samarqand and returned to Spain in 1406. Among other things, Clavijo depicts the impolite way Timur treated the envoys from China in the late 1390s.¹⁴ The other work is that of Johann Schiltberger (1380–c.1440), who served as a military slave in Timur's retinue between 1402 and 1405, and continued to serve the Timurids up to 1414.¹⁵

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- 12 The *Xiyu fanguo zhi* is a record of nineteen cities in Central Asia, most importantly Herat, the destination of the embassy. This work can be considered a counterpart of the aforementioned work on China by the Persian Ghiyās al-Dīn. The *Xiyu xingcheng ji* is a diary of the road the embassy took from the Suzhou Garrison 肅州衛 near China's then western border station (the Jiayu-pass 嘉峪關) to the Timurid capital, Herat. This diary takes note of, among other things, the names of the places the embassy went through, the distance they covered a day, the lengths of time they stayed at each place, and the daily weather conditions. Though the *Xiyu xingcheng ji* tends to be considered less valuable than the *Xiyu fanguo zhi*, it provides valuable information about the route of the embassy.
- 13 Despite a certain degree of disagreement regarding the authorship of the two accounts, scholars tend to agree that both accounts derive from the same person: a certain Chinese scholar-official and imperial envoy by the name of Chen Cheng, who was dispatched to Central Asia between 1413 and 1415. The career of Chen Cheng as a scholar-official began in the 1390s, towards the end of the reign of Zhu Yuanzhang 朱元璋 (1328–1398). In 1402, he fell victim to the power struggle of Zhu Yuanzhang's successors, and was sent into exile for a couple of years. In 1405, he was rehabilitated, and in 1413 appointed envoy for the embassy to Herat. Thereafter, he was sent there three more times: in 1416, 1418 and 1424, though the last mission was suspended due to the death of the Chinese emperor, Zhu Di. Although Chen Cheng did not produce any similar travel accounts during the second and third missions, the fact that he was dispatched several times to Herat suggests that he became one of the most noteworthy envoys in early Ming China. See Morris Rossabi, "Two Ming Envoys to Inner Asia," *T'oung Pao* 62, no. 1–3 (1976): 1–34.
- 14 Ruy González de Clavijo, *Narrative of the Embassy of Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo to the Court of Timour at Samarcand, A.D. 1403–6*, trans. Clements R. Markham (London: Printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1859).
- 15 Schiltberger was taken captive at the battle of Nicopolis in 1396 by the Ottoman ruler, Bāyezid I. After healing from his wounds, he was taken into the sultan's service as a runner. Bāyezid was later defeated by Timur at the battle of Ankara in 1402, and Schiltberger had no choice but to serve his new (Timurid) masters. After Timur's death in 1405 Schiltberger first became a slave of Timur's son, Shāhrukh, then that of Mirānshah (brother of

3 Parallels between the Respective Histories of the Two Empires

The Timurid Empire and Ming China produced some remarkable parallels during their respective historical flows. Though several of these parallels are mere coincidence, it is worth briefly outlining them. As mentioned above, both dynasties emerged on the remnants of the former Chingisid Empire from the middle of the fourteenth century, though it took about two decades for the founder of Ming China to drive the Mongols out of the territory of China proper effectively.¹⁶ The Yuan (Mongol) dynasty had already been in decline, no longer in a position to successfully face the deterioration of the social order that had first surfaced in the 1330s. This inability contributed to the collapse of the Mongol realm on Chinese soil by the end of the century. In contrast, Timur did not have to face a strong united army in Transoxiana, since by around the time he was born the Chaghatay Khanate had already been on the decline.¹⁷ Yet, the social order in both China and the Chaghatay Khanate started to weaken from about the same period, i.e., the 1330s, which eventually opened up opportunities for the rise of charismatic leaders in both cases:¹⁸ the emergence of Zhu Yuanzhang 朱元璋 (1328–1398) in China and Timur in the Chaghatay Khanate were both (political) products of the same historical period.¹⁹ Thereafter, the careers of the two rulers deviated

Shāhrukḥ), and finally Abū Bakr (son of Mirānshah). Schiltberger's long journey away from his home in Bavaria took place between 1396 and 1427. Johannes Schiltberger, *Reisen des Johannes Schiltberger aus München in Europa, Asia, und Afrika, von 1394 bis 1427*, ed. Karl Friedrich Neumann (München, 1859).

- 16 See Frederick W. Mote, "The Rise of the Ming Dynasty, 1330–1367," in *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 7, *The Ming Dynasty*, Part 1, ed. Frederick W. Mote and Denis Twitchett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 11–57.
- 17 The Chaghatayid ruler, Tarmashirin khan (r. 1331–1334) converted to Islam at around the time of Timur's birth. He preferred dwelling in the sedentary cities in Transoxiana, the western half of the Chaghatay Khanate. All this led to tremendous dissatisfaction and then rebellion among the Mongol tribes in the eastern part of the Khanate. Tarmashirin was finally killed in battle, and soon thereafter the whole Khanate was divided into two: an eastern (Moghulistan) and a western part (Transoxiana).
- 18 The second half of the fourteenth century not only meant the political collapse of centralized Mongol rule, but it also brought forth ideological challenges in terms of authority, which were embodied in conflicts and competition between various forms of religious and political authority. See Said Amir Arjomand, *The Shadow of God and the Hidden Imam: Religion, Political Order, and Societal Change in Shi'ite Iran from the Beginning to 1890* (Chicago: The University of Chicago, 1984); and Azfar A. Moin, *The Millennial Sovereign: Sacred Kingship and Sainthood in Islam* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014).
- 19 Timur became the actual ruler of Transoxiana by 1370, whereas Zhu Yuanzhang founded the new (Ming) dynasty and proclaimed himself its first emperor in 1368.

in a remarkable way. While Timur continued with his military campaigns outside of Transoxiana, the core (hinter)land of his empire, Zhu Yuanzhang as the enthroned Hongwu 洪武 Emperor (r. 1368–1398) focused on consolidating his new dynasty. Interestingly, however, both of them passed away at around the same age with a few-year difference only.

Another interesting historical parallel is the succession after the death of the founding rulers. Both Timur and Zhu Yuanzhang were first succeeded by one of their grandsons, though in neither of the two cases did their successions last for more than a couple of years. Zhu Yuanzhang originally planned to nominate one of his sons, Zhu Biao 朱標, as the heir to the throne. Zhu Biao, however, passed away in 1392, and then his second son, Zhu Yunwen 朱允炆 (the future Jianwen 建文 Emperor) was appointed as Zhu Yuanzhang's successor. Zhu Yunwen, however, could keep the throne only for a few years (r. 1398–1402): in 1402, he was defeated by his uncle, Zhu Di 朱棣 (1360–1424), the fourth son of Zhu Yuanzhang, the prince of Yan 燕 and the future Yongle 永樂 Emperor (r. 1403–1424). In the case of the Timurid Empire, Timur nominated his grandson, Pīr Muḥammad (son of Jahāngīr), who was, however, murdered by one of his generals in 1407. The power struggle continued between another grandson of Timur, Khalīl Sulṭān and his uncle, Shāhrukh (1377–1447)²⁰ that ended with Shāhrukh's victory in 1409.²¹ Thus, coincidentally, in both cases the grandsons appointed as heirs by the founding rulers were ousted relatively fast by their uncles (Zhu Di and Shāhrukh). Interestingly again, both of these uncles as the new rulers then managed to create political stability.

Another resemblance between the two Empires is their deviation from certain militaristic elements within the Chingisid legacy, though this did not take place at the same time. For instance, despite the fact that Shāhrukh spent almost his entire reign engaged in war, this was accompanied by a certain turn away from the militaristic characteristics of the founder (Timur) as a top-to-toe conqueror.²² In contrast, Zhu Di not only was a ruler with militaristic ambitions, but by extending China's political impact through vibrant diplomatic

20 Timur's fourth son. The fact that both Zhu Di and Shāhrukh were the fourth son of a founding ruler reveals another interesting—though coincidental—resemblance in the historical flow of the two empires.

21 Yongle called upon Shāhrukh to put an end to the war between himself and Khalīl Sulṭān. This appears to be the only time when the Chinese ruler attempted to intervene in Timurid internal affairs.

22 Manz assumes a significant change in the Timurid rulers' career and nature of legacy, by pointing to the shift from the founder (Timur) as a *conqueror* to his rather *stationary* successors. See Beatrice F. Manz, "Temür and the Problem of a Conqueror's Legacy," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Third Series, vol. 8, no. 1 (Apr., 1998): 40. See also Charles

activities, he also created an unprecedented historical opportunity to surpass his father's isolationist foreign policy.²³ Nonetheless, after the death of Zhu Di in 1424, early Ming China started to lose its (expansionary) militaristic features and opened up the way to the revival of the social status of the scholar-officials over military officers. Thus it can be argued that both the Timurids and Ming Chinese that had previously shared common militaristic characteristics during the early stage of their rule sooner or later deviated from these attributes and developed rather *stationary* features.²⁴ Yet, these shifts in the two cases differed in direction since the Timurid dynasty, while also preserving its inherent Turco-Mongol cultural characteristics, trended towards Islam, whereas Ming China found the way back to its Confucian roots.²⁵

Melville, "The Itineraries of Shāhrukh b. Timur (1405–47)," in *Turko-Mongol Rulers, Cities and City Life*, ed. David Durand-Guédy (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 285–315.

- 23 Of these activities, the seven naval expeditions (1405–1433) under the command of the eunuch Zheng He 鄭和 are the best remembered.
- 24 This was true for the Timurids even though they continued to have conflicts with their tribal following, and strife between urban and nomadic elements in their realm also went on. In relation to the latter, it is worth noting that the camp sites established outside the city walls served as a fundamental part of the life of the Timurid rulers and nobility. These camp sites that reflected the nomadic cultural origins of the Timurid rulers meant more than just simple temporary residence: they also expressed their distrust in the settled way of life surrounded by walls, as walls could protect the insiders from enemy attacks, but they could also hold them as prisoners. See Mohammad Gharipour and Manu P. Sobti, "Mobile Urbanism: Tent Cities in Medieval Travel Writing," in *The City in the Muslim World: Depictions by Western Travel Writers*, eds. Mohammad Gharipour and Nilay Özlü (London–New York: Routledge, 2015), 34. For this reason, the camp site that served as the ruler's residence was always set up next to the capital city throughout the fifteenth century. These camps were political and military (decision-making) centers, while cultural and artistic activities took place within the city walls. See Monika Gronke, "The Persian Court Between Palace and Tent: From Timur to 'Abbas I," in *Timurid Art and Culture: Iran and Central Asia in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. Lisa Golombek and Maria Subtelny (Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2014), 20–21.
- 25 An interesting resemblance can be seen in the change of the capital city in both empires: Shāhrukh moved it from Samarqand to Herat, while Zhu Di changed it from Nanjing to Beijing. Shāhrukh had been appointed governor of Herat well before his father's death, and this must have contributed to his decision to make Herat the capital city after having gained victory in the struggle for succession. On the other hand, the move of the capital may also have reflected the ideological orientation regarding Turco-Mongolian customs and Islamic tradition in favor of the latter. Similar to Shāhrukh, Zhu Di had already dwelt in the north of China as the prince of Yan, and this must have contributed to his decision to change the capital from Nanjing (Southern Capital) to Beijing (Northern Capital). However, just as in the case of Shāhrukh, a certain, albeit hidden, interest in the Yuan (Mongol) heritage may also have played a role in his decision to move the capital from the south to the north, close to the (winter) capital of the Yuan dynasty, Khanbaliq (or Dadu 大都 in Chinese). Another possible explanation might be that Zhu Di rose to power

As last, one more startling resemblance can be seen in the respective histories of the two empires: in 1449 both faced a critical time regarding their survival, though under different conditions. The struggle for succession following the death of Ulugh Beg (1394–1449), the oldest son of Shāhrukh, led to a series of murders when finally Abū Saʿīd, a great-grandson of Timur on the line of Mīrānshāh, grasped power. To the good luck of the Timurids, the Uzbeks failed to take this excellent chance to end Timurid power, and thus the Timurids continued to rule in Central Asia for about fifty more years. In Ming China, the year of 1449 was hallmarked by the turmoil following the attack on China by Esen 也先 (called the Tumu 土木 incident), the chief of the Oirat Mongols. Though Esen captured the Chinese emperor, Zhu Qizhen 朱祁鎮 (1427–1464), he had no intention to continue his campaign and occupy China, being content merely looting the Chinese frontiers.²⁶ Both empires eventually managed to overcome these critical times in 1449. Thereafter, China, under the shock of the Tumu incident, showed an even more cautious attitude toward the barbarians, and while adopting a rather passive foreign policy, it reorganized its military and further fortified the border areas. In contrast, the Timurid Empire in Central Asia had a second golden age under the reign of Sulṭān Ḥusayn Bayqarā (r. 1469–1506).

4 Legitimacy and Way of Ruling

The positioning of the Yuan dynasty in world history is a subtle subject of debate, and it varies according to the historiography in question. In Chinese historiography, the Yuan 元 dynasty (1271–1368), though often labelled *alien regime*, represents a historical continuity between the preceding Song 宋 (960–1279) and the succeeding Ming 明 dynasties (1368–1644).²⁷ This is well expressed in the compilation of the *Yuanshi* 元史 (*History of the Yuan*), one of China's Twenty-Four Official Histories, or more precisely the twenty-four officially recognized historical works (*ershisi shi* 二十四史).²⁸ The compilation of

against his father's official choice of Zhu Yunwen as successor to the throne, whom Zhu Di later squeezed out of power. Zhu Di's usurpation of the throne may also have played a role in his decision to move the capital from Nanjing to Beijing, as he likely wanted the illegitimacy of his rise to power to fade from public memory.

26 The military force he commanded would not have been sufficient to do so anyway.

27 Kubilai khan declared the foundation of the Yuan dynasty in 1271, but it took eight more years for him to defeat the remaining Song forces.

28 There are altogether twenty-five historical dynasties officially recognized in premodern Chinese history, but the Qing 清 dynasty (1644–1911) as the last imperial dynasty did not

the *Yuanshi* started right after the declaration of the new Ming dynasty in 1368 under the order of the new emperor, Zhu Yuanzhang, and it was completed by 1370. The order for the compilation of the *Yuanshi* meant that the Yuan dynasty was recognized by the first Ming emperor as part of China's history. The fact that the ruling elite of the Yuan dynasty was of foreign origin did not affect its acknowledgement as being a *Chinese* dynasty. Also, the official reasoning why the Yuan dynasty had to be replaced was not directly related to the foreign origin of the ruling class, but was rather explained through the belief that the Yuan dynasty had lost the Heavenly Mandate, i.e., the justification for rule, a fundamental concept in premodern China's political philosophy.

In contrast, the Yuan dynasty conveyed a different meaning for its ruling elite of Mongol origin: they perceived it as part of *Mongol* rather than of Chinese history.²⁹ This perception can be traced in at least two aspects. First of all, one decade before Kubilai khan declared the foundation of the Yuan dynasty in 1271, he had already assumed the Mongol title of supreme ruler (*khagan*, a title of imperial rank) in 1260. This title was referred to being the supreme ruler of the whole Mongol Empire.³⁰ There is no historical trace that Kubilai khan himself would have restricted his theoretical authority as the supreme leader to the geographical boundaries of China after the foundation of the Yuan dynasty, even though his *de facto* power, following the Mongol Empire falling apart into several khanates during the 1260s, did not go beyond the territory of China.³¹ In accordance with this, the chosen dynastic name in 1271 as *Da Yuan* 大元 did not refer to the territory of China alone. Rather, *Da Yuan* seems to be a mere Chinese equivalent to the original Mongol name of *Yekhe Mongghul Ulus* (the Great Mongol Nation), which was in use to the very end of the Yuan dynasty.³² It must also be noted that the Mongols in their language did not have an expression for China as one single political entity; instead, they had separate words for different parts of China, such as *Khitāi* (North China), *Nangīyās* (South China) or *Qarājāng* (Southwest China).³³ This all suggests that for Kubilai khan the proclamation of the Yuan dynasty did not mean the establishment of a *new* dynasty per se, but rather an extension of his

achieve a proper official compilation of its almost three-century history, except for a draft called *Qingshi gao* 清史稿 (1928).

- 29 Hodong Kim, "Was 'Da Yuan' a Chinese Dynasty?" *Journal of Song—Yuan Studies* (Society for Song, Yuan, and Conquest Dynasty Studies) vol. 45 (2015): 279–305.
- 30 It must be noted that there was a succession struggle between Kubilai khan and his brother Ariq Böke until 1264 when the latter finally surrendered to the former.
- 31 Hodong Kim, "Was 'Da Yuan' a Chinese Dynasty?," 280.
- 32 Hodong Kim, "Was 'Da Yuan' a Chinese Dynasty?," 288.
- 33 Hodong Kim, "Was 'Da Yuan' a Chinese Dynasty?," 291.

ongoing imperial project. A similar phenomenon can be observed in regard to the slow Sinicization³⁴ of the Mongols in Yuan China, which, among other things, was manifested in the Yuan emperors' poor knowledge of the Chinese language.³⁵ On the other hand, it is a matter of debate if the slow process of the Sinicization of the Yuan Mongols served as the reason for their failure to maintain their rule for longer than a century. This appears as a contrast to the Sinicization process of the ruling class of the Manchus³⁶ in Qing times (1644–1911), which lasted for almost three centuries.³⁷

The termination of Mongol rule and the foundation of the Ming dynasty in 1368 as a native (Han-)Chinese polity that also acknowledged the preceding Yuan (Mongol) dynasty as a legitimate *Chinese* dynasty, ended the politically ambiguous status of China. This opened up the potential for a complete revival of Chinese sociocultural norms and policies. However, despite the victory of Ming forces over the Mongols, the century-long Mongol existence had an impact on Ming legitimacy and political practices. Edward L. Dreyer, who studied the military aspects of early Ming times between 1368 and 1435, suggests that Yuan influence was important in the following five spheres: (1) foreign affairs and foreign trade, (2) the (temporary) suspension of the civil service examinations between 1373 and 1384, (3) the preponderance of military officers over civil officials, (4) official appointment in the military based on heredity, and (5) military conquests.³⁸ Of these five aspects, the latter three were directly correlated, as they were all rooted in the idea of elevating the

34 This refers to the process of acculturation or assimilation of foreign people to China's sociopolitical and sociocultural norms.

35 Fan Zhang, "Characteristics of the Yuan Dynasty: Reflections on Several Issues from Mongol Yuan History," *Chinese Studies in History* 51, no. 1 (2018): 61.

36 The term *Manchu* was a political construct that included various ethnic groups, with the tribe of the Jianzhou Jurchens (or Jianzhou Nüzhen 建州女真)—the clan of Nurhaci, the founder of the Qing dynasty—in the center.

37 Chu Junjun 儲軍軍, "Meng Yuan yu Man Qing zhengquan Hanhua zhuangkuang zhi bijiao 蒙元與滿清政權漢化狀況之比較 [A comparative study of the conditions of Sinicisation regarding the regimes of the Mongolian Yuan dynasty and the Manchu Qing dynasty]," *Shenyang gongye daxue xuebao* 沉陽工業大學學報 10, no. 3 (2017): 283–288.

38 Dreyer argues that with the enthronement of the sixth emperor (Zhu Qizhen 朱祁鎮) in 1435 there was a turn away from the military aspects of early Ming times to a more obvious revival of Confucianism. See Edward L. Dreyer, *Early Ming China: A Political History 1355–1435* (California: Stanford University Press, 1982); and Edward L. Dreyer, "Military Origins of Ming China," in *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 7, *The Ming Dynasty*, Part 1, ed. Frederick W. Mote and Denis Twitchett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 58–106. Nonetheless, it must be noted that oftentimes it is not 1435 but 1449—the year of the Oirat Mongol ruler Esen's 也先 attack on China—that is viewed as the end of the early Ming period.

military over the scholar-official stratum—an act without any precedence in Chinese history before Ming and Yuan times. Similarly, the temporary suspension of the civil service examinations in the 1370s and early 1380s can also be viewed as an indirect outcome of the first Ming emperor's trust in the military forces. Moreover, it must be noted that early Ming China continued to show remarkable enthusiasm for astronomy, geography, cartography and medicine, which was accompanied by such major decisions regarding administration as the transfer of the capital from Nanjing to Beijing (1420), the establishment of the College of Interpreters (*huitongguan* 會同館) and the College of Translators (*siyiguan* 四夷館), as well as the introduction of a military organization modelled on the Yuan dynasty. On the other hand, the following policies implemented by the early Ming emperors—either through having their roots in China before Yuan times, or in certain cases, as a result of the revival of neo-Confucianism—cannot be exclusively attributed to the continuation of previous Mongol practices alone: interest in religion, establishing the Censorate to watch over the bureaucracy, and changes in family-related practices such as women's reduced accessibility to property and ownership, the division of the property while the parents are still alive, and also the inheritability of property between brothers after one of them passes away.³⁹ However, most importantly, it is subject for debate whether the early Ming rulers claimed universal rule by posing as successors to the Chinggisids. Although evidence for

39 See Morris Rossabi, "Notes on Mongol Influences on the Ming Dynasty," in *Eurasian Influences on Yuan China*, ed. Morris Rossabi (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2013), 200–223; and Morris Rossabi, "Mongol Impact on China: Lasting Influences with Preliminary Notes on Other Parts of the Mongol Empire," *Acta Via Serica* 5, no. 2 (2020): 34–38. According to Rossabi, following the collapse of Yuan (Mongol) power, a significant number of Mongols were allowed to stay in China, who either entered the Imperial Guard (*Jinyiwei* 錦衣衛) or worked as translators or interpreters. This suggests that the emperor did not intend to completely discredit the Yuan dynasty. Interestingly, he also praised the Yuan (Mongol) Emperors for their interest in the Confucian way of ruling, such as securing the Heavenly Mandate, or recruiting able Confucians as court advisers. See Rossabi, "Mongol Impact on China," 35. Certain scholars even go as far as to suggest that some Ming Emperors assumed legitimacy by adopting the Yuan emperors' claim for universal rule, and that they often portrayed themselves as successors to the Chinggisid dynasty. For instance, Zhu Di presented himself as the successor of Kubilai khan (See David Robinson, "The Ming Court and the Legacy of the Yuan Mongols," in *Culture, Courtiers, Competition: The Ming Court (1368–1644)*, ed. David Robinson (Cambridge (Massachusetts) and London: Harvard University Press, 2008), 368; and Robinson, *The Shadow of the Mongol Empire: Ming China and Eurasia* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2020)). This attitude survived up until the middle of the fifteenth century when early Ming China's Mongol practices were finally abandoned. See Rossabi, "Mongol Impact on China," 35.

this claim is scarce,⁴⁰ there are certain signs for the possibility of “the imperial family’s associations with the Great Yuan *ulus* through its patronage of Tibetan Buddhism, court portraiture, Korean palace women and eunuchs within the Forbidden City, Mongol military personnel in the capital, funerary figurines from princely tombs, and porcelains with foreign inscriptions.”⁴¹

In contrast to the case of Ming China with its complex Yuan (Mongol) heritage, the Timurid Empire, as a native *heir* to Turco-Mongol sociocultural settings, on first sight appears to be a case less complex in terms of legitimacy.⁴² The Timurids, however, had their own challenges, and these challenges altogether were no smaller than the ones Ming China faced, albeit different in character. The empire founded by Timur was never as politically unified as Ming China, not even during the reign of Timur. Instead, it functioned rather as a collectivity of various competing political actors (princes) throughout the fifteenth century. This was well reflected in Timurid historiography.⁴³ Timur and his descendants showed great interest in history-writing as a legitimizing tool with his family traditions at the center. This interest persisted through the

40 Rossabi, “Notes on Mongol Influences on the Ming Dynasty,” 207.

41 Robinson, “The Ming Court and the Legacy of the Yuan Mongols,” 370.

42 By Timur’s time, the politico-cultural heritage of the Mongols had become so powerful that actually no nomadic ruler could secure legitimacy without demonstrating a certain relationship with the Chingisid dynasty. See Soucek, *A History of Inner Asia*, 125. There were basically two ways at hand to do so: either through marriage with a person with Chingisid origin, or ruling on behalf of a Chingisid puppet khan. Timur strengthened the legitimacy of his power in both ways. He married a princess of the Chingisid line, while he also ruled in the name of Chingisid puppet rulers. Consequently, he was not in a position to call himself *khan*, and had to be content with using the titles of *emir* and *gurgan* (or *küregen*). The latter means *son-in-law* in Mongolian. Interestingly, in Chinese historiography Timur was also called *fuma* (駙馬), meaning *imperial son-in-law*. This demonstrates that the newly arisen Ming Chinese court eventually recognized Timur as a sovereign ruler related to the Chingisid dynasty. However, Timur’s choice for a puppet khan in 1370, in whose name he could rule, seems peculiar in that he preferred the Ögedeyid line to the Chaghatayid line. According to Soucek, Timur’s preference for the Ögedeyid lineage indicates that this meant just a formal value for him. The other source of legitimacy for rule that Timur made use of was Islam. Timur succeeded in combining Turco-Mongol customs and Islamic political tradition, by utilizing the Islamic *sharī‘a* and the Mongol *yāsā* for different—i.e. the civil and military—aspects of administration.

43 See John E. Woods, “Timur’s Genealogy,” in *Intellectual Studies on Islam: Essays Written in Honor of Martin B. Dickson*, ed. Michel M. Mazzaoui and Vera B. Moreen (Salt Lake City, Utah: University of Utah Press, 1990), 85–125; Beatrice F. Manz, *Power, Politics, and Religion in Timurid Iran* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 2007; and İlker Evrim Binbaş, *Intellectual Networks in Timurid Iran: Sharaf al-Dīn ‘Alī Yazdī and the Islamicate Republic of Letters* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016).

struggle for succession among the princes after his death,⁴⁴ which also enticed a remarkable increase in history-writing in both Central Asia and Iran.⁴⁵ The Timurid princes, each of whom declared independence and replaced the name of the Chingisid puppet khan for the name of Timur both on the coins and in the Friday sermon (*khutba*),⁴⁶ were all in need of support from intellectuals to legitimize their authority.⁴⁷

This internal fragmentation within the Timurid family, however, was not the only thing that threatened the Timurids. First, Timur, who came from a non-Chingisid branch of the Mongols, never had himself called king. Instead, he chose puppet khans from the Ögedeyid branch of the Chingisid family in whose name he could exercise power as an *emir* (commander), and married a princess from the Chagatayid branch of the Chingisids in order to bolster the legitimacy of his political ambitions. Nonetheless, Timurid chroniclers in their portraits of Timur attributed more *legitimate* power to him than to other warlords of Chagatayid origins. They ascribed supremacy to the Barlas (Timur's own tribe) over other non-Chingisid tribes in the Chagatayid Khanate, while accentuating the significance of the descendants of Ichil and Aylangir among the various houses of the Barlas.⁴⁸

All these differences, however, are dwarfed by those between Turco-Mongol customs and Islamic traditions, including Islamic legislation (*sharī'a*). Timur's power was based on his charisma as a political leader of Turco-Mongol nomadic origins, but—though Timur himself was a Muslim—this was not sufficient to exert legitimate power over the Muslim sedentary population.⁴⁹ The Islamization of the Mongols in the Chagatayid Khanate had been proceeding for almost a century by the time Timur gained power, and thus the conflict

44 Manẓ, *Power, Politics, and Religion in Timurid Iran*, 17. The power struggle ended with the victory of Shāhrukh, which later created an imbalance of history writing in favor of the Shāhrukhid branch within the Timurid family vis-à-vis other branches. As a result, the entire line of Jahāngīr (Timur's only son born from his legal wife) became marginalized in Timurid politics and underrepresented in Timurid historiography. See Binbaş, *Intellectual Networks in Timurid Iran*, 170–172.

45 Binbaş, *Intellectual Networks in Timurid Iran*, 168.

46 Binbaş, *Intellectual Networks in Timurid Iran*, 172.

47 This also meant that in case a prince lost power, intellectuals supporting him fell with him. See Binbaş, *Intellectual Networks in Timurid Iran*, 20.

48 Woods, "Timur's Genealogy," 103. This internal fragmentation within the Turco-Mongol politico-cultural heritage also surfaced through the differences between *pure* Mongol customs (*yāsā*) and Turco-Mongol customs (*törä*) as practiced by Timur and his descendants. See Maria E. Subtelny, *Timurids in Transition: Turko-Persian Politics and Acculturation in Medieval Iran* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 15–16.

49 Subtelny, *Timurids in Transition*, 14.

between Mongol and Islamic culture was not new at all.⁵⁰ It is, however, debated to what degree these two cultural orientations could be reconciled. For instance, John E. Woods suggests that the weight of Timurid family traditions started to decline after Timur, and that the Mongol conceptualization of rule went through reconciliation with Islamic political thought.⁵¹ Although a certain degree of reconciliation was possible, even unavoidable, there was still conflict or at least competition in a number of spheres, such as administration, landholding, taxation, culture, or literary language, as a result of the dual chancellery that Timur created, his implementation of both Perso-Islamic and Turco-Mongol administrative practices, and the need to accommodate diverse attitudes in a socially and culturally divided population.⁵² The question is whether there was any paradigm shift among the succeeding Timurid rulers in the way they had recourse to the Turco-Mongol and Islamic traditions as sources of ideology. Questioning the reigning scholarly opinion that there was an obvious shift from the initial Turco-Mongol orientation to Islam from the time of Shāhrukh, Manz argues that Shāhrukh never explicitly ignored the Turco-Mongolian origins of rule, though he refused Timur's dependence on a puppet *khan* along with his official connection to the Chingisid family as an imperial son-in-law.⁵³

5 Pragmatism and Ideology in Timurid–Ming Contacts

Though the two empires were established at around the same time, there was no direct contact between them for about two decades. After proclaiming

50 Manz, "Temür and the Problem of a Conqueror's Legacy," 36.

51 Woods, "Timur's Genealogy," 116–117.

52 Manz, "Temür and the Problem of a Conqueror's Legacy," 36, 41.

53 Manz, "Temür and the Problem of a Conqueror's Legacy," 37. Though Shāhrukh, similar to his father, married a Chingisid princess (Malikat Agha), he never used the title *küregen* ("imperial son-in-law"), and he never had his sons marry Chingisid princesses, either (Woods, "Timur's Genealogy," 116). Nonetheless, it must be noted that the Mongol heritage in Central Asia was preserved for a much longer time than in China. Legitimacy based on Chingisid descent remained significant throughout the entirety of Timurid history. This is also well reflected in the case of Bābur, the founder of the Great Mughal Empire, who was of both Timurid and Chingisid origin. The importance of Chingisid genealogy in Central Asia did not fade with the Uzbek conquest by Muḥammad Shaybāni, who was a grandson of Abū'l Khayr Uzbek Khan (the founder of the Uzbek *ulus* in the mid-fifteenth century), whose Chingisid lineage went back to Chinggis Khan's grandson, Shibān. Thus, in contrast with China, there was arguably no obvious deviation from the Turco-Mongol heritage in Central Asia.

himself as the Hongwu Emperor, Zhu Yuanzhang aimed to make official contacts with the foreign states surrounding China in the hope that this would help him reinforce his power. According to the *Mingshi* 明史, Zhu Yuanzhang sent envoys to the Western Regions (Xiyu 西域, i.e., Central Asia) as early as the 1370s, but without any success.⁵⁴ Despite the long distances, Zhu Yuanzhang may have felt concerned about the rising Turco-Mongol power of Timur as a potential enemy of China in the future, though this remains a hypothesis due to the lack of supporting sources. It also remains a question to what degree Zhu Yuanzhang, who had just driven the Mongols out of the territory of China proper, was in fact conscious about Timur's newly emerged empire in Central Asia. Be that as it may, according to the available sources, no official contact was made between the two empires during the 1370s and early 1380s.

In 1387, Timur unexpectedly sent an embassy to the Chinese court in the capital Nanjing, which brought two camels and fifteen horses as tribute.⁵⁵ This embassy meant the first contact on the part of Timur, followed by ten more over the next decade.⁵⁶ The final one arrived in Nanjing in 1397, when embassies from Timur stopped as suddenly as they had started in the late 1380s. Thereafter, Timur began to show hostility to China, and the previously peaceful relations vanished into the air.⁵⁷

The exchange of two letters between the two empires seems to have greatly influenced the apparently sudden change in Timur's attitude. In 1394, the Chinese court received a letter from him, in which he allegedly expressed his recognition of China's supremacy, calling himself a humble vassal of the Chinese emperor.⁵⁸ Modern scholars tend to have doubts about the authenticity

54 *Mingshi* 明史 (Taipei: Guofang yanjiuyuan, 1962), 332. *juan*, 3824.

55 Timur's conquests had by this time included Mazandaran, Khorasan and Sistan, and he had successfully stabilized his power both within and outside Transoxiana.

56 The embassies from Timur that each time brought tribute to China reflected a kind of symbolic acknowledgment of China's supremacy and created a (symbolic) subordinate position for Timur. On the other hand, it cannot be excluded that through the help of these embassies Timur may have had the intention to gather information about China for a possible attack in the future.

57 In 1388, the Ming military destroyed the remaining forces of the Mongols in a battle near Buyur Nor and took numerous captives, many among them merchants. The Chinese court assumed that they were all from Samarqand. Taken to Nanjing, they were granted permission for trade and later allowed to return to their homeland in Central Asia. Zhu Yuanzhang may have become suspicious about these merchants, assuming that they were actually spying on China. See Kauz, *Politik und Handel*, 55.

58 The letter has a rather humble tone, acknowledging the Chinese emperor's heavenly mandate. It also expresses Timur's appreciation to the Chinese ruler for opening the roads to China, by—among other things—linking the rest stations together.

of this letter, assuming that Timur never viewed himself as a vassal of China, and suggesting that the letter must have been forged.⁵⁹ The Chinese court, however, treated it as real. They sent a reply in 1395, in which the court expressed its appreciation for Timur's alleged, voluntary submission.⁶⁰ Timur must have felt angry over the tone of the missive, deciding to detain the Chinese embassy that brought it.⁶¹ In 1397 the Chinese court dispatched another embassy under the leadership of a certain Chen Dewen 陳德文, in order to find out what had happened to the first embassy. This mission, however, was also detained by Timur. The survivors of the two embassies⁶² were allowed to return to China only after Timur's death.⁶³

In 1398 Zhu Yuangzhang passed away. The succeeding new emperor, Zhu Yunwen (the Jianwen Emperor), could not rule for long due to his defeat in 1402 by his uncle, Zhu Di. During these years, China was not in a position to send further embassies to Central Asia, and even if they had been able to do so, they could not have really helped the lost embassies, at least as long as Timur was alive. Surprisingly, however, neither Timur's sudden change of attitude in 1397 nor his planned attack against China in 1404 led to a break in the relationship of the two empires. On the contrary, following Timur's death in 1405, Khalil Sulṭān—a grandson of Timur on the line of Mīrānshāh⁶⁴—released the survivors of the two Chinese embassies, and Timurid—Ming contacts flourished over the next two decades.

59 It is also possible that a Chinese official in charge of translating the letter into Chinese altered its content and tone in fear of its original, probably less humble, purport.

60 This embassy was led by the officials Fu An 傅安, Guo Ji 郭驥 and Yao Chen 姚臣, as well as by the eunuch Liu Wei 劉惟, and was accompanied by 1,500 soldiers. Only seventeen of them managed to survive and to return later to China.

61 It is worth noting that the members of the embassy refused to carry out the *koutou* 叩頭 ("kowtow"). This refers to expressing one's subordinate position to a ruler while greeting him: bowing so that the head touches the floor.

62 Fu An was forced to accompany Timur throughout his empire. Unlike Chen Cheng, however, Fu An did not keep records of what he saw and experienced.

63 At least this is the way it is reported in Chinese sources. According to Clavijo's accounts, the aforementioned envoy of King Henry III of Castile, who happened to stay at Timur's court at the time, Timur showed hostility towards the envoys from China: he humiliated them by forcing them to sit on the lowest seats. In Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī's *Zafarnāma*, however, there is another version of the story that suggests that the members of the embassy were treated well and even allowed to leave. Unfortunately, however, Yazdī's report contains certain inconsistencies regarding what happened thereafter, and thus it remains unexplained why his version of the story is different from that in Chinese sources and Clavijo's report (see Kauz, *Politik und Handel*, 66–67).

64 Timur had four sons: Jahāngīr, 'Umar Shaykh, Mīrānshāh and Shāhrukh.

Shāhrukh (1377–1447), after his victory over Khalīl Sulṭān, succeeded in uniting the empire under his own rule, and in 1408 and 1409 he dispatched two embassies to China.⁶⁵ An embassy from China that arrived in Herat in 1412 brought a letter to Shāhrukh, in which the Chinese Emperor, Zhu Di addressed him as a vassal. Shāhrukh as a Muslim ruler became furious about Zhu Di's haughtiness, addressing him in response as a "friend," and suggesting that he should convert to Islam. However, unlike the conflict between Timur and the Chinese court in the middle of the 1390s, the incident this time did not lead to the deterioration of their relationship: the exchange of embassies continued, and official relations remained vibrant, apparently, neither of the two rulers wishing to create a military conflict. This attitude was also reflected in another letter sent from Zhu Di to Shāhrukh in 1418, in which he addressed the Timurid ruler as an equal.⁶⁶ This marked a great change in the tone of official contacts. Nevertheless, the Timurid embassy of 1420 to China, in which Naqqāsh took part as well, was addressed by the Chinese court in Beijing as the representatives of a tributary vassal state to China. This clearly reveals the duality in the behavior of the Chinese ruler: whereas Zhu Yuanzhang was less concerned about treating Shāhrukh as an equal ruler in diplomatic letters, this was not feasible when receiving a foreign delegate on Chinese soil. There was no exception for any foreign embassy in terms of treatment when staying in the Chinese capital: they were all treated as subordinate to China, at least on the surface.⁶⁷

65 Hok-Lam Chan, 1988, "The Chien-wen, Yung-lo, Hung-hsi, and Hsüan-te Reigns, 1399–1435," in *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 7, *The Ming Dynasty*, Part I, eds. Frederick W. Mote and Denis Twitchett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 259.

66 The aforementioned accounts by Chen Cheng on Central Asia, as well as the travel account by Ghiyās al-Dīn Naqqāsh were all produced during this peak time of Timurid–Ming Chinese official contacts.

67 Joseph F. Fletcher argues that the initiative attitudes of Zhu Yuanzhang and Zhu Di regarding foreign polities were not unique or isolated phenomena in Chinese history: such attitudes surfaced when China was militarily and economically powerful and faded when China was weak, like during the second half of the fifteenth century. According to Fletcher, this process took place "within the context of the same institutions and imperial claims," and this did "not reflect a change of doctrine or an abdication of the emperor's world supremacy." See Joseph F. Fletcher, "China and Central Asia, 1368–1884," in *The Chinese World Order: Traditional China's Foreign Relations*, ed. John K. Fairbank (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1968), 217. Fletcher eventually challenges the politico-cultural aspect of the tribute theory that—originating from John K. Fairbank, Su-yü Têng and Tingfu Tsiang—was coined during the 1940s in order to provide a general theoretical framework for Sino-foreign relations. See Tingfu Tsiang, "China and European Expansion," *Politika* (March 1936): 1–18; John King Fairbank and Su-yü Têng, "On the Ch'ing Tributary System," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 6, no. 2 (1941): 135–246; John K. Fairbank, "Tributary Trade and China's Relations with the West," *The Far Eastern*

Following Yongle's death, China's foreign policy turned rather passive and defensive. Whereas there was no break in the flow of foreign embassies arriving from Central Asia to China, China no longer dispatched envoys to Central Asia.⁶⁸ The emperors of Ming China were even willing to accept, against the strong opposition of the Ministry of Rites (*libu* 禮部), gifts, such as lions, in order to avoid the attacks by foreigners—mainly nomadic tribes—on China.⁶⁹

6 Concluding Remarks

Many of the aforementioned parallels in the early histories of the two Empires—such as the time of the founders' rise to power, the similarity in the patterns of succession or the change of capital cities—although of interest, are mere coincidence. However, some parallels—such as the timing of the formation of these new powers in the weakening Chingisid realm, or the militaristic features of governance in their early historical stage—are a direct result of the common Mongol (Chingisid) heritage. The use of various, seemingly incompatible ideological sources that these empires had access to in support of their legitimacy shows further resemblances along with remarkable differences. Despite the official refusal of the Mongol (Chingisid) legacy, early Ming China had recourse to certain Mongol elements in the formation of governance, though this was not openly acknowledged. Although Confucian and Mongol values were seemingly incompatible, the Mings used Mongol elements in a *covert* fashion alongside with the officially recognized Confucian elements of

Quarterly 1, no. 2 (February 1942): 129–149; and John K. Fairbank, ed. *The Chinese World Order: Traditional China's Foreign Relations* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1968). According to the tribute theory, China's foreign policy in Qing times—even in the nineteenth century when conflicts with Europeans were increasing—can be described through China's (apparently) unchanging premodern world order: the tributary system. By highlighting the discrepancy between the ideal Confucian worldview and real behavior, Fletcher in fact implicitly questions the validity of this theory, though he himself never asserted that he was doing so. On scholarship regarding the tribute theory, see Rajkai, *The Timurid Empire and Ming China*; and Rajkai, "Tribute as a Diplomatic Strategy in Early Ming China," in *Tribute System and Rulership in Late Imperial China*, eds. Ralph Kauz and Morris Rossabi, *Studien zu Macht und Herrschaft* (Bonn: Bonn University Press, 2022), 117–121.

68 Except for the time when Zhu Qizhen returned to power in 1457 as the Tianshun 天順 Emperor (r. 1457–1464). In 1457, he dispatched an embassy to the Timurids that turned out to be the final embassy on the part of the Chinese court. Despite his attempt to look for allies, China's foreign policy mostly remained defensive and passive thereafter.

69 The Ministry of Rites found live animals as tributary gifts expensive to feed.

governance, which greatly contributed to the reinforcement and stabilization of power at the early stages of Ming rule. Though the Confucian tradition and the Chingisid Mongol heritage did not stand on equal footing in the official ideological pantheon, the *covert* combination of the two traditions reflects a high degree of pragmatism in governance in early Ming China. This, however, began to fade away from the middle of the fifteenth century, following a growing demand for a (complete) revival of Confucian values and practices of governance. In contrast, the Chingisid heritage in the Timurid Empire, being a native tradition, remained a key ideological source for legitimacy and way of ruling throughout the Timurid reign in Central Asia. This was so despite the fact that the Chingisid legacy was seriously challenged by Islamic values—a seemingly incompatible ideological source with the Mongolian tradition. However, different from the more or less homogeneous sociocultural conditions of Ming China, the Timurid Empire had to address a mixed nomadic and sedentary population on its territory that was also divided by the Mongol and Islamic traditions. This sociocultural condition forced the Timurids to have recourse to pragmatic solutions by making use of both traditions—albeit with varying patterns by the respective rulers—more *overtly* than in the case of Ming China.

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The *Majmū‘at al-tavārīkh* and the Kyrgyz Epic Tradition

Dávid Somfai Kara

1 Introduction

The *Majmū‘at al-tavārīkh* is a chronicle written in Persian during the sixteenth century in the Ferghana Valley. According to its three surviving manuscripts, it was written by one Sayf al-Dīn b. Shāh ‘Abbās¹ in the fifteenth century and his son Nūr Muḥammad (1494–1592). One of the largest and most important towns of the Ferghana Valley, Akhsikent or Akhsī was situated on the north bank of the Syr Daria River 20 km from Namangan. After the town was destroyed by an earthquake in 1620, its population abandoned it and moved to Namangan. Bābur wrote about Akhsikent as “the second largest city after Andijān and the capital of Ferghana” during the reign of his father ‘Umar Shaykh Mīrzā.² Some ruins of the town (*shahristān*, *ark*, Khwāja Amīn’s tomb, the Mullā Qirghiz *madrasa*) still can be seen.

The original copy of the text is lost, but three copies have survived to the present. The copy kept at the State University of St. Petersburg was first published by the Tajik scholar Abdurahmān Tahirjān in 1962.³ The copy housed at the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg was first discussed by V.A. Romodin.⁴ For the present chapter, I am using the third manuscript, which is held today in the archives of the Kyrgyz Academy of Sciences, and prior to its submission in 1968 was in the possession of Nazarmat Jayloobay-ūlu in the Kyrgyz village of Baymak (Alabuka district, Jalalabat region). His uncle Qoylibay was a local leader during the Qoqand khan Khudāyār’s time (r. 1845–1875). Qoylibay brought some manuscripts

1 Shāh ‘Abbās was a famous Muslim teacher or *dā-mullā* from Akhsikent who lived around 1400. See Sooronov, Omor: *Men Bilgen “Majmuat-ut-tavarikh”* [The “Majmuat-ut-tavarikh” that I know]. (Bishkek: Turar, 2014), 25–26.

2 See Anette Susannah Beveridge (trans.), *The Babur-nama in English: Memoirs of Babur* (London: Luzac & Co, 1992), 9–10.

3 A.T. Tagirdzhanov, “*Sobranie istorii” Madzhmu at-tavarikh* (St. Peterburg: Izdatel’stvo Leningradskogo Universiteta, 1960).

4 V.A. Romodin, *Materialy po istorii kirgizov i Kirgizii*, vol. 1 (Moskva: Nauka, 1973), 200–214.

for his brother Jaylawbay from Qoqand, including a copy of the *Majmū'at al-tavārīkh*. It contains 123 folios, with some parts missing. Its Kyrgyz translation by the cleric Mamasabir Dosbol-uulu and the scholar Omor Sooron-uulu was first published in 1996 in Bishkek.⁵

2 About the Text

The *Majmū'at al-tavārīkh* is about the history of a Sufi *tarīqa* in Shīrkent led by the local *Khwāja* (or *sayyid*) clan. Sayf al-Dīn starts by explaining his intention and motivation for writing the text. Accordingly, the author was approached by some of his contemporaries, and they convinced him to write a chronicle (*ta'rikh*) about leaders (*sayyid*)⁶ of the *tarīqa*. Sayf al-Dīn then asked for a blessing (*fātiḥa*) from *sayyid* Mīr Jalīl, aka Mawlānā A'zam, "our great master." Then the author lists the books and sources he used, such as the *Tavārīkh-i jahān-gushāy* (History of the World Conqueror), *Qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* (Stories of the Prophets), *Tārīkh-i mughūliya* (History of the Mongols), and *Tārīkh-i zūdat al-bashar* (History of the Cream of Humanity). The chronicle starts with a narrative from Imām Ja'far al-Ṣādiq (702–765) to Mawlānā A'zam, who lived around the turn of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The synopsis of the rest of the chronicle is as follows:

1. The transmission of divine light (*nūr*) from Adam to the prophet Muḥammad.
2. The life and conversion of Muḥammad, and his wives and children.
3. The Twelve Imams and their tombs (*gumbad*).⁷
4. According to the author, says Central Asian *sayyids* were descendants of the Mahdī's daughters.⁸ One of the religious centers of the *sayyids*

5 Moldo Mamasabyr Dosbolov, and Omor Sooronov, *Tarixtardīn jūyraqi*. (Bishkek: Akil, 1996). See also Omor Sooronov, *Men bilgen "Majmuat ut-tawarix"* (Bishkek: Turar, 2014).

6 *Sayyid* is an honorary title given to the descendants of prophet Muḥammad through his sons Ḥasan and Ḥusayn as well as his daughter Fāṭima and his son-in-law 'Alī. In Central Asia, *Khwāja* was a title given to clans whose ancestors were Muslims (mostly of Arab origin) who had migrated to Central Asia after the Muslim conquest in the eighth century, promoting and teaching Islam. Found today among the Uzbeks, Uighurs and Kazakhs, these clans were the leaders of religious movements around Central Asia.

7 F. 5 is missing, so the text starts with the fifth imam, Ja'far al-Ṣādiq, to be followed by the rest: Mūsā Kādhim, Ibn Mūsā Ridhā, Muḥammad Taqī, 'Alī Naqī, Ḥasan 'Askarī, Muḥammad Mahdī.

8 His daughters became the wives of the rulers in Baghdad, Balkh, Badakhshan, Kōhistān and Qara-tegin (Hisār).

in Central Asia was in Shīrkent.⁹ They were the descendants of Sulṭān ‘Alī Zarbaghīsh. The author gives their genealogy (*shajara* or *silsila*) up to Mīr Jalīl.

5. The formation of the different tribes of the World according to Qur’anic tradition. The author cites 92 so-called “mountain tribes” (*elāthā-i kōhī*) according to the *Zubdat al-bashar*; the list also includes names of some Turkic and Mongol tribes.
6. The spread of the mountain tribes.
7. Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq’s (702–765) holy war (*ghazāt*) against the Chinese who attacked Muslim territories.¹⁰
8. Imam Kamāl al-Dīn’s campaign against Qumul in the Uyghur territory.
9. Sultan Sanjār (r. 1118–1153) and the Oghuz.¹¹ The author mentions the Seljuk ruler as the sultan of Özgen and the forty Oghuz clans (Persian *chil ghuz*, Turkic *qırq oghuz*) as the ancestors of the Kyrgyz.
10. The Qara-Qıtay Gürkan’s conquest of Ferghana (Kāsān) ca. 1137.¹²
11. The visit of Dada khan, the Qara-Qıtay ambassador, at the court of Sultan Maḥmūd Khwārazm-shāh (r. 1172–1193).¹³
12. The life of Yesügei’s son Temüjin, aka Chinggis khan. Before his death Chinggis khan instructs his sons to give authority to Ong khan¹⁴ and *sayyid* Muḥammad b. ‘Alī Zarbaghīsh. The marriage of Ong khan’s daughter and *sayyid* Muḥammad’s son.
13. Toluy (c.1191–1232) khan and Güyük khan (r. 1246–48). Ong khan’s daughter gives birth to two sons, Mīr Ja‘far and Temür *Khwāja*.
14. A man called Maru becomes the Ong khan and conquers Volga-Bulgaria and the Crimea. According to the narrative, Crimea and Volga-Bulgaria

9 A little town close to Kāsān, it was also destroyed.

10 Although the book calls them Khitan (Liao), it was the Tang dynasty (618–907) who attacked Muslim territories but were defeated at the battle of Talas (751) by the Abbasids. Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq did not in fact take part in that military campaign.

11 Actually, Sanjār was defeated by the Qara-Qıtay (Khitai) in 1141.

12 Yelü Dashi (1123–43) was mentioned in Muslim sources as Qushqin ibn-Baighu. See Michal Biran, *The Empire of the Qara Khitai in Eurasian History: Between China and the Islamic World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 19–20.

13 According to Chinese sources, it was Yelü Zhilugu who came to power in 1178 among the Qara-Qıtay.

14 Ong-khan (Aqtugh) was probably the descendent of the Kereit Toghril (d. 1203), who, according to the text, was Chinggis khan’s son-in-law (*küregen*). Here the author probably mistakenly takes Batu khan’s descendants as Ong-khans who ruled the Western (*ong*) part of the Jochi Ulus (Köke Orda). In fact, it was Batu khan who conquered these territories (1236–1239).

- were ruled by the Tatar (Noghay) princes, Qara-Ḥusayn and Aq-Ḥusayn (modern Qara and Aq-Noghay tribes).
15. Ong khan returns from Crimea to Turkestan.
 16. Chungcha and Töre Kalmaks, unidentified Mongol rulers.
 17. Halawku khan occupies Crimea.¹⁵
 18. Aq-Ḥusayn and Qara-Ḥusayn Noghay leaders.
 19. Amīr Taraqay from Shahrisabz and his son Temūr (1370–1405) conquer Samarqand.
 20. Ong khan (probably Urus from the Jochi Ulus) is replaced by Toqtamīsh (r. 1376–1406).¹⁶ According to the text, Toqtamīsh ruled the Dasht-i-Qipchaq, while the Tarim Basin (from Kāsghar to the Moghul/Tianshan Mountains) should be ruled by Angga-töre, probably the Chaghatay ruler (Soyurghatmīsh, r. 1370–1384, or his son Sulṭān Maḥmūd, r. 1384–1402).
 21. The Kalmak ruler Chungcha is replaced by Joloy, a name we can also come across in the Manas epic as belonging to a strong warrior and wrestler of the Kalmaks (pagan tribes). After the death of the khan from the Jochid Ulus, the Kalmak leader Joloy invades Muslim lands controlled by Manas in the Talas valley and by Ya‘qūb beg in Qara-qīshtag.¹⁷ The invasion is reported to *sayyid* Jalāl al-Dīn, the religious leader in Shīrkent.
 22. Jalāl al-Dīn and Angga-töre help Manas defeat the Kalmaks. Manas is not mentioned as a Kyrgyz chieftain, Ya‘qūb is not mentioned as his father but the leader of the Qipchaqs in Karkara (Yeti-su).
 23. Jalāl al-Dīn travels to the Edil (Volga) River and visits Toktamīsh in Saray to ask for help against the invading Kalmaks. Another religious leader, Temūr *Khawāja*, also joins them in Saray. Toktamīsh decides to go to Tashkent (Shash).
 24. Bolat khan is elected by the Mangghits and Yamghurchi against Toqtamīsh. Mamay khan (r. 1335–1380), the predecessor of Edige in Crimea, is also

15 Zhirmunskii identifies Halawku with Ayuuke Qalmaq khan (r. 1672–1724) who ruled the steppe between the Volga and Don rivers and attacked Otrar, too. If he is right, this part of the chronicle had been influenced by Kyrgyz epic tradition. The former enemies (*Kalmak*) of the Jochi and Chaghatay Ulus are identified with the Oirats who attacked Central Asia centuries later. In the Manas epic Alooqe is the ruler of Ferghana, not the Crimea. See: Viktor M. Zhirmunskii, “Vvedenie v izuchenie epasa «Manas»,” in Aliyev, S. et alii, ed. *Entsiklopedicheskaya fenomen epasa «Manas»: sbornik statei* (Bishkek: Kyrgyz entsiklopediyasy, 1995), 110.

16 Toqtamīsh overthrew Urus khan of the White Horde (r. 1372–1375) and became the real ruler of the Golden Horde.

17 Joloy is mentioned as the father of the Dughlat leader Qamar al-Dīn (1368–1392), who shortly controlled some part of Moghulistan.

- mentioned. They organize a rebellion against Toqtamış khan by attacking Manas and Temür *Khwāja*.¹⁸
25. Qara Ḥusayn's (head of the Kara Noghay) two sons, *Khwāja* Aḥmad and Köke Mīrzā.
 26. Manas and Bolat khan fight against each other.
 27. Köke Mīrzā is attacked by Bolat but saved by Manas.
 28. The fight of Joloy and Kara *Khwāja*. Bolat joins the Kalmak.
 29. Joloy sends an envoy to Manas.
 30. Toqtamış reaches the Kalzam River.¹⁹
 31. Joloy attacks Manas again.
 32. Toqtamış arrives from the Jayıq (Ural) River.
 33. Joloy tries to poison Manas by sending Töbey, but *sayyid* Jalāl al-Dīn gives him medicine and saves him.²⁰
 34. The arrival of the religious leader Qara *Khwāja* b. Ay *Khwāja* at the invitation of *sayyid* Jalāl al-Dīn to save Manas.
 35. Joloy arrives at Qochqar (south of the İsiq-köl).
 36. Manas receives a so-called '*ayān*, a holy vision from God about Ay *Khwāja*.²¹ Kara *Khwāja* interprets his dream that his father spirit (*arvāḥ*) would assist him in battle against the Kalmaks and helps him defeat them.
 37. Manas and Qara (Temür) *Khwāja* defeat Joloy, who dies during the battle. The Kalmaks bury Joloy by the Qırq-köl; his son Qamar al-Dīn succeeds him as khan.²² Muḥammad beg goes to Shīrkent and visits the tomb of Ay *Khwāja*.²³

18 These events happened probably some decades later, at the beginning of fifteenth century. Bolat khan (r. 1407–1410) was supported by Edige, and they opposed the sons of Toktamış, who died around 1406. Mīrzā. Yamaghurchī was the son of Nūr al-Dīn b. Edige also from the fifteenth century.

19 Unidentified river.

20 This episode is mentioned in the Manas Epic too: the Qıtay ruler Qarıkhan sends Közkaman, a Kyrgyz renegade to poison Manas. According to the epic Manas is healed by his wife Qanıkei, not the *Khwāja*.

21 Ay *Khwāja* was a historical figure from the famous *Khwāja* lineage of *Khwāja* Makhdūm A'zam. His descendants later ruled Kāshghar (e.g., Āfāq *Khwāja* and Yūsuf *Khwāja*). See Viktor Maksimovich Zhirmunskii, ed., *Kirgizskii geroicheskiı epos „Manas“* (Moskva: Akademia Nauk SSSR, 1961), 42.

22 Qamar al-Dīn was really a contemporary of Toqtamış; he was from the Dughlat clan and ruled Moghulistan between (1368–1392). After Amīr Temür defeated him, Khidhr *Khwāja*, son of Tughlugh Temür gained control in Moghulistan. Here it is quite evident that the Kalmaks in this story are not the Oirat or Jungar tribes but the Chaghataids or Moghuls of East Turkestan (Tarim Basin).

23 *Sayyid* Jalāl al-Dīn and Kara *Khwāja* were cousins (their fathers were brothers). Ay *Khwāja* and Mīr *sayyid* Ja'far were both *sayyid* Muḥammad's sons, descendent of Imām 'Alī

38. Shaykh Burhān al-Dīn invites Mawlānā A‘zam to Özgen, sending Molla Sa‘adat and Amīr Davāna. The seven sons of Qipchak Ak-Temür, the *Yeti-qashqa* “The Seven Braves, are blessed by the holy man, along with all the other clan-leaders of Ferghana.²⁴
39. The descendants of Aq-oghul and Qara-oghul.²⁵
40. Angga-töre the Moghul leader pays respect to Mawlānā A‘zam. Even Toqtamish khan visited him and other tribal leaders (Amīr Bāyazīd Jalair, Sher-Bahrām, etc.). They go on a military campaign against Qamar al-Dīn and Maral Kalmak. Qamar al-Dīn converts to Islam, while Maral refuses and is executed.
41. Maral’s brother, Tüncü Qalmaq attacks Angga-töre.
42. Toqtamish khan invades Yasta (Yeti-su)²⁶ and Cherkes (Northern Caucasus).
43. Angga-töre makes Khidhr Khwāja the leader of Moghulistan. Amīr Temür holds a Qurultai.
44. Amīr Temür visits Angga-töre and Khidhr Khwāja in Moghulistan.
45. Amīr Temür’s military campaign to Syria and Bulgar (Volga Region, Kazan).²⁷ They also reach Ayköz (today East Kazakhstan), but the narrative lapses as some folios are missing.). Amīr Temür undertakes a campaign against Moghulistan: they reach Artush, defeat Angga-töre and capture a lot of clan leaders (*yeti-qashqa*, Khidhr *Khwāja*, his son Ahmad *Khwāja*, etc.). Angga-töre flees with Dawlatyār Kipchak to the Tien Shan (Tengir-tagh). Abd al-Rahmān Beg submits to Temür.
46. Mawlānā A‘zam returns to Shīrkent. Angga-töre wants to send him as an envoy to Amīr Temür. Mawlānā A‘zam visits Temür in Samarqand, in

Zarbaghish. Jalāl al-Dīn’s son was *sayyid* mīr Jalīl, who became a famous Muslim scholar by the name of Mawlānā A‘zam.

24. These nomadic clans are not mentioned as Kyrgyz although the clan names correspond to modern Kyrgyz clans. The *Kyrgyz* ethnic name was first mentioned in Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥaydar’s sixteenth-century chronicle. See *The Tarikh-i-Rashidi: A History of the Moghuls of Central Asia*, ed. Ney Elias, trans. Edward Denison Ross (London: Sampson Low, Marston, 1895), 303–304.
25. Aq-oghul’s sons: Bostan, Teyit, Jaghu-kesek, Dögeles, Kangly, Ghydyrsha-Qipchak; Otuz-oghul’s sons: Adigine, Monggush, Qara-baghish, Taghay; Qara-oghul: Munduz, Chong-baghish, Sarigh, Qitay.
26. Yasta is probably the misspelling of Yeti-su (Seven Rivers) south of Lake Balkash (modern Almaty Region) also mentioned by in the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, 148–150. Later Kerei and Janibek founded the Qazaq Orda in this region (around 1465).
27. Temür attacked the Jochi Ulus twice in 1391 (Kondurcha near Kazan) and 1395 (Terek near Astrakhan). After he destroyed the Jochi Ulus, he also submitted Moghulistan (Eastern part of the Chaghatay Ulus).

- order to try and defend the people of Ferghana. He says it is against the sharia to attack Muslims who are fighting against Kalmaks infidels.
47. Temür sees a dream in which *sayyid* Burhān al-Dīn cuts the Chaghatay khan's son (*khānzāda*) into half.
 48. Temür shows his chronicles to Mawlānā A'zam.
 49. The *sayyids* and *Khwājas* gather to greet Mawlānā A'zam.
 50. Temür sends the *khānzāda* Sulṭān Maḥmūd (1384–1402) to Burhān al-Dīn Kilich. He gives Andijān to 'Umar Shaykh Mīrzā (1356–1394), his second son.²⁸
 51. Temür *küregen* invades Lāristān in Irān (in modern Fārs Province).
 52. Galsha ibn Maral of the Kalmaks attacks Özgen. The Kalmaks also attack Osh, while Qamar al-Dīn turns sides and submits to Mawlānā A'zam. Mawlānā A'zam performs a miracle by invoking spirits (*mardān-i ghā'ib* "invisible people") to frighten the Kalmak army.²⁹ Shāhrukh orders the Aq-oghul and Kōk-oghul clan leaders to chase the Kalmaks.

Here the narrative stops, as the end is missing.

As can be expected, there are many discrepancies between the figure of Manas as presented in the *Majmū'at al-tavārikh* and oral tradition. In the chronicle, Manas is born in Karkaka (Jeti-su Region of Kazakhstan), Ya'qūb beg is not mentioned as his father, and his main Kalmak rival is Joloy, who only appears as a wrestler in an episode (Köketai's burial feast) of the Manas epic. His main enemy Qongur-bai is not mentioned at all in the *Majmū'at al-tavārikh*. Another of his main enemies, Alook (written as Halawka), is mentioned as the ruler of the Crimea. Further, the chronicle features Manas as an ally of Toktamish against the Kalmaks and the Dughlat Qamar al-Dīn. He is not an independent ruler or the head of the Kyrgyz tribes. Kyrgyz tribes are not even mentioned. This is not to be surprised at, as *Qirghiz* (Kyrgyz) was simply a clan name and first appeared in the *Tārikh-i Rashīdī* written by Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥaydar Dughlat (1500–1551). He writes about a tribal leader by the name of Muḥammad Qirghiz who rebelled against the Chaghatay Sultan Sa'īd khan of Yarkent (r. 1514–1533) and was later captured. He talks about the Kyrgyz as infidel (*kāfir*) tribes raiding Moghulistan and the Ferghana Valley.

28 'Umar Shaykh Mīrzā b. Mīrānshāh was his grandson. He was the father of Babur and ruled Ferghana a century later between 1469 and 1494.

29 In the Manas epic a Kalmak sorcerer (*ayar*) performs a similar miracle against Manas.

In the Kyrgyz epic, on the other hand, Manas Bātīr’s faith in Islam is emphasized several times. He is protected by the mystical Khizr³⁰ and Baba-dehqān³¹ as well as *dewāna* dervishes.³² In the *Majmū‘at al-tavārīkh*, while lying unconscious, Manas receives a spiritual vision (‘*ayān*) from the spirit (*arvāh*) of a deceased Sufi leader, Ay Khwāja.³³ The Manas epic also mentions such spiritual visions. In the *Majmū‘at al-tavārīkh*, Manas is poisoned by Töbei, who is sent by Joloy; this is similar to the version in the Manas epic, where he is poisoned by Kōzqaman, who is sent by Qarīkhan, a Kitai (Chinese) ruler.³⁴ All in all, the two texts are linked, although it is difficult to tell whether Manas was a historical figure who later became a legendary hero in the oral tradition (like Edige), or he was a legendary figure who was incorporated in the written tradition, in order to appeal to the nomadic tribes of the region where the chronicle was produced.

Orality added several features to the story of Manas, beginning at the end of the fourteenth century (the era of Toqtamīsh and Amīr Temūr), enriching it with historical elements from the Oirat and Manchu invasions. The problem with Manas as a historical figure in the *Majmū‘at al-tavārīkh* is not only the fact that he was a contemporary of Toqtamīsh and Amīr Temūr, but also that in this written source he is not mentioned as the head of the Kyrgyz tribes but as a clan leader from the Karkara, a Kipchak clan. The Kyrgyz are described as the descendants of the forty Oghuz clans (Persian *chil ghuz* or Turkic *qırq ghuz*) living in the Alai Mountains around Khujand (The Kyrgyz are divided between the Aq-oghul, Qara-oghul and Otuz-oghul clans).

30 Khizr is the mystical manifestation of the prophet Idrīs or Ilyās who appears in the form of an old man and a messenger from Allah.

31 Baba-dehqān is a mythological figure among the Iranian peoples, the protector of the peasants (*dehqān*) and their crop. The Manas epic features him as teaching Manas how to cultivate wheat, which he sells for an excellent horse.

32 The Persian word *dīvāna* means “possessed by a demon or *dīv*”, and also has the derived meaning “crazy.” The expression comes from the belief that some wondering Sufi (*darvīsh*) specialists were assisted by powerful spirits or demons.

33 Ay Khwāja is mentioned as a guest at Köketai’s funeral feast in the version collected by Chokan Velikhanov (in Kazakh Shokan Wäliykhān) (collected in 1857); see Zhirmunskii, *Kirgizskii geroicheskii epos*, 42.

34 See A. Karypkulov (ed.), *Manas entsiklopediya*, vol. 1 (Bishkek: Kirgiz entsiklopediyasi, 1995), 388.

3 Conclusions

Even if there are doubts about the authenticity of the known manuscripts of the *Majmūʿat al-tavārīkh*, the text itself is a good example of cultural complexity in Central Asia, consisting of Persian, Turkic and Mongolic elements. The nomadic society of Moghulistan was strongly linked to the religious and cultural centers of the region, such as Shīrkent and Kāsān in the Ferghana Valley. The nomadic clans (Moghul, Kyrgyz and Kipchak) provided the military ground, and the Sufi *Khawājas* were their religious and ideological leaders. After the Islamization of the nomadic society, the leading clans also needed religious legitimization which was provided by Sufi *ṭarīqa* networks. We see the same kind of legitimization among the Özbek and Kazak with *Khawāja Aḥmad Yasavī*,³⁵ or the Noghay with Baba Tükles (Forty Heroes of Qırım/Crimea).³⁶ While in former times nomads used the mythical past and epic stories to legitimize their power, Islamization in Central Asia changed this situation. Religious centers were places for education and literacy mostly in Arabic and Persian.

Sufi religious movements appealed to the nomads with their less hierarchical structure and sense of brotherhood on the one hand, and with their *dhīkr* rituals, which were also practiced by *baqshī*, i.e., spiritual leaders among the nomads, on the other hand. This strong cultural and political link fundamentally changed their notion of identity and their epic traditions. Texts like the *Majmūʿat al-tavārīkh* were compiled to strengthen the legitimacy of religious centers, such as Shīrkent and Kāsān. These texts used the elements of traditional Muslim literature, like the Qurʾān, the genealogy of the Imams (*shajara* and *silsila*), historical events of the Mongol period, as well as nomadic epic traditions. The same phenomena can be observed in Ötemish *Hājī*'s Chinggis-nāma and the conversion of Özbek khan.³⁷

The political struggle of the various hordes in the Mongol Ulus system (Ak Orda, Kök Orda, Moghulistan, etc.) is well represented in the *Majmūʿat al-tavārīkh*; and some of the narrative is based on historical facts, probably compiled centuries later. Religious war (*ghazā*) against infidels (*Kalmak* or the

35 See Dávid Somfai Kara, "The Last Kazakh *Baksi* to play the *Kobiz*," *Shaman* 13, no. 1–2 (2005), 183–184.

36 See Devin DeWeese, *Islamization and Native Religion in the Golden Horde, Baba Tükles and Conversion to Islam in Historical and Epic Tradition* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994), 541–543. (The Story of Özbek Khan's Conversion to Islam) and Dávid Somfai Kara, "Baba Tükli and the Swan Girl, Legitimising elements in the Turkic Epic Edige," *Acta Orientalia Ac. Scient. Hung.* 63, no. 2 (2010) 119–125. See also Karl Reichl, *Edige, a Karakalpak Oral Epic* (Helsinki: Academia Scientiarum Fennica, 2007), 104–105.

37 DeWeese, *Islamization*, 541–543; Somfai "Baba Tükli," 119–125.

common enemy) and the participation of the *Khwāja* and *sayyid* leaders from Ferghana also plays a significant part in the texts. We do not know if Manas and his country or clan Manasiya is based on historical facts or borrowed from the epic tradition of the nomads of Moghulistan, but it shows well the cultural exchanges between the nomadic and sedentary societies of the region that is comprised of the Ferghana Valley and the Tianshan Mountains.

Nevertheless, we can presume that the *Majmū'at al-tavārīkh*, a narrative source written in Persian, somehow influenced the development of the Kyrgyz epic tradition just as other written sources of Central Asia influenced other epic traditions, such as Noghay, Özbek, and Kazak epics. Epic traditions started to use historical elements and religious legitimization probably based on written sources. For example, the Manas epic has its roots in the times of Amīr Temūr and Toqtamīsh (fourteenth century) and reflects the influence of religious movements in the Ferghana valley. These things fundamentally changed the framework of the epic tradition of the nomads. The mythical past and miraculous events were gradually replaced by historical or pseudo-historical events and religious tradition. Later the attacks of the Jungars in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and the Manchu Empire in the eighteenth century were incorporated into the epic cycle under the notion of a general enemy, the so-called Kalmaks, whose identity changed several times during the centuries from invading Jochi and Chaghatay Uluses to the Jungars and other Oirat tribes or the Manchu.³⁸

Nomadic tribes in Moghulistan had very strong ties with religious leaders in Ferghana. Sons of the nomadic clans went to study in the *madrassa* education system. The culture they were thus exposed to through the Arabic and Persian they learned blended with their nomadic culture for centuries. According to Hatto, texts like the *Majmū'at al-tavārīkh* had a political agenda in their glorification of the Sufi sheikhs of Ferghana, and were intended to establish political influence among the nomadic tribes.³⁹

The events of the Kalmak invasion⁴⁰ of Central Asia are projected back to Toqtamīsh khan's struggle with the Moghul khans, such as Qamaral al-Dīn and

38 About Kalmak as the concept of enemy see Dávid Somfai Kara, "Kalmak: the Enemy in the Kazak and Qirghiz Epic Songs," *Acta Orientalia Ac. Scient. Hung.* 63, no. 2 (2010), 167–132.

39 Hatto remarks that the *Majmū'at al-Tavārīkh* was "compiled to glorify the Sufi sheikhs of Shirkent and Kasan ... [and] circumstances make it highly probable that ... [the text] is a late eighteenth-century interpolation." See Arthur T. Hatto, "Tradition and change in the Qirghiz «Manas»," in: Shirin Akiner and Nicholas Sims-Williams, eds., *Languages and Scripts of Central Asia* (London: SOAS, University of London, 1997), 99.

40 In fact, the Kalmaks or the Oirat Mongols invaded Central Asia in the seventeenth century after they had been pushed westward by the Khalkha Mongols. First, they conquered

Amīr Temūr.⁴¹ If that is the case, then we can presume that there was an original text from the sixteenth century about the history of Turkestan. However, similar to the Conversion of Özbek khan by Baba Tükles, historical events intermingle with the epic tradition. Baba Tükles in the Noghay epic tradition became the ancestor of Edige, head of the Manghit clan. His struggle with the ruler of the Golden Horde, Toqtamish, is influenced by Shah Temūr, who in the Noghay epic tradition is not Amīr Timur, the Muslim ruler of Samarqand, but a Kalmak—i.e., a non-Muslim—khan.⁴² In the case of the *Majmū'at al-tavārikh*, local Sufi leaders, the Khwājas, probably ordered the text to be supplemented by the epic tradition of the Muslim (Kyrgyz or Burut) nomads and narratives about the latter's involvement in the Holy War (*ghazāt*) against the Kalmaks, in order to attract them to Sufism.

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Tibet (1636–42). Then the Naqshbandi Sufi leader of the Tarim Basin, Afaq Khwāja (1626–1693), who was in exile among the Muslims of Tibet, convinced the Jungar khan Galdan Boshogtu (1670–1697) to invade East Turkestan in 1678 and make him the local ruler. Sufi leaders of East Turkestan, the Chaghatay Ulus, were divided into two parties, led by Eshān-i Kalān and Ishaq Walī. The two parties were supported by local Muslim nomads (Kyrgyz) clans from the Ak-tagħ and Kara-Tagħ regions of the Pamir Mountains.

41 Toqtamish attacked Transoxania in 1387 after his failed campaign against the Persian Chobanids who allied with Timur. This led to the destruction of the Golden Horde by Timur in two devastating campaigns in 1391 (Kondurcha) and 1395 (Terek).

42 See Somfai Kara, "Qalmaq," 172.

- Hatto, Arthur T., "Tradition and change in the Kirghiz «Manas»." In *Languages and Scripts of Central Asia*. Edited by Shirin Akiner and Nicholas Sims-Williamms, 99–105. London: SOAS, University of London, 1997.
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The Number of *Qaraçı Beys* in the Crimean Khanate

Mária Ivanics

One of the key questions in the history of the Crimean Khanate is that of the division of power between the Chinggisid khan and the clan aristocracy that elevated him to power. In the Crimean Khanate, which emerged in the mid-fifteenth century as a successor state to the Golden Horde, the khan did not enjoy absolute power; he shared power throughout the history of the state with the leaders of the most important clans, the *qaraçı beys*, who maintained their political influence down to the Russian annexation in 1783. When discussing this issue, we immediately encounter a fundamental problem: how many *qaraçı beys* were there? Although the number is four in the literature, when we turn to the sources, we may find three, five, six, seven, or even eight *qaraçı beys*! The need among scholars who deal with the history of the khanate to clarify this number has already been addressed. It was first Uli Schamiloglu¹ who studied the number of *qaraçı beys* in 17 sources, followed by Natalia Królikowska,² who assembled a list of 22 dates, primarily on the basis of narrative sources. In this study, in addition to relying on previous findings, I have processed the published diplomatic correspondence, narrative sources and charters, as well as reports by diplomats and travellers, who visited the Crimea. This corpus of 55 documents, however, is far from being complete, since the unpublished charters and envoy books (*Posol'skie knigi*) kept in the archives of old manuscripts in Moscow which contain the documents and reports of envoys on Russo-Crimean Tatar diplomatic relations may change or refine the findings. I have arranged the data from the sources in a chart for my analysis, always indicating the exact type and language of the document and the exact reference as well (see at the end of this chapter).

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- 1 Uli Schamiloglu, "The Qarači beys of the Later Golden Horde: Notes on the Organization of the Mongol World Empire," *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* 4 (1984): 283–297; idem. "Tribal Politics and Social Organization in the Golden Horde," (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1986); Yulay Shamiloglu, *Plemennaia politika i sotsial'noie ustroistvo v Zolotoi Orde* (Kazan': Institut istorii im. S.H. Mardzhani AN RT, 2019).
 - 2 Natalia Królikowska-Jedlińska, *Law and Division of Power in the Crimean Khanate (1532–1774) with Special Reference to the Reign of Murad Giray (1678–1683)* (Leiden-New York: Brill, 2019).

1 The Qaraçi Beys

The Mongol-Turkic word *qaraçu/qaraçi* means “common people, subjects,”³ and, in a broader sense, it referred to everyone who did not descend from Chinggis Khān, the Golden clan.⁴ Most recently, Srynnikova examined the term yet again, on the basis of Mongol sources, and concluded that this meaning may have developed later, as the word *qaraçu* was not even used to refer to Mongols of the lowest status during the time of the Mongol Empire. During this period, the word *qaraçu* signified a non-Chinggisid person who stood immediately next to the ruler, constituting some kind of unity with him, which, in a Mongol chronicle was expressed in an illustrative manner: “Just as there is the sun and the moon in the sky, so too do the khan and the *qaraçu* match one another.”⁵ In various Turkic cultures, the word occurs in the forms of *qaraçu*, *qaraçi*, *qaraça*, *qarapçı*, the original meaning being “a high-ranking, non-Chinggisid person who is close to the khan; a minister, a councillor.”⁶ Although the word can be found in both Mongol and Turkic sources, we can say with certainty that the existence of the institution of the four *qaraçi beys* can be demonstrated only in the successor states of the right wing to the Golden Horde, i.e., in the Great Horde, the Crimean and Kasimov Khanates, and the Khanate of Kazan.⁷ In these successor states the Chinggisid khan and the four

3 The word in the Turkic languages is of Mongol origin: *qaraju* “common people, commoner,” *qarajud* “laymen” and *qarajus* “common people.” Ferdinand D. Lessing, *Mongolian-English Dictionary*, ed. Mattai Haltod, John Gombojab Hangin, Serge Kassatkin and Ferdinand D. Lessing (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press 1960), 932.

4 V.V. Vel’iaminov–Zernov, *Izledovanie o Kasimovskikh tsariakh i tsarevichakh*, 3 vols. (Sankt Petersburg: Tipografiia Imperatorskoï Akademii Nauk, 1863–1887), 2:436–437; Gerhard Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, vol. 1, *Mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen* (Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz, 1963), 397–398; B. Īa. Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyĭ stroĭ mongolov: Mongolskiĭ kochevoĭ feodalizm* (Leningrad: Izdatel’stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1934), 221; István Vásáry, *Az Arany Horda* (Budapest: Kossuth Könyvkiadó, 1986), 202.

5 *Erdeni-yin Tobci* (“Precious summary”). Sagang Secen, *A Mongolian Chronicle of 1662*. The Urga text transcribed and edited by M. Go, I. de Rachewiltz, J.R. Krueger and B. Ulaan. Faculty of Asian Studies Monographs: New Series, 15. (Canberra: Australian National Univ., Faculty of Asian Studies 1990), 91. Cited after T.D. Skrynnikova, “Znachenie termina *qarachu* v srednevekovoi Mongolii.” (paper presented at the VIII Mezhdunarodnyiĭ Kongress Mongolovedov, Ulan-Bator, August 5–12, 2002) Moscow, 111–117.

6 L.Z. Budagov, *Sravnitel’nyiĭ slovar’ turetsko-tatarskikh narechiĭ* (Sanktpeterburg: Tipografiia Imperatorskoï Akademii Nauk, 1870), 2:45. *Materialy po istorii Kazahskikh Khanstv XV–XVIII vekov* trans. S.G. Ibragimov, N.N. Mingulov, K.A. Pishulina and V.P. Īudin. (Alma Ata: Nauka, 1969), 337.

7 V.V. Trepavlov *Bol’shaĭa Orda—Takht eli*. (Tula: Grif i K., 2010), 29; Vel’iaminov-Zernov, *Izledovanie*, 411–419; D.M. Īskhakov, “Klany i ikh rol’ v social’no-politicheskoï ustroĭstve Ulusa Dzhuchi,” *Istoricheskie ocherki* (Kazan’: Fen AN RT, 2009), 24–57.

qaraçıs presupposed one another, and established and maintained the khanates in alliance with each other. In each of the Eastern European successor khanates—with the exception of the Great Horde—the leaders of the four most prominent clans, the Shīrīn, Barın, Arghın and Qıpchaq, initially bore the title *qaraçı bey*.

The institution of the *qaraçı beys* was first described by Vel'iaminov-Zernov in his monograph on the khans of Kasimov.⁸ Lashkov then studied them in his articles on Crimean Tatar land ownership.⁹ Togan also touched on the topic in his edition of the travelogue by Ibn Fadlan.¹⁰ Beatrice Forbes Manz attempted to ascertain the factions of the clan aristocracy through the diplomatic relations of the Crimean Khanate with Moscow and Lithuania,¹¹ while Halil İnalçık examined the role of the Crimean Tatar clan aristocracy in the khanate's administrative structure through the chronicle of Şāhib Giray.¹²

2 The Number of *Qaraçı Beys*

What may account for the differences in the number of *qaraçı beys* in the sources? While preparing the texts of the Polish-Lithuanian peace treaties with the Crimean Tatars, Dariusz Kołodziejczyk was faced with the problem that the number of *qaraçı beys* varied even within the same document. So far, we have only one example of this: in the peace treaty signed on 14 July 1507 by Mengli Giray Khan and the Polish King Sigismund, the leaders of the Qıyat, Manght, Sejevüt, Shīrīn and Barın clans are listed by name,¹³ while in the text

8 Vel'iaminov-Zernov, *Izsedovanie*, 411–437.

9 F.F. Lashkov, "Arkhivnye dannye o beilikakh v Krymskom Khanstve," *Trudy VI Arheologicheskogo S'ezda v Odesse* (Odessa: Tipografiia A. Shul'tse, 1889), 4:96–110; F.F. Lashkov, "Istoricheskii ocherk krymsko-tatarskogo zemlevladieniia," *Izvestiia Tavricheskoï Uchonnoï Arkhivnoi Komissii* 22 (1895): 35–115; 23 (1895): 71–129.

10 *Ibn Fadlan's Reisebericht*, ed. A. Zeki Validi Togan (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1939), 155–158.

11 Beatrice Forbes Manz, "The Clans of the Crimean Khanate 1466–1532," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 2, no. 3 (1978): 282–309.

12 Halil İnalçık, "The Khan and the Tribal Aristocracy: The Crimean Khanate under Sahib Giray I," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 3, no. 4, Part 1. (1979–1980): 445–466.

13 Mansür [oghli] Saqal Bey (Qıyat), Tevkel Bey (Manght), Mamış Bey (Sejevüt), Aghış Bey (Shīrīn) and Devlet Bakhtı Bey (Barın) Dariusz Kołodziejczyk, *The Crimean Khanate and Poland-Lithuania. International Diplomacy on the European Periphery (15th–18th Century): A Study of Peace Treaties Followed by Annotated Documents* (Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2011), 575–576.

of the oath of peace it is the leaders of the Shīrīn, Barnī, Arghīn and Qıpchaq¹⁴ clans that are mentioned. Kołodziejczyk makes the following inspired observations with regard to the dual listing:

Yet, so far it has not been precisely described how this process affected the Crimean hierarchy structure. If the number of *qaraçı beys* was fixed at four, what happened to the *beys* of the Arghīn and Qıpchaq, supposedly deprived of *qaraçı* status, and how strongly did they resent their downfall? The document of 1507 demonstrates that the change was in process earlier than it is often assumed, but again it does not provide an answer. Although neither of the two lists refers to the clan leaders as *qaraçıs*, we may safely assume that at least two of them, Aghış [the leader of the Shīrīn clan (author)] and Devlet Bakhtı [the leader of the Barnī clan (author)], were *qaraçıs*, but who were the remaining two? Did the Crimean chancery (and society) of the time stick to tradition still referring to the Arghīn and Qıpchaq as *qaraçıs*, while denying this title to the Manghits and Sejevüts, in fact more powerful? Or had the change already occurred? How long did the khans keep two alternative lists of the four clan leaders, out of which only one was genuine?¹⁵

Let us examine now the persons mentioned in the peace document signed on 14 July 1507. The first three: Manşūr [oghlı] Sakal Bey, Tevkel Bey and Mamış Bey were respectively the leaders of the Qıyat, Manghit and Sejevüt clans, that is, the clans defeated in 1502 and integrated into the Crimean Khanate as part of the former Great Horde, while Aghış Bey and Devlet Bakhtı Bey were Crimean *qaraçıs*, heads of the Shīrīn and Barnī clans.¹⁶ In the appendix to the peace treaty, however, only the four Crimean *qaraçı beys* took an oath to

14 Aghış Bey (Shīrīn), Devlet Bakhtı Bey (Barnī), Merdān Bey (Arghīn) and Maḥmūd Bey (Qıpchaq). (Doc. 9, Kołodziejczyk, *The Crimean Khanate*, 566–573, Ruthenian translation; 574–579, English translation.)

15 Kołodziejczyk, *The Crimean Khanate*, 35–36.

16 The Great Horde (*Ulugh Orda*) is one of the successor states to the Golden Horde. It is known in the Polish-Lithuanian sources as *Zavolzhskaia Orda* “Trans-Volgine Orda,” in the Russian sources as *Bol’shaia Orda*, “Great Horde” and in the Turkic sources as *Ulugh Orda* or *Takht eli* “the Empire of the Seat of the Khan.” It was established by Sayyid Ahmed (1435–1465), the grandson of Toqtamış Khān (r. 1380–1406 with interruptions). His territory spread from the lower stretches of the Volga to the Dnieper and to the banks of the Kuma in the south. Its centre was the town of Saray on the Volga, the former seat (*takht*) of the khans of the Golden Horde. Its lands reached beyond the Volga as well. In 1502, the Great Horde was defeated by Crimean Khan Mengli Giray (r. 1478–1514). On its more recent history, see V.V. Trepavlov *Bol’shaia Orda*.

uphold the peace: Aghish Bey on behalf of the Shīrīn clan, Devlet Bakhtı Bey for the Barın, Merdan Bey in the name of the Arghın, and Mahmud Bey for the Qıpchaq. However, barely one year later, in the Russo-Tatar peace treaty of 1508, there were already eight clans taking the oath: the Manghit, Sejevüt, Qıyat and Qurat (Qongrat) clans for the Great Horde, and from among the Crimeans, the Shīrīn, Barın, Arghın and Qıpchaq.¹⁷ The conclusions that can be drawn from the lists in the Russo-Polish peace treaty are as follows: it confirms that the number of *qaraçı beys* had to be four, and proves that integration into the Crimean Khanate started immediately after the fall of the Great Horde,¹⁸ although historical tradition dated the acceptance of the clan leaders of the Great Horde among the Crimean *qaraçıs* to the time of the reign of Şāhib Giray (1532–1551).¹⁹

All of this shows that the four *qaraçıs* of the Great Horde that were integrated into the Crimean Khanate in the early sixteenth century had not lost their significance yet. If this statement is true, why does the number of *qaraçı beys* differ in the Polish and Russian sources? I believe that the explanation must be sought in the organisational structure of nomadic society. As is well known, nomadic societies were divided into left and right wings and both were subdivided into left and right sub-wings. The major wings were not only military, but also administrative units.²⁰ Of the four *qaraçıs*, the leaders of the two

17 Qıyat Sakal Bey (Qıyat), Tevkel Bey (Manghit), Mamış Bey (Sejevüt), Süleymān Bey (Qurat = Qongrat), Aghish Bey (Shīrīn), Devlet Bakhtı Bey (Barın), Merdān Bey (Arghın) and Maḥmūd Bey (Qıpchaq). *Pamiātniki diplomaticheskikh snosheniū Moskovskogo gosudarstva s Krymom, Nagaiami i Turtsieū*, vol 2. 1508–1521 gg., ed. G. Karpov and G. Shtendman, *Sbornik Russkogo Istoricheskogo Obshchestva* 95 (Sankpeterburg: Imperatorskoe Russkoe Istoricheskoe Obshchestvo, 1895), 20.

18 It was also influenced by the fact that the winter of 1501–1502 was extremely cold, the livestock died, and, on top of that, Mengli Giray had the steppe scorched. In order to escape famine, the clans thus headed off to the Crimea. It was not only the common folk who migrated. The wife of the last khan of the Great Horde, Sheykh Aḥmed (1495–1502), also found refuge in the Crimea. Although at the turn of 1506–1507, Tevkel Ulan, who represented Mengli Giray, took an oath before Sigismund, the king of Poland (r. 1506–1547), in the name of the Horde of Perekop (Crimean Khanate) and the Trans-Volginine Horde (Zavolzhskāia Orda, i.e., the Great Horde), there was no actual power behind the latter, since the majority of its population had already left. Kolodziejczyk, *The Crimean Khanate*, 28, 554.

19 See n. 27 under the chart.

20 This is clear from the donation documents (*soyurghal*) issued by the khans of the late Golden Horde, in which orders were issued to the princes, begs, generals, colonels, captains and corporals of the right and left wings (*ong qolung ve şol qolung tümen ming yüz on oghlanlarigha ve beglerige*). M.A. Usmanov, *Zhalovannye akty Dzhochieva Ulusa XIV–XVI vv.* (Kazan': Izdatel'stvo Kazanskogo Universiteta, 1979), 208–209.

most prestigious clans were the leaders of the two major wings.²¹ In the case of the Crimea in the fifteenth–sixteenth centuries, a *Shīrīn qaraçı* headed the right wing, while a *Barın qaraçı* led the left.²² In the Great Horde, the Manghits filled the office of beglerbeg, and the beglerbeg was traditionally the leader of the right wing. They led a nomadic way of life on the left bank of the Dnieper.²³ Therefore, logically, the Sejevüts must have represented the left wing. In the Polish peace treaty of 1507, they thus found it important to include the names of the leaders of both the Crimean Khanate and the major wings of the former Great Horde, based on which we can suppose that the clans of the Great Horde were considered to be independent military units. The fifth clan, the Qiyats, occupied a special position on the steppe, since Chinggis Khān had originated from the Qiyat-Bordjigin clan. In the fourteenth century, the beglerbegs of the Golden Horde were from the Qiyat clan, and they were particularly influential on the right wing, where Qiyat Mamay Beglerbeg (1335?–1380) independently raised khans to the throne, toppling them as he pleased.²⁴ Mention of the Qiyats in the 1507 treaty indicates that the clan may have maintained its exceptional position until the early sixteenth century. The Russian peace treaty of 1508 listed all of the *qaraçıs* from both the Crimean Khanate and the Great Horde.

3 Changes in the Number of *Qaraçı Beys* as a Reflection of the History of the Crimean Khanate

My starting point, therefore, is that the number of *qaraçı beys* originally had to be four everywhere. In my view, the fluctuation of the number of Crimean *qaraçıs* can be explained through social changes, which I will demonstrate with the chart appended to the present chapter. Before the analysis, however, I should point out the shortcomings of the chart. The most reliable data derive

21 It is definitely suggested by the term of *qol qaraçı* in the chronicle of Ötemiş Hāji. Mustafa Kafalı, *Ötemiş Hacı'ya göre Cuci Ulusu'nun Tarihi*, (Ankara: Türk Kültürü Araştırma Enstitüsü), 2009, 150.

22 According to a Polish chronicle, the leaders of these two clans went to Casimir, grand duke of Lithuania, to take the Tuqay-Timurid Prince Hajji Giray, who had found refuge in the Grand Duchy, and raised him to the throne in the Crimea. *Kronika polska, litewska, zmóźdzka i wszystkiej Rusi Macieja Strykowskiego* (Warszawa: Gustaw Leon Glücksberg, 1846), 2: 212–213.

23 Trepavlov *Bol'shaia Orda*, 31.

24 V.V. Trepavlov, "Beklerbek v strukture mongol'skoj i türkskoj gosudarstvennosti," *Zoloto-ordynskoe Obozrenie* 2, no. 2 (2014): 21–34.

from the peace treaties; the judicial records (*sicil*); the registers of presents (*tiyış defter*), in which “presents” should be understood as “tribute”; and the Ottoman sultan’s imperial letters (*nāme-i hümayūn*). The next group consists of reports from envoys and narrative sources, where there is a greater degree of uncertainty. It is not certain, for example, that an envoy to the khan’s court was well-informed about the Crimean situation and put down the name of each *qaraçıs*. In the case of narrative sources, the number of *qaraçıs* has also been observed to vary within the same chronicle (e.g., in the *Tāriḫ-i Şāḫib Giray Khān*). I have excluded two Crimean chronicles from the chart. One of these works is the *Gūlbūn-i Khānān* written by Ḥalīm Giray Sultan in 1811. In one of its early editions in the Arabic script, there are four *qaraçıs* mentioned (Shīrīn, Barın, Manşūr-oghlı and Sejevüt), but these are clearly additions from another source, because there is no mention of any of the *qaraçıs* in its critical edition published a few years ago.²⁵ As to the other chronicle excluded from the chart, it has recently come to light that it is a twentieth-century compilation.²⁶ I had to be even more careful with the data from sources written by travellers and Europeans, as it cannot be ascertained whether the various authors were describing the current situation or repeating information from earlier narrative sources. I have accepted the data from the memoirs of two French consuls, Charles Peyssonnel²⁷ and François Baron de Tott,²⁸ who served in the Crimea in the late eighteenth century, but not from those of Thunmann, because, according to Kerstin Jobst,²⁹ Thunmann is not likely to have ever been to the Crimea, and his book is a compilation of the works of Tott, Peyssonnel and/or Kleemann.³⁰

25 *Gūlbun-i Khānān Yahud Kırım Tāriḫi*, ed. Osman Cūdi (İstanbul: Necm-i İstikbāl Matba’ası 1327/1910), 40. It was Schamiloglu (*Plemennaya politika*, 54.) who proposed that this may be an addition from the chronicle of ‘Abdu’l-Ghaffār, but it was only after the critical edition was published that it became possible to prove that the section in question was not originally part of the chronicle of Ḥalīm Giray. Halim Giray, *Gūlbūn-ü Hānān (Kırım Hanları tarihi): Değerlendirme-Metin-Tipkibasım*, ed. Alper Başer and Alper Günaydın (İstanbul: Pasific Ofset, 2013).

26 I.V. Zaitsev, *Krymskaïa istoriograficheskaïa traditsiia XV–XIX vekov* (Moskva: Vostochnaïa Literatura RAN 2009), 157–165.

27 Charles de Peyssonnel, *Traité sur le Commerc de la Mer Noire* (Paris: Cuchet), 1787.

28 *Memoirs of the Baron de Tott, on the Turks and the Tatars*, 2 vols. (Dublin: printed for L. White, J. Gash and R. Marchbank, 1785).

29 Kerstin S. Jobst, *Die Perle des Imperiums: Der russische Krim-Diskurs im Zarenreich*, Historische Kulturwissenschaft, 11. (Konstanz: Universitätsverlag Konstanz, 2007), 92–93.

30 Nicolas Ernest Kleeman, *Voyage de Vienne à Belgrade et à Kilianova, dans le pays des Tartares ...* (A Neuchatel: De l’imprimerie de la Société Typographique, 1780).

Having examined and arranged all the available data in a chart, I presumed that the changes in the number of *qaraçı beys* reflect some kind of a system. My first starting point was that the number had to be four, as indicated in the sources related to the Eastern European khanates. Where the Chinggisids, who had originated from the Tuqay-Timurid dynasty, established khanates (the Crimea, Kazan and Kasimov), the four *qaraçıs* were from the Shīrīn, Barn, Arghın and Qıpchaq clans, who had supported the dynasty and constituted its ancient clans (*bayrı el*).³¹ First, I thought that the notion of four *qaraçıs* was justified primarily by the ceremony in which the clan was chosen. In the troubled times (*bulghaq*) of the late fourteenth century, signs of tribalism increased again and at the beginning of the fifteenth century, real power was in the hands of the clan leaders. These leaders chose the khans and inaugurated them by elevating them on a white felt carpet. We know of two such descriptions: in 1602, in the Kasimov Khanate, the leaders of the Jalayır, Manghit, Arghın and Qıpchaq clans performed the ritual,³² and in 1608 in the Crimea, the Shīrīn, Barn, Sejevüt and Manşūr quartet raised Toqtamış Giray to the throne this way.³³ We do not know how long this custom survived. It is highly likely that

31 As I have already noted in my article on the Shīrīn, each Chinggisid dynasty seems to have had four ancient clans (*bayrı el*), members of which governed in conjunction with the khan, whom they had raised to the throne. They referred to clans that had been conquered or had submitted to them as *olca tüşken el* (*olca* "booty"). Mária Ivanics, "Die Širin: Abstammung und Aufstieg einer Sippe in der Steppe," in *The Crimean Khanate between East and West (15th–18th Century)*, ed. Meinolf Arens and Denise Klein (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 2012), 27–44. For *olca tüşken el* see Kafalı, *Ötemiş Hacı*, 151. The four clans are first mentioned jointly in sources pertaining to the period of the rule of Jānibek, the khan of the Golden Horde (r. 1342–1357), and they were already among the elite of the empire at the time: *Jānibek khānning zemānında khalq ulusı bulardan turur: Qıyat Mōngitā oghlı Boralday, Ushun Īsā oghlı Awat, Alchun oghlı Alaw, Aq Mangghut Tāmār-biy, Elchili Qutlu Bugha-biy, Sijūt Ālī-biy, Qıyat Işaṭay oghlı Chir Qutlı-biy, Qıyat Alach oghlı-biy Mamay Qıbshaq, Shīrīn Öruk Tāmār, Arghun Qara Quja, Barn Sarṭay-biy, Borqıt Alaṭay-biy, Nayman Azasan (?)-biy, Tama Özüik Chora-biy, Qıbshaq Mıngıl oghlı Tāmār-biy, Qongrat Ālī-biy. Historia Dschingischani*, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin. Preuss. Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung. Signatur: Diez A quart 137. F. 1211–12V4.

32 Qādir ‘Alī Bek Jalāyırī, "Sbornik letopisei: Tatarskii tekst," in *Biblioteka vostochnykh istorikov*, ed. I.N. Berezin, (Kazan: Universitetskaia Tipografiia, 1851), 2/1:68. The Shīrīn and Barn clans originally held positions later occupied by the Jalayırs and Manghits in Kasimov as well. Vel’iaminov-Zernov *Izsledovanie*, 434–436.

33 In accordance with the will of his father, Ghāzī Giray II Khan (r. 1588–1607/8), Toqtamış Giray was raised on a carpet by the clan aristocracy during his inauguration as khan in 1608 in keeping with nomadic customs. The Porte, however, did not acknowledge this free election and chose Selāmet Giray, who had been under guard in Istanbul, sending him to the Crimea to be khan. Although Seyyid Muḥammed Ruzā described a silk carpet, it is not certain that the material was actually silk, since white felt held a symbolic meaning

it was not used in the case of khans sent from the Porte.³⁴ Presumably, with the gradual Ottomanization of Crimean society, the inauguration of the khans with the nomadic ceremony disappeared.

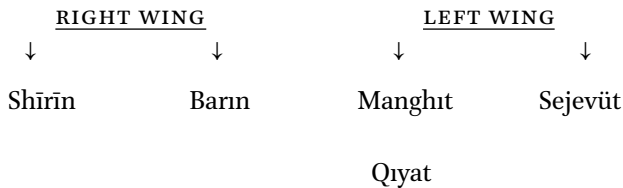
The other principle connected to the quartet proved to be more lasting. It was tied to the division of nomadic societies into military and administrative units according to main wings and sub-wings. I maintain that the fluctuation in the number of *qaraçıs* can be explained by a division based on the wings, because it seems that the place of the clans within the wings remained permanent for centuries.³⁵ It was not possible to move from one wing to another, and the original system of wings was only undone as a last resort.³⁶ The leaders of

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- among the Turkic peoples M.A. Kazem-bek, *Asseb o-sseyyār fi āhwāl-i mulūk-i tatar ili Sem' Planet*, Sochinenie Seïida Muhammeda Rızı, (Kazan': Universitetskaïa Tipografıja, 1832), 126. Leonardo Olschki, *The Myth of Felt* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1949). For broader comparisons with inauguration ceremonies in the Turko-Mongol world, we can also mention the inauguration of Subhān-quli Khan (r. 1681–1702), the Uzbek sultan of the Ashtarkhanid dynasty, in Bukhara in 1681, who, as recorded in the *Muhīt al-tavārikh*, was also lifted up on a white felt carpet by the four leading amirs (Muḥammad Amīn b. Mīrzā Zamān Bukhārī *Muhīt al-tavārikh*, ed. Mehrdad Fallahzadeh and Forogh Hashabeiky (Leiden; Boston: Brill, [2014]), 285. Cf. Robert McChesney, *Central Asia: Foundations of Change* (Princeton: Darwin Press, 1996), 128–129; Mária Ivanics, “The Khan's Inauguration Ceremony among the Mongols and Turks,” *Archivum Ottomanicum* 39 (2022): 125–149.
- 34 Şāhib Giray (r. 1532–1551) was the first significant Crimean khan appointed by the sultan. His life was recorded by his court physician, Nidā'ī Remmāl Hoca, who makes no mention of the new khan's inauguration by the clan aristocracy in keeping with Tatar traditions. Özalp Gökbilgin, *Tārīḥ-i Şāhip Giray Hān* (Ankara: Baylan Matbaası, 1973).
- 35 The Shīrīn, for example, are always listed together with the *qalgha* on the right wing in the Golden Horde in the early fifteenth century. *Zolotaïa Orda v istochnikakh*, vol. 1. Arabskie i persidskie sochineniia, ed. R.P. Khrapachevskii (Moscow: Nauka, 2003), 244. The Qalga (*qalgha/qalghay*) was the first deputy of the khan and leader of the right wing: *qalghay sultān ya'nī quṭb-i felek-i se'ādet ve yemīn-i cenāh-i saltanat*. Hadzy Mehmed Senai z Krymu, *Historia Chana Islam Gereja III*, trans. Zygmunt Abrahamowicz, noted Olgierd Górka i Zbigniew Wójcik (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawn. Naukowe 1971), 19. According to the Shīrīn genealogy, the ancestor of the clan, Rüktemir, was positioned on the right-hand side of the khan within Toqtamış Khān's divan. Lashkov, *Arkhivnye dannye*, 99.
- 36 An anonymous, mid-fifteenth-century Persian-language source titled *Shajarat al-Atrāk* (“The genealogy of the Turks”) describes the last war waged between Toqtamış, the khan of the Golden Horde, and Timur Lenk: “The right wing of the army under Timur *gür-gen* defeated the left wing under Toqtamış Khān every day, and the right wing under Toqtamış Khān bested the left wing under Timur *gür-gen*. When they had fought like this a number of times, Toqtamış Khān conferred with the lords of his empire and made a plan to re-organise the lines of his army. His soldiers on the left wing were all injured and of low military value. He therefore ordered Yaghlı *bey bahadur*, who was the leader of the Bahrn (Barn) clan—which, since the time of Oghuz Khān had formed part of the right wing—to line up the Bahrn clan on the left wing of the battlefield as they were preparing for battle the following day. [...] Since then, during the *quriltais*, the Bahrns

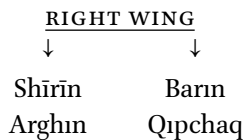
the clans who headed the wings accepted the obligation to uphold the peace primarily in their own name and in the name of their clan.

In the early fifteenth century, it had not yet been decided which successor state would inherit the disintegrating Golden Horde, into whose treasury the tributes from Lithuania and Moscow would flow. The two most likely candidates were the nomadic Great Horde ruled by the children and grandchildren of Toqtamış, and the Crimean Khanate led by the Giray dynasty, another branch of Tuqay Timurids. Four clans played a role in the establishment of both nomadic states; in the Crimea they were the leaders, the *qaraçı beys* of the Shīrīn, Barın, Arghın and Qıpchaq clans. We have indirect data about their presence from the Great Horde: in a letter from the khan of the Great Horde, Sheykh Aḥmed, dated 1502, they are referred to as the *четыры корачи* “four *qaraçıs*” without specific names.³⁷ We have good reason to think that these four clans are identical to the Manghit, Sejevüt, Qıyat and Qurat clans mentioned in the 1508 Russian peace treaty discussed above. Therefore, in the Crimean Khanate in the early sixteenth century, as we can see in the Russian peace treaty of 1508, we have to assume two sets of *qaraçı beys*. Their number, however, was already in flux at the time, as discussed above.

Polish Instrument of Peace, 1507 (Five or Four Qaraçıs)



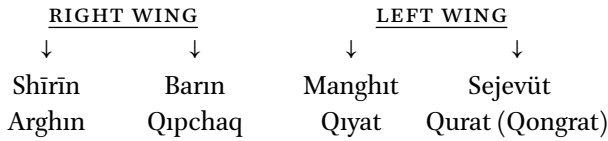
OR



have occupied a place on the left-hand side of the Uzbek sultans [that is, the khans of the eastern, i.e. left, wing of the Golden Horde (author)], the left side having been called *jungar* by the Mongols and *sol qol* by the Turks.” *Zolotaia Orda*, 391–392.

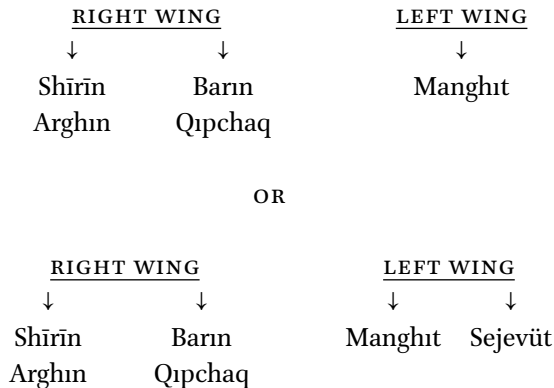
37 Trepavlov *Bol'shaia Orda*, 31.

Russian Instrument of Peace 1508 (Eight Qaraçıs)



3.1 *Sixteenth Century (Five or Six Qaraçıs)*

During the sixteenth century, the number of *qaraçıs* changed in the following way: after 1508, the Qıyats and Qurats disappeared from among the *qaraçıs* of the Great Horde, supposedly because their military power was insignificant. The positions of the four Crimean *qaraçıs* remained stable, and they were supplemented by one from the Great Horde (Manghıt) and perhaps one more from the same source (Sejevüt).

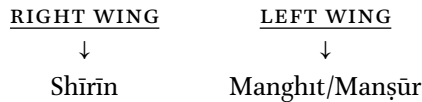


As the nomadic traditions were carried on, the role of the Crimean *qaraçıs* continued to be decisive in the khanate, they assembled the *qurultais*, where they elected the khan and raised him on a white felt carpet or could even remove him if they were dissatisfied with him. They maintained independent diplomatic relations, primarily with the Polish-Lithuanian State and the Shīrīn chief *qaraçı* and even with the Ottoman sultan. By the late sixteenth century, the Qıpchaq had also disappeared from among the Crimean *qaraçıs* in the sources.³⁸

³⁸ After the Russian annexation of the khanate, they were mentioned as former *qaraçıs* in nineteenth-century documents, but they were only in the second line by that time (see below).

3.2 *After 1590 in the Russian Documents (Two Qaraçıs + Süleşh-oghlı, Külük-oghlı)*

As of the 1590s, the system had changed. The Crimean clans were only represented by the Shīrīn, and the clans of the Great Horde only by the Manghıt, who, as of 1620, are referred to by the name Manşūr/Manşūr-oghlı, or occasionally Divey (all three are anthropoethnonyms, that is, names of clans derived from a personal name).³⁹ Although we only have data from 1644, it is highly likely that they had already been the leaders of the two main wings then, the Shīrīn on the right and the Manghıt on the left.⁴⁰ Further changes in the foreign policy of the khanate are indicated by the fact that after 1591 two new clans, the Süleşh-oghlı and the Külük-oghlı, temporarily appeared, and thus it seemed as if the number of *qaraçı beys* was again four. However, the latter two were not among the state-forming clans.⁴¹ They primarily appear in Russian documents and documents on Russo-Tatar diplomatic relations, where they mediate between Moscow and Bakhchisaray as well as between Warsaw and Bakhchisaray. Since I have not encountered their names in sources related to military campaigns, they are not likely to have formed part of either of the wings.



3.3 *Seventeenth-Century Tatar and Ottoman Sources (Four Qaraçıs)*

On the other hand, in the Tatar and Ottoman sources from the same period, we find another system of *qaraçıs*. Hacı Mehmed Senā'î, the scribe of the *dīvān*, composed a chronicle on the events of the reign of İslām III Giray Khan (r. 1644–1654). He wrote: “Four dignitaries are called *qaraçı*: Shīrīn, Manghıt, Secevit and Arghın; their *ocaklıks* are ruled by the begs, who are neither nominated nor dismissed by the khans, but perform their duties till the end of their

39 See n. 5 under the chart.

40 “*qānūn-i qadīm-i çingīzī üzere şagh qolda mīr livā-i Şīrīn ve meyserede mīr livā-i Mangqıt tertīb ...*” Hadzıy Mehmed Senai, *Historia*, 21.

41 In the sources, they are also called *yurt beyleri* “country beys,” Kołodziejczyk *The Crimean Khanate*, 888, and *yurt begleri qaraçılarımız begler* “country beys, [i.e.] our *qaraçı beys*,” V.V. Vel'iaminov-Zernov, V.V. – Kh. Feizkhanov, *Materialy dlia istorii Krymskogo Khanstva*. (Sankpeterburg: Tipografiia Imperatorskoï Akademii Nauk, 1864). = *Kırım Yurtına Ve Ol Taraflarga Dair Bolgan Yarıqlar ve Hatlar*, eds. A. Melek Özyetgin and Ilyas Kamalov 2nd ed. (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 2009), 655. On the two new clans, Süleşh-oghlı, Külük-oghlı see n. 49 below, as well as nn. 9 and 10 under the chart.

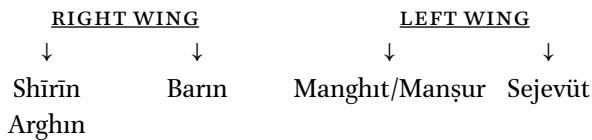
lives.”⁴² The Turkish word traveller, Evliyā Çelebi, who spent some years in the middle of the seventeenth century in the peninsula, named three Crimean clans on the right and only one on the left wing.⁴³



Thus, order had been re-established on the wings; that is, the Crimeans lined up on the right, and those of the Great Horde assembled on the left, under the leadership of the Shīrīn and Manghits. I believe, and perhaps later data will also confirm this, that rivalry between the Barın and Arghın clans had grown. It seems that the Barın clan appears in documents related to the Ottomans and the Poles, while the Arghın tend to be mentioned in Russian diplomatic documents.⁴⁴ This remains the case when the number of *qaraçıs* rises to five.

3.4 *Polish Instrument of Peace 1632 (Five Qaraçıs)*

Five *qaraçıs* (Shīrīn, Barın, Arghın, Manghit and Sejevüt) were mentioned for the first time in 1632 in a Polish instrument of peace, according to which the first three formed the right wing and the other two the left.



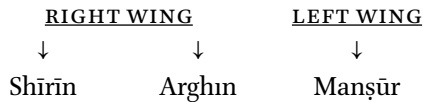
⁴² *Historia chana*, 92, 4v.

⁴³ See n. 47 under the chart.

⁴⁴ The reason for this is that the Barın (together with the Shīrīn) traditionally favoured the Poles. Kołodziejczyk *The Crimean Khanate*, 68.

4 Seventeenth-Century Russian Sources (Three *Qaraçıs* + Sülesh-oghlı, Külük-oghlı until 1680)

However, the five clans mentioned in contemporary Russian envoys' reports and other diplomatic documents differ from this: they are the *Shîrîn*, *Arghın*, *Manşür*, *Sülesh-oghlı* and *Külük-oghlı* clans. Thus, when five *qaraçıs* are mentioned, it can be seen that the *Arghın* preserved their place among the Crimean aristocratic clans. These seventeenth-century changes also illustrate well the transformation that had taken place in the life of the khanate. First, the role of the *Manghıt*s increased due to their significant military power.⁴⁵ Second, the sources reveal a rivalry between the *Shîrîn* and the *Manghıt*s.⁴⁶ Third, the appearance of two new clans show that the Crimean Khanate increasingly entrusted the cultivation of diplomatic relations to career diplomats, to use a modern term.



4.1 *Eighteenth Century (Four Qaraçıs)*

In the 1680s, Crimean society was faced with newer challenges. Its army was continually fighting in Ottoman military campaigns in the Central European theatres of war against the member states of the Holy League of 1684 (the Holy Roman Empire, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and the Venetian Republic). Russia also joined the Holy League in 1686, and in the next century

45 As for the size of the *Manghıt*s' military power, we have a variety of data. The chronicle describing the campaign of Şahib Giray Khân against the *Cherkes* in 1547 states that the whole army of the khan counted twenty thousand warriors, of which the khan's soldiers (*khan qulı*) numbered ten thousand, the number of *Arghın* and *Qıpchaq* was three thousand and that of the *Shîrîn* was fifteen thousand (sic!) in number. The last data is probably a mistake for five thousand as İnalçık already supposed. If it is so, the *Manghıt*s contributed two thousand. Halil İnalçık, "The Khan," 448. Gökbilgin, *Tarih*, 73. Without any citation, Lashkov put the military might of the *Manghıt*s at eight thousand strong. Lashkov, "Arhivnye dannye," 108. The growth of the military might of the *Manghıt*s was linked to the disintegration of the *Nogay Horde* and the continuous *Nogay* migration onto the steppe north of the Black Sea, especially once *Kazan* had fallen into Russian hands in 1552.

46 The result of this was that by the end of the seventeenth century it was no longer the exclusive privilege of the *Shîrîn bey* to call the *quriltai*; he did so together with the *Manghıt* (*Manşür*) *bey* and the religious leaders. A.I. Markevich, "Spisok so statejnogo spiska pod"ıachego Vasiliia Aitemireva, poslannogo v Krym s predlozheniem mirnyh dogovorov," *Zapiski Odesskogo Obshchestva Istorii i Drevnostei*, 18, part 2 (1895), 31.

it openly attempted to annex the Crimean Khanate.⁴⁷ As a result of this fundamental change, diplomacy was replaced by arms, and thus the Süleşh-oghlı and Külük-oghlı clans disappeared from the diplomatic correspondence. With the departure of the two servant clans in the eighteenth century, the quartet of the previous century consisting of two Crimean clans and two clans from the Great Horde (the Shīrīn, Barın, Manşürs and Sejevüts, or the Shīrīn, Arghın, Manşürs and Sejevüts) was restored in the Turkic-language narrative sources and charters.



4.2 *Eighteenth-Century Memoirs and Travelogues (Four or Five Qaraçıs and the Yashlav and Dairs)*

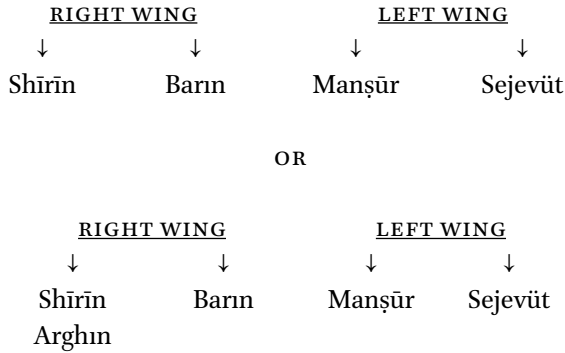
In memoirs by the diplomats Peyssonnel and Baron de Tott, who served in the Crimea as well as in travelogues by European travellers, Kleemann and Pallas,⁴⁸ we can see another picture. At this point we have to be very careful again, as we do not know whether they were describing the actual situation or discussing the Crimean clans in general. The description by Pallas is a good example of this, as he visited the Crimea ten years after the annexation of the khanate, in 1793–1794. He listed the Barın among the leading clans but also added that they had all left the Crimea after 1783. As regards the Sejevüts, he noted that only one young member of the clan had remained in the Crimea. The Arghın, however, were great in number, a fact which may explain their significant presence among the *qaraçıs*. The two most influential clans in this source are the Shīrīn and the Manşürs. Pallas makes mention of two other clans, the Yashlav⁴⁹ and the Dairs (neither of them was a state-forming clan).

47 Sándor Gebei, “A karlócai béke kelet-európai összefüggései”, *Történelmi Szemle* 41, no. 1–2 (1999): 1–30.

48 P.S. Pallas, *Reise in die südlichen Statthalterschaften des Russischen Reichs in den Jahren 1793 und 1794* (Leipzig: Gottfried Martini, 1801), 2: 355–357.

49 The Yashlav are a clan of Qipchaq ethnicity, but they are not identical with the state-forming Qipchaq clan. Their ancestors arrived in the Crimea during the Mongol seven-year campaign (1236–1242) with Shiban, and, thanks to a stratagem, they contributed to the

The latter one is of Cherkes origin, their name already appearing in a travelogue by Evliyā Çelebi as Dairli, and they were among the court servants (*qapı halqı*).



4.3 *Nineteenth-Century Russian Sources*

After the annexation of the khanate, the Russian provincial administrative apparatus attempted to collect a great deal of information on Crimean society. In 1807, the Russian governor of Tavrida (Crimea) asked the leader of the province's nobility which clans were considered to be major nobles (*beışkiı*) in the Crimea. He named the Shīrīn, Manşūr, Sijivut (Sejevüt) and Arghın clans and said that the Qıpchaq and Yashlav were secondary. He also added that

occupation of Kurk Yer. This locality near Bakhchisaray built on a steep cliff and populated primarily by Qaraim and Jews, was under the administration of the Yashlav for centuries. The story which, according to Smirnov, strongly reminds one of Biblical Jericho, remained in the chronicle of V.D. Smirnov, *Krymskoe Khanstvo pod verkhovestvom Ottomanskoı Porty* (Moscow: Rubezhi XXI, 2005), 1117–118. According to one view, the clan-name Yashlav originates from the name of Yashlav Emir who thought of the stratagem and thus it is an anthropoethnonym. Another view maintains that the clan took its name from their lands in Yashdagh by the Alma River. The ancestor of the Yashlav, Apağ Qudalağ Mīrzā, was the head of the faction in the Crimea that supported Moscow in the early sixteenth century. Since foreign envoys were mainly lodged in Qırq Yer, the Yashlav soon became indispensable in facilitating Russo-Tatar diplomatic ties. According to the tax ledgers in Moscow, in addition to various furs, they also received 50 bars of silver (*somm*) at 204.8 g each for their services. As of the mid-sixteenth century, the Yashlav are also referred to as Süleşhev in the sources. In 1591, Russian envoy Sudakov, for example, noted that Murad Yashlavskiı, who sat on the khan's divan, was Süleş Bey (*kniaz Suleshev*). The descendants of Apağ were given the name Süleş after Süleyman *işan* (Süleş) who was the *işan*, that is, confidant, to Devlet Giray I (r. 1551–1571). Their appearance at the turn of the eighteenth-nineteenth centuries is anachronistic, since they had lost their political role by then. A.V. Vinogradov, "Rod Sulesha vo vnesheı politike Krymskogo Khanstva vtoroı poloviny XVI v." in *Türkologicheskiı sbornik 2005: Türkские народы России i Velikoı Stepi* (Moscow: Vostochnaıa Literatura RAN, 2006), 26–73.

none of the Barn could be found.⁵⁰ He then listed the clans of minor nobility (*mīrzinskiī*) as well as the Tatar, Nogay and Cherkes aristocrats who served in the khan's court (*qapı halqı*).⁵¹ The Russians also requested and translated the documents that the clans received from the khans and the Ottoman sultans. It was based on these that the new ruler acknowledged their titles and included them among the Russian aristocrats.⁵²

4.4 *Tatar shejeres (Four Qaraçıs)*

The *shejere*, that is, the genealogy, of the Shīrīn, Mañşur and Yashlav clans was among the documents submitted to the Russian authorities after the annexation of the khanate.⁵³ The genealogy of the Shīrīn starts with their being among the first of the seven Tatar *bey* clans. The Mañşürs traced their family tree to the clan of the seven *bey*s descended from Mañşür, son of Edige, head of the Noghay Horde. The Yashlav consider themselves to be one of the clans of the seven *bey*s that conquered the Crimea. Unfortunately, none of the genealogies specify who these seven clans were. While the number seven possesses mystical significance among the Turks, one may think that the number seven should be understood as a *topos*.⁵⁴ However, when the genealogy lists who had the

50 Particularly because no mention is made of the Barn among the main Crimean clans in a survey prepared after the annexation of Crimea, nor do they feature on the list that contains the names of the noble families who migrated from the Crimea. Lashkov therefore concluded that the Barn had died out by the end of the century. Lashkov, "Istoricheskii ocherk krymsko-tatarskogo zemlevladieniia," *Izvestiia Tavricheskoï Uchonnoï Arkhivnoï Komissii* 22 (1895), 69.

51 Ibid.

52 The division of the Crimean Tatar clan aristocracy into major and minor nobles may have taken place earlier. This is probably what the document from 1691 is referring to when Sa'adet Giray Khān informs the tsar in Moscow that he has discussed the issue of peace with all his major and minor *qaraçıs* (*cümle ulugh ve küçük qaraçı qullarımız milen*) Vel'iaminov-Zernov, *Kırım yurtına*, 764. Unfortunately, the document does not list them by name.

53 Lashkov, "Arkhivnie dannie", 98–100 (*shejere* of Shīrīn), 101 (*shejere* of Mañşürs), 105–106 (*shejere* of Yashlav).

54 Seven (*yeti, yedi*) is a very frequent constituent element in names of tribal alliances in Turkic cultures, such as *Yedisān* "Seven divisions" (*Semi rod* "Seven clans" in the Russian sources) and the Bashkir *Yete uru* "Seven clans." In the fourteenth-fifteenth centuries, the *Yedisān* Horde formed an independent unit within the Nogay Horde, leading a nomadic way of life between the Volga and the Yayıq (Ural). Its clans included the Shīrīn, Barn, Arghın and Qıpchaq, who were also among the ancient Tuqay-Timurid clans. However, the number seven is fictitious, since, in addition to these, the *Yedisān* Horde also consisted of four further clans, the Alchıns, Manghıts, Qıtays and Kürlevüts. Mustafa Kafalı, "Cuci Ulusun'daki İl ve Kabileler Siyasî Rollerini ve Ehemmiyetleri," *İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi* 2 (1971): 99–110.

right to govern the people at the time of the khanate, only four clans and their leaders are mentioned, the Shīrīn, Maṣṣūrs, Sejevüts and Barın, those very clans that we also find in the eighteenth-century sources. The genealogies also confirm that the number of the *qaraçı beys* must be four.

5 Conclusion

I believe that the system of the wings in nomadic societies offers the answer to the questions posed by Dariusz Kołodziejczyk. In their treaties, the Christian powers insisted not only on the khan, members of the khan's family and religious leaders giving them *şart*, that is, individual oaths to keep the peace, but also on the *qaraçıs*, who exercised a decisive influence in the administration and foreign policy of the khanate. Initially, the khan and clan chiefs shared in the responsibility of keeping to the peace agreement. Kołodziejczyk recalls a case in 1566 when Devlet Giray Khān (1551–1571) was only willing to give a *şart* to the Russian envoy in his own name, saying that the clans were participating in the Turkic campaign in Hungary along with the *qalgha*.⁵⁵

In the fifteenth century, the chiefs of the four clans that established the khanate took an oath: the Shīrīn as the leader of the right wing, the Barın as that of the left wing, and the Arghın and Qıpchaq clans under them. When the clans of the Great Horde were integrated into Crimean society, the leaders of the four Crimean clans comprising the right wing, and the four clans of the Horde that formed the left wing were included in the peace treaty together. The initial eight clans had been replaced by six (four Crimean clans on the right wing and two from the Great Horde on the left). Later, only four of them took their oaths: two Crimean clans (right wing) and two from the Great Horde (left wing). The system was simplified further to one Crimean clan (right wing) and one Great Horde clan (left wing), and there was once occasion for the Shīrīn *qaraçı* alone to give a *şart* in the name of the entire clan aristocracy of the khanate (1654). The simplification of the system, of course, only indicates a general tendency, but we can find *qaraçıs* in the sources in various groupings

55 In 1654, the Polish envoy Jaskólski requested that, since the king of Poland and the entire Polish Rzeczpospolita had sworn to uphold the peace, so too should the major aghas take the oath, not merely the khan. When it turned out that only the khan would swear in the name of the aghas, the envoy insisted that at least Shīrīn Bey should take responsibility for the Crimean clan aristocracy. However, since Shīrīn Bey happened not to be in Bakhchisaray at the time, the envoy caught up with him at Perekop (the Fortress of Or) on his way home and obtained his oath as well. The story is discussed in detail by Kołodziejczyk *The Crimean*, 486–487.

and numbers before and after 1654. The first place of Shīrīn was never put in question, just firmly held their position along centuries on the left wing the Manghıts and Sejevüts. A fluctuation appeared only on the right wing between the two Crimean clans, the Barın and the Arghın.

As long as the number of clans is even, that is, two, four, six or eight, the wings are clear and so are the relations of subordination. But what happens when the number is three, five or seven? In that case, the general rule remains: regardless of the number, the Crimean clans comprise the right wing, and those of the Great Horde form the left. We have seen different variations: the three clans consisted of one from the Crimea and two from the Great Horde. In the case of five clans, we must differentiate between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In the sixteenth century, the hierarchy of four Crimean clans constituted the right wing, and only one from the Great Horde formed the left wing. In the seventeenth century, however, the five clans comprised three from the Crimea and two from the Great Horde. On first sight, it seems difficult to determine the hierarchical relationship between the three Crimean clans, but luckily, the Cherkes campaign of Şāhib Giray Khān in 1547 offers a great parallel, even if it took place a hundred years earlier. When Şāhib Giray went to battle against the Cherkes, the Crimean clans stood in front of the khan (the Shīrīn) and to his right (the Arghın and Qıpchaq), while the Manghıt marched on his left.⁵⁶ If we have a close look at the five clans mentioned in seventeenth-century Russian sources, we can see that we actually only need to consider three: two Crimean clans on the right (the Shīrīn and Arghın) and one on the left from the Great Horde (the Manşürs), since the Sülesh-oghlı and Külük-oghlı, being servant clans, were not likely to have formed part of the wing system. We have encountered seven clans only once, in Russian sources from the nineteenth century. These seven clans were in fact only four: two from the Crimea (the Shīrīn and Arghın) and two from the Horde (the Manşür and the Sejevüt), since the Barın were no longer in the Crimea at the time and the Qıpchaq and Yashlav were in the second line.

This analysis of the *qaraçı* has brought us closer to understanding one of the key organization methods of Eurasian nomadic societies, the system of wings and subwings. Supporting the Chingisid khan, the clans, headed by the *qaraçı* beys, formed the political body of the Crimean khanate and created new khanates in which the military patrimonial system ruled in cooperation with the Chingisid khan, guaranteed the internal stability of the state, and made possible the conduct of its foreign policies. The *qaraçı* beys' constant presence

56 Gökbilgin, *Tarih*, 73.

and representation when the khan was raised on a white felt sheet during his inauguration ceremony, or the personal commitments they made at peace negotiations, were all based on the military potential of the system of wings and subwings they controlled.

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Appendix

TABLE 7.1 The Qaraçı Beys in the sources

Sources date, type of document, language (nationality of ambassador)	Shīrīn ^a	Barın/ Bahırn/ Barghın ^b	Arghın/ Arghun/ Arın ^c	Qıpchaq ^d
1482 (before 1756), <i>tārīh</i> ^k	Shīrīn	Barın	Arghın	Qıpchaq
14 July 1507, <i>şartnāme</i> , ^l Ruthenian	Shīrīn	Barın		
14 July 1507, <i>şartnāme</i> , ^m Ruthenian	Shīrīn	Barın	Arghın	Qıpchaq
24 Oct. 1508, <i>şartnāme</i> , ⁿ Russian	Shīrīn	Barın	Arghın	Qıpchaq
24 Oct. 1508, Crimean Tatar Embassy, ^o Russian	Shīrīn	Barın	Arghın	Qıpchaq

a The Shīrīns were presumably a Turkified clan of Iranian origin who served in the office of the chief *qaraçı* (*baş qaraçı*) throughout the history of the khanate. For more details on the clan, see Ivanics, “Die Shīrīn.” For more details on the clan, see Ivanics, “Die Shīrīn.”

b The Barın (Mong. *Ba’arın*; Tr. *Bahırn*) clan traced its family tree back to Genghis Khan’s ancestor, Bodonchar. However, according to Turkic tradition, the Barıns are descended from the Mongol Dörben clan (Zuhal Ölmez, *Şecere-i Türk’e göre Moğol Boyları* (Ankara: Kebikeç Kitabevi, 2003), 59).

c In Maḥmūd Kāshgharī’s work (1069), the Arghīns (Mong. Arghun) are listed among the clans that spoke a mixed Mongol and Turkic language (Maḥmūd al-Kāshgarī, *Compendium of the Turkic Dialects (Dīwān Luğāt at-Turk)*, Parts 1-III, ed. Robert Dankoff and Kelly James (Duxbury, Mass.: Typ. Harvard University Print. Office, 1982), 11–12).

d The Qıpchaqs were a people of Turkic ethnicity (ethnos) mentioned in the sources as of the eleventh century. As a result of the Mongol conquest, their social structure disintegrated. From an ethnos, they became a clan and were fully integrated into the Mongol Empire. Peter B. Golden, *An Introduction to the History of the Turkic Peoples: Ethnogenesis and State-formation in Medieval and Early Modern Eurasia and the Middle East* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1992), 270–282.

e The Manghits (Mong. *Manggutay*), who were of Mongol origin, were the leading clan of the Nogay Horde, from which Edige *bīy*, the famous *beglerbeg* of the left wing of the Golden Horde came. After the death of Edige (1419), some of the Manghits lived a nomadic way of life along the Dnieper on the western, that is, the right, wing of the Great Horde, the successor state to the Golden Horde, the *beglerbegs* of the Great Horde being among their leaders. After the defeat of the Great Horde, the leader of the Manghit clan, Tevkel b. Temir, submitted to the Crimean khan, Mengli Giray, and migrated with his clan to the Crimea, where they received a dwelling place in the northern part of the peninsula. His sons were Bāqī and Divey Mirzā. The latter was appointed *qaraçı* by Devlet Giray Khan in 1563. In the seventeenth century, the Manghits were mentioned in the sources by the name Manşūr and Manşūr-oghlı. Manşūr was Edige’s son and the Manşūr-oghlı were his descendants. For more detail on the Manghits, see Trepavlov, *Istoriia Nogajskoj Ordy*.

Manghit/ Manqıt Manşür/ Manşür-oghlı ^e	Sejevüt/ Sijivut/ Sujud/ Süjüd ^f	Qıyat ^g	Qurat ^h	Sülesh-oghlı ⁱ	Külük-oghlı ^j
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Manghit Sejevüt Qıyat

Manghit Sejevüt Qıyat Qurat

f The Sejevüts (Sijivut/ Sujud/Süjüt) are a Turkified clan of Mongol descent. Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jamī'ū't-tawarikh: Compendium of Chronicles: A History of the Mongols 1–111*, trans. Wheeler M. Thackston, ed. Şinasi Tekin & Gönül Alpay Tekin (Cambridge Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1998), 26.

g The Qıyats are a Turkified clan of Mongol descent (Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jamī'ū't-tawarikh*, 26; Ölmez, Şecere, 48).

h The Qurats (Mong. *Honggirad*; Tr. *Qongrat*, *Qurat*) are also of Mongol descent. They were the brother-in-law or *qatun* (“lady”) clan to the khans of the Golden Horde, the clan from which the khans chose their wives. For more detail on the Qongrats, Isenbike Togan, “The Qongrat in History,” in *History and Historiography of Post-Mongol Central Asia and the Middle East: Studies in Honor of John E. Woods*, eds. Judith Pfeiffer and Sholeh A. Quinn (Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz Verlag, 2006), 61–83.

i For the Sülesh-oghlı (Sulashev, Sulashevy in the Russian sources), see n. 45. in the body of the text and studies by Vinogradov, “Rod Sulesha.”

j The Külük-oghlı (Kulikov, Kulikovy in the Russian sources) supported Polish-Lithuanian interests in the Crimea in the second half of the 16th century Kołodziejczyk, *The Crimean*, 891. n. 7]. Lashkov suggests that in the eighteenth century the Kulikovs were in fact the Barnn clan; however, he does not support his supposition with arguments. *Istoricheskii ocherk*, 69.

k During the campaign of Sultan Bāyezīd in 887/1482 (the actual date being 1484), the Shīrīns provided the advance troops, the *qalgha* was on the right wing, the khan in the center, and the Barnns, Arghīns and Qıпчаqs on the left (Kazem-bek, *Asseb o-sseyyār*, 75).

l Kołodziejczyk, *The Crimean*, 575–576.

m Kołodziejczyk, *The Crimean*, 579.

n *Pamiätniki diplomaticheskikh snoshenii*, Vol. 2. Sbornik Russkogo Istoricheskogo Obshchestva, 95:20.

o *Pamiätniki diplomaticheskikh snoshenii*, Vol. 2. Sbornik Russkogo Istoricheskogo Obshchestva, 95:51.

TABLE 7.1 The Qaraçı Beys in the sources (*cont.*)

Sources date, type of document, language (nationality of ambassador)	Shīrīn	Barın/ Bahrın/ Barghın	Arghın/ Arghun/ Arın	Qıpchaq
1 Oct. 1515, Mamonov, envoy, ^p (Russian)	Shīrīn	Barın	Arghın	Qıpchaq
1517, Crimean Tatar Embassy, Russian ^q	Shīrīn	Barın	Arghın	Qıpchaq
1517–26, Herberstein, envoy (Austrian) ^r German	Shīrīn	Barın	Arghın	Qıpchaq
1521/1552, letter, ^s Russian	Shīrīn	Barın	Arghın	Qıpchaq
s.d. [1523?], <i>bitig</i> , ^t Tatar	Shīrīn			Qıpchaq
1527, oath <i>yarluq</i> , ^u Ruthenian	Shīrīn	Barın	Arghın	Qıpchaq
1532–1551 (1552), <i>tārīh</i> ^v	Shīrīn		Arghın	Qıpchaq
1532–1551 (1552), <i>tārīh</i> ^w	Shīrīn	Barın	Arghın	Qıpchaq
1532–1551 (1552), <i>tārīh</i> ^x	Shīrīn	Barın		Qıpchaq
1532–1551 (1748), <i>tārīh</i> ^y	Shīrīn	Barın	Arghın	Qıpchaq
1532–1551 (before 1756), <i>tārīh</i> ^z	Shīrīn	Barın	Arghın	Qıpchaq
1532–1551 (before 1756), <i>tārīh</i> ^{aa}	Shīrīn	Barın	Arghın	Qıpchaq

p *Pamiatniki diplomaticheskikh snosheniĭ*, Vol. 2. Sbornik Russkogo Istoricheskogo Obschestva, 95:211.

q *Pamiatniki diplomaticheskikh snosheniĭ*, Vol. 2. Sbornik Russkogo Istoricheskogo Obschestva, 95:388.

r “Die Khünig haben vier mit denen sy alle Sachen beratschlagen der erst haist Schirni, der Ander Barni, der Drit Gargni, der Viert Czyptzan.” Sigmund von Herberstein, *Moscovia der Hauptstat in Reissen* (Wien: Michael Zimmerman, 1557), 122.

s Letter from Devlet I Giray Khan to Sigismund Augustus: “In the time of my grandfather, Mengli Giray Khan, and my uncle, Mehmed Giray Khan, gifts used to be sent from you, our brothers, to six *qaraçı beys*, our elder councillors,” who were listed as the Shirins, Manghits, Barıns, Arghıns, Sedjevüts and Qıpchaqs. Cited by Kołodziejczyk, *The Crimean*, 35, n. 110.

t A. Bennigsen, P.N. Boratav, D. Desai, and Ch. Lemerrier-Quelquejay, *Le Khanat de Crimée dans les Archives du Musée du Palais de Topkapı*, (Paris–La Haye: Mouton Éditeur, 1978), 106, 110.

u Kołodziejczyk, *The Crimean*, 675.

v Gökbilgin, *Tārīh*, 73. fr. 213. Paris nüshası 226r 15. Remmal Hoca completed his chronicle of the reign of Sahib Giray (1532–1551) in 1552/53

w Gökbilgin, *Tārīh*, 112. fr. 245, Leningrad nüshası 41r r 15.

Manghit/ Manqıt Manşür/ Manşür-oghlı	Sejevüt/ Sijivut/ Sujud/ Süjüd	Qıyat	Qurat	Sülesh-oghlı	Külük-oghlı
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Manghit Sejevüt
Manghit Sejevüt

Manghit
Manghit
Manghit
Manghit

Manşürilar Sejevüt

x Gökbilgin, *Tarih*, 27. fr. 164; 37. fr. 178. Paris nüshası 288r 12–13; 272 r 14–15.

y Abdulgaffar Kyrymi ('Abdu'l-Ghaffār al-Qīrīmi), *Umdet al-Ahbar*, (trans.) Derya Derin Paşaoğlu (Kazan: Institut Istorii AN RT, 2014), 103. The data is not independent; it was borrowed from Gökbilgin, *Tarih*.

z Kazem-bek, *Asseb o-sseyyār*, 93. Seyyid Muḥammed Rızā refers to the chronicle by Remmāl Hoca entitled *Tarih-i Şāhīp Giray Hān* here; therefore, the data for the eighteenth century actually refers to the first half of the sixteenth century.

aa Although this data also refers to the period of the reign of Şāhīb Giray khan, it can actually be dated to a later period, which is indicated by the fact that the name of the Manghit clan appears in the form Manşür, which was only used in the seventeenth-eighteenth centuries. *Mümā-ileyh efendi meyān-i Tatarda Remmāl Hoca nāmiyle şöhet-yāb ve mu'āqid şeyh ü şāb oldu. Ol zamāna gelince qabā'il-i Tatardan Şīrīn ve Barın ve Arghın ve Qıpçaq ümerāsi qaraçı ta'būri ile qabā'il-i sā'ireden mümtāz iken hān-i müşār-ileyh Sijivut qabilesi rü'esāsı i'tibār ve hürmet kezālik İslām Giray hān qatlı Bāqī begin hizmet-i meşrū'i muqābelesinde Atay Hoca qabilesini taḥşış ve i'tā etmekle Manşürilere nuşret eyledi. Kazem-bek, Asseb o-sseyyār, 93.*

TABLE 7.1 The Qaraçı Beys in the sources (*cont.*)

Sources date, type of document, language (nationality of ambassador)	Shīrīn	Barın/ Bahırn/ Barghın	Arghın/ Arghun/ Arın	Qıpchaq
1552, <i>yarluk cum şartnāme</i> , ^{ab} Ruthenian	Shīrīn	Barın	[Arghın]	[Qıpchaq]
1578–80, Broniewski, envoy (Polish) ^{ac}	Shīrīn	Barın		Qıpchaq
1588–90, Sudakov, envoy (Russian) ^{ad}	Shīrīn	[Barın]		[Qıpchaq]
1591, Sudakov, envoy (Russian) ^{ae}	Shīrīn			
1593, letter from the Tsar, Russian ^{af}	Shīrīn			
1608 (before 1756). <i>tārīh</i> ^{ag}	Shīrīn	Barın		
1620–1650, <i>tārīh</i> , ^{ah} Armenian-Kıpchak	Shīrīn			

ab Kołodziejczyk, *The Crimean*, 745. The peace treaty states that the three clans may send envoys to the Polish king along with that of the khan and that only they may receive gifts. According to the *Litovskaja Metrika* (cited in V.E. Syroechkovskii, “Mukhammed-Geray i yego vassaly” *Uchenyye zapiski Moskovskogo ordena Lenina Gosudarstvennogo universiteta im. M.V. Lomonosova*. Vyp. 61. Istoriya. T. 2. (Moscow, 1940), 3–71, 60), these three clans were the Shīrīns, Barıns and Manghts. However, we need to think in terms of six clans, since Devlet Giray I, who issued the document, noted that under Şāhib Giray Khan nothing had been sent to the other three *qaraçıs*, that is, the leaders of the Arghıns, Qıpchaqs and Sejevüts. In another letter, he requested gifts for all six *qaraçıs*. Kołodziejczyk *The Crimean*, 35, n. 110.

ac As an envoy from Polish King István Báthory, Marcin Broniewski visited the Crimea twice between 1578 and 1580. His detailed description of the geography and politics in the Crimea is an outstanding contemporary source. His work, *Tartarie Descriptio ...*, was published in 1595 in Cologne. “Sirinenses (Shīrīn), Bachinienses (Bahırn/Barın), Manguteses (Manght), Kivazios (Qıpchaq) vel Duces ex quibus Caiacei (qaraçı).” Marcin Broniewski, *Tartariae Descriptio. Opis Tatarii*. (eds.) Ewa Śnieżewska and Magdalena Mączyńska, (Łódź: Stowarzyszenie Naukowe Archeologów Polskich, 2011), 14.

ad “Stateinyĭ spisok moskovskogo poslannika v Krymu Ivana Sudakova v 1587–1588 godu,” *Izvestiia Tavricheskoi Uchonnoi Arhivnoi Komissii* 14 (1891), 43–82, especially 53. Only the leaders of the Shīrīn, Sulashev (Sülesh-oghli) and Kulikov (Külük-oghli) clans received a gift from the tsar, that is, the Crimean chief *qaraçı* and the two servant clans were responsible for diplomatic relations. When the heads of the Barın, Sejevüt and Qıpchaq clans complained to the khan about not having received gifts, the envoy from the tsar responded: “that is presumably because they are new *qaraçıs*, and that is why they are not on the list of recipients.” The envoy was certainly aware of the falsity of his statement. The data witnesses to the Barın, Sejevüt and Qıpchaq clans being pushed into the background.

Manghit/ Manqıt Mañşür/ Mañşür-oghlı	Sejevüt/ Sijivut/ Sujud/ Süjüd	Qıyat	Qurat	Sülesh-oghlı	Külük-oghlı
Manghit	[Sejevüt]				
Manghit					
	[Sejevüt]			Sülesh-oghlı	Külük-oghlı
Manghit				Sülesh-oghlı	Külük-oghlı
Manghit				Sülesh-oghlı	Külük-oghlı
Mañşür	Sejevüt				
Mañşür-oghlı					

- ae According to the Russian envoy Sudakov, the composition of the khan's divan remained constant up to 1591. Leading roles were played in it by Mollakay Alley *atalıq* ("educator"), Kutlu Girey Shirinskiı, Derbish Kulikov, Murad Yashlavskii and Arslanay Diveev. A few lines later, Sudakov makes reference to Murad Yashlavskii as Sülesh Bey (*knjaz Suleshev*). Arslanay Diveev represented the Manghit clan. A.V. Vinogradov, "Russko-krymskie otnosheniia v pervye gody pravleniia khana Gazi Gireia II (1588–1591 gg.) v kontekste konsolidatsii Krymskogo Hanstva po zavershenii dinasticheskogo krizisa Gireev," in *Srednevekoye türko-tatarskie gosudarstva*, Vyp. 4 (Kazan': Institut istorii im. Sh. Mardžani AN RT, 2012), 24.
- af Letter from the Tsar, Feodor I, to Gazi Giray Khan. F.F. Lashkov, "Pamiatniki diplomaticheskikh snosheniı Krymskogo Hanstva s Moskovskim gosudarstvom v XVI i XVII v.v. khranjashchiesja v Moskovskom Glavnom Arkhive Ministerstva Inostrannykh Del," *Izvestiia Tavricheskoı Uchonnoı Arkhivnoı Komissii*, 9 (1890): 1–48, 41.
- ag Kazem-bek *Asseb o-sseyyar*, 126. The Shırin, Barn, Sejevüt and Mañşür inaugurate the khan, Toktamış Giray. It cannot be ruled out that 'Abdu'l-Ghaffar was making assumptions as regards the *qaraçıs* of the past based on his own era!
- ah Shırin and Mañşür-oghlı. Edmond Schütz, "Eine armenische Chronik von Kaffa aus der ersten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 29 (1975: 2): 155–156.

TABLE 7.1 The Qaraçı Beys in the sources (*cont.*)

Sources date, type of document, language (nationality of ambassador)	Shīrīn	Barın/ Bahrın/ Barghın	Arghın/ Arghun/ Arın	Qıpchaq
July 1628, <i>yarlık</i> from Djanibek Giray Khan ^{ai}	Shīrīn			
December 1628, <i>yarlık</i> from Djanibek Giray Khan ^{aj}	Shīrīn			
1630, <i>tārīh</i> ^{ak}	Shīrīn			
1630, description, ^{al} Italian	Shīrīn			
1632, 'ahdname, ^{am} Tatar	Shīrīn	Barın	Arghın	
1635, <i>tıyış defter</i> , ^{an} Tatar	Shīrīn			
1637–41, <i>tıyış defter</i> , ^{ao} Tatar	Shīrīn			
1637–41, <i>tıyış defter</i> , ^{ap} Tatar	Shīrīn			
1644 (1650s), <i>tārīh</i> , ^{aq} Ottoman–Turkish	Shīrīn		Arghın	
1646, 'ahdname, ^{ar} Tatar	Shīrīn			
1649, instrument of treaty, ^{as} Tatar	Shīrīn			
1654, diary, ^{at} Polish	Shīrīn			
1660s, <i>seyahatname</i> , ^{au} Ottoman	Shīrīn	Barın	Arghın	

ai V.V. Vel'iaminov-Zernov and H. Fejzhanov, *Kırım Yurtına*, 27.

aj V.V. Vel'iaminov-Zernov and H. Fejzhanov, *Kırım Yurtına*, 39. Qasay Bey (Qasim b. Islām) mentioned as the third in the document was the leader of the Lesser Nogay Horde. The Lesser Nogay Horde migrated from the Volga region to the Fore-Caucasus during the second half of the sixteenth century and submitted to the Crimean khan. V.V. Trepavlov, "Malaia Nogaıskaıa Orda. Ocherk istorii," *Türkologicheskiı Sbornik 2003–2004* (2005): 298.

ak *La chronique des steppes kiptchak: Tevārīh-i Dešt-i Qıpçak du xvii^e siècle*, ed. Ananiasz Zajączkowski (Warszawa: Państw. Wyd. Naukowe, 1966). Shīrīn, 59, 89 and 93.

al E.D. d'Ascoli, *Descrittione del mare Negro et della Tartaria*. I used the Russian translation (114, 130). Shīrīn Bey, Qırım Bey, Mangop Bey. The last two are place names. I therefore did not list it in the chart.

am Kołodziejczyk, *The Crimean*, 887. Shīrīn, Manghit, Arghın, Sejevit, Barın "yurt begleri."

an V.V. Vel'iaminov-Zernov and H. Fejzhanov, *Kırım Yurtına*, 142–143. Qıpchaq 'Alı Beg is listed among the *mürzās* in the *tıyış* defters, the clan clearly having lost its *qaraçı* status.

ao V.V. Vel'iaminov-Zernov and H. Fejzhanov, *Kırım Yurtına* 167.

Manghit/ Manqıt Manşür/ Manşür-oghlı	Sejevüt/ Sijivut/ Sujud/ Süjüd	Qıyat	Qurat	Sülesh-oghlı	Külük-oghlı
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Manghit

Manghit

Manghit

Sejevüt

Manghit

Sülesh-oghlı

Külük-oghlı

Manghit

Sülesh-oghlı

Külük-oghlı

Manghit

Sülesh-oghlı

Külük-oghlı

Manghit

Sejevüt

Manghit

Manghit

Manşür

ap V.V. Vel'aminov-Zernov and H. Fejzhanov, *Kırım Yurtına*, 208–209.

aq Hadzy Mehmed Senai z Krymu, *Historia*, 92, 4v. “Dört qaraçı ta'bır olunur erkân-i erba' ki her biri livâ-i emâreti mutaşarrif ümerâ-i kerâmdırlar evvelâ mîr livâ-i Şîrin ve şâniyen mîr livâ-i Mangıt we şâlişen mîr livâ-i Sejevüt ve râbi'en mîr livâ-i Arğın.”

ar Kołodziejczyk, *The Crimean*, 950, 952.

as Kołodziejczyk, *The Crimean*, 960, 962.

at Kołodziejczyk *The Crimean*, 486–487.

au Evliya Çelebi, vol. 5.: Şirin/Şirinli, Mansurlı, 80, 83, 86–87; Şirinli, Mansurlı, Mankıtlı, Dayırlı, 88.; Vol. 6.: Şirin beyleri, Kırk beyleri (Kırk Yer? Yaşlav beyleri?) Arğınlı, Bargınlı, Dayırlı, Mansurlı beyleri, Mangıtlı beyleri 196.; Şirinli, Mansurlı, 198.; Mansurlu, Şirinli, Sincivitli, 328; Vol. 7.: Mansuri, Şirinli, Sincivitli (sic!), Arğınlı, Dayırlı, 191.; Mansuri, Şirinli, Sincivitli, 204.; Sincivit, Mangıtlı, Arğınlı, Dayırlı, 206. I have omitted the Dairs mentioned by Evliya Çelebi from the chart because they were among the Cherkes servant clans. On the list from 1807, they are listed among the second-ranked clans (see n. 64).

TABLE 7.1 The Qaraçı Beys in the sources (*cont.*)

Sources date, type of document, language (nationality of ambassador)	Shīrīn	Barın/ Bahrın/ Barghın	Arghın/ Arghun/ Arın	Qıpchaq
1667, instrument of treaty, ^{av} Polish	Shīrīn			
1667/1678, Sefer Gazi ağa, envoy (Tatar), ^{aw} Tatar	Shīrīn		Arghın	
1675, <i>kanunname</i> , ^{ax} Ottoman Turkish	Shīrīn	Barın	Arghın	
1670, letter from the Tsar, ^{ay} Russian	Shīrīn		Arghın	
1670–1680s, <i>sicil</i> , ^{az} Tatar	Shīrīn	Barın		
1681, Tjapkin and Zotov, envoys (Russian), ^{ba} Russian	Shīrīn		Arghın	
1680/1681, <i>yarlık</i> from Murad Giray Khan, ^{bb} Tatar	[Shīrīn]		[Arghın]	
1692, Aytemirev, envoy (Russian), Russian ^{bc}	Shīrīn		Arghın	
1704, <i>tārīh</i> , ^{bd} Tatar	Shīrīn			
1748, <i>tārīh</i> , ^{be} Tatar	Shīrīn	Barın		

av Kołodziejczyk, *The Crimean*, 986–987.

aw V.V. Vel'jaminov-Zernov and H. Fejzhanov, *Kırım Yurtuna*, 590. “Qırım’da bolğan besh uruğ Shīrīn ve Külük ve Mansūr ve Arğın ve Süleş uruğları şarḫ qılurlar.”

ax Hezârfen Hüseyin Efendi, *Telhisü’l-Beyân fî Kavânîn-i Âl-i Osmân*, ed. Sevim İlğürel, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu 1998), 171. The clan name *Arghın*—perhaps because of a copying error—is referred to as *Arın* in the text. Hezârfen adds that the Arns are also called “Yaşlu” (meaning Yashlav) and that the Barıns are also referred to as the Sejüd (meaning Sejevüt) *beys*, but these are both erroneous

ay Letter from the Tsar, Alexis I to ‘Âdil Giray Khan. F.F. Lashkov, “Pamiätniki diplomaticheskikh snoshenii Krymskogo Khanstva s Moskovskim gosudarstvom v XVI i XVII v.v. khranjashchiesja v Moskovskom Glavnom Arkhive Ministerstva Inostrannykh Del,” *Izvestiia Tavricheskoï Uchonnoï Arkhivnoï Komissii* 12 (1891): 17.

az Natalia Królikowska, “Law and Division of power in the Crimean Khanate: A Study on the Reign of Murad Giray (1678–1683),” PhD Diss. (University of Warsaw, 2010), 166

ba N. Murzakevich, “Statejniı spisok poslannika Vasilii Mikhailova Tjapkina i Nikiti Zotova k krymskomu khanu Murad Gireju v 1681-om godu,” *Zapiski Odesskogo Obshchestva Istorii I Drevnostej*, Vol 2 (1848), 618, 631. “Shirin, Mansur, Argyn, Kulik, Sulesh.”

Manğhit/ Manqit Manşür/ Manşür-oghlı	Sejevüt/ Sijivut/ Sujud/ Süjüd	Qıyat	Qurat	Sülesh-oghlı	Külük-oghlı
Manşür-oghlı Manşür				Sülesh	Külük
Manqit					
Manşür Manşür Manşür	Sejevüt			Sülesh-oghlı Sülesh	Külük-oghlı Külük
[Manşür]				[Sülesh]	[Külük]
Manşür	Sejevüt				
Manşür Manşür-oghlı	Sejevüt Sejevüt				

- bb V.V. Vel'iaminov-Zernov and H. Fejzhanov, *Kırım Yurtına*, 653 and 691. The name Tohtamış Giray sultān b. Şafā Giray is erroneously written in the place for the stamp at the beginning of the document, while the name Murād Giray Khan appears in the invocation. The document refers to them by the collective name "our five noble *qaraçıs*" (*beş şıylı qaraçılarımız*); however, we should feel free to name them because the *pjat' rodov chestnyh* "five noble clans" in the Russian sources meant the Şiřin, Manğhit, Arğhin, Sülesh and Külük clans. Cf. the diplomatic report by Tjapkin and Zotov in n. 53.
- bc A.I. Markevich, "Spisok so statejnogo spiska pod'jachego Vasiliia Ajtemireva, poslannogo v Krym s predloženiem mirnyh dogovorov," *Zapiski Odesskogo Oshchestva Istorii i Drevnostej*, Vol. 18. Part. 2., 31. "Şiřin Öktemir Bey, Mansur Kaplan Bey, Argyn Batırsha Bey, *Sidživut* Kutlu Giray Bey." The head of the Sijivut clan was able to carry the name Giray because he had married into the dynasty. Initially, only the Şiřins enjoyed this right, but later the Manğhit and Sejevüt clans did as well.
- bd Markus Köhbach, "Der Tārīḫ-i Meḥemmed Giray: Eine osmanische Quelle zur Belagerung Wiens durch die Türken im Jahre 1683," *Studia Austro-Polonica* Vol. 3. (eds.) Józef Buszko and Walter Leitsch. (Warsawa–Kraków: Nakład Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 1983), 137–163, 146, 157
- be Abdulgaffar Kyrymi, *Umdet ul-Ahbar*, 222. "Şiřin, Manşür-oğlu, Barın, Sejut."

TABLE 7.1 The Qaraçı Beys in the sources (*cont.*)

Sources date, type of document, language (nationality of ambassador)	Shīrīn	Barın/ Bahrın/ Barghın	Arghın/ Arghun/ Arın	Qıpchaq
ca. 1758, <i>memoire</i> , ^{bf} Tatar	Shīrīn			
1753/1760s, <i>treatise</i> , ^{bg} French	Shīrīn	Barın	Arghın	
1767/1769, <i>memoire</i> , ^{bh} French	Shīrīn	Barın	Arghın	
1770, travelogue, ^{bi} German	Shīrīn	Barın		
1776, <i>Nāme-i Hümayūn</i> , ^{bj} Ottoman Turkish	Shīrīn		Arghın	
1793–94, travelogue, ^{bk} German	Shīrīn	[Barın]	Arghın	
1807, document, ^{bl} Russian	Shīrīn	[Barın]	Arghın	Qıpchaq
1820 (1862), <i>shejere</i> , ^{bm} Russian	Shīrīn	Barın		
1839, document ^{bn}	Shīrīn	[Barın]	Arghın	Qıpchaq

bf Barbara Kellner-Heinkele, *Aus den Aufzeichnungen des Sa'ūd Giray Sultān: eine zeitgenössische Quelle zur Geschichte des Chanats der Krim um die Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1975), 109

bg Peysonell, *Traité sur le Commers*, 272–273. “Chirin, Mansour oglou, Sedjevoud, Arguin, Baron (i.e., Barın)

bh *Memoirs of the Baron de Tott*, 128. “Chirin, Mansour, Sedjoud, Argisin, Baroun.”

bi Kleeman, *Voyage de Vienne*, 209. “Schyrin, Baron, Monsur, Sutschuvud.”

bj Uğur Ünal, *Kırım hanlarına nāme-i hümayūn (Numaralı Name Defteri)*. No. 123. (İstanbul: T.C. Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi Daire Başkanlığı, 2013), 170. Şirīn, Manşūr, Argın, Sücüd.

bk P.S. Pallas, *Reise in die südlichen Statthalterschaften*, 355–357.

bl Lashkov, “Arhivnye dannye,” 96. Lashkov, “Istoricheskii ocherk,” 69.

bm Lashkov found the genealogies among the archival documents related to the year 1862. Lashkov, “Arkhivnye dannye,” 98–100, 101, 105–106. However, the clans had probably submitted them along with the documents that proved their nobility in 1839. The Shīrīn genealogy was published by F.F. Lashkov once again in the “Istoricheskii ocherk krymsko-tatarskogo zemlevladieniia,” *Izvestiia Tavricheskoï Uchomnoï Arhivnoï Komissii*” 23 (1895), 123–124.

bn In 1839, on the order of the minister of justice, the governor of Novorossia requested information on the Crimean clans, so that particular clan leaders could be adopted among the Russian nobility. In his response, the head of the province’s nobles in Tavrida (Crimea) listed the Shīrīn, Mansur, Sidžiut, Argyn, Kıpchak and Yashlav clans, adding that no one had been found among the Barıns. As we have seen earlier, the last two on the list were among the second-ranked clans. Cited in Lashkov “Istoricheskii ocherk,” 69, based on archival sources.

Manğıt/ Manqıt Manşür/ Manşür-oghlı	Sejevüt/ Sijivut/ Sujud/ Süjüd	Qıyat	Qurat	Sülesh-oghlı	Külük-oghlı
Manşür-oghlı	Sejevüt				
Manşür-oghlı	Sejevüt				
Manşür-oghlı	Sejevüt				
Manşür	Sejevüt				
Manşür	Sejevüt				
Manşür	Sejevüt				
Manşür	Sejevüt				
Manşür	Sejevüt			Yashlav	
Manşür	Sejevüt				
Manşür	Sejevüt			Yashlav	

PART 3

Cultural History



“*Bir bor içsä*”: Drinking among the Pre-Chinggisid Turkic Peoples

Peter Golden

In his account of his journey to the Mongol court in 1245–1247, John of Plano Carpine remarks that aside from copious amounts of milk-based beverages (especially mare’s milk, *lac iumentinum*, Turk. *qumız*, see below) which they drank *in maxima quantitate* at the Qaghanal court (and elsewhere), the Mongols did not produce “wine, beer or mead”¹ (*vinum, cervisiam, medonem non habent*) and consumed those products of the settled world only when imported from or given by other nations.² Plano Carpine and his party, not having acquired a taste for mare’s milk, were given beer and in so doing, Plano Carpine believed, the Mongols showed them great honor.³

William of Rubruck, who journeyed to the court of the Great Qaghan Möngkä (r. 1251–1259) not long afterward, in 1253–1255, in addition to the ubiquitous mare’s milk, *comos* (i.e., *qumız, qumız*, available in summer) encountered in his journey, indicates that the Mongols made a beverage (or beverages) in winter from “rice, millet, wheat and honey” and also drank wine that was “brought to them from distant parts,” confirming, it would appear, the abovementioned remarks of Plano Carpine. At the court, they were also offered wine, *caracomos* (*qara qumız* “clear mare’s milk”),⁴ *terracina* (a garbling of Mong. *darasun* “sweet wine made from fruit or grain”?)⁵ rice wine or rice ale and mead *bal*

1 *Bir bor içsä sävä siziksiz bu er boldı birtem yava* “if a (person) drinks wine for the love of it, this person will, undoubtedly, become completely foolish” (Yusuf Has Hacip, *Kutadgu Bilig*, ed. Reşit Rahmeti Arat, 2nd ed. (Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu, 1979), 48).

2 Plano Carpine, *Die Mongolengeschichte des Johannes von Piano Carpine*, ed. Johannes Gießauf (Graz: Institut für Geschichte der Karl-Franzens-Universität Graz, 1995), 93.

3 Plano Carpine, *Die Mongolengeschichte*, 117.

4 Rubruck, *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck*, trans. Peter Jackson, Introduction, notes and appendices by Peter Jackson and David Morgan (London: Hakluyt Society, 1990), 76, n. 5; 82, n. 2.

5 Ferdinand Lessing, F. et al., *Mongolian–English Dictionary* (Bloomington, Ind.: The Mongolia Society, 1995), 232; Rubruck, *The Mission*, 178, n. 7; Paul Pelliot, “Le nom turc du vin dans Odoric de Pordenone,” *T’oung Pao* 15 (1914): 448). If *terracina* is, indeed, from Mong. *darasun*, it may have been made known to Rubruck by Turkic-speaking escorts; cf. Siberian Russ. dialectal *tarasun*, a kind of milk-based vodka (Nikolaj Nikolaevich Poppe, *Introduction to*

(Turk. “honey” and probably a loanword in Mongolian, see *bal* below). Rubruck notes that at Qaraqorum, the Mongol capital, a Parisian silversmith had constructed at the entrance to the royal palace “a large tree made of silver” with “four silver lions at its roots, each containing a conduit-pipe and spewing forth white mare’s milk.” From other conduits wine, *caracomos*, mead (*boal*, i.e., *bal*)⁶ and “rice ale” (*terraccina*) flowed. In addition, there was a storage “chamber” for drinks that were brought forth by servitors at the call of a trumpet.⁷ Whether the Mongols already had *araqı*, a distilled beverage made from koumiss (Mong. *airaġ*, Turk. *arqı/arxi* “Milch-Branntwein”), by this time, or slightly later (i.e., ca. 1300) remains unclear.⁸ Equally uncertain is whether the Mongol term is a loanword from Arab. *‘araq*, *a‘rāq* via Persian.⁹ As there is no Mongol term that would appear to be the root of this word, the term and perhaps this form of distillation came from the Middle East. Imbibing intoxicating beverages was a serious business and an essential part of the etiquette at the Chinggisid court. The empire, which stood astride Eurasia and substantial parts of the Middle East, or at least the imperial center, had by this time developed a broader

Mongolian Comparative Studies. Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne, 110 (Helsinki: Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura, 1955), 27; V.I. Dal’, *Tolkovyĭ slovar’ zhivogo velikorusskogo ĭazyka*, iv. (Sankt-Peterburg-Moscow: M.O. Vol’f, reprint: Moscow: Russkij ĭazyk, 1982), 391) that probably entered Siberian Russian from Turkic (with *d > t* shift) or from Buryat Mongol. The *Secret History* (*The Secret History of the Mongols: A Mongolian Epic Chronicle of the Thirteenth Century*, trans. and comm. Igor de Rachewiltz (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2004), 2:1034) has *bor darasun* “grape wine.”

- 6 Perhaps only recently introduced among the Mongols, see Rubruck, *The Mission*, 178, n. 9.
- 7 Rubruck, *The Mission*, 172, 178–179, 191, 209–210.
- 8 Lessing, *Mongolian–English Dictionary*, 21, 48; Peter Zieme, “Alkoholische Getränke bei den alten Türken,” in *Historical and Linguistic Interaction Between Inner Asia and Europe: Proceedings of the 39th Permanent International Conference (PIAC), Szeged, Hungary, June 16–21, 1996*, ed. Árpád Berta (Szeged: Department of Altaic Studies, University of Szeged, 1997), 442–444.
- 9 Pers. *‘araq* “sweet ... spirituous liquor” (Francis Joseph Steingass, *A Comprehensive Persian–English Dictionary* (London: Routledge and Paul, reprint: Beirut: Librairie du Liban, 1970), 844) < Classical Arab. *‘araq* “sweat” (cf. *mu‘raq* “wine having a little water put into it,” Edward W. Lane, *An Arabic–English Lexicon* (London-Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate 1863–1893, reprint Beirut: Librairie du Liban, 1968), 2022) and thence the process of distillation. Albert de Biberstein Kazimirski, *Dictionnaire arabe-français* (Paris: Maisonneuve, 1860), 1:230 “sueur ..., lait ..., liqueur.” It came to be used to denote a drink distilled from dates and then a variety of distilled beverages (Reinhart Pieter Anne Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes* (Leiden: Brill, 1881, reprint: Beirut: Librairie du Liban, 1968), 2:120 Cf. Turkish *rakı* (< *arak*), see Andreas Tietze, *Tarhi ve Etimolojik Türkiye Türkçesi Lügatı/Sprachgeschichtliches und Etymologische Wörterbuch des Türkei-Türkischen*, 1 (Istanbul: Simurg-Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2002), 190–191; Yaşar Çağbayrı, *Ötüken Türkçe Sözlük*, (Istanbul: Ötüken, 2007), 1:276).

culinary palate.¹⁰ The Mongol examples are instructive for an understanding of the pre-thirteenth century Turkic world. We have no indication of any such elaborate structures in the earlier Türk Qaghanate and its various successor states and tribal polities. Nonetheless, the data that we do possess indicate that the Pre-Chinggisid seats of power, whether proto-urban or actual cities, followed customs and rituals that emphasized the conspicuous consumption of food and alcoholic beverages, whether locally produced or obtained from abroad.¹¹

What do we know of the intoxicating beverages that were consumed in Pre-Chinggisid Eurasia? These were not a few, but, not unexpectedly, aside from koumiss, few were directly based on the livestock-rearing economy of the pastoral nomads. In states and imperial realms, such as that of the Khazars and Qarakhanids (and perhaps the imperial Uyghurs, 744–840), which possessed and whose rulers occupied settled agrarian and urban zones (at least for part of the year), a wider array of beverages appears to have been available. In addition to material that antedates the Mongol conquests, I have noted some Middle Qipchaq supporting data, largely dating from the latter part of the thirteenth to the fourteenth-fifteenth centuries, on the presumption that these words were not innovations at the time that the *Codex Cumanicus* and Mamluk dictionaries were written.

The richest sources stem from the Qarakhanid era (ca. 992–1212) for which we have two texts that either directly or in passing make note of the beverages used by Turkic peoples. The earliest of these, the *Qutadghu Bilig*, a manual on statecraft written in 1069 in an Islamic environment by Yūsuf Khāṣṣ Ḥāḥib, a Qarakhanid intellectual and courtier, lists wine-drinking among the “things that are bad for man,” which will “undoubtedly” lead to a bad end.¹² Whether such were, indeed, the sentiments of Yūsuf Khāṣṣ Ḥāḥib or merely the expected expression of Islamic attitudes towards inebriating substances cannot be determined.

There is little doubt that a culture of imbibing alcoholic beverages existed among the Turkic peoples of pre-Chinggisid Eurasia and their predecessors in the steppe. Old Turkic *ičgü*, *ičkü* (< *ič*- “to drink”) originally denoted any

10 Thomas T. Allsen, *Culture and Conquest in Mongol Eurasia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 128–129.

11 Peter Benjamin Golden, “Courts and Court Culture in the Proto-urban and Urban Developments among the Pre-Chinggisid Turkic Peoples,” in *Turko-Mongol Rulers, Cities and City Life*, ed. David Durand-Guédy (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2013), 21–73.

12 Yusuf Has Hacıp, *Kutadgu Bilig*, 48; Yūsuf Khāṣṣ Ḥāḥib, *Wisdom of Royal Glory (Kutadgu Bilig): A Turko-Islamic Mirror for Princes*, trans. Robert Dankoff (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), 50.

drink.¹³ *İçki* in Modern Turkish and in most other Turkic languages today is the word for any “intoxicating drink.”¹⁴ The consumption of a variety of *içgü*, alcoholic and non-alcoholic, was traditional at Turkic burials, and koumiss and later vodka were often buried with the deceased, along with items of daily use. Koumiss was also often brought to the family of the latter as a condolence gift.¹⁵ Although these customs were observed and recorded in the Modern Era, it is most probable that they were not innovations, but the continuation of ancient traditions.

Hung. *szesz* “fumes, vapour, spirits, alcohol, humors,” it has been suggested,¹⁶ derived from West Old Turkic/Oğuric *sis* “fog mist, vapor”).¹⁷ Middle Qıpçaq has *sis* “sis, sis rengi.”¹⁸ The derivation of Hung. *szesz* from Turkic *sis* is most probably correct, as Róna-Tas and Berta maintain, but we do not know if *sis* denoted “alcohol” (presumably the “fumes, vapor” etc. from a distilled substance) in Old Turkic. That is not its meaning in Mamluk texts.

Leaving aside the Iranian Scytho-Saka peoples, our earliest evidence comes from the Asian Huns/Xiongnu. Although the ethno-linguistic affiliations of the Xiongnu remain a much-debated question, Turkic-speakers constituted an important, if not the numerically predominant, element in their union.¹⁹

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- 13 É.V. Sevort'ian, *Étimologicheskii slovar' türkskikh iazykov: Obshchetürskie i mezhtürskie osnovy na glasnye* (Moscow: Nauka, 1974), 391.
- 14 Gerald Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth Century Turkish* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), 24.
- 15 Edward Tryjarski, *Kultura ludów tureckich w świetle przekazu Maḥmūda z Kaszgaru* (XI w.). (Warszawa: Polska Akademia Nauk. Instytut Archeologii i Etnologii, Komitet Nauk Orientalistycznych, 1993), 71, 111–112, 195, 255, 257, 294.
- 16 Zieme, “Alkoholische Getränke,” 444–445.
- 17 See András Róna-Tas and Árpád Berta, *West Old Turkic. Turkic Loanwords in Hungarian*, II (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2011), 777–779; for a full discussion, but they note that it is attested only in the Middle Turkic period and only “very sporadically” in the Modern Turkic languages, cf. Ottoman *sis* “a wet or damp mist, a fog,” but also “a freckle, freckles, a small brown or reddish spot or spots on the coat of a horse.” James W. Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon* (Constantinople: The American Mission, 1890, reprint: Beirut: Librairie du Liban, 1974), 1101; Martti Räsänen, *Versuch eines etymologischen Wörterbuchs der Türkisprachen*, Lexica Societatis Fenno-Ugricae XVII, 1 (Helsinki: Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura, 1969), 423 “ein dichter Nebel”; Çağbayır, *Ötüken Türkçe Sözlük*, 4:4263; cf. Yakut *us* “smoke,” “*us bidaan* “dense darkness, heavy mist,” Christopher A. Straughn, *Sakha-English Dictionary* (Chicago, 2006), 12, 53, accessed 14 May, 2020, <http://home.uchicago.edu/straughn/sakhadic.pdf>.
- 18 Recep Toparlı, Hanifi Vural, and Recep Karaatlı, *Kıpçak Türkçesi Sözlüğü* (Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu, 2003), 238.
- 19 S.G. Klīashtornyi and T.I. Sultanov, *Gosudarstva i narody Evraziiskikh stepei ot drevnosti k novomu vremeni*, 3rd. ed. (Sankt-Peterburg: Peterburgskoe vostokovedenie, 2009), 62.

Han China sent the Xiongnu “gifts” (tribute) in the form of rice wine, often in considerable quantities. Thus, in a letter to the Han sent in 89 BCE and preserved in the *Hanshu*, a dynastic chronicle, the Xiongnu ruler demanded that China send him a Han bride, along with 10,000 *dan* (= 199,680 liters) of rice wine and other items, including silk.²⁰ Whether the intent was to “turn the nomads into drunkards” or simply to meet Xiongnu demands must remain a matter of conjecture.²¹

1 Milk-Based Drinks

Lacking an indigenous, developed viticulture, Turkic nomads consumed a variety of milk products, virtually all of which were altered, some of them into fermented, alcoholic beverages. Already in Xiongnu times, the *Shiji* of Sima Qian records the Xiongnu drink 酪 *lao* “ayran,²² koumiss,”²³ “soured or fermented milk,” from a variety of animals; Pulleyblank notes that it is not necessarily alcoholic. *Lao* < Old Chin. **râk* < **g-rak*, Late Han Chin. **lak* = *rak*,²⁴ probably, as Dybo, following Bailey,²⁵ suggests, represents Saka *ragai* “fermented liquor” (going back to **raka* or **ranka/ranga*, cf. Osetic *rong* “an intoxicating drink made from honey” (“*khmel’noï medovyjï napitok*”) borrowed into

20 *Han Hanedanlığı Tarihi: Çin Kaynaklarında Türkler Han Hanedanlığı Tarihi Bölüm 94 A/B. Hsiung-nu Monografisi*, ed. and trans. into Turkish by Ayşe Onat, Sema Orsoy, Konuralp Ercilasun (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2004), 40.

21 Nikolai N. Kradin, “Stateless Empire: The Structure of the Xiongnu Nomadic Super-Complex Chiefdom,” in *Xiongnu Archaeology* ed. Ursula Brosseder and Bryan K. Miller (Bonn: Vor- und Frühgeschichtliche Archäologie, Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelm-Universität, 2011), 87.

22 A kind of “buttermilk” or “sour milk” often mixed with water. It is connected with Mong. *ayıraġ* “koumiss” (Clouston, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 276; Sevortjan, *Étimologičeskii slovar’* 1974, 111). *Ayran* is first recorded in eleventh century Qaraxhanid Turkic (Emek Üşenmez, *Karahanlı Türkçesinin Sözlüğü* (Ankara: Doğu Kitabevi, 2010), 35) but long antedated that. Hung. *író* “buttermilk” derives from West Old Turkic/Oğuric **ıraġ* < **ayıraġ*/East Old Turkic *ayran* < P.Turk. *ayıraġ* < **ayır*- “to make buttermilk, to separate cream and buttermilk” (see full discussion in Róna-Tas and Berta, *West Old Turkic*, 1:464–470).

23 I.M. Oshanin, *Bol’shoġ kitaisko-russkii slovar’*, (Moscow: Nauka, 1983), 2:524 [2267]; Edwin G. Pulleyblank, “The Consonantal System of Old Chinese,” *Asia Major* 9 (1962): 250, 253.

24 Axel Schuessler, *Minimal Old Chinese and Later Han Chinese* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i, 2009), 66 [2–1p]; A.V. Dybo, *Lingvističeskije kontakty rannikh türkov. Leksičeskij Leksičeskij fond* (Moscow: Vostočnaja Literatura RAN, 2007), 91.

25 Harold Walter Bailey, *Dictionary of Khotan Saka* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 356.

K'art'velian, cf. Georg. *rang-i* > Megrelian *rang-i*, Svan *rang*).²⁶ There was also a form of *lao*, termed *tihu* 醍醐, 餹醐 Old Chin. *thê? gâ*, Late Han *t^{he} go < ga*;²⁷ Pulleyblank made a tentative connection with koumiss, even connecting it with Mong. *čegen* “koumiss,” but with many caveats.²⁸ Dybo reconstructed this Xiongnu term in Western Han pronunciation as *t(h)ē g(h)ā*, and suggested that it denoted a kind of “light koumiss” or “clarified butter.”²⁹ She connected it with Middle Pers. **doga*-(*ya*) < PIran. **dauga*, Anc. Pers. *doğ* “buttermilk” (paxtan'e), cf. Oset. *doğ*, *donq*, *donğ* “milk of one milking.”³⁰ If these identifications are correct, it would appear that Iranian peoples played an important preparatory role in the beverage culture of the Turkic world.

The most famous of the milk-derived beverages was *qimuz* “koumiss,” fermented mare’s milk,³¹ already attested among the Scythians³² and found today in most Turkic languages.³³ A modern Kazakh scholar claims that koumiss possesses curative, antibiotic qualities. Indeed, it was used to treat tuberculosis in earlier times and one pint daily “contains almost all the necessary vitamins” that humans require.³⁴ Related to it are Türkmen *čal*,³⁵ Qazaq and Qaraqalpaq

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- 26 G.A. Klimov and M. Sh. Khalilov, *Slovar' kavkazskikh ĭazykov: Sopostavlenie osnovnoĭ leksiki* (Moscow: Vostochnaja Literatura, 2003), 183.
- 27 Schuessler, *Minimal Old Chinese*, 124, [7–14i “wine”], 46 (phonetically akin to 胡 *hu*), Schuessler, *Minimal Old Chinese*, [1–1a].
- 28 Pulleyblank, “The Consonantal System,” 155.
- 29 Dybo, *Lingvističeskie kontakty*, 93.
- 30 “moloko odnogo udoĭa,” cf. Vasilii I. Abaev, *Istoriko-Ėtimologičeskĭ slovar' osetinskogo ĭazyka* (Moscow-Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1958), 1:364, 370, 371–372; “to milk,” “sour milk, buttermilk”; Vera S. Rastorgueva and Dzhoĭ I Ėdel'man, *Ėtimologičeskĭ slovar' iranskikh ĭazykov* (Moscow: Vostočnaja Literatura RAN, 2000–2015), 2:405–409.
- 31 Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 629; Tryjarski, *Kultura ludów tureckich*, 121–122.
- 32 The process of koumiss production is described in Herodotus. IV.2, who notes that blinded slaves were used to make it. See also the comments of Aalto. Pentti Aalto, “Le ‘lait noir’ chez Pine l’Ancien,” in *Reşid Rahmeti Arat İçin*, ed. Muharrem Ergin (Ankara: Türk Kültürünü Araştırma Enstitüsü, 1966), 1–4.
- 33 F.G. Blagova, *Ėtimologičeskĭ slovar' türkskikh ĭazykov. Obščetürkskie leksičeskie osnovy na bukvu “K”* (Moscow: Indrik, 2000), 214–215.
- 34 Nurila Z. Shakhzhanova, “The System of Nourishment among the Eurasian Nomads: The Kazakh Example,” in *Ecology and Empire: Nomads in the Cultural Evolution of the Old World*, ed. Gary Seaman (Los Angeles: Center for Visual Anthropology, University of Southern California, 1989), 113.
- 35 “beverage made from camel’s milk”; Allen J Frank and Jeren Touch-Werner (Tachmouradova), *Turkmen-English Dictionary* (Kensington, MD: DP Dunwoody Press, 1999), 615; Räsänen, *Versuch*, 96. Cf. Pers. *čâl-i šutur* “camel’s whey” (Steingass, *A Comprehensive*, 386). Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 417, notes *čâl*, *čal* “of mixed black and white colour, hence ‘grey,’” “with two colours,” “camel colt” and “buttermilk” (noted in the eighteenth century Čağatay dictionary *Sanglakh* and Şeyh Süleymân Efendi el-Buhârî, *Luğat-ı Čağatay ve Türki ‘Osmâni*. (Istanbul: Mihrân Matba’ası, 1298/1880), 148: *çal* “ayran ve duğ çalab dahi derler”); Ė.R. Tenishev, ed. *Sravnitel'no-istoričeskaĭa grammatika türkskikh*

şubat, a koumiss made from camel's milk, Qırğız *körçök*, Yakut *küörçex*, a koumiss or *ayran* made from sheep or goat's milk.³⁶ *Çal*, *şubat* et al. are not attested in pre-thirteenth-century texts, although it is quite possible that a camel's milk-based koumiss was known. *Qımız* is first noted in eleventh-century Qarakhanid literature: in the *Qutadğu Bilig* in connection with the products of livestock and in Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī's *Dīwān Luḡhāt al-Turk* (written in the 1070s, probably completed in 1077), which records it as "koumiss. This is mare's milk which is poured in skins, then fermented and drunk."³⁷ Kāshgharī also provides the interesting detail that koumiss could be and was, in fact, consumed from a wild ox horn (*qaltuq*) that had been perforated with a hole for that purpose.³⁸

The etymology of *qımız* remains the subject of various theories, including one that connects it with Proto-Mongol **kimur* "fermented milk with water,"³⁹ perhaps going back to Altaic⁴⁰ **kāmo* "boiled substance, alcohol."⁴¹ The form **kimur* might also point to its entry into Mongolic from West Old Turkic/Oğuric (**qımur*?), but no such term is recorded. Čuv. has *kāmās* undoubtedly taken from a Qıpchaq tongue, most probably Volga Tatar.⁴² It has recently been suggested that *qımız* is a loanword from Arabic *ḥāmīḍ* ("sour") via Persian intermediation.⁴³ Philologically, this is not impossible, but it is highly unlikely that the early Turkic peoples did not possess a native Inner Asian (not

İazykov: Leksika. 2nd, rev. ed. (Moscow: Nauka, 2001), 451. Cf. also Mod. Turk. *çalacak* "yoğurt mayası" (Çağbayır, *Ötüken Türkçe Sözlük*, 1:864).

36 Tenishev, *Sravnitel'no-istoricheskaja grammatika*, 450–451.

37 Yusuf Has Hacıp, *Kutadgu Bilig*, 446; Yusuf Khāṣṣ Ḥājib, *Wisdom of Royal Glory*, 184; Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī, *Compendium of the Turkic Dialects: Dīwān Luḡāt at-Turk*, 3 vols, ed. and trans. Robert Dankoff with James Kelly (Duxbury, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982–1985), 1:7; Reşat Genç, *Kaşgarlı Mahmud'a Göre XI Yüzyılda Türk Dünyası* (Ankara: Türk Kültürünü Araştırma Enstitüsü, 1997), 6, 12–13.

38 Kāshgharī, *Compendium*, 1:282, 354; Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī, *Dīwān Luḡāt-Turk*, Russian translation by Z.-A.M. Auézova (Almaty: Dajk-Press, 2005), 348, 440; Tryjarski, *Kultura ludów tureckich*, 89; Üşenmez, *Karahanlı*, 158.

39 Blagova, *Étimologicheskii slovar'*, 214–215; Tenishev, *Sravnitel'no-istoricheskaja grammatika*, 450–451.

40 Whether the "Altaic" languages constitute a genetic "family," a "melded" family or a grouping of unrelated languages remains a question that cannot be considered in this brief chapter.

41 Sergei Starostin and Anna Dybo and Oleg Mudrak, *Etymological Dictionary of the Altaic Languages* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 641.

42 Heikki Paasonen, *Çuvaş Sözlüğü*, Turkish trans. Türk Dil Kurumu (Istanbul: İbrahim Horoz Basımevi, 1950), 65: "kımız, tahammür etmiş kısrak sütü."

43 Marcel Erdal, "What did the Old Turks call Fermented mare's milk?" in *Studies in Turkic Philology: Festschrift in Honour of the 80th Birthday of Professor Geng Shimin*, ed. Zhang Dinjing and Abdurishid Yakup (Beijing: China Minzu University Press, 2009), 293–297.

necessarily Turkic) word for “koumiss.” The Arab linguistic impact on Turkic came long after koumiss had become an integral part of the diet of Turkic nomads.

2 Grain-Based Drinks and Related Terms

أغرتغو *Ağartğu*? “a drink made from wheat flour, like beer.”⁴⁴ Tryjarski, who has a question mark regarding pronunciation, and Üşenmez both follow this vocalization.⁴⁵ It has also been read as *ağrıttğu* (?) “a drink made from ground wheat, like beer.”⁴⁶ The term is only noted by Kāshgharī. A connection with Mod. Turkish (especially in dialects) *ağartı* “süt, yoğurt, peynir, ayran gibi yiyecek ve içecekler,”⁴⁷ “süt mamulâtı” (deriving from *ağart-* “to make white”),⁴⁸ “süt ve süt ürünlerinin genel adı”;⁴⁹ Azeri *ağartı* “milk products,”⁵⁰ while attractive, is unlikely. Clearly, *ağartı* is made from milk and a derivation from the verb *ağart-* is not unexpected. *Ağartğu* is grain-based and hence another category of drink. *Ağrıttğu*, a possible alternative reading, can hardly be based in Turkic, cf. *ağrı-* “to cause pain.”⁵¹ This is a foreign loanword of uncertain provenance.

bāgni “beer of wheat, millet or barley.”⁵² It is perhaps recorded in the Chinese encyclopaedic work, the *Tongdian* of Du You (735–812), in the form *bo ni* 匏你.⁵³ It is also recorded in a runic script document from Turfan: *iki küp bāgni*

44 Kāşğarī, *Compendium*, 2:376.

45 Tryjarski, *Kultura ludów tureckich*, 123; Üşenmez, *Karahanlı*, 158.

46 Kāşğarī, *Dīvān*, 1071.

47 Hasan Eren, ed., *Türkçe Sözlük*, I (Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu, 1988), 21.

48 Tietze, *Tarihi ve Etimolojik*, I, 110.

49 Çağbayır, *Ötüken Türkçe Sözlük*, 1:134.

50 Kh. Ä. Äzizbeyov [Azizbekov], ed., *Azərbaycanja-Ruscha Lüğət/Azerbaïdzhansko-russkii slovar'* (Baku: Azerbajdzhanskoe gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo, 1965), 16.

51 Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 92.

52 Kāşğarī, *Compendium*, 1:327; Kāşğarī, *Dīvān*, 406 “a drink made from wheat, millet or rye,” V.M. Nadeliaev et al., eds., *Drevnetürkskii slovar'* (Leningrad: Nauka, 1969), 92; Tryjarski, *Kultura ludów tureckich*, 123; Zieme, “Alkoholische Getränke,” 439–441; Çağbayır, *Ötüken Türkçe Sözlük*, 1:526; Üşenmez, *Karahanlı*, 46.

53 Pelliot, “Le nom turc du vin,” 450–453, *p'o-ni*, which Pelliot reconstructs as **b'ük-ni*; cf. Schuessler, *Minimal Old Chinese*, Mand. *fu/bo ni* 112, [5–33m, for Bernhard Karlgren, *Grammata Serica Recensa* in The Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, *Bulletin* No. 29 (Stockholm, 1957, reprinted: Taipei: SMC Publishing, 1996), 245–246, [933m] **b'ük/b'ük*], 125 [7–20a], Middle Chin. *bjuk ni/bäk ni*.

(“two jars of beer”)⁵⁴ and in Uyghur texts.⁵⁵ The term most probably entered Turkic from Iranian, cf. Khwārazmian *bakanîn*, Sogd. *βγ’ny*, Khotanese Saka *bveysa* (“a beverage”),⁵⁶ Oset. *bægəny/bægəni*, Pers. *bagnī* “beer.” Its etymology, however, remains uncertain. It has been suggested that it is a metathesized form in Iranian of the term for “hemp” **kanab/p*, **kan/mp-*, cf. Middle Pers. *kānaβ*, and Khotanese Saka *kaṃha*, *kuṃbā*, Sogd. *kynp*, Khwārazmian *knb*, Pers. *kanab*, Kānçäki:⁵⁷ *kānpä* “a plant”,⁵⁸ Oset. *gəen/gəæc* > Avest. *baṃa* “marijuana, hashish,” Sanskrit *bhaṅgā* “hashish, hemp,” and Pers. *bang* “hemp, an intoxicating drink.”⁵⁹ It frequently appears as *bor bāgni* and can also be found as *bāgli*.⁶⁰

buhsi “name of a food. It is made by cooking wheat, putting it into a jar with almond kernels, and pouring over it *talbīna* [a mixture of bran, milk and honey], then leaving it to ferment. One eats the solid part and drinks the

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- 54 Hüseyin Namık Orkun, *Eski Türk Yazutları* (Ankara-Istanbul: Devlet Basımı, Alâeddin Kırıl Basımevi, 1936–41, reprint: Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1986), 1: 95/288. Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 328, notes it as Türk, dating to the eighth century. Zieme assumes that texts in Runic from Sir Aurel Stein’s Dunhuang collection, from which this undated document stems, are from a relatively early period. Runic, along with Manichaean and “Sogdo-Uigur script,” as he notes, were all used in the 9th–10th centuries (Peter Zieme, “The Manichaean Turkish Texts of the Stein Collection at the British Library,” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, ser. 3 20/3 (2010): 255). The attestation, in any event, is Pre-Çinggisid.
- 55 Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 328; Nadeliaev et al., *Drevnetürskii slovar’*, 112.
- 56 Bailey, *Dictionary of Khotan Saka*, 320.
- 57 The Kānçäki appear to have been Turkicized Saka-speakers in the area around Kashghar, who spoke Turkic in Kāshgharī’s time, but accented Turkic because of their bilingualism (Kāšyārī, *Compendium*, 1:84, Kāšgarī, *Dīvān*, 69). On their original language, thought to be close to Khotanese Saka, see Xavier Tremblay, “Kanjakī and Kāšyarian Sakan,” *Central Asiatic Journal* 51, no. 1 (2007): 63–76.
- 58 Kāšyārī, *Compendium*, 1:316; Kāšgarī, *Dīvān*, 2005, 391; Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 727; É.R. Tenishev and A.V. Dybo, eds., *Sravnitel’no-istoricheskaiia grammatika türkskikh ūzykov: Pratiürskii ūzyk-osnova: Kartina mira pratiürskogo étnosa po dannym ūzyka* (Moscow: Nauka, 2006), 798.
- 59 Abaev, *Istoriko-Étimologicheskii slovar’*, 1:244–245, Bailey, *Dictionary of Khotan Saka*, 51–52, Thomas V. Gamkrelidze and Vjacheslav V. Ivanov, *Indo-European and the Indo-Europeans. A Reconstruction and Historical Analysis of a Proto-Language and a Proto-Culture*, 2 vols., trans. Johanna Nichols, ed. Werner Winter (Berlin—New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 1995), 1:570; Rastorgueva and Édel’man, *Étimologicheskii slovar’*, 4:218–220, Steingass, *A Comprehensive*, 203. Pers. *bang* was borrowed into Georg. *bang-i* “cannabis, hashish” > Megrel., Svan. *bang-i*, Bacbi *bang* (Klimov, G.A. and Khalilov, M. Sh. *Slovar’ kavkazskikh ūzykov: Sopostavlenie osnovnoi leksiki* (Moscow: Vostochnaja Literatura, 2003), 190). Pers. *bang* is also the source of Middle Qıpçaq *beng* “afyon, esrar” and *bengî* “afyon kullanan, esrarkeş” (Toparlı and Vural and Karaatlı, *Kıpçak Türkçesi Sözlüğü*, 27).
- 60 Zieme, “Alkoholische Getränke,” 439–440.

liquid.”⁶¹ Given its ingredients, it does not appear to be related to the similar sounding *buḥsum* (see below).

buḥsum, *buḥsun* “millet beer,” “a drink made from millet.”⁶² Cf. Pers. *baxsum* “a drink from wheat or millet.”⁶³ The Arabic-Persian-Turkic-Mongol dictionary *Ḥilyat al-insān wa ḥalbat al-lisān* of Jamāl al-Dīn b. Muḥannā, dating to the late thirteenth-early fourteenth century,⁶⁴ notes **baqsun* “barley-wine” (*nabīd al-šaʿīr*),⁶⁵ which is probably a rendering of *baxsum/buḥsun*. Whether *buḥsum* et al. can be lumped together with *bāgni*, as Bailey implies, is far from clear.⁶⁶ It did, however, continue on in a number of Turkic languages: Kazan Tatar (dial.) *maqsum*, *maqsuma*, *maqsuma* “beer without hops,”⁶⁷ Qazaq (dial.) *maqsum* “a drink made from a variety of grains,”⁶⁸ Qırğ. *maqsum*, a non-alcoholic grain-based drink, in some regions *buz*,⁶⁹ Čuv. *makäsmä*, *maksäma* “a weak beer without hops or yeast.”⁷⁰ From Turkic it entered the languages of the North Caucasus, e.g. Oset. *maxsumæ*, *maxsymæ* “thin beer,” Abxaz. *a-baxsma* *a-baxsima*, Abaz. *baxsima*, Ubyx. *baqsma*, Adyge *baxsimə*, Kabard. *maxsimə*, *baxsimə* “buz,” Čečen *moxsa*, Inguš. *maxsam*.⁷¹ The latter implies a connection with Qumano-Qıpçaq or one of its descendants in the North Caucasus region.

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- 61 Kāšyarī, *Compendium*, 1:320, Kāšgarī, *Dīvān*, 2005, 397, Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 320, Çağbayır, *Ötüken Türkçe Sözlük*, 1:688, Üşenmez, *Karahanlı*, 60.
- 62 Kāšyarī, *Compendium*, 1:360, 2:271, *toma/tuna buḥsun* “the part of millet beer which rises to the top of the vat”; Kāšgarī, *Dīvān*, 448, 916; Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 320, 503, Çağbayır, *Ötüken Türkçe Sözlük*, 1:688, Üşenmez, *Karahanlı*, 60, 301, Tryjarski, *Kultura ludów tureckich*, 123.
- 63 Steingass, *A Comprehensive*, 159.
- 64 Bülent Gül, “İbni Mühenna Lügati’nin Türk ve Moğol Dil Araştırmalarındaki Yeri ve Önemi,” *Türkbilg* 11, no. 19 (2010): 87–95.
- 65 **بَقْسُون*, var. lect. *bʿqsūn* *بَقْسُون*, *yʿqsūn* *بَقْسُون*, etc., Hasan Eren, “Beiträge zur türkischen Wortforschung,” *Körösö-Csoma Archivum* III (1941), 130–132.
- 66 Bailey, *Dictionary of Khotan Saka*, 320.
- 67 “braga bez xmelja,” L.Z. Budagov, *Sravnitelʹnyj slovarʹ turetsko-tatarskix narečij* (Sankt-Peterburg: Akademija Nauk, 1869–1871), 2:198, *ماقصيما، ماقسيم*.
- 68 Š. Žamiqeva, and D. Makhranov, *Dialektologičeski Sözdik*. (Almaty: Aris, 2007), 499.
- 69 K.K. Judakhin, *Kirgizsko-russkij slovarʹ*. (Moscow: Sovetskaia énciklopediia, 1965), 512.
- 70 M.R. Fedotov, *Étimologičeskij slovarʹ chuvashskogo jazyka*. 2 vols. (Cheboksary: Chuvashskij gosudarstvennyj institut gumanitarnykh nauk, 1996), 1:340, see also A.V. Dybo, *Étimologičeskij slovarʹ türkskix jazykov: Obščetürkskie leksičeskie osnovy na bukvy L-M-N-P-S* (Moscow: Vostočnaia Literatura RAN, 2003), 18–19 for a brief overview of attempted etymologies and the question of whether it was borrowed into Turkic from Persian, or another Iranian language, or is a Turkic borrowing in Persian.
- 71 Klimov and Khalilov, *Slovarʹ kavkazskix jazykov*, 190; A.K. Shagirov, *Zaimstvovannaia leksika abkhazo-adygskix jazykov* (Moscow: Nauka, 1989), 109.

?**b[u]raga*: cf. Old Rus'. *braga*, first attested in the fifteenth century (presumably considerably older) and surviving today in Russian (*braga*), Belarusian and Ukrainian (*braha*, and thence as a loanword in Polish) and in Bulgarian (from Russian). *Braga* in Eastern Slavic denoted a homemade beer made from rye, oats, barley or millet mixed with malt and hops. The Slavic term has been derived from Turkic. Vasmer,⁷² with others following him,⁷³ connected it with Čuv. *pāraḡa*;⁷⁴ however, this is not universally accepted; for example, Chernykh,⁷⁵ finds this etymology unconvincing. Sevortian would reverse it, deriving the Čuvaš word from Russian.⁷⁶ It has been suggested that *braga* may stem from a "Khazar" regional term cognate with Com. Turkic *buḡday* [**bodaḡay* "wheat"]:⁷⁷ (Khazaro-Oḡuric) **bod(a)ḡa* > **boδ(a)ḡa* producing **boz(a)ḡa* > **b(u)raga* and *buza/boza*.⁷⁸ However, the regular shift in Bulḡaro-Oḡuric of *δ* > *z* > *r*, the "second rhotacism," took place in Bulḡaro-Oḡuric/Old Čuvaš after the tenth century.⁷⁹ Hence, a Khazar provenance—if the Khazars did, indeed, speak some form of Oḡuric, a question that has not yet been satisfactorily resolved⁸⁰—is problematic (see below) as their state came to an end ca. 965–969. Volga Bulḡar should not be excluded as a source, as the Volga Bulḡars had an extensive trading network and a grain-producing populace.⁸¹

72 M. Fasmer (Vasmer), *Ėtimologičeskii slovar' russkogo iazyka*, 4 vols., ed. and trans. O.N. Trubachëv, 2nd ed. (Moscow: Nauka, 1986–1987), 1:205.

73 Cf. N. Īu. Shvedova, ed., *Tolkovyĭ slovar' russkogo iazyka* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiiia Nauk, 2007), 58.

74 *pāraGa*, Paasonen, *Čuvaš Sözlüğü*, 100 "residue of grains," N.A. Andreev, *Chuvashsko-russkii slovar'* (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo inostrannykh i nacional'nykh slovarei, 1961), 260.

75 P. Īa. Chernykh, *Istoriko-Ėtimologičeskii slovar' sovremennogo russkogo iazyka*. 2 vols. (Moscow: Russkii iazyk media, 2004), 1:106–107.

76 Sevortian, *Ėtimologičeskii slovar'*, 175.

77 Cf. Indo-European **p^hur-* related to this and a migratory culture word (Gamkrelidze and Ivanov, *Indo-European*, 1:566–567).

78 Tenishev, ed. *Sravnitel'no-istoričeskaia grammatika türkskikh iazykov*, 462–463.

79 Róna-Tas and Berta, *West Old Turkic*, 1187.

80 See Peter Benjamin Golden, "Khazarica: Notes on some Khazar terms," *Turkic Languages* 9 (2005): 205–222; Marcel Erdal, "The Khazar Language," in *The World of the Khazars*, ed. by Peter Benjamin Golden, Haggai Ben-Shammai, and András Róna-Tas (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 75–108. Oḡuric, at the least, was spoken by some of the Turkic tribes subject to the Khazars.

81 Cf. Thomas S. Noonan, "Volga Bulghāria's Tenth-Century Trade with Sāmānid Central Asia," *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* 11 (2000–2001): 140–218, on their trade with Samanid Central Asia.

boza, buza: the name of a grain-based (millet or wheat) drink akin to *braga*.⁸² Attested in Middle Qıpçaq.⁸³ It is probably to be derived from *buğday* “wheat” (see above) as the Hungarian *búza* “wheat” < **buğzay* < West Old Turkic/Oğuric **buğday* ~ East Old Turkic *buğday* “wheat” with the form with -z- frozen before the “second rhotacism” noted above.⁸⁴ Again, its presence in Hungarian as a “Khazar regional” term⁸⁵ before the “second rhotacism” (see above) would place it before the tenth century, well within the Pre-Chinggisid period. The conflation of the name of the drink with the grain from which it is made does not pose a serious problem. Bailey, however, suggests a derivation of *boza/buza* from Iran. **bvauza* < **bagauza*.⁸⁶

qumlaq “hop plant,” but also denoting a strongly intoxicating drink made from a mixture of honey and hops. This term of uncertain origin is widespread in Turkic and in Indo-European (cf. Middle-Lat. *humulus*, Old Islandic *humli*, *humla*, etc., Anglo-Sax. *hymele*, Russ. *khemel'*)⁸⁷ and appears to have entered Turkic via Iranian (**xumalak*, cf. Oset. *xumellæg* “xmel” < **xum-ala-ka* < **haum-ala-ka*, Iran. *hauma*,⁸⁸ Sogd. *ywm*, etc. going back to terms denoting “ephedra”). From Turkic it also entered Finnic Mari, cf. *umla*, *əmälä*.⁸⁹

82 Räsänen, *Versuch*, 82; Sevort'ian, *Étimologičeskii slovar'*, 173–174, who suggest several etymologies. Çağbayır, *Ötüken Türkçe Sözlük*, 1:666, “mısır, arpa ve buğday gibi tahılların hamurunun ekşitilmesi ile elde edilen koyu ve mayhoş bir içki,” suggests a Pers./Sogd. origin.

83 Toparlı and Vural and Karaatlı, *Kıpçak Türkçesi Sözlüğü*, 34 “dar, buğday veya arpadan yapılan bir içki,” cf. *The King's Dictionary: the Rasülid Hexaglot—fourteenth century vocabularies in Arabic, Persian, Turkic, Greek, Armenian, and Mongol*, ed. and trans. Peter Benjamin Golden, and Tibor Halasi-Kun (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 172: 195C 4, defined in Arabic as *šarâb al-ħintâ* “wheat wine,” i.e., “beer.”

84 Róna-Tas and Berta, *West Old Turkic*, 1:186–188, who also comment that it is “an old ‘Kulturwort’” of possible Indo-European or Chinese origin.

85 Tenishev, *Sravnitel'no-istoričeskaja grammatika*, 462–463.

86 Bailey, *Dictionary of Khotan Saka*, 320.

87 Fasmer (Vasmer), *Étimologičeskii slovar'*, 4:249–250.

88 Iran. *hauma* ~ Indic. **sauma* “hauma ~ soma” is the name of a sacred plant and the juice derived from it that made a sacred drink. Middle Pers. *hōma*, Sogd. *ywm*, etc. Deriving from *hauma* is **haumāka* (Old Indic *sómaka*), Old Iran. **haumaka*, Middle Pers. *hōmak*, etc. See Rastorgueva and Édel'man, *Étimologičeskii slovar'*, 3:379–380. Related to it pharmacologically is Turkic *yabčan*, *yavšan* “wormwood” (Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 872; L.S. Levitskaia, *Étimologičeskii slovar' türkskikh ĭazykov: Obščetürskie i mezhtürskie osnovy na bukvy "j", "z", "j"* (Moscow: Nauka, 1989), 53–55; Çağbayır, *Ötüken Türkçe Sözlük*, 5: 5253; Tenishev, *Sravnitel'no-istoričeskaja grammatika*, 132), also of the *Artemesia* family. Although wormwood was used to flavor absinthe, it is unclear if it was thus employed in preparing intoxicating beverages among the steppe peoples.

89 Róna-Tas and Berta, *West Old Turkic*, 1:556; Lajos Ligeti, *A magyar nyelv török kapcsolatai a honfoglalás előtt és az Árpád-korban* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1986), 289–290;

Dybo views the Alanic [Osetic] form as the source of the Caucasian, Turkic, Finno-Ugric, Slavic and Germanic forms. She is prepared to suggest “an almost satisfactory Altaic etymology” (**k’iomolV* “vid paxučego s’edobnogo rastenija”),⁹⁰ but ultimately considers East Iranian a more likely source for the Turkic word. From Turkic, or possibly Alano-Osetic, it entered Hungarian.⁹¹ Kāshgharī describes *qumlaq* as “a plant similar to bindweed which grows in the Qifčāq country. They prepare a drink from it mixed with honey.”⁹² He only notes its presence in the Dasht-i Qifchāq, but does not record it as a uniquely Qipčaq dialect term. Middle Qipčaq has *qumlaq/qomlaq* “šarap.”⁹³ The combination with honey, perhaps for a sweetening effect, indicates association with or at least access to settled apiculturalists.

Sıra “beer.”⁹⁴ Although not attested in Pre-Chinggisid texts, the Hungarian form, as Róna-Tas and Berta convincingly argue, indicates its presence in the (West Old Turkic/Oğuric) Turkic languages that came to the western Eurasian steppes by the 460s, if not earlier. Räsänen viewed it as a borrowing into Turkic from Iranian, ultimately going back to Indic (Sanskrit) *sūrā* “ein alkoholisches Getränk, eine Art Branntwein,” a cognate with Old Iran.⁹⁵ (Avestan) *hurā* “koumiss,” “some intoxicating drink—koumiss,” Middle Pers. *hur* “an alcoholic drink,” “a strong drink from mare’s milk, koumiss,” Khotanese Saka *hurā-*, *haura* “mare’s milk fermented.”⁹⁶ From Turkic it also entered Finno-Ugric, as Mansi *sor*, Mari *s̄yra*, *s̄yrä*, *pura*, Udmurt and Komi *sur* “beer”⁹⁷ as well as

Clauson, *An Etimological Dictionary*, 628; Blagova, *Étimologičeskii slovar’*, 138–139. Dybo, *Lingvisticheskie kontakty*, 120–122.

90 Dybo, *Lingvisticheskie kontakty*, 120–122.

91 Cf. *komló*, Róna-Tas and Berta, *West Old Turkic*, 1:556–558.

92 Kāshgharī, *Compendium*, 1:354; Çağbayır, *Ötüken Türkçe Sözlük*, 3:2836.

93 Toparlı and Vural and Karaath, *Kıpçak Türkçesi Sözlüğü*, 162; *Kitâb-ı Mecmû-ı Tercümân-ı Türki ve Acemî ve Mugâlî*, ed. Recep Toparlı, M. Sadi Çögenli, and Nevzat H. Yanık (Ankara: Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu, 2000), 120, ms. 17a.

94 Dybo, *Étimologičeskii slovar’*, 413–14. Cf. Hung. *sör*, *ser* “beer” < West Old Turkic/Oğuric **šire* < **sire*. The *Codex Cumanicus* has *šira* “Wein, vinum,” cf. Kaare Grønbech, *Komanisches Wörterbuch* (København: Einar Munksgaard, 1942), 230; Vladimir Drimba, ed., *Codex Cumanicus: Édition diplomatique avec fac-similés* (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 2000), 87: “vinum—serap—çager [çağır] *sıra* [šira] bor”; *šira* is from Pers. *šira* (Róna-Tas and Berta, *West Old Turkic*, 739). For East Old Turkic (Common Turkic) *sıra*, see the detailed analysis in Róna-Tas and Berta, *West Old Turkic*, 2:738–740.

95 Räsänen, *Versuch*, 418.

96 Rastorgueva and Édel’man, *Étimologičeskii slovar’*, 3:421–422; Bailey, *Dictionary of Khotan Saka*, 492.

97 Fedotov, *Étimologičeskii slovar’*, 2:30. Interestingly, Čuv. *sära* appears to be a borrowing from Com. Turkic in light of the West Old Turkic form with an initial š-.

Hungarian (see above) attest. It is also found in Kabardinian *sırə* “beer.”⁹⁸ Dybo and Róna-Tas and Berta (who term it a “wandering cultural word of uncertain origin”) note the various suggestions that it is related to or derived from Indo-Aryan (Sanskrit).

Sorma “something sucked in ... wine, beer.”⁹⁹ Middle Qıpçaq *sorma* “bir cins içki, boza.”¹⁰⁰

Suma “the name for ‘sprouted wheat’ which is dried and ground, then made into gruel or bread; also for ‘sprouted barley’ which is used to make the leaven of beer.”¹⁰¹ Its connection¹⁰² with Khotanese Saka *sumam* “powder, cf. *tciña sumam kumbā* yeast powder, flax” is uncertain.

Susun “a drink” noted in the *Codex Cumanicus*¹⁰³ was employed in Çağatay Turkic to denote various milk-based drinks¹⁰⁴ and is still used in the sense of “wine” in Qaraim dialects (*suvsun* “napitok, vino”).¹⁰⁵ It continues in modern Qıpçaq languages (e.g. Noğay [“svezhij kumys”] Başkir dialects, Qazaq, Qaraqalpaq, Qırğız for any thirst-quenching drink). Its etymology is uncertain.¹⁰⁶

98 Shagirov, *Zaimstvovannaia leksika*, 111.

99 Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 852, Zieme, “Alkoholische Getränke,” 441–442 “Weizenbier;” Dybo, *Étimologičeskii slovar’*, 311–312, *sór-* “to suck, to suck in, to imbibe;” Çağbayır, *Ötüken Türkçe Sözlük*, 1:4299 “şarap; bira”; *sormak* “emmek, içine çekmek, suyunu vb. içmek.”

100 Toparlı and Vural and Karaatlı, *Kıpçak Türkçesi Sözlüğü*, 239; *The King’s Dictionary*, 321: Supplement 211 A10 defined in Arabic as *al-jī’a, nabīd al-ša’ir* “beer, barley-beer.”

101 Kāşğarī, *Compendium*, 2:271; Kāşğarī, *Dīvān*, 406, 916; Zieme, “Alkoholische Getränke,” 442; Çağbayır, *Ötüken Türkçe Sözlük*, 4:4353; Üşenmez, *Karahanlı*, 256.

102 Tenishev and Dybo, *Sravnitel’no-istoričeskaia grammatika*, 807; Bailey, *Dictionary of Khotan Saka*, 427.

103 Grønbech, *Komanisches Wörterbuch*, 226: “Getränk”; Drimba, *Codex Cumanicus*, 132, 274, used metaphorically.

104 el-Buhārī, *Luğat-ı Çağatay*, 190: “ayran, çalab, ab-ı duğ ... çal.”

105 *suvsun* “napitok, vino” N.A. Baskakov, A. Zajonchkovskii [Zajczkowski] and S.M. Shapshal [Szapszał], *Karaimsko-russko-pol’skii slovar’* (Moscow: Izdatel’stvo Russkii Īazyk, 1974), 482.

106 Cf. Turk. *suw/suv* < *sub* “water;” *suvsu-/suqsu-/suğsu-* “to thirst;” Mong. *subasu/subsu/ subsaj* “weak brandy, the last of the liquor distilled from airağ;” Lessing, *Mongolian–English Dictionary*, 733, etc.; see discussion in Dybo, *Étimologičeskii slovar’*, 328–329.

Suvsus [سُصُس] “a potable liquid derived from a process of steeping grain and the like,”¹⁰⁷ “what remains of beer after its alcoholic strength has gone out.” It also used to denote watered down, churned milk.¹⁰⁸ It is noted in a text from the Turfan Buddhist fragments: *b[or]l[uğ] suvsus yoq ärsär* “wenn ... keine Weingetränke geben sollte.”¹⁰⁹

Uğut “a leaven used to make beer” made from “various herbs mixed with flour from sprouted barley,” which is then dried, “crumbled and sprinkled over wheat that has been cooked together with barley.” The mixture is “left to ferment for three days,” then “put into a vat” for ten more days of fermentation. “Finally water is poured on top and it is strained,” producing “wheat wine.”¹¹⁰ In Middle Qıpçaq, *uğut* has taken on a somewhat different meaning “wheat boiled with meat, boiled rice, thick rice, soup, mush.”¹¹¹

3 Mead

In his account of the East Roman embassy to Attila in 449, Priskos (d. after 472) reports that in Hun-controlled villages through which they journeyed as they made their way to the Hunnic ruler’s abode, the emissaries were well supplied with food and drink. The latter included μέδος, a rendering of “mead” in some Indo-European language and a barley-based drink “which

107 Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 792, noted in Pre-Çinggisid Uyğur Buddhist texts. E.g., the late tenth-century Old Uyğur translation of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsaottama Sūtra*, the *Altun Yaruq* by Şıŋqo Şeli Tutuŋ (Johan Elverskog, *Uyğur Buddhist Literature*, Silk Road Studies, I. (Turnhout: Brepols, 1997), 65–71) from a Chinese translation of a Sanskrit original, (Ceval Kaya, ed., *Uyğurca Altun Yaruq* (Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu, 1994), 11–14, 129, 215, 251, 312, 313) and the Old Uyğur translation from the Tokharian of the *Maytrisimit*, dated to the post-imperial period (i.e., after 840), probably from the eleventh century (see Elverskog, *Uyğur Buddhist Literature*, 139–145, for the editions and literature on the subject), Şinasi Tekin, ed., *Maytrisimit: Burkancılarnın Mehdäsi Maitreya ile Buluşma Uyğurca İptidai Bir Dram* (Ankara: Sevinç Matbaası, 1976), 130, 135 (*süçig suvsus*).

108 Kāşğarī, *Compendium*, 1:345; Kāşğarī, *Dīvān*, 429; Çağbayır, *Ötüken Türkçe Sözlük*, 4:4365; Üşenmez, *Karahanlı*, 258.

109 Zieme, “Alkoholische Getränke,” 438–439.

110 Kāşğarī, *Compendium*, 1:98; Kāşğarī, *Dīvān*, 88; Tryjarski, *Kultura ludów tureckich*, 123; Üşenmez, *Karahanlı*, 313; Çağbayır, *Ötüken Türkçe Sözlük*, 4:4973, also denoting “baygın, keyif sarhoşu” in Ottoman.

111 Toparlı and Vural and Karaathı, *Kıpçak Türkçesi Sözlüğü*, 29: “keşkek, lapa.”

the barbarians call κάμος.¹¹² Both terms appear to be native to the indigenous population of Pannonia—and probably of Indo-European origin (clearly so in the case of μέδος, see also under *bor* below).¹¹³ Similarly, κάμος (in the accusative form κάμον in the text), a drink derived from barley cannot be koumiss, as some have suggested.¹¹⁴ Interestingly, in Čuvaš *kāmās* denotes “koumiss” (most probably a borrowing from Volga Tatar *qımız*, see above) and *kāmāška* “mold [on beer or kvas].”¹¹⁵ Although we do not have the native Hunnic terms (indeed, the ethno-linguistic affiliations of the European Huns, like those of the Asian Huns/Xiongnu remain a disputed topic), it is evident that mead and grain-based beverages were known to the Inner Asian nomads in the western Eurasian steppes—and very likely elsewhere, but most probably acquired through contact with local agrarian peoples.

Bal “honey, mead.” It is an ancient loanword from Indo-European **medʰu* or **meli*, cf. Lat. *mel*, Greek μέλι.¹¹⁶ Greenberg,¹¹⁷ alongside a Proto-Indo-European **meli* also reconstructs Proto-Altaic **malV* “honey” < **mal* “honey”; cf. also Altaic **male* “honey, plant oil” > PTung. **mala* “sesame oil, plant oil,” PMong. **milağa* “to anoint, smear with oil,” PTurk. **bał* “honey.”¹¹⁸ It appears as *mir*, *mur* “honey”¹¹⁹ in eighth-tenth century Uyğur texts¹²⁰ and probably is a borrowing from Tokharian via Chinese.¹²¹ Kāshgharī, however, knows *bal*, which he notes

112 Blockley, R. C., ed. and trans., *The Fragmentary Classicising Historians of the Later Roman Empire. Eunapius, Olympiodorus, Priscus and Malchus* (Liverpool: Francis Cairns, 1981–1983), 2:260–261.

113 Cf. Proto-Indo-European **medʰu*, Gamkrelidze and Ivanov, *Indo-European*, 2:524, 828–829.

114 See remarks of Otto J. Maenchen-Helfen, *The World of the Huns*, ed. M. Knight (Berkeley-Los Angeles-London: University of California Press, 1973), 424–425 and Gerhard Doerfer, “Zur Sprache der Hunnen,” *Central Asiatic Journal* 17, no. 1 (1973): 15–18, who was inclined toward a Slavic source for the latter term.

115 Andreev, *Chuvashsko-russkii slovar'*, 149.

116 Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 330; Sevorijan, *Étimologicheskii slovar'*, 47; Michiel de Vaan, *Etymological Dictionary of Latin and the other Italic Languages* (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2008), 370; Robert S.P. Beekes, *Etymological Dictionary of Greek*, 2 vols. (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2010), 2:925–926.

117 Joseph H. Greenberg, *Indo-European and its Closest Relatives: The Eurasiatic Language Family*, 2 vols. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000–2002), 2:97.

118 Starostin and Dybo and Mudrak, *Etymological Dictionary*, 2:897–898.

119 Nadeliaev et al., *Drevnetürkskii slovar'*, 345, 346; Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 771.

120 Cf. Kaya, *Uyğurca Altun Yaruk*, 266, 315, in connection with medicines.

121 See Gamkrelidze and Ivanov, *Indo-European*, 1:828; Edwin G. Pulleyblank, “Why Tocharians?” *The Journal of Indo-European Studies* 23, no. 3–4 (1995): 427; *mi* 密 (Schuessler, *Minimal Old Chinese*, 304 [29–41], Old Chin. *mrit*, Late Han *mit*).

as a dialect term in “Suvârîn, Qifčâq and Oğuz,” only in the sense of “honey,” not “mead.” Interestingly, he adds that the “Turks” (here he means the Qarakhanids and constituent groups, who spoke southeastern Türkî) say *arı yağı* “bee butter.”¹²² Thus, it would appear that *bal* was used in Oğuric (“Suvârîn,” i.e., *Sawar*) and was spreading eastward in his day. The eastern Turkic peoples, having forgotten *mir/mur*, created a new and somewhat awkward term for it (*arı yağı*). Attested in William of Rubruck’s account (see above), *bal*, notwithstanding the possible *Altaic root noted above, most probably entered Mongolian of the Chinggisid era from Turkic. Honey could only have become known to the Turkic nomads from forest-peoples and settled farming populations that practiced apiculture. It was probably first heard by European travelers to the Mongol court from their Qıpçaq-speaking escorts. Qıpçaq was a lingua franca of the Mongol Empire, in particular in the Dašt-i Qifčâq zone.¹²³ In Middle Qıpçaq *bal*¹²⁴ is found only in the sense of “honey.”

4 Wines

Wines and winemaking were clearly non-Turkic in origin, and most of the terms associated with viticulture indicate this. *Bağ*, a word for “vineyard” attested in eighth-century and later Uyğur texts, was borrowed from Pers. *bāğ* “garden” (*bağın borluqın*, see below).¹²⁵ *Banzı* denoted the “remains of the vine on the trellis after the grapes have been plucked,” and is only found in the Känčäk dialect, probably reflecting a local Saka Iranian term.¹²⁶ *Büşinčäk* “a cluster of grapes” also stems from Känčäkî.¹²⁷ Clauson derived *üzüm* “grape” (< “a single act of plucking”) from *üz-* “to tear [something], to pull [it] apart or to pieces,” later “to pluck.”¹²⁸ Starostin, Dybo and Mudrak posit for “grape” an Altaic **núri*: PTung. **nure* “wine,” PMong. *nüre* “bilberry,” PTurk. **jürüm*

122 Kāšyarī, *Compendium*, 2:228; Kāšğarī, *Dīvān*, 856.

123 Peter Benjamin Golden, “The *Codex Cumanicus*,” in *Central Asian Monuments*, ed. Hasan Bülent Paksoy (Istanbul: Isis Press, 1992), 36–37.

124 Toparlı and Vural and Karaatlı, *Kıpçak Türkçesi Sözlüğü*, 22–23.

125 Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 311. Cf. Tekin, *Maytrisimit*, 129: *bağın borluqın*, see below.

126 Kāšyarī, *Compendium*, 1:320; Kāšğarī, *Dīvān*, 397; Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 352.

127 Kāšyarī, *Compendium*, 1:375; Kāšğarī, *Dīvān*, 467; Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 383; Tremblay, “Kanjakī and Kāšyarian Sakan,” 71.

128 Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 288, 279–280.

“grape” > OTurk. *üzüm*.¹²⁹ Others are silent with regard to an etymology, native or otherwise.¹³⁰

Uyğur civil documents mention *quruğ üzüm suvı* “a decoction of dried grapes.”¹³¹ *Mašič* in *mašič üzüm* “black grapes” would also appear to be a loanword.¹³² *Tarqa~talqa* denoted “sour grapes.”¹³³ Clauson viewed it as a loanword from an Indo-European language, noting Pers. *talx* “bitter.”¹³⁴ *Sıqman* denoted “grape pressing season. In the autumn.”¹³⁵ Clearly, by the Qaraxanid era, which brought Turkic rule even more directly to ancient, Iranian-speaking settled centers of Central Asia, a complex vocabulary had developed regarding viticulture.

The Khazar Qaghanate appears to have had areas given over to viticulture near the Khazar capital of Ätil/Atıl on the lower Volga, on the lower Don and in various sites in the North Caucasus, as part of a larger agricultural belt surrounding the capital and other urban settlements.¹³⁶ Whether the Khazars themselves worked these fields and vineyards (which were irrigated by river water), as might be implied from the letter of the Khazar king, Joseph, written ca. 960,¹³⁷ or subject peoples tended them, is unclear. There is evidence that agricultural and viticultural zones existed in the capital around the Qaghanal residence.¹³⁸ However, as Noonan points out, most wine was imported from

129 Starostin and Dybo and Mudrak, *Etymological Dictionary of the Altaic Languages*, 2:1000; Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 288.

130 Räsänen, *Versuch*, 214; Sevortian, *Étimologičeskii slovar’*, 625. Čuv. *išëm*, *išem*, *yěšëm* et al. “grape(s), vine” (Fedotov, *Étimologičeskii slovar’*, 1, 173) were probably borrowed from neighboring Com. Turkic languages (cf. Tat. *yözem*). However, *išëm širli* “grape” would appear to point to another lexical tradition: *širli* < *šidläg*, cf. Mod. Čuv. *širla* “berry” (Fedotov, *Étimologičeskii slovar’*, 11, 156–157, whose etymology Fedotov considers unclear, but notes Hung. *szőlő*; on the latter, however, see below).

131 Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 288.

132 Kāšğarī, *Compendium*, 1:279; Kāšğarī, *Dīvān*, 343; Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 772.

133 Kāšğarī, *Compendium*, 1:323; Kāšğarī, *Dīvān*, 2005, 400, 401.

134 Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 539; Steingass, *A Comprehensive*, 321; Tenishev and Dybo, *Sravnitel’no-istoričeskaia grammatika*, 796.

135 Kāšğarī, *Compendium*, 1:334, Kāšğarī, *Dīvān*, 415. Clauson derived it from Turk. *sq-* “to squeeze, press.” Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 804, 811.

136 V.K. Mikheev, *Podon’e v sostave Khazarского kaganata* (Khar’kov: Vyshcha Shkola, 1985), 42–43; Thomas S. Noonan, “The Khazar Economy,” *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* 9 (1995–1997): 267–268.

137 P.K. Kokovtsov, *Evrejsko-khazaraskaia perepiska v X veke* (Leningrad: Izdatel’stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1932), [Heb. Text] 25, 32–33, [Russ. trans.] 85–87, 102–103.

138 Thomas S. Noonan, “Some Observations on the Economy of the Khazar Khaghanate,” in *The World of the Khazars*, ed. Peter Benjamin Golden, Haggai Ben-Shammai, and András Róna-Tas (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 214–215.

the northern Black Sea region.¹³⁹ An amphora from the Maïaki region (one of the cultural centers of the Khazar realm), dating to the eighth-ninth century, bears an inscription, in a form of the Kubañ variant of the Turkic runic writing system, which contains the term *ačič bor* (lit. “bitter wine”) or perhaps *ačiq bor* “open, clear wine”¹⁴⁰ rendered as “dry white wine.”¹⁴¹ Vocabulary associated with fermentation is in evidence in Kāshgharī: *ol čağır čiwšattu* “the man (or other) let the juice ferment,” *čağır čiwšadı* “the juice fermented and threw up a foam.”¹⁴²

Bor “wine,” long considered a loanword in Turkic from Middle Iranian *bôr*,¹⁴³ recorded in eighth century as well as in post-imperial century Uyğur documents,¹⁴⁴ and also recorded in Middle Qıpçaq.¹⁴⁵ Deriving from this are *borči* “wine merchant (grower?),” “wine imbiber,” “wine tax collector,”¹⁴⁶ *borluq* “vineyard,” “vinogradnik,” “meyve bahçesi,” *borluqçı* “vine grower, vine cultivator,” “vinogradar,” “bağçılı, bahçivan” etc.¹⁴⁷ Bailey proffered a source for Turkic *bor* in Eastern Iranian¹⁴⁸: **madu* “intoxicant,” **mōδ* > Sogd. *mwōy*, *mwōw* “wine.”¹⁴⁹ This most probably involves the widespread *Wanderwort* for “honey,

139 Noonan, “The Khazar Economy,” 268. See also Mikheev, *Podon'e v sostave Khazarskogo kaganata*, 43.

140 Cf. *ačič*, *ačuq*, Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 21–22.

141 S.G. Kliashornyi, “Khazarskaia nadpis' na amfore s gorodishcha Maïaki,” *Sovetskaia Arkheologiia* 1 (1979): 270–275; I.L. Kyzlasov, *Runicheskie pis'mennosti Evraziiskikh stepei* (Moscow: Vostochnaia Literatura RAN, 1994), 27–29.

142 Kāshgharī, *Compendium*, 2:131, 297; Kāshgharī, *Dīvān*, 719, 956: *ol čağır čiwšattu* [جُشْتِي], *čağır čiwšadı* [چَشْتِي].

143 Middle Pers. *bôr* “reddish-brown,” Sogd. *Bwr* “blond” etc. (< **baura-* “dark-brown, bay,” often used for horse colors; Rastorgueva and Édel'man, *Étimologičeskii slovar'*, 2:151–153. Here, it may refer to the color of the wine (see below).

144 Zieme, “Alkoholische Getränke,” 436–439; Tekin, *Maytrisimit*, 97, 180 (*bor bāgni* “şarap ve bira”); L. Ju., Tugusheva, ed., *Uğurskie delovye dokumenty x–xiv vv. Iz Vostochnogo Turkestana* (Moscow: Nauka-Vostochnaia literatura, 2013), 22; Räsänen, *Versuch*, 80; Clauson, *Étimologičeskii slovar'*, 354; Nadeliaev et al., *Drevnetürskii slovar'* 112–113; Tenishev and Dybo, *Sravnitel'no-istoričeskaia grammatika*, 797; Çağbayır, *Ötüken Türkçe Sözlük*, 1:651.

145 Toparlı and Vural and Karaath, *Kıpçak Türkçesi Sözlüğü*, 34: “şarap, içki.”

146 Yusuf Has Hacip, *Kutadgu Bilig*, 102, 226; Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 357; Zieme, “Alkoholische Getränke,” 438; Çağbayır, *Ötüken Türkçe Sözlük*, 1:653 [“bahçivan, üzüm vergisi toplanan memur, içki içen, içkiye düşkün”], Üşenmez, *Karahanlı*, 57.

147 Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 365, 366; Zieme, “Alkoholische Getränke,” 436; Tekin, *Maytrisimit*, 129; Tugusheva, *Uğurskie delovye dokumenty*, 17, 47 et passim; Çağbayır, *Ötüken Türkçe Sözlük*, 1:654.

148 Bailey, *Dictionary of Khotan Saka*, 320, 340, under *mau* “intoxicant drink.”

149 B. Gharib, *Sogdian Dictionary* (Tehran: Farhang, 1995), 210, 220.

mead” (Proto-Indo-European **med^hu* see *mead* above) found across Eurasia and thence into China (see above).¹⁵⁰ However, a derivation from **mōδ* would require, in addition to the well-attested *m ~ b* alternation in Turkic, the *δ > z > r* shift, which only took place in West Old Turkic after the tenth century (see above). Nadeljaev et al. suggests Pers. *bār*, without further explanation,¹⁵¹ but *bār* is unlikely.¹⁵² Thus, the posited Middle Iranian term has been elusive. A derivation from Greek βότρυς “grape wine” has been noted,¹⁵³ but βότρυς actually refers rather to a “bunch of grapes.”¹⁵⁴ In their discussion of Hung. *bor* “wine,” a loanword from West Old Turkic/Oğuric *bor*, Róna-Tas and Berta, having reviewed all the evidence, offer a more plausible explanation, suggesting (following Róna-Tas’s earlier work on this subject) that Turk. *bor* stems from Pers. *bor* “dark red, the colour of wine,” i.e., “red wine” (see above).¹⁵⁵ The term was certainly well established before the Qarakhanid era. Kāshgharī even notes the proverb: *bor bolmađıp sirkä bolma* “do not become vinegar before you have become wine.’ This is coined about a young boy who acts like an old man.”¹⁵⁶

Çağır “wine,” its original meaning may have been “unfermented grape juice,”¹⁵⁷ cf. *čivšān* [چیشانك] *çağır* “sour juice.”¹⁵⁸ Modern Turkish (including dialects) has: *çağır*, *çahur*, *çakır* “içki, şarap.”¹⁵⁹ The word was borrowed into Hungarian as *csiger* “a wine of low quality, a fruit wine” (< West Old Turkic/Oğuric *čığır* (?**çagır*)/East Old Turkic *çağır*). The *Rasūlid Hexaglot* notes Turkic *çağır* (“wine”) and *susız çağır* (“waterless wine”) for Arabic *al-şirf* (“unmixed

150 The IE word entered Finno-Ugric (see Gamkrelidze and Ivanov, *Indo-European*, 829–830), e.g. Finnish *mesi*, Komi-Zyrian (Vyčega dialect) *ma*, Udmurt/Votyak (Sarapul dialect) *mu*, Mari/Čeremis (Kozmodemjansk dialect) *mü*, Mordvin *méd*, *mäd*, Hung. *méz* < Finno-Ugric **mete* (L. Benkő, ed., *A Magyar nyelv történeti-etimológiai szótára* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1967–1976), 11, 911–12) and **meke* > Khanti/Ostyak *máx*, *mág*, *maŋ*. Ligeti (Ligeti, *A magyar nyelv*, 150) considered it an early loanword from Iranian.

151 Nadeljaev et al., *Drevnetürskü slovar*, 112.

152 Cf. Steingass, *A Comprehensive*, 14, *bār* “rice or any other grain from which beer is made.”

153 Cf. *The Secret History of the Mongols*, 2:1034.

154 Henry George Liddell and Robert Scott, *A Greek–English Lexicon*, revised 9th edition by Henry Stuart Jones et al. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 323; Beekes, *Etymological Dictionary*, 1:228.

155 Róna-Tas and Berta, *West Old Turkic*, 1:147–148.

156 Kāšgharī, *Compendium*, 2:208; Kāšgharī, *Dīvān*, 830–831.

157 Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 409; Räsänen, *Versuch*, 96, who offers no etymology; Ligeti, *A magyar nyelv*, 235; Tryjarski, *Kultura ludów tureckich*, 123; Kāšgharī, *Compendium*, 1, 280 [“juice”, “wine”]; Kāšgharī, *Dīvān*, 345).

158 Kāšgharī, *Compendium*, 2:347; Kāšgharī, *Dīvān*, 1029.

159 Tietze, *Tarihi ve Etimolojik*, 1:463; Çağbayır, *Ötüken Türkçe Sözlük*, 1:852, 856, 860.

[wine]).¹⁶⁰ Of similar origin is Russ. *čixir*’, “a strong (red) wine”, as discussed in detail in Róna-Tas and Berta.¹⁶¹ It is also found in Kabardinian *šaġur* and Abaza *čaġur* “wine.”¹⁶²

**ĵegleg*, “wine,” cf. Hung. *szőlő* “grape, wine grape” < **selley* < **seley* < **šeley*, a loanword from West Old Turkic **čeleg* < *jeleg* < *jegleg*, East Old Turkic **yelek* > **yeglek* < *ye-* “to eat.” Róna-Tas and Berta convincingly disassociate Čuv. *širla* “beer” from Hung. *szőlő*, with which some scholars have attempted to connect it.¹⁶³ The Hungarian term points to an Old Turkic term for “grape” and “grape wine”, perhaps limited in this semantic sense only to West Old Turkic.¹⁶⁴

Süčig, *süčüg* “sweet, a sweet substance, e.g., wine.” In Kāshgharī’s time, the Turkic dialects of the Ili River—Yağma, Tuxsi and Čigil—called “wine” *qızıl süčig*¹⁶⁵ < Turk. *süje-*, *süjü*, *süči-* “to become sweet, to become tasty” etc.¹⁶⁶ The mid-fourteenth-century *Rasûlid Hexaglot* has a velar form: *šučl*.¹⁶⁷ It has been suggested that *süčig* developed from **sütsig* < **süt-si-*, **süt-sü-* < *süt* “milk” on a parallel with Persian *šîrîn* “sweet” < *šîr* “milk.”¹⁶⁸ Cf. also *bišġ süčüg* “mulled wine.”¹⁶⁹

Mandu, strictly speaking, is a form of “Turkic vinegar” made from fermented grapes “kept in an earthen jar” into which wine is mixed and “the mixture is left overnight to mature.”¹⁷⁰

160 *The King’s Dictionary: the Rasûlid Hexaglot*, 296: 205B 16, 17. Interestingly, the Mongol equivalents that are noted are *bor* (< Turk.) and *usun ügei bor*.

161 Fasmer (Vasmer), *Étimologičeskü slovar’*, 4:368; Róna-Tas and Berta, *West Old Turkic*, 1:242–246.

162 Shagirov, *Zaimstvovannaia leksika*, 111.

163 Róna-Tas and Berta, *West Old Turkic*, 2:818–822.

164 See also Ligeti, *A magyar nyelv*, 293–294.

165 Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 796–797; Räsänen, *Versuch*, 434; Zieme, “Alkoholische Getränke,” 438–439 [“süßer Wein, Most (?)”], Çağbayır, *Ötüken Türkçe Sözlük*, 4:4368 [*süčig*, *süčik*], Kāšġarī, *Compendium*, 1:310; Kāšġarī, *Dīvān*, 353; Tryjarski, *Kultura ludów tureckich*, 123; Tugusheva, *Uigurskie delovye dokumenty*, 53, 55, 61, 74 “vinogradnoe vino.”

166 Dybo, *Étimologičeskü slovar’*, 345; Çağbayır, *Ötüken Türkçe Sözlük*, 4:4368.

167 *The King’s Dictionary: the Rasûlid Hexaglot*, 193 (With typographical error in the printed version: *صوحي قوجي* for *قوجي*), 194A 16.

168 Dybo, *Étimologičeskü slovar’*, 345.

169 Kāšġarī, *Compendium*, 1:286, 310; Kāšġarī, *Dīvān*, 353, 384.

170 Kāšġarī, *Compendium*, 1:211; Kāšġarī, *Dīvān*, 395; Çağbayır, *Ötüken Türkçe Sözlük*, 3:3047; Tryjarski, *Kultura ludów tureckich*, 124.

5 Implements Associated with Wine

Badič “vine trellis” < Pers. *wāyij*.¹⁷¹ The wood used for making this was termed *badičluq* (or *badičluq*) *ağaç*.¹⁷²

Bart “a measuring vessel for wine, a measuring cup of any liquid.” In Oğuz “a jug for drinking water,” *bart kiçig bolsa aḡut bādük ur* “when the wine measure is small, put in a big funnel’. This is coined to advise someone to pretend to people that a small matter is big.”¹⁷³ Old Anatolian Turkish has *bartaq* “pitcher, earthenware jug” [testi]¹⁷⁴ > Osm. *bardaq* “a drinking cup or mug, with a handle, and sometimes with a cover and saucer,” recorded also in Middle Qıpçaq.¹⁷⁵

Tapčan “a three-legged [stool] shaped like a tray which the vineyard keeper mounts when picking grapes in order to reach the brunches” (*tapčan* in the Känčäk dialect).¹⁷⁶

Tim “a wineskin that is full of wine,” *timči* “wine dealer” or “wine merchant.”¹⁷⁷ The suggestion by Clauson, repeated by Tenishev and Dybo, of a Chinese provenance: *dian* 店 “shop, inn, tavern,”¹⁷⁸ Early Middle Chin. **tem^h*, Late Middle Chin. **tiam* ` is semantically a stretch.¹⁷⁹

171 Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 301, 311; Steingass, *A Comprehensive*, 1454; Kāšyārī, *Compendium*, 1:372, Kāšğarī, *Dīvān*, 292; Tenishev and Dybo, *Sravnitel’no-istoričeskaia grammatika*, 797–798.

172 Kāšyārī, *Compendium*, 1:242; Kāšğarī, *Dīvān*, 464; Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 300; Üşenmez, *Karahanlı*, 38.

173 Kāšyārī, *Compendium*, 1:126, 269; Kāšğarī, *Dīvān*, 330, Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 358, Çağbayır, *Ötüken Türkçe Sözlük*, 1:472; Üşenmez, *Karahanlı*, 42.

174 Çağbayır, *Ötüken Türkçe Sözlük*, 1:472; Mehmet Kanar, *Eski Anadolu Türkçesi Sözlüğü* (Ankara: Say, 2011), 93.

175 Sevortjan, *Étimologičeskii slovar’*, 64–65; Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*, 319; Tietze, *Tarihi ve Etimolojik*, 1:280; Toparlı and Vural and Karaatlı, *Kıpçak Türkçesi Sözlüğü*, 24.

176 Kāšyārī, *Compendium*, 1:328, 2:347; Kāšğarī, *Dīvān*, 408, 1028, Çağbayır, *Ötüken Türkçe Sözlük*, 4:4589, Tremblay, “Kanjakī and Kāšyarian Sakan,” 73–74; Üşenmez, *Karahanlı*, 271.

177 Kāšyārī, *Compendium*, 2:217; Kāšğarī, *Dīvān*, 841, Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 503; Üşenmez, *Karahanlı*, 290; Tenishev and Dybo, *Sravnitel’no-istoričeskaia grammatika*, 807, perhaps from Khotanese Saka *ttanä* “skin” (Bailey, *Dictionary of Khotan Saka*, 122).

178 Oshanin, *Bol’shoi kitaisko-russkii slovar’*, 11, 482 [2099], cf. Pers. *tīm* “large caravanserai, marketplace,” Steingass, *A Comprehensive*, 343.

179 Edwin G. Pulleyblank, *Lexicon of Reconstructed Pronunciation in Early Middle Chinese, Late Middle Chinese, and Early Mandarin* (Vancouver, B.C.: University of British Columbia Press, 1991), 78.

6 Animals

Animal flesh provided another source of fermented beverages. According to the *Youyang zazu* by Duan Chengshi (803–868), which deals with wines, among other topics, the Khazars prepared a drink from the meat of tigers and deer by pressing the juice out of it with stones and then adding “rice and grass seeds imported from Persia and Byzantium.” This was then “brewed for some days” producing “an intoxicating liquor.”¹⁸⁰ Regrettably, the Khazar name for this multi-sourced concoction is not recorded.

7 Intoxication

As a consequence of overindulgence in the beverages noted above, one could “become intoxicated” and “get (fighting) drunk”: *aḥsumla*-,¹⁸¹ *aqsun*, *aḥsum*, *aḥsun*, *aḥsun* “fierce, truculent, infuriated, violent, turbulent” *aqsumla*-, *aḥsumla*- “to brawl, make a row”,¹⁸² cf. also *esrük* “drunk, intoxicated, drunkenness” < *esür*- “to be, or become drunk, intoxicated.”¹⁸³ Revelers in the Kashgar region might end their evening at a *šanbuy* (recorded only in the Känčäk dialect), the “name for a feast given at night for drinkers coming from another party.”¹⁸⁴ Clauson suggested that it is a metathesized form from Pers. **šabnūy*, unattested, but cf. *šabnišūn* “evening session.”¹⁸⁵ Tremblay emends it to **šbbwy* = **šaββô*“i < **šava-bâhi*; cf. Oset. Iron, *xsævîwat*, Oset. Digor *æxsævewat* “night’s lodging.”¹⁸⁶ This is a local, Känčäkī term that does not appear to have spread in Turkic beyond that region.

In the Pre-Chinggisid era, the Turkic palate for intoxicating beverages was greatly expanded by contact with the grain-producing sedentary world.

180 Ying Lin, “Some Chinese Sources on the Khazars and Khwarazm,” *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* 11 (2000–2001): 359.

181 Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 95–96, following Yusuf Has Hacip, *Kutadgu Bilig*, 460.

182 Nadeliaev et al. *Drevnetürkskii slovar'*, 49, 71.

183 Severtian, *Étimologičeskii slovar'*, 309–310; Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 250–251. Starostin and Dybo and Mudrak, *Etymological Dictionary*, 1:522: Altaic **eso* “unripe, sour” > PMong. **es*- “to pickle, sour milk, kumis,” PTurk. *esür*- “to become drunk” seems improbable.

184 Kāšgarī, *Compendium*, 11, 274; Kāšgarī, *Dīvān*, 921.

185 Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary*, 868.

186 Tremblay, “Kanjakī and Kāšgarīan Sakan,” 73.

Not surprisingly, the Turkic terminology for grain-based drinks shows considerable foreign influence. Turkic nomads practiced some agriculture and it is not unlikely that some drinks were “home-grown.” However, many others have non-Turkic names pointing to their origins outside of the Turko-nomadic world. Alcoholic beverages produced from animal flesh, on the other hand, is a topic that merits further scholarly attention.

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Abbreviations

IE	Indo-European
Mod. Turk.	Modern Turkish
Pers.	Persian
PIran.	Proto-Iranian
PMong.	Proto-Mongolic
PTung.	Proto-Tungusic
PTurk.	Proto-Turkic

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The Inauspicious Rectangular in Iranian Scribal Practice

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The present chapter analyzes and traces the development of a scribal practice in documents from Iran in the Islamic period. Scholars working directly with historical documents have often noted that some documents have their right bottom corner cut off. In the following, I outline the antecedents of this practice, find out about its origins and flash out its development in Iran. Cutting off the bottom right corner of a document or creating a small inclination in its corner in order to distort its square shape and repel the ill luck associated with astronomical quadrature is an ancient custom in Islamic-period documents from Iran. Based on specimens from the pre-Şafavid, Şafavid and Qajar periods, I have distinguished four types of distorting the rectangular shape of documents: tearing, cutting, indicating a cut by drawing the ruler as a slant, and folding the bottom corner of the paper. For the pre-Şafavid period, I have analyzed documents from the collection of the Shaykh Şafi al-Din Ardabili shrine in Ardabil, while for the Şafavid and Qajar periods, I have relied on several published document collections. For earlier periods, I have studied chancery prose manuals, correspondence, and poetry, but this belief is also present in contemporary popular lore. The reason for the phenomenon of damaging the square shape of the paper is in most cases the belief about the evil nature of the square shape, which in Islamic-period sources is related to astrological qualities.

1 Antecedents and Development

The first modern scholar to draw attention to this phenomenon was Heribert Busse in his work on Şafavid edicts. Based on references in the Huguenot traveler Jean Chardin's (1643–1713) account, Busse interprets the practice as a sign of superstition and as the intention to indicate that mundane phenomena are imperfect. Busse says that “in most edicts, the bottom right corner is cut off. The cut-off piece is in the shape of a triangle with unequal sides, the shorter

side of which follows the width of the leaf of the document. Chardin derives this from a superstitious belief. The practice turns a four-corner letter into a five-corner one to demonstrate that mundane affairs are imperfect. We cannot add anything to this interpretation.¹

First, I will analyze documents from the pre-Şafavid, Şafavid and Qajar eras. As published sources from before the Şafavid period relevant for our discussion are scarce, I have randomly chosen a hundred documents from the collection of the Shaykh Şafi al-Din Ardabilî Shrine in Ardabil, a unique collection today housed in the Islamic section of the National Museum of Iran. Over eighty percent of them contain a hiatus in the bottom right corner of the paper or a slanting cut in the bottom (figures 1–4). The following general points stand out:

1. In many cases, a small corner was nipped off from the document with the fingers, producing an irregular edge in the bottom right of the paper.
2. Part of the rupture and tear is taken from the bottom of the document and not from the right.
3. Sometimes the entire bottom edge of the document is cut off in a diagonal line.

Although there is a large number of specimens remaining from the Şafavid period, as almost all the documents from this time bear this intentional defect, I have limited myself to presenting merely four examples, illustrated by images.² The defects in the documents of the period fall into four groups, based on their shape (figures 5–7):

1. The paper is clipped off in an orderly, official fashion with a knife or scissors.
2. Unlike pre-Şafavid documents, most of the cuts are on the right-hand margin of the page.
3. While documents became physically shorter after the Ilkhanid period, a new type of cut appeared in the shape of a hardly visible bow or the

1 Heribert Busse, *Untersuchungen zum islamischen Kanzleiwesen: An Hand Turkmenischer und Safawidischer Urkunden* (Kairo: Kommissionsverlag Sirović Bookshop, 1959), 28. The problem is also mentioned in Hāshim Rajabzāda's article about prognostication and epistolary, which merely presents a handful of instances without an analysis (Hāshim Rajabzāda, "Tafa'ul va tarassul," *Nāma-i farhangistān*, 1375 (tābistān), no. 6, 72–81).

2 Ḥasan Shahrīstānī, *Jivahā-yi hunar-i irānī dar asnād-i millī* (Tih-rān: Sāzmān-i Asnād-i Millī, 1381/2002); Sayyid Ja'far Ḥusaynī-Ashkivarī, *Majmū'a-yi asnād-i kitābkhāna-yi Mīrzā Muḥammad Kāzīmī (Yazd)*, daftar-i avval (Qum: Majma'ī Zakhāyir-i Islāmī, 1383/2004); *Qibālahā-yi izdivāj dar sada-yi 13 va 14: Kātālūg-i nimāyishgāh* (Tih-rān: Mūza-yi Nigāristān, 2535/1976); see also: <http://www.asnad.org/en/>.

point of an arrow on the right hand-side from the top of the page to the bottom. (figure 9)

4. Sometimes a cut appears on the top-left corner of the document, while at the same time there is also a cut in the bottom right (figure 12).
5. In this period, documents start to have rulers and illumination. In many of the samples studied here the line of the ruler passes through the cut on the margin, highlighting the cut.

For an analysis of the Qajar era, I have selected three documents. A great number of the existing documents can be grouped as follows (figures 8–11):

1. The cut common to Şafavid documents and earlier ones (especially documents issued by chanceries) occurs less frequently.
2. The “invisible” cut, which features in some Şafavid-period documents disappears completely. I.e., the top and bottom right side of the document is intended in the shape of an arrow usually on the right, sometimes on the left.
3. Aside from the continuation of the custom of the cut in documents, which in this period can be seen mainly in court documents, especially in contracts a new type emerges in abundance. While in Şafavid-period documents sometimes the ruler on the sides of the document passed through the edge of the cut, in the Qajar era, in addition to the continuation of the previous custom, cuts to the page expressing anxiety about ill-luck gave way to slants in the ruler on the margin of the document. At the same time, the bottom-right corner of the document is drawn in a slant, and the line on the right moves inward from top to bottom (figure 8).
4. In addition to the aforesaid types, we can also see that the line of the left side of the document is drawn in a slant, i.e., in these documents, the ruler in both the bottom-right and the top-left corners slants.

2 Textual Evidence for the Custom and Its Reasons

The existence of this belief can be confirmed by an analysis of sources, especially books on epistolary, diplomatics, and some poetry. In what follows, I will arrange them chronologically.

The aforesaid quote from Chardin’s eighteenth-century travelogue is as follows: “The Persians have three superstitious practices with regard to their letters, for which they can give no reason or at least not a good one. The first is that they always cut off the right corner of the page with scissors in such a way as the paper does not have a square shape anymore, for it has not four but

five corners. They say they render the leaf, which has a regular shape, being a square, into an irregular shape, in order to bear witness that all our affairs and actions are marked by imperfection and defect and are therefore transitory.”³

Actually, this passage in Chardin is taken from or inspired by Raphaël du Mans, who writes as follows in his *Estat de la Perse en 1660*:

then with this paper being made like a parallelogram, they cut one of the angles of the paper in the bottom right, rendering it an irregular trap-ezoid (*monharref*). Their reason is that the rectangle is a perfect figure, and since perfect things are not in our competence, we should not try to handle them as if they were in our competence. I believe it is to avoid the triangle figure (*mouselles*), which they consider *bed youmine* (bad omen), because in this diagonally pulled *mustetil* (rectangle), *kohezéd*, form two equal triangles, *mousaoi*. The fear of the triangle, especially when placed in a circle as an equilateral triangle with its three corners touching the circumference of a circle, *dairé*, which precedes that of the Christians, *aissai*, explains analogically the three divine personas, essence, generation and spirit; and by way of this symbol, the trinity, *teslis*, is not at all incompatible with Unity, *touhid*.⁴

Chardin and du Mans’s passages yield the following common points:

1. Cutting with scissors;
2. Deforming the rectangular or square;
3. The deformation of the shape of the document as an allusion to the imperfection of mundane matters;
4. Reference to the concept of the *perfect form*, and man’s inability to reach it;
5. The idea that the perfect rectangular is made up of two triangles;
6. the evilness of the trinity.

Shams al-Dīn ‘Āmilī, the author of the *Nafā’is al-funūn* written in 735–42/1334–41 also confirms this when he writes: “The letter should not have a square shape, for the quadrangle is the evil eye and resembles a coffin.”⁵

This gives us the following points:

1. A clear reference to the quartile aspect (*naẓar-i tarbī*), an astrological term indicating the evil eye.
2. Reference to similarity to a litter (*naʿsh*) as another reason for the practice.

3 John Chardin, *Voyages du Chevalier Chardin en Perse*, ed. L. Langlès (Paris: Le Normant, Imprimeur-Libraire, 1811), 2:293.

4 Raphaël du Mans, *Estat de la Perse en 1660*, ed. Ch. Shefer (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1890), 130.

5 Shams al-Dīn ‘Āmilī, *Nafā’is al-funūn* (Tehran, 1309), 67.

The aforesaid coffin, *na'sh*, can be connected to two things:

- 1) Astrologically, the evil eye is associated with the quadrature of the Great Bear (*banāt al-na'sh*), which is an allegory in Persian literature for disturbance, perturbation.
- 2) *Na'sh* can also refer to a coffin, as is put by Niẓāmī:

He sat down in the corner and made food,
Until the *rectangular* (*chahār gūsha*) reached him.⁶

This might remind us of the legal term *tarbī-i-janāza* (“the four of the coffin,” i.e., carrying the coffin from four sides).

Hindūshāh Nakhjavānī writes as follows in his *Dastūr al-kātib*:

After the letter is completed, he cuts off (*qaṭ' kunad*) a piece from the end of the document on the right, so that it does not have a square shape.⁷

This quote brings forth three additional points:

- 1) The cutting of the corner takes place *after* the completion of the letter;
- 2) It is the bottom-right corner that is cut off;
- 3) Use of the term cut off (*qaṭ' kunad*).

Another reference from the same period can be found in the *Laṭā'if al-inshā* by Nasafī:

When he finishes writing, he should tear a little from the right side of the end of the letter, so as to destroy its square shape.

This is accompanied by a comment in Arabic on the margin: “No good comes from a rectangle.”⁸

This gives us the following points:

1. The purpose of cutting off the corner is to damage the rectangular shape of the letter;
2. Use of the verb *pāra kardan* “tear”;
3. It is the bottom right side of the document that needs to be cut;
4. This should be done after the completion of the letter.

6 Niẓāmī Ganjavī, *Kulliyāt-i Niẓāmī: Laylā va Majnūn*, ed. Vahīd Dastgirdī (Tehran: ‘Ilmī, 1309/1930), 150.

7 Hindūshāh Nakhjavānī, *Dastūr al-kātib fī ta’yīn al-marātib*, ed. ‘. ‘. ‘Alizāda (Moscow: Nauk, 1964), 1/84.

8 Naṣrullāh b. ‘Alā [al-Dīn] al-Bannā Nasafī, *Laṭā'if al-inshā*, ms, Kitābkhāna-yi Majlis-i Shūrā-yi Islāmī, no. 4719, f. 24.

Sīmī Nīshābūrī in his *Jawhariyya* writes as follows, likely in the eighth/fourteenth century:

Similar to how they do it with every letter, they should cut off a piece from the right in order to deprive the letter of its rectangular shape, for scholars agree that the rectangular form is ill-omened.

Aside from using the phrase *deprive the letter of its rectangular shape* (lit. “bringing the letter out of its rectangular shape,” *bīrūn āvardan-i maktūb az shakl-i murabbā’*), Nīshābūrī’s passage confirms that this process applies to the right (not necessarily the bottom right) corner of every letter, and that there is scholarly consensus over the inauspiciousness of the rectangle.

The oldest literary source about the subject with a clear opinion is the *Dastūr-i dabīrī* by Mayhanī from the sixth/twelfth century:

When he is about to fold up the letter, he should cut a little off the bottom corners in order to disfigure (lit. *bāṭil shavad* “become void”) the rectangular shape (of the letter), for the rectangular shape is ill-omened.⁹

The import of this is the following:

1. The reason for cutting the corner of the letter is that the rectangular shape is evil;
2. Use of the expression *bāṭil shavad* “is rendered void”;
3. The cut is administered to the bottom of the letter without specifying whether it is the left or the right;
4. This should take place when the letter is folded up;
5. Use of the verb *andākhtan* “throw” with the meaning “cut, tear.”

The first reference to rectangular paper can be found in Abū Rayḥān Bīrūnī (d. after 1050), who talks about a talisman used in his time to scare away venomous snakes:

They write this on a *rectangular paper* (*emphasis mine*, E.Sh.) and stick it on three places on the walls of the house: In the name of God the Merciful and Compassionate, in the month Isfandārmaz on the day Isfandārmaz, I stayed quiet and it was gone. In the name of God, Jamshed and Faridun; basmala to Adam and Eve. God the One is enough for me.¹⁰

9 Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Khāliq Mayhanī, *Dastūr-i dabīrī*, ed. Sayyid ‘Alī Raḍavī Bahābādī (Yazd: Bahābād 1375/1996), 28.

10 al-Bīrūnī, *Āṣār al-bāqīyya*, quoted in: Jalāl al-Dīn Humāyī, *Ta’līqāt al-tafhīm li-avā’il ṣanā’at al-tanjīm* (Tehran: Anjuman-i Āṣār-i Millī, 1354), 259–260.

Bīrūnī's mention of rectangular paper, especially because it is in the context of a talisman, might also be a reference to the ill omen associated with the rectangular shape.

The belief in ill fortune brought about by the rectangular shape has persisted down to modernity. According to the twentieth-century writer, Ṣādiq Hidāyat, "If somebody writes on a paper and does not tear it at the bottom, his wife will die."¹¹

When I was analyzing letter-writing in the Kāzarūn region, I came across the custom that requires one to fold up the bottom right corner of a letter at the time of its dispatch.¹² The practice is well-known in other regions as well.¹³ We find another approach among contemporary Sufi masters: "We need to tear off one of the corners so that it does not look like a cross."¹⁴ Remarkably, on the one hand, the aforesaid Raphaël du Mans also mentions this in relation to the Trinity, and on the other hand, in Persian literature the cross is often depicted as a rectangle. We can quote the following verse by Khāqānī:

How could the zenith of heaven be right from a triangle?
May you be protected with the quadrature of the cross!¹⁵

3 Summary of the Reasons for Cutting the Page

We can categorize the data for the reasons of distorting the rectangular shape of the page as follows:

1. Accident
2. Ill luck of the cross (triangle or rectangle);
3. Turning a square shape into a pentagon to show that mundane things are deficient;
4. The square was considered a perfect form, and it was inappropriate to associate a perfect form with man (Du Mans);
5. The square is made up of two triangles, the latter shape considered ominous (Du Mans);
6. Association of the square with the evil eye (*Nafā'is al-funūn*);

11 Ṣādiq Hidāyat, *Nīrangistān* (Tehran: Amīr Kabīr, 1342), 3:82.

12 Conversation with Mr. 'Abd al-Rahmān Firishṭa-Ḥikmat of Kāzarūn.

13 Conversations with 'Abd al-Ḥusayn Ḥā'irī and Dr. 'Alī Ravāqī.

14 Conversation with Muḥammad Ḥusayn Farshchī, who had heard it from the late Dr. 'Alī Nūr al-Ḥukamā and his son Mu'in al-Ḥukamā.

15 *Zi-taṣlīṣī kujā sa'd-i falak rāst / bi-tarbī-i ṣalīb-at bād parvā* (Khāqānī, *Dīvān*, ed. Ziyā' al-Dīn Sajjādī (Tehran: Zavār, 1373/1994), 28).

7. Similarity to a litter (the square shape of a coffin or the constellation of the Great Bear);
8. Prevention of the square shape without specification of the reason (*Dastūr al-kātib*);
9. Rendering the square shape void (*bāṭil, Laṭāʿif al-inshā*);
10. “No good comes from a rectangle” (Nasafī);
11. Scholarly consensus on the inauspiciousness of the square shape, *murabbaʿ (Jawhariyya)*;
12. The quadrilateral (*tarbīʿ*) as a bad omen.

As the aforesaid evidence suggests, most sources use the word *tarbīʿ* “quadrilateral.”

The word quadrilateral (*tarbīʿ*) has two main usages relevant for us: in geometry, in the absolute sense it means tetragon (square or parallelogram). As has been seen in our sources, the main purpose of distorting such shapes was to change the quadrilateral. And the term is also used in astrology.

4 Quadrilateral and Quartile in Astronomy

The visible shapes of the Moon or its crescent are caused by change in the visible surface of the Moon due to change in its position vis-à-vis the Sun and the Earth. The Moon wanes during the phase of the conjunction, when the dark half of the moon is in the direction of the Earth. In this position, the Sun and the Moon pass through the meridian together. The night after this, the crescent of the Moon appears, the curve of which is towards the West. The first quartile is when half of the Moon is visible and the angular distance between the Moon and the Sun is 90° , ca. 7 days and 9 hours after the New Moon. After that, the visible part increases, and during the phase of the opposition, ca. 7 days and 9 hours after the first quartile, the entire disc of the moon appears, which is called full moon. Afterwards, both these phases are repeated in reverse order.

The quartile (*tarbīʿ*) aspect: the aspect when two stars are separated by three signs (90°) is called quartile.

In astrology, when two stars are separated by a quarter of the space of the signs, i.e., three signs, that is called the quartile aspect.¹⁶

16 Ḥamīd-Rizā Giyāhī-Yazdī, “Tarbīʿ,” *Dānishnāma-yi jahān-i islām* (Tehran: Bunyād-i Dāʾirat al-Maʾārif-i Islāmī, 1382/2003–4), 7:7, citing: *Farhang-i Nizām*.

5 The Evil Nature of the Astrological Quadrilateral in Literary Sources

There are a lot of references in literature to the ominous nature of the quadrilateral.

Birūnī: “Then, the evil of the square is removed and its harm goes away.”¹⁷

The square is ill omen ... The quadrilateral aspect is called evil. After that, there was the quadrilateral aspect and evil correspondence.¹⁸

Khāqānī refers to this in several loci. E.g.,

In a single second, he broke free from fate (the sky), both its good and bad omen,

For one is the trine of Jupiter, the other the quartile of the Pleiades.¹⁹

In his *Maṣnavī*, Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī presents the square as a manifestation of evil:

(All are lost) except that one who has taken refuge with the Decree: his blood no (astrological) quadrature (ever) shed.²⁰

You wish that your star might always jest and your happiness continue for ever.

You are very angry with its quartile aspects and its disdain and enmity and mischiefs;

You are very annoyed with its silence and inauspiciousness and severity and its endeavour to show Hostility.²¹

At the same time, in order to avoid problems and difficulties, Hindūshāh Nakhjavānī advises scribes against writing at the time of a quartile:

17 Humāyī, *Ta'liqāt al-Taḥfīm*, 350.

18 *Tarjuma-yi al-Madkhal ilā 'ilm-i aḥkām al-nujūm*, ed. Jalil Akhavan Zanjānī (Shirkat-i Intishārāt-i 'Ilmī va Farhangī: Daftar-i Nashr-i Mirās-i Maktūb, 1375/1996), 60, 148, 149.

19 *Bi yak dam bāz rast az charkh u nang-i sa'd u naḥsash ham / ki in taslīs-i birjīs ast u ān tarbī-i kayvānī* (Khāqānī, 426).

20 Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, *The Mathnawī of Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī*, ed., tr. Reynold Alleyne Nicholson (London: Printed by Messrs. E.J. Brill, Leiden, for the Trustees of the “E.J.W. Gibb memorial” and published by Messrs. Luzac & Co., 1925), book III, l. 473, 4:20.

21 Rūmī, *Mathnawī*, book VI, ll. 1721–23.

Unless he is obligated to write, he should observe astrological powers, as explained in the following couplets:

When writing about any subject,
How do you choose? What is right?

The moon needs to be in one of the tropical (*munqalab*) signs,
or (you can write) if it is in the sign of Taurus or Leo.

And if you don't want writing to bring you trouble,
Avoid the associated (signs) and the quartile!²²

6 The Astrological Quartile and the Square Shape

What is the relationship between the square shape and the astrological quartile? According to the chapter on vacuum, time, and space in Abū 'Alī Marzūqī Iṣfahānī's (d. 421/1030–31) *al-Azmina wa al-amkina*, "The quartile is invalidated by the invalidity of the square."²³ Premodern letter-writers distorted the square shape of the paper to be safe from the bad luck caused by the astrological quartile. This is also confirmed by one of Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī's ghazals in his *Dīvān-i Shams-i Tabrīzī*:

We are not one of those powerful who accept the goblet,
We are not one of those destitute who accept a skinny goat.

...

Thus this blue veil is a moon-faced idol
From the radiance of whose face all the stars are getting their light.

They will all escape the fire, the quartile, and the ill omen,
If once at dawn they tear off one of the corners of the veil.²⁴

22 Hindūshāh Nakhjavānī, *Dastūr al-kātib*, 1:86–87.

23 Marzūqī, *Kitāb al-azmina wa al-amkina*, ed. Khalil Maṣṣūr (Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiya, 1996), 109.

24 Rūmī, *Kulliyāt-i Shams-i Tabrīzī: Dīvān-i ghazaliyāt*, ed. Badī' al-Zamān Furūzānfar (Tehran: Amīr Kabīr, 1336), 1:481.

7 Conclusion

Chipping a small bit off the bottom-right corner of a document or making a deflection in its square shape with the view of distorting it and repelling the bad astrological omen associated with it is an old scribal practice in Iran. There are four types in the document evidence: tearing, cutting (either in a visible or an invisible shape), indicating a cut by drawing a slant on the margin, and folding one of the corners on the bottom. The reasons associated with the practice changed over time. Prior to the eighth/fourteenth century, sources attribute it to the ill astrological omens of the quartile and the square shape, while sources dating after this are either silent or ambiguous about the motives. The reasons found in sources from the Şafavid period or afterwards—the vanity of mundane affairs, the ominous character of the triangle, the contradiction of the perceived perfection of the square shape with human imperfection—are all later interpretations.

The present chapter is the beginning of a series of studies about the belief in the ill omen of the rectangular, which affected a broad range of spheres, going beyond scribal practice. The belief likely goes back long before Islam, and aside from documents, it has affected manuscripts, inscriptions, as well as the pictorial arts, music, architecture, and urban planning. The author has collected a broad range of sources from the aforesaid fields, which he hopes to publish in a separate volume in the near future.

Translated by Ferenc Csirkés

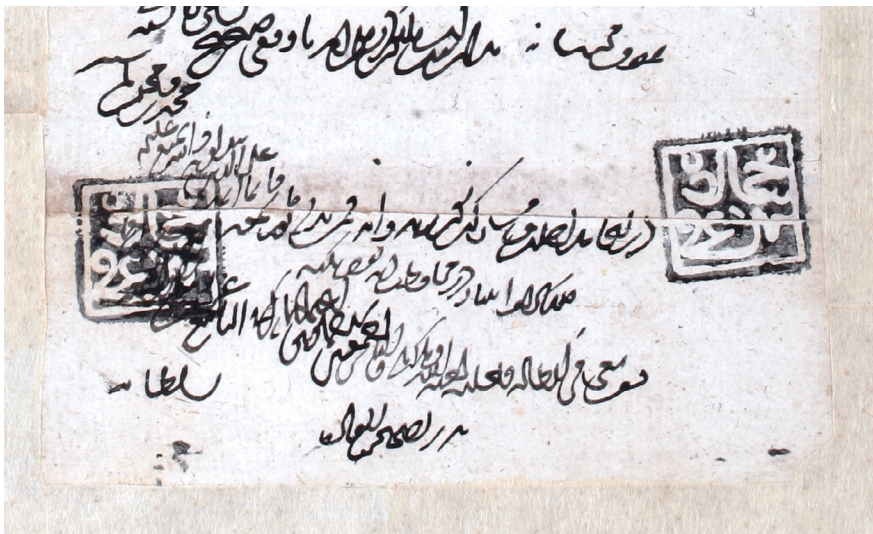


FIGURE 9.1 Farmān, National Museum of Iran, document no. 447



FIGURE 9.2 Farmān, 761/1359–60, Shaykh Ṣafī Shrine, National Museum of Iran, document no. 479

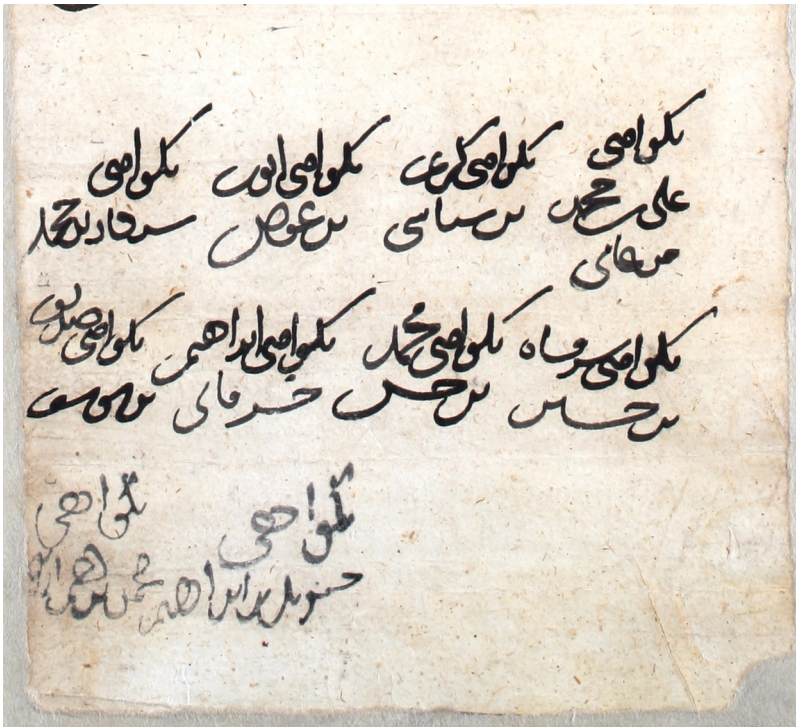


FIGURE 9.3 Contract, 687/1288–89, Shaykh Ṣafī Shrine, National Museum of Iran, document no. 35

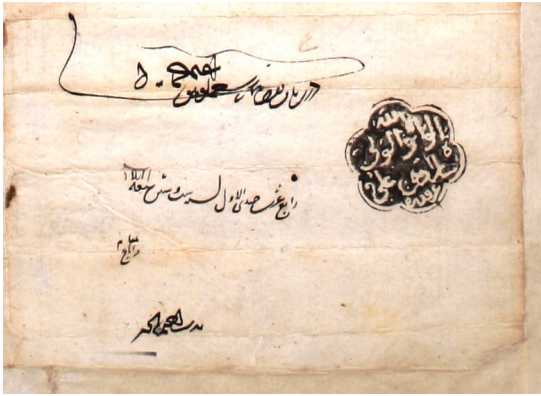


FIGURE 9.4
Farmān, 766/1364–65, Shaykh
Ṣafī Shrine, National Museum of
Iran, document no. 482

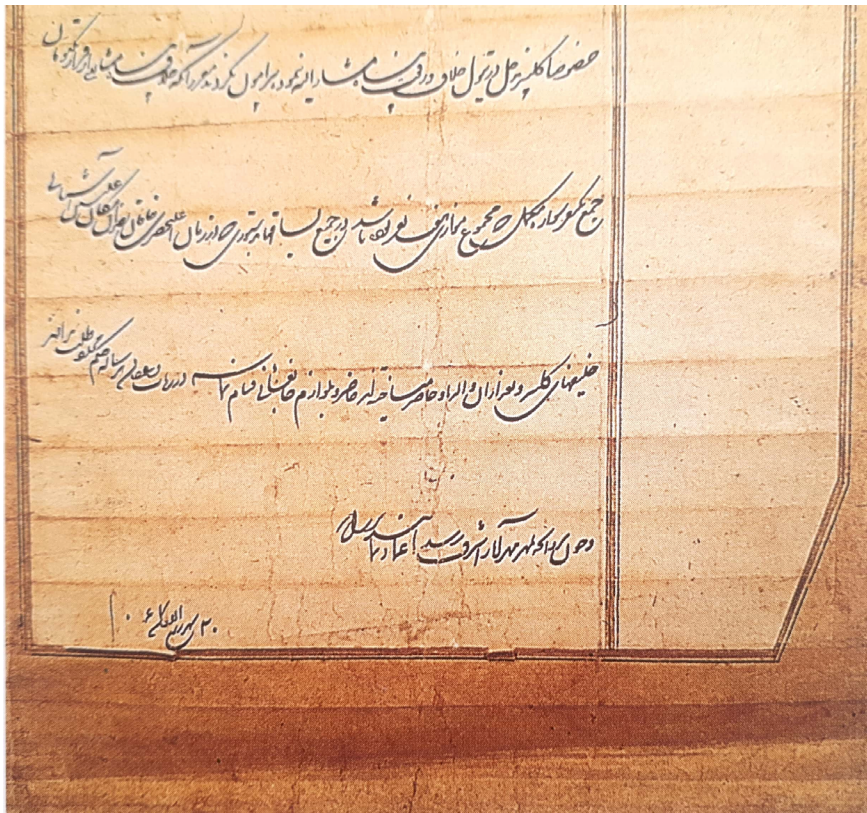


FIGURE 9.5 Farmān, 1067/1656–57, Mirzā Muḥammad Kāzamīni Collection, Qom, no. 1383,
without page numbers

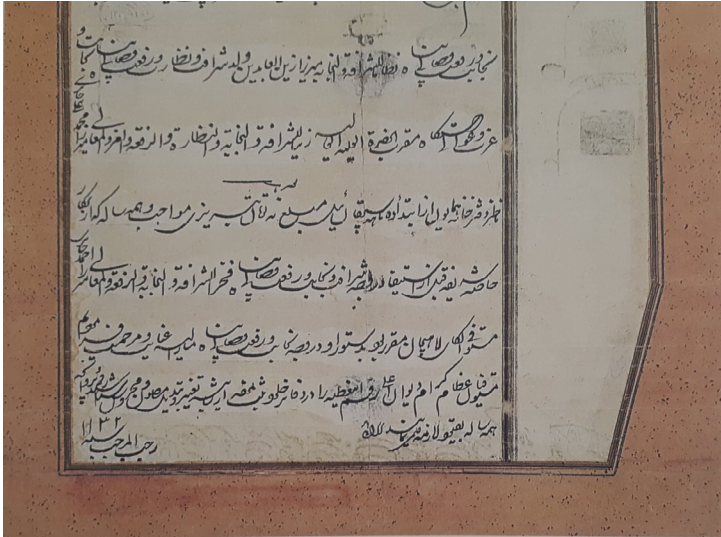


FIGURE 9.6 Farmān, 1132/1719–20, Shah Sulṭān Ḥusayn, Sāzmān-i Asnād-i Millī (Sayyid Ḥasan Shahristānī, *Jibvahā-yi hunar-i irānī dar asnād-i millī* (Tehran: Sāzmān-i Asnād-i Millī-yi Īrān, 2002), 51)

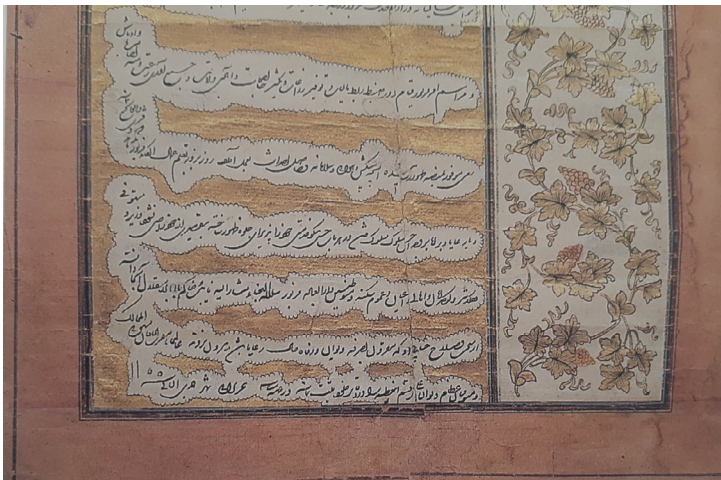


FIGURE 9.7 Farmān, 1155/1740, Nādir Shah (r. 1736–1747), Sāzmān-i Asnād-i Millī (Shahristānī, *Jibvahā-yi hunar-i irānī*, 56)



FIGURE 9.8
 Sales document
 1318/190–1901, Mirzā
 Muḥammad Kāzamīnī
 Collection, Qom,
 no. 119

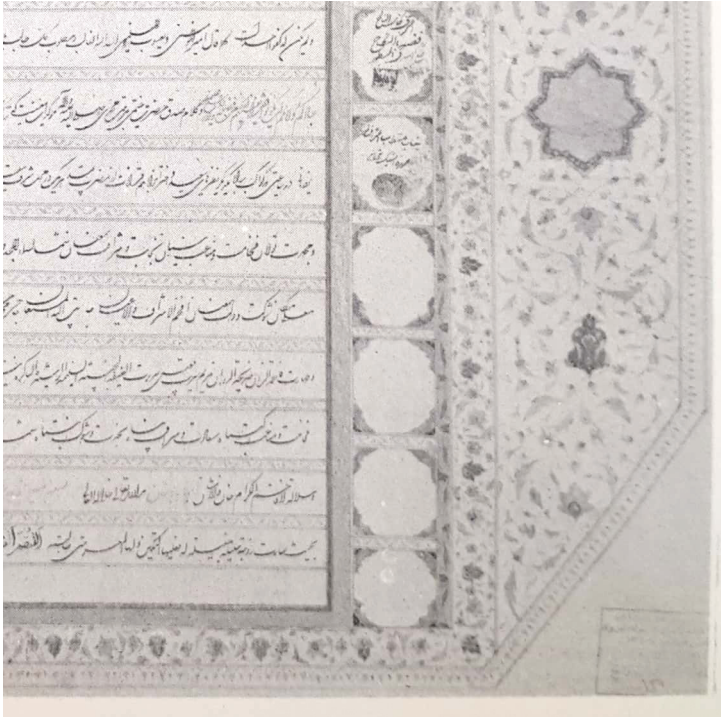


FIGURE 9.9 Marriage contract, 1221/1806–7 (*Qibālahā-yi izdvāj*, 19)

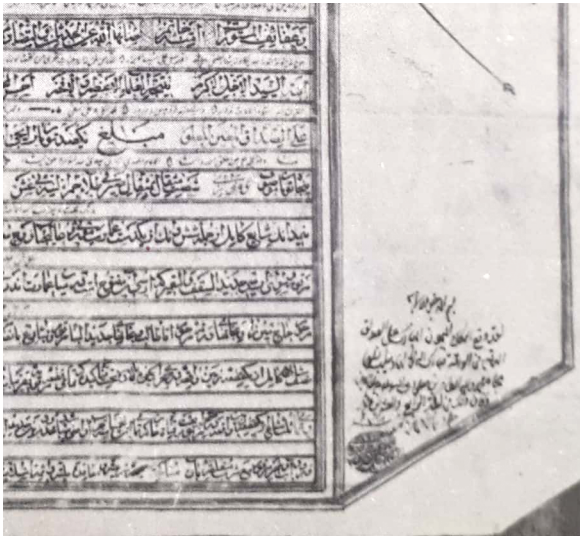


FIGURE 9.10 Marriage contract, 1278/1861–62 (*Qibālahā-yi izdvāj*, 40)

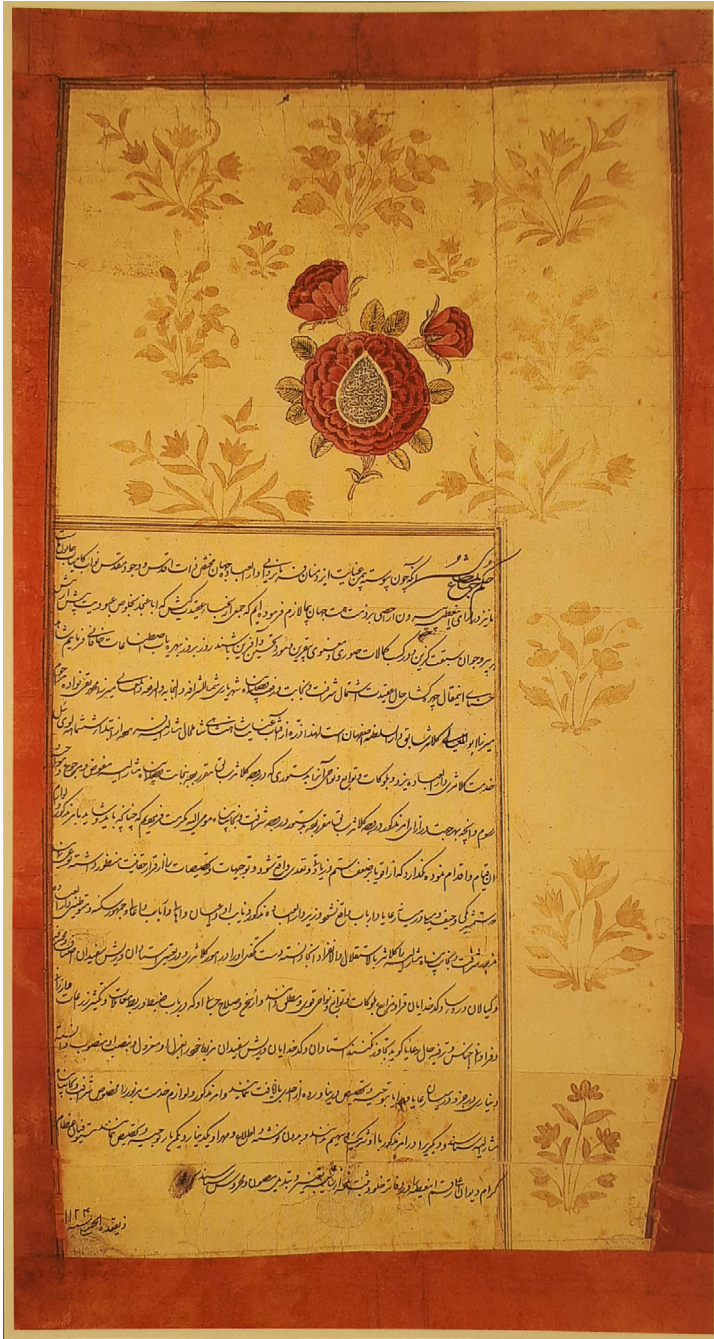


FIGURE 9.11 Farmān, Shah Sulṭān Ḥusayn, 117/1705–6, Sāzmān-i Asnād-i Milli (Shahristāni, *Jībahā-yi ĩrānī*, 45)

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PART 4

Religious History



A Persian Sufi Work from the Golden Horde: the *Qalandar-nāma* of Abū Bakr Rūmī

Devin DeWeese

Scholarly attention to the patronage activities of the first Muslim rulers of the Golden Horde has tended to focus on the examples of Turkic literature produced in the territories of the Jochid *ulus*; often the attention to such works has reflected assumptions rooted in modern nationalism rather than in sober historical assessments. Without diminishing the value or importance of the examples of Turkic literature produced with Jochid patronage, it is important to acknowledge the full range of Islamic literary production “sponsored” by the Jochid elite during the fourteenth century, including works in Arabic and Persian. The aim of this small contribution, offered in honor of a colleague who has contributed so much to the historical study of the Golden Horde, is to introduce a hitherto unstudied work in Persian dedicated to the *khans* Özbek and Jānībek, and to discuss some aspects of the insights it offers into the religious history of the Golden Horde and its links with Turkish Anatolia.

The work in question is the *Qalandar-nāma*, a large compilation of Sufi lore written over the course of two or three decades in the first half of the fourteenth century, during the reigns of Özbek Khān and his son Jānībek. Its author, a certain Abū Bakr Qalandar Rūmī, was a native of the central Anatolian town of Aq-sarāy (modern Aksaray), but wrote his work in Crimea; he began it, he says, in 720/1320, and must have completed it at some point between the accession of Jānībek, in 1342, and the date of the apparently unique surviving manuscript, 761/1360. That manuscript, preserved in Tashkent, was described in a published catalog over 50 years ago,¹ but the work has not received much

1 MS Tashkent, Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Uzbekistan, Inv. No. 11668 (400 folios, copied in 761/1360), described in *Sobranie vostochnykh rukopisei Akademii nauka Uzbekskoi SSR*, vol. 9, ed. A. Urunbaev and L.M. Epifanova (Tashkent: Fan, 1971), 471–4, No. 6705 (with photographs of ff. 200b and 400a on 472 and 473, respectively). The catalog description characterizes it as “a Sufi work,” discussing issues of morals and ethics and including stories of famous Sufis; it also notes its division into five volumes. It also refers to the appearance, at various places in the manuscript, of impressions of owners’ seals, naming Īsh-Muḥammad Dīvān-begī b. Bāy-kīshī and a Sayyid Aḥmad b. Mīrzā Ṣāliḥ; the title of the former suggests that he was an official in one of the nineteenth-century

attention; I have noted it occasionally, first on the basis of a brief examination of the work in 1984, and later after a closer inspection of the text.²

The manuscript itself runs to 400 folios,³ with its verse—the work is an extended *maṣnavī*, and was clearly inspired by, and perhaps modeled upon, the famous *Maṣnavī* of Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī—aligned in two bordered columns, broken up by headings, in red ink, also in borders, with as many as 23 lines per page (fewer when headings appear); it is written in a fine, bold *naskh*, in the same hand throughout. The colophon appears in a round bordered medallion at the bottom of f. 400a, with the copyist identifying himself as “Shaykh Bāyazīd al-‘Ushshāqī al-Samrīnī,”⁴ and affirming that he completed the work in Sha‘bān 761/June–July 1360:

Central Asian khanates, probably Bukhārā, but I have not yet identified him or the other owner, and it is unfortunately not clear how or when the manuscript made its way from the Jochid realm to Central Asia.

- 2 See my *Islamization and Native Religion in the Golden Horde: Baba Tükles and Conversion to Islam in Historical and Epic Tradition* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994), 123–124 (with a too-hasty judgment that the Sufis mentioned in the work were overwhelmingly of earlier times); “Islamization in the Mongol Empire,” in *The Cambridge History of Inner Asia: The Chinggisid Age*, ed. Nicola Di Cosmo, Allen J. Frank, and Peter B. Golden (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 128; “Alā’ al-Dawla Simnānī’s Religious Encounters at the Mongol Court near Tabriz,” in *Politics, Patronage and the Transmission of Knowledge in 13th–15th Century Tabriz*, ed. Judith Pfeiffer (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 39, n. 9; and “A Sixteenth-Century Interpretation of the Islamization of the Mongols Attributed to Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī,” *Mawlana Rumi Review* 5 (2014): 88–105.
- 3 The catalog description does not mention it, but there are in fact three numbering sequences in the manuscript: one, in Arabic-script numerals, is by page, and appears in the middle at the top of each page (or, later in the manuscript, on even-numbered pages), just outside the borders; a second, by folios, is in Latin-script numerals, and appears on the upper left corner, just outside the borders, on the “a” side of each folio; and the third, also by folios and in Latin-script numerals, appears in the upper left corner of the “a” side of each folio, near the outer edge of the sheet (early on in the manuscript, the third sequence runs two ahead of the second, but as a result of numbering errors in both sequences, this difference shifts to one, then zero, then back to two). The cataloguers have followed the third sequence, which I will adopt here as well.
- 4 The reading of the *nisba* “Samrīnī” or “Samarīnī” is conjectural, but may refer to the town of Samara, on the Volga, as I noted earlier. Another possibility is suggested by the *nisba*, vowelless “Sumarīnī,” borne by the narrator of a story recorded in the earliest hagiography devoted to Shaykh Ṣafī al-Dīn of Ardabil (d. 735/1334), eponym of the Ṣafavid dynasty; see Ibn Bazzāz Ardabilī, *Ṣafvat al-ṣafā, dar tarjima-yi ahvāl va aqvāl va karāmāt-i Shaykh Ṣafī al-Dīn Ishāq Ardabilī*, ed. Ghulām-Rizā Ṭabāṭabā‘ī-Majd (Tabriz: Ghulām-Rizā Ṭabāṭabā‘ī-Majd, 1373/1994), 713 (and see 1285, n. 144, where the editor identifies Sumarīn as a village, near Ardabil, that is also known as Tumarīn). The *nisba* “‘Ushshāqī” would appear to link the copyist to the religious community of which the author himself was a part, as discussed below, and which he appears intent on promoting in his work.

تَمَّتِ الْكِتَابَ بِعَوْنِ اللَّهِ تَعَالَى عَلَى يَدِ الْعَبْدِ الضَّعِيفِ الْفَقِيرِ الْحَقِيرِ شَيْخِ بَايَزِيدِ الْعِشَاقِيِّ⁵
 السَّمَرِيِّ⁶ زَادَ اللَّهُ فَفْرَهُ وَادَامَ اللَّهُ تَوْفِيقَهُ أَمِينِ تَارِيخٍ فِي شَهْرِ شَعْبَانَ الْمُبَارَكِ سَنَةِ أَحَدِ سِتِّينَ
 وَ سَبْعِمِائِهِ

It is naturally impossible to fully mine the riches of such a large work in a short article, and others will no doubt find much else worthy of note in the *Qalandar-nāma*; the present comments deal with the work as a reflection of the author's wish to promote his particular Sufi discipline and community in the lands of the Golden Horde. As such the *Qalandar-nāma* is of interest both for the author's vision of that community and its spiritual profile, and for the hagiographical lore he included in the work—and was thereby introducing into the Jochid *ulus*. Both aspects in turn reflect the religious environment of Anatolia in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, with which the author was directly familiar, and thus offer insight into one of the prominent “vectors” of Islamization in this part of the Mongol-ruled world.

1 The Author, His Work, and Its “Argument”

The work is divided into five sections, which the author refers to at one point (f. 361a) as *mujallads*, i.e., “volumes”; elsewhere he refers to his fourth *daftar*, however (f. 211a), and each of the sections begins as if it were a separate work, complete with the *basmala* and sections praising God, the Prophet, and the first four Caliphs. The text begins on f. 3b according to the cataloger's numbering; the remaining sections begin on ff. 28b, 127b, 208b, and 288b. The first is thus quite short; the second appears to be the richest in terms of references to contemporary or recent shaykhs known to the author either personally or by reputation; the third includes, near the end, two remarkable passages, one dealing with Chingīz Khan and the other praising Özbek Khan (who is accorded blessings for the dead); the fourth includes, near the beginning, praise of Jānībek Khān (for whom the blessings indicate that he was still living); and the fifth includes sections praising two *amīrs* of the Golden Horde, one deceased and one still living when the author (or copyist?) was writing. These passages have been addressed elsewhere,⁷ along with another passage, in the fifth vol-

5 The dots are left unwritten for the *shīn*.

6 A *sukūn* is written above the initial *alif*, and no dots are written for the letters interpreted here as *yā* and *nūn*.

7 See my “*Khāns and Amīrs in the Qalandar-nāma of Abū Bakr Rūmī: Praise of the Islamizing Jochid Elite in a Persian Sufi Work from Fourteenth-Century Crimea*,” *Archivum Eurasiae*

ume (just prior to the sections praising the two *amīrs*), in which the author explains that he completed the first four “volumes” of his *Qalandar-nāma* during the era of Özbek Khān, and the fifth during the reign of Jānibek Khān (this comment is at odds with the placement of the passages in praise of Özbek and Jānibek, but no doubt reflects the ongoing process of writing the work).

The beginning of the first “volume” is more substantial than those of the subsequent “volumes,” including, in addition to sections in praise of God, the Prophet, and the first four Caliphs, sections praising Ḥasan and Ḥusayn (f. 5b), a section (ff. 5b–6a) in praise of “the Four Imāms” (the author uses this phrase to refer to Abū Ḥanīfa, Shāfi‘ī, Aḥmad-i Ḥanbal, and Mālik, in that order), and a brief section recounting the Prophet’s *mi‘rāj* (ff. 6a–b). A heading on f. 7a announces the beginning of the work proper:

ابتدای سخن در باب قلندر نامه کز عالم عشق گفته شد از برای عاشقان و طالبان و صادقان
و دیگر از برای کسانی که تشنگان این معانی هستند

The beginning of a discussion about the *Qalandar-nāma*, which was composed about the world of mystical love, on behalf of the lovers and the seekers and the faithful, and also on behalf of those who are thirsty for these spiritual realities.

The heading does a reasonably good job of conveying the focus of the work, which is laced with *‘ishq* (“mystical love”) throughout; both in “doctrinal” terms and in social terms, the Sufi life reflected here is a Sufism of the heart, though mixed with a social profile framed in terms of the *futuwwa* ideal; we will return to the outlines of the author’s religious vision shortly.

Of himself, however, the author waits to speak until later. Immediately following the introductory section appears, instead, a passage in praise of a certain “Shaykh Bahā’ al-Dīn” (ff. 7b–8a); this clearly refers to the author’s own shaykh (who was no longer living), but if he belonged to an identifiable initiatic or hereditary Sufi lineage, the author does not tell us (beyond linking him, inspirationally, with the “community” he himself claimed to represent, as discussed below). The account does specify a few particulars beyond this shaykh’s *laqab*: he confirms that his name was ‘Umar, that “his country is Rūm,” and that his *nisba* was “Zīlavī” (*mulk-i ū rūm ast-u bāshad zīlavī* [f. 7b], spelled

Medii Aevi, 21 (2014–2015 = *Festschrift for Thomas T. Allsen in Celebration of His 75th Birthday*, ed. P.B. Golden, R.K. Kovalev, A.P. Martinez, J. Skaff, and A. Zimonyi [Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2015]): 53–66.

later “*zilavī*”), thus identifying him as a native, no doubt, of the town of Zile, in north-central Anatolia, northwest of Sivas and south of Amasya. This figure is named again later, near the end of the author’s third “volume” (f. 200b), in a section with a heading declaring that everything he had achieved was through “the blessing of association with the master and of his gaze” (*barakat-i ṣuḥbat-i pīr va naẓar-i ū*). The author first affirms that “Whoever is without a master is blocked from God” (*har ki bī-pīrast mardūd-i khudā’s*t), and explains that even if such a person may display wondrous deeds (*karāmāt*), they are not of divine origin (*rahmānī*), because he had no spiritual guide (*murshid*); then he names his *pīr* again, Bahā’ al-Dīn ‘Umar, noting that he was from the “*mulk-i rūm ū zilavī*,” and claiming that the “prey” (*ṣayd*) he sought included both Turks and Persians (*tāzī-vu turk*).

It is not until the midst of the second volume that the author refers to himself by name for the first time (on f. 62b he refers to himself merely as *īn faqīr*, “this wretch”); there he calls himself, in a heading (f. 96b), “Shaykh Abū Bakr Qalandar Rūmī-yi *ummi*” (“the illiterate”). This particular reference appears in the context of noting his meeting with Sulṭān Valad, the son of Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, in Konya:

در بیان انک شیخ ابو بکر قلندر رومی امی بحضرت سلطان ولد رحمة الله عليه در شهر قونیه
جون برسید و نظر عنایت در یافت

The passage that follows stresses the transformative impact of the meeting on the author (*chūnki ān sulṭān ba-banda kard naẓar / sar ba-sar kāram tamāmat shud chu zar*), and credits Sulṭān Valad with inspiring him to write, though previously he had been an unlettered man unfamiliar with writing (*ummi-yī būdam zi ḥarfī bī-khabar*). The first of several sections praising Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī and his work appears soon after this discussion of Sulṭān Valad, and it seems clear that both the *Maṣnavī* itself and the spiritual legacy of Rūmī were central to the author’s understanding of his own Sufi doctrine and practice, and that his *Qalandar-nāma* was inspired, in form and style, by Rūmī’s *Maṣnavī*.⁸ In this regard it may be noted that the *Qalandar-nāma* was being written, in Crimea, at roughly the same time that Shams al-Dīn Aḥmad Aflākī (d. 761/1360) was writing and revising, in Persian, his hagiographical work focused on Rūmī and his circle, the *Manāqib al-‘arīfīn* (begun in 718/1318 and finished in 754/1353). Aflākī himself may have had some experience in the lands of the Golden Horde, since his father, at the time of his death (between 1312 and 1320), was at

8 On Rūmī, the *Maṣnavī*, and Sulṭān Valad, see Franklin D. Lewis, *Rumi Past and Present, East and West: The Life, Teachings, and Poetry of Jalāl al-Dīn Rumi* (Oxford: Oneworld, 2000).

the court of Özbek Khān in Sarāy, and left property there that Aflākī may have traveled to collect.⁹

It is clear, at the same time, that Rūmī's legacy was not the only influence upon the author, as both the other recent figures lauded in the work (discussed below) and the extensive discussions of Sufi principles leave no doubt that the author drew upon an eclectic mix of Sufi lore and teaching. Before considering aspects of his religious vision, let us consider the other references to himself and his *Qalandar-nāma*.

Later in the work the author refers to himself in slightly different ways, the most common of which is simply "Pīr Qalandar-i Rūmī," with the epithet *ummī* often added (ff. 175a, 200b, 206b, 399a). In some cases, however, he also adds his *nisba*, "Aq-sarāyī" (ff. 274b, 287a), indicating that he was a native of the town of Aq-sarāy (modern Aksaray), in central Anatolia midway between Konya and Qayşarıya (modern Kayseri). He writes further, in various places, of his aims in writing the book, or of the context and circumstances of its composition. Near the end of the third volume, he includes a section "on the virtues of this book, which emerged from the divine world into the heart of the speaker" (*dar bayān-i faẓīlat-i īn kitāb ki az 'ālam-i ilāhī andar dil-i qāyil sar bar zad*).

9 See Shams al-Dīn Aḥmad-e Aflākī, *The Feats of the Knowers of God (Manāqeb al-'ārefīn)*, tr. John O'Kane (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 651–652, and see the translator's introduction, ix–x; Aflākī writes that his master, who died in 719/1320, advised him not to make the journey to Sarāy as long as he (the master) was alive, but it is not clear whether he ever did travel there. Cf. Lewis, *Rumi Past and Present*, 250, 440. It is quite unlikely that the Abū Bakr Qalandar Rūmī who wrote the work of interest here is to be identified with the "Shaykh Abū Bakr Javlaqī Nīksārī" mentioned by Aflākī (*Feats of the Knowers*, 408–409), as claimed in the brief study of Il'nur Mirgaleev, "Abu Bakr Kalandar Rumi. Kto on?," *Krymskoe istoricheskoi obozrenie* no. 1, 2014, 41–45 (with further references and mention of plans to publish the text and translation of the *Qalandar-nāma*, identified as a work of "theology" or "philosophy"); Aflākī does identify this Abū Bakr as the keeper of a "hospice" (*langar*) of the Qalandars (though evidently in Qonya), but shows him in this position already at the time of Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī's death in 672/1273 (nearly half a century before our author's establishment in Crimea). Somewhat more plausible is Mirgaleev's claim, in the same article, that the author of the *Qalandar-nāma* is to be identified with the Shāfi'ī *khaṭīb* Abū Bakr who was met by the traveler Ibn Baṭṭūṭa in Crimea; see *Voyages d'Ibn Battūta*, 4 vols., ed. C. Defrémery and B.R. Sanguinetti (Paris, 1853–1859; repr. Éditions Anthropos Paris, 1969), 2: 360, 362, and *The Travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, A.D. 1325–1354*, 4 vols., tr. H.A.R. Gibb and C.F. Beckingham (London: Hakluyt Society, 1956–1994), 2: 472–473. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa affirms that this Abū Bakr delivered sermons in the mosque built in the chief city of Crimea with funds provided by al-Malik al-Nāṣir, the Mamlūk *sulṭān*, and that the *khaṭīb* was part of the group, led by the Amīr Tülük-timūr, which Ibn Baṭṭūṭa joined in making the journey to Özbek Khān's court in Sarāy. Aside from the coincidence of names and the chronological suitability, however, there is no evidence to support the contention that our author must have been the same Abū Bakr who was mentioned by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, and indeed nothing in the *Qalandar-nāma* suggests that its author would likely have served as a *khaṭīb*.

Without naming himself, he stresses his effort and devotion in writing the book, thanks God for inspiring the work, and mentions the year 740/1339–1340 (ff. 197b–198a), suggesting that a substantial part was complete by then.

Perhaps the most direct account of the author's own understanding of the religious vision, and religious community, that he was representing in the *Qalandar-nāma* appears shortly after this passage, near the end of the third volume, but without explicitly referring to his composition of the work. Directly following the account, noted above, crediting his master, Bahā' al-Dīn 'Umar, for what he had achieved, the author begins a separate section with the following heading (f. 200b):

در بیان صورت عشاقیان و اوصاف سیرت او که بفرمان خدای تعالی از پیر قلندر رومی امی در
قریم اظهار شد در تواریخ هفتصد و بیست

An account of the form (*ṣūrat*) of the 'Ushshāqīs—with praise of their conduct (*sīrat*)—who by God's command were made manifest in Crimea (*qurīm*) through Pīr Qalandar-i Rūmī in the year 720/1320.

From this heading and from the passage that follows (ff. 200b–201a) it seems clear that the author was using the term “*ushshāqī*” to refer to a community defined by a particular mode of conduct and a distinctive appearance (*ṣūrat*); and it is clear that the “*ushshāqīyān*,” i.e., “those of the Lovers' [way],” were the community of which he regarded himself as a part. Whether this community was actual or “aspirational” is less clear, though the use of the term *ṣūrat* suggests that he was not speaking only of a spiritual (*ma'navī*) ideal, but had in mind a specific and concrete model he wished to promote, based on the example of his master. He speaks of manifesting the *ṣūrat-i 'ushshāqīyān*, and asks God to maintain and expand the *ṣūrat* of these 'Ushshāqīs forever (صورت عشاقیان را ای خدا / بر مزیدش دار دایم با صفا); he concretizes the group by referring to the *khirqā* (“dervish robe”) of the “*mardum-i 'ushshāqī*,” and refers to the establishment of this group, or this “way,” in Crimea; he declares that the *ushshāqīyān* became his companions, alluding to their great numbers by claiming that they “rained down upon us” (*ham-chū bārān sū-yi mā bārān shudand*); he writes that these companions “chose this path of the Lovers” (*bar guzīdand īn rah-i 'ushshāq-rā*), and further affirms the “independence” of the group, who have only God as their companion (مطلقند عشاقیان در این طریق / جز خدا چون نیست ایشان را رفیق); and finally, he lists five things one must do in order to be among this group: first, “continue seeing, but be a veiler” (*mī-bīn-ū sattār bāsh*); second, “subdue your carnal soul” (*bā nafs-i khūd qahhār bāsh*); third, “do good to the bad” (*mar badān-rā nīk kun*); fourth is “to forbid according to

the law” (*bi-shar‘ kardan nahy*); and fifth is “service to the elect and the common” (*khāmis-ash khidmat buvad bā khāṣṣ-u ‘āmm*). With these five things, he says, the ‘Ushshāqī path (*rāh-i ‘ushshāqī*) is complete; “This is our word and this is our testimony; whoever makes light of it is without faith” (قول ما و حجت ما / این بود / هر که سهلش کرد او بی دین بود).

Thus ends this key passage; the author’s description of the ‘Ushshāqīyān, and his list of the five “prerequisites” for entering their path, makes it clear that they were indeed a social group, and it is further clear, from much else in the *Qalandar-nāma*, that the author’s aim in writing it was to promote this group and its religious program in the environment of the Golden Horde. His choice of his work’s title suggests that he understood the “‘Ushshāqī” group, or phenomenon, to be part of the “movement” and religious profile of the “Qalandariya,” but at the same time it is plausible to suggest that he sought to emphasize the distinctiveness of the community or religious program with which he identified himself, by describing “his” group as the *‘ushshāqīyān*. That the author’s thinking about this term, and its implications, had developed during the course of his work on the *Qalandar-nāma* may be suggested by his earlier discussion, in the second volume (ff. 62b–63a), praising the *‘ushshāq* (he uses the term *‘ashiqān* nearly as often), but without the communal implications of his major account of the *‘ushshāqīyān*. In any event, the spread of his group, he tells us further, dated from 720/1320, which no doubt should be understood as the time when the author established himself in Crimea, presumably leaving his native Aksaray for good. What success he may have had, beyond writing the *Qalandar-nāma*, and what sort of enduring presence or legacy the ‘Ushshāqīyān may have had, are difficult to judge, beyond the appearance of the *nisba* ‘Ushshāqī in the name of the copyist of the unique manuscript;¹⁰ in any case, before considering more of what we may conclude

10 There may be an external reference to an ‘Ushshāqī community in the Golden Horde, beyond the author’s comments in this work, in the *Mujmal-i Faṣīḥī*, compiled in the 1440s by Faṣīḥ Aḥmad Khwāfī. The work notes the deaths, in 744/1344 and 748/1347–48, respectively, of Shāh Muḥammad and Muẓaffār, two brothers who were great-great grandsons of the famous Quṭb al-Dīn Ḥaydar of Zāva, renowned as a *qalandar*, and one of the “recent” figures mentioned in the *Qalandar-nāma* (see below). Their lineage back to Quṭb al-Dīn Ḥaydar is given in each case. The former, we are told, died in the country of the Ās, but was taken for burial to Sarāy Jadīda, at a site identified as the residence of a certain *ḥājī*, who was “one of the ‘Ushshāq Ḥaydarīs” (*aḥad al-ḥayādirat ‘ushshāq*), who are further linked to an otherwise unidentified Ya‘qūb al-Ḥaydarī (Faṣīḥ Khwāfī, *Mujmal-i Faṣīḥī*, ed. Sayyid Muḥsin Nāji Naṣrābādī, 3 vols. [Tehran: Asāṭir, 1386/2007], 2: 931, 937). The wording is somewhat unclear, but suggests that the ‘Ushshāq in this case were understood as a group that were part of the larger Ḥaydarī phenomenon.

about what the author's "path" may have entailed, let us consider the remaining references he makes to himself and his work.

Not long after the key passage reviewed above, and nearer the end of the third volume, a heading declares that God had given a precious gift to "Qalandar-i Rūmī-yi *ummi*," such that there would be no defect in the guidance he gave to disciples. The sections that follow affirm that his path is that of the *'ushshāqīyān* (ff. 206b–208a), again underscoring that his circle may be regarded as a distinctive Sufi community, and that he himself was teaching and guiding disciples as a Sufi shaykh. Later references, however, stress the divine inspiration and help that allowed him to complete his work, with fewer allusions to a specific Sufi community. We might see in this a hint that his hopes for the widespread diffusion of his community and religious vision had not been realized, though without further evidence such a conclusion can only be conjectural.

Near the end of the fourth volume, there is a section affirming God's help to "Pīr Qalandar-i Rūmī-yi *ummi*-yi Aqsarāyī" (f. 274b), and another noting that "Pīr Qalandar-i Rūmī-yi *ummi* al-Aqsarāyī" had seen the Prophet in a dream (f. 287a). In the fifth volume, finally, there is an extended passage on the circumstances of the work's composition (ff. 361a–362a), in which the author does not name himself or discuss his religious "program" (it offers praise of Özbek and Jānībek, and has been discussed elsewhere).¹¹ Later there is a section praising "Pīr Qalandar" and his companions (*yārān*), mentioning five but not by name (f. 396b); and nearer the end of the work (f. 399a) appears a heading affirming that God does what He wants and thus "made this *Qalandar-nāma* manifest through Pīr Qalandar-i Rūmī-yi *ummi*" (*az pīr qalandar-i rūmī-yi ummī īn qalandar-nāma-rā paydā kard*). The last two lines of this section reaffirm his claim that the work originated not in his own knowledge or by his own pen, and that he himself could not have produced it:¹²

کشت پیدا این قلندر نامۀ
نه بعلم و نه بزخم خامۀ
از خود او کی گفت از یزدان بگفت
هر چه با وی گفتن و این آن بگفت

This is followed by the final heading (*munājāt va tauhīd dar khatm-i kitāb*, f. 399a), and the final section again stresses that the work was inspired by God; he repeats his claim that the *Qalandar-nāma* came into his heart from God (*bar dil-i qāyil biyāmad az khudā*), with the last line before the colophon

¹¹ See my "Khāns and Amīrs," 60–62.

¹² The overall meaning seems clear, despite the out-of-place "*guftan*" in the first hemistich of the second line.

affirming that the work was God's gift and that "even though [the poet] uttered it," it "did not come from him:"

بخشش حق دان اگرچه گفت اوست کرچه او کفت بدانک نه ازوست

As for the religious profile of the author and the group he sought, evidently, to promote, it is clear, as noted, that the "tone" of the work promotes a vision of mystical love and a Sufism of the heart; just after his initial praise of his own master, already, the author "foregrounds" his discussion of the *dil* (f. 9b) and of *'ishq* (f. 10a), and he labels the group to which he belonged not as "Qalandarān," but as "Ushshāqīyān." Yet this way of framing his path is not so much balanced as it is elaborated by the clear emphasis, throughout the work, on the notion of *futuwwa*, with its social implications, and on the ideal of the *akhī*, and by the inclusion of discussions of quite "normative" Sufi terminology (e.g., of the classes of saints, of questions of *samā'*, of the different sorts of *khirqas*, etc.). The author's religious program seems to reflect the important social and "conceptual" development through which Sufi teaching and practice on the one hand were moving toward the "domestication" of some of the more "marginal" practices and spiritual profiles associated with the term *qalandar*, and on the other hand were merging with the *futuwwa* ideals; both these processes were underway in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and were quite strong in Anatolia.

The author discusses *futuwwat* early in the work (ff. 20a–b; cf. another substantial discussion in the third volume, ff. 143a–144a), and soon turns to the social aspects of the *akhī* ideal, in a section with a heading affirming that "whoever opens a door and spreads a *sufra* (food-cloth) and engages in service is an *akhī*" (f. 22b: در بیان انک هر که دَری بکشود و سفره انداخت و بخدمت مشغول شد اخی باشد). Three sections in the second volume are devoted to explaining what it means to be a Sufi (ff. 51a–52a). Although the discussion here emphasizes mystical enrapturement as the profile of the Sufi—his place is outside the universe, he is beyond words and talk, he is sunk in the sea of "*hū*" (God's essence), etc.—the impression this might convey, of a communally untethered antinomian Sufism, is balanced by a later discussion, in the second volume, of the duties of shaykh and *murīd* to one another, complete with the affirmation that actually traveling the mystical path—i.e., engaging in *sulūk*—is essential for becoming a shaykh (ff. 98b–99a). The latter discussion reflects the structures and principles of "institutional" Sufi life emerging in this era, and the necessity of having a master is emphasized often in the work. The fourth volume

includes several sections on the importance of the shaykh and *murshid* and of the requirements for shaykh-hood (ff. 229a–231a), while the fifth volume includes a quite long exposition of the components of traveling the spiritual path (*sayr-i sālikān*) and of the duties of the disciple (ff. 301b–308a). The prominence of such accounts suggests that the author was uncomfortable with tendencies, associated with the *qalandars*, toward “free-lance” spiritual practices without a shaykh’s guidance.

A similar emphasis upon “regulating” mystical practice—as opposed to the unrestrained ecstatic practices associated with the *qalandars*—is evident in the author’s discussion of *samā’* (ff. 85a–86b), which begins with an account of Bāyazīd Bistāmī’s engagement in it, and ends with a presentation of the conditions for *samā’*. In between, a heading declares that *samā’* is lawful (*ḥalāl*) for the saints (*auliyā*), indifferent but allowed (*mubāḥ*) for “their disciples” (*murīdān-i īshān*), and prohibited (*ḥarām*) for “persons who are not people of *samā’*” (*kasānī ki īshān ahl-i samā’ nīstand*). This formulation places the author’s group among the many Sufi communities who incorporated *samā’* into their devotional and disciplinary practices, but it hardly reflects a group entirely unconcerned with principles of the *sharia*. It is difficult to judge whether the author was insistent upon the chain of initiatic transmission (*sil-sila*) as a marker of spiritual authority or communal solidarity. Many groups of this era appear not to have been, and the lack of any explicit comment may reflect the negligible importance of the *sil-sila* in his community. However, he does include a discussion of the transmission and signification of two key elements of Sufi “insignia” that were gaining importance in Sufi works of this era—the *khirqā* and the *tāj* (ff. 359a–b)—again suggesting his familiarity, and engagement, with key principles of initiatory and institutional Sufi life.

All in all the work’s contents suggest that the author and his community were not typical representatives of what the work’s title might suggest, namely an antinomian religious profile marked by extreme or unconventional practices, withdrawal from society or provocative action on its margins, and inattention to the formal “structures” that ordered mainstream Sufi life. Emphasis upon the mysticism of love, the positive value of enrapturement, and the influence of the “hidden” saints is balanced by attention to social engagement through the *futuvva* ideal, and to the classification and regulation of the actual practices undertaken by disciples and overseen by masters. The approval of “social engagement” is also evident, of course, in the royal dedications in the work (in the fourth volume, not long after the praise of Jānībek, there is even a discussion of what justice is).

2 The “Personnel” of the Work: *Sufis*, *Akhīs*, and *Qalandars* in the Author’s World

The *Qalandar-nāma* is full of stories involving prominent Sufis, and most of these reflect the standard “personnel” of Sufi didactic narratives: tales of Ja‘far Ṣādiq, Ḥasan Baṣrī, Ibrāhīm b. Adham, Bishr Ḥāfi, Ma‘rūf Karkhī, Shibli, Junayd, Ḥallāj, and Bāyazīd Bisṭāmī are scattered throughout the *Qalandar-nāma*, with tales of more recent “major” figures such as ‘Aṭṭār and Rūmī appearing as well. It will no doubt be important to trace, where possible, the written sources that may have been at the author’s disposal in repeating, adapting, or echoing such hagiographical tales in his work, though undoubtedly many came to him orally. Exploring how the lore about Muslim saints was selected and adapted and presented in the specific environment of fourteenth-century Crimea may be revealing with regard to patterns of Islamization in the Jochid *ulus*.

For present purposes we may concentrate on figures from later times who may have been known to the author personally or by reputation, or who may have been of some significance for the author in terms of defining or framing the ideals or practices he and his group adopted and represented. It is often difficult to judge from his accounts whether he was personally acquainted with these figures or at least met them in person, though in some cases he tells us explicitly. It is reasonable to assume that the author met the several figures he links with his native town of Aksaray, for instance, or at least drew upon local lore for his accounts of them. However, several of the known figures he mentions who represent local or regional hagiological traditions (i.e., who did not become part of the “universal” stock of Sufi lore) clearly lived before his time (if only a century or so), leaving it unclear whether the otherwise unknown figures should be understood as his contemporaries, as saints of the thirteenth century, or as earlier figures still resonant in local or regional lore.

It is also possible that some of the much earlier figures discussed in the narratives were important in framing what the author regarded as the distinctive features of his path and of the group to which he belonged. For example, Bāyazīd Bisṭāmī is a quite frequent focus of narratives in the work, and though this may simply reflect his prominence in Sufi tradition, or his personification of a particular spiritual profile, it is not impossible that it reflects the author’s familiarity, or sympathy, with communities claiming some sort of bond, hereditary or initiatic, with Bisṭāmī.

What emerges, in any case, from the author’s mention of recent or contemporary shaykhs is further reinforcement of the eclectic foundations of the Sufi community he represented, at least from the standpoint of classificatory

tendencies in the study of Sufi groups in this age. That is, just as the “path” he describes combines an emphasis upon mystical ardor and ecstatic experience with social ideals and “service” reflecting the *futuwwa* and *akhī* traditions, the “personnel” with whom he populates his narratives likewise include, in addition to the classical figures of Sufi history, recent representatives of mainstream Sufi life as well as others who came to be regarded as exemplars of a more extreme spiritual style that relegated them to the fringe of Muslim society. To be sure, there is no mention in the work of the Suhrawardī legacy that became normative in “institutional” Sufi life in this era, or of other representatives of the emerging *silsila* affiliations; those included lean more in the direction of the antinomian groups and individuals discussed in the classic study of Ahmet Karamustafa, though several quite “mainstream” figures are represented as well, and our author displays none of the doubt or disapproval or outright hostility toward those deemed insufficiently attentive to social and religious norms that is often found in sources mentioning such figures.¹³

In this regard it is worth noting that the accounts devoted to the “recent” shaykhs mentioned in the *Qalandar-nāma*, listed below in the order in which they first appear in the work, are often frustratingly vague, since they assume more familiarity with the lore about these figures than is now accessible. Nevertheless, the references to some figures in this work are among the earliest reliably datable references to them (and in some cases they are the only known mentions), and in other cases the accounts in the *Qalandar-nāma* add additional details or provide early confirmation—from a part of the Muslim world seldom heard from in this era—of lore known from other sources.

(1) The author’s master, **Shaykh Bahā’ al-Dīn ‘Umar Zilavī**, is mentioned at least twice, as noted above; he appears not to be known from other sources.

(2) There is a brief reference, with a separate heading, to “**Shaykh ‘Alī Za‘farānī**, who was in Aqsarā” (f. 12b); just five lines of verse are devoted to him, alluding to his profile as one marked by poverty and concealment from the world (he was no longer living at the time the author wrote). Judging from the author’s appeal to “hear from me his praises,” and from his link with Aksaray, it is likely that the author knew him personally. Nothing more is said of him, and he is not directly linked with a particular group.

13 Ahmet T. Karamustafa, *God’s Unruly Friends: Dervish Groups in the Islamic Later Middle Period, 1200–1550* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1994); see also, for the Anatolian environment, Ahmet T. Karamustafa, “Early Sufism in Eastern Anatolia,” in *Classical Persian Sufism: From its Origins to Rumi*, ed. Leonard Lewisohn (London: Khaniqahi Nimatullahi Publications, 1994), 175–198, and, more recently, Resul Ay, “Sufi Shaykhs and Society in Thirteenth and [sic] Fifteenth Century Anatolia: Spiritual Influence and Rivalry,” *Journal of Islamic Studies*, 24 (2013): 1–24.

(3) A heading appears on f. 23b promising an account of the wondrous deeds (*karāmāt*) of “**Kh^vāja Muḥammad Kuzhzhānī**” (کَزَّانِي); the twelve lines of verse that follow offer little in the way of situating him beyond affirming that he was active as a Sufi in Azerbaijan (بود یک مردی در اذربایجان / با خبر ز اسرار جملهُ سالکان) [f. 23Aa]),¹⁴ but this is enough to confirm his likely identification (despite the curious orthography of his *nisba*) with the Kh^vāja Muḥammad Kujujānī (d. 677/1279) who left a substantial initiatic and familial Sufi legacy in the region of Tabrīz.¹⁵ The identification is strengthened by a second reference to him, in a longer passage in the second volume (ff. 75b–76a), which discusses an encounter of Kh^vāja Muḥammad Kuzhzhānī, also called simply “Pīr Kuzhānī,” with “Kh^vāja Nāšir-i Ṭūsī.” The story of the meal they ate together (پیر کزان خواجه ناصر) sets the stage for contrasting the shaykh’s spiritual knowledge with Ṭūsī’s knowledge of the heavens (از قیاس است این همه) (علمت مکر / زیج و اصطرابُ تنجیمت دگر). Shaykh Muḥammad Kujujānī is one of the major “mainstream” saints of thirteenth-century Tabrīz, and his inclusion here again affirms the “balance” of spiritual styles represented in the work.

(4) Immediately after the first account of Kujujānī, there is a heading on the *karāmāt* of “**Kh^vāja Arzarūm Abdāl**,” who is spoken of as deceased (18 lines, ff. 23Aa–b). This saint’s name is spelled “Arzūrūm” (ارزوروم) in the verse that follows, which identifies his sphere of activity as the *mulk-i rūm*, and specifies Sivas as the site of his activity. This account is followed by another section (10 lines, f. 23Ab), with a heading promising an account of the “conduct” of “Kh^vāja Arzūrūm Abdāl,” in which he is explicitly linked with a group of saints, “the Substitutes” (i.e., the “Abdāl-i Rūm”), referring to one of the classes of “hidden saints.” This figure’s appellation appears to be a straightforward rendering of the place name “Erzurum,” for which the traditional spelling (*‘arḏ al-rūm*) would still be expected in a fourteenth-century text; however, this “colloquial”

14 In the foliation sequence I have followed (see note 3), the folio numbered “23” is followed by a folio marked “23a”; I have used a capital “A” to signal this (reserving lower-case “a” for the folio-side) here and at several points below.

15 An extensive discussion of Muḥammad Kujujānī appears in the sixteenth-century shrine guide for Tabrīz by “Ibn Karbalā’ī,” see Ḥusayn Karbalā’ī Tabrīzī, *Rauḏāt al-jinān va jannāt al-janān*, vol. 2., ed. Ja’far Sulṭān al-Qurrā’ī (Tehran: Bungāh-i Tarjima va Nashr-i Kitāb, 1349/1970), 9–44 (with frequent references to him throughout the work; see also vol. 2, 532–540, for the editor’s notes on grave inscriptions and *vaqf* documents relating to the Kujujānī lineages). Ibn Karbalā’ī drew upon an earlier hagiography, written in Arabic by Maulānā Hasan Palāsī Shirāzī and translated into Persian by Maulānā Najm al-Dīn Tārūmī; see Leonard Lewisohn, “Palāsī’s Memoir of Shaykh Kujujī, a Persian Sufi Saint of the Thirteenth Century,” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Third Series, 6/3 (1996): 345–366. “Kh^vāja Muḥammad Kujujī” is also mentioned briefly in the *Ṣafvat al-ṣafā* (Ibn Bazzāz Ardabilī, *Ṣafvat al-ṣafā*, 67, 839).

spelling is also found in Aflākī's *Manāqib al-ʿarifīn*, from the same era, with reference to a figure called simply "Kh^vāja-yi Arzurūm" and "Shaykh-i Arzurūm," who was clearly an antinomian dervish of the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century, active in Sivas. He appears in a narrative related by Aflākī about his master, Chalabī Amīr ʿĀrif (d. 719/1320), the son and successor of Sultān Valad, as a disheveled and seemingly demented dervish honored by the people of Sivas. According to the account, Chalabī came upon him playing with stones and mumbling nonsense, and was so irritated by the people's respect for him that he dismounted, went up to "Kh^vāja-yi Arzurūm," and slapped him three times, provoking a riot as he told the dervish to fold up his shop and go away.¹⁶

Aflākī's account concludes noting that this strange figure—who we are told was regarded by the people of Sivas as one of the "Substitutes" of Rūm (*budalāʾ-i rūm*)—died just a week later. The thoroughly hostile assessment in Aflākī's account contrasts sharply with the praise maintained for him in the *Qalandar-nāma*, where his sanctity (*valāyat*) is affirmed in the first section focused on him, involving, evidently, an attack upon him (نیم شب نا که بخواجه در / نیدم شب نا که بخواجه در) that left his attacker maddened with remorse; the section concludes affirming that whoever harbors a rejection regarding the saint is worthy of hell (هر که اینجا دارد او شرک کمان / در جهنم ماند او با کافران). The second, shorter passage is framed in terms of praise for Kh^vāja Arzurūm Abdāl, whose spiritual aspiration turned a stone soft as wax (بشنو اکنون وصف ان ابدال / کو بهمت سنک را کردی جو موم). The author alludes to his "liberation" from the sharia, but avoids making this a reason to condemn him, since "the eye of the heart" was open to the Truth (از شریعت رسته و ازاده / در حقیقت چشم دل بکشاده). Both sections allude to the smoke of the bathhouse furnace mentioned in connection with this figure in Aflākī's account (it left him filthy), but this is an entirely laudatory account, suggesting again an independent and alternative perspective on a figure known otherwise only from Aflākī's work.

(5) Again immediately following the two sections on this figure appears an unfortunately brief section (just 13 lines, ff. 23Ab–24a) for which the heading announces an account of "the life of Shaykh Ṣaltūq (peace be upon him)." This is clearly the renowned figure better known as Sarī Saltūq, on whom there is a substantial body of scholarship.¹⁷ The account praises him as unparalleled and

16 Aflākī, *Feats of the Knowers*, 595–598; cf. Lewis, *Rumi Past and Present*, 436. The event occurred before the death of Sultān Valad in 712/1312.

17 On Sarī Saltūq, see Karamustafa, "Early Sufism," 190–196; Karamustafa, *God's Unruly Friends*, 62; G. Leiser, "Ṣarī Ṣaltūq Dede," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*², vol. 9 (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 61–62; Irène Mélikoff, "Qui était Sarī Saltuk? Quelques remarques sur les manuscrits du *Saltuknâme*," in *Studies in Ottoman History in Honour of Professor V.L. Ménage*, ed. Colin Heywood and Colin Imber (Istanbul: The Isis Press, 1994), 231–238; Ahmet Yaşar

as having suppressed and slain his carnal soul (*nafs*), but regrettably—given its early date and provenance—it is quite uninformative about miracles and stories linked with him. We find, rather, praise for his disinterest toward the world, his drunkenness from the “wine of God” (*sharbatu’llāh*), and his constant engagement in prayer, fasting, and Qur’ān-recitation (در صلوة و صوم بودی) (روزُ شب / هم بقرآن می کشودی هر دو لب).

There is, however, one interesting aspect of what we are told about him in the *Qalandar-nāma*: he is linked not with the Balkans or the region of Dobrudja, on the western Black Sea coast, that became the center of the legends and shrine traditions about Sarı Saltıq,¹⁸ but with a more easterly region

Ocak, *La révolte de Baba Resul ou la formation de l'hétérodoxie musulmane en Anatolie au XIII^e siècle* (Ankara: Imprimerie de la Société Turque d'Histoire, 1989), 100–105; Grace M. Smith, “Some *Türbes/Maqāms* of Sarı Saltuq, an Early Anatolian Turkish Ġāzi-Saint,” *Turcica*, 14 (1982), 216–225; and my discussion of some narratives regarding Sarı Saltıq, with further references, in *Islamization and Native Religion*, 207–208 and 251–255. For the important account of Sarı Saltıq, only recently brought to light, from an Arabic work by Ibn Sarrāj, a Rifā’ī dervish writing early in the fourteenth century, see M. Saffet Sankaya, M. Necmettin Bardakçı, and Nejdēt Gürkan, “İbnü’s-Serrâc’a Göre Sarı Saltuk,” *Tasavvuf (ilmî ve akademik araştırma dergisi)* 32, no. 2 (2013), 75–110, and now also the full Turkish translation of the work, Muhammed b. Ali b. es-Serrâc, *Tuffâhu’l-Ervâh ve Miftâhu’l-İrbâh: Ruhların Meyvesi ve Kazancın Anahtarı*, trans. Nejdēt Gürkan, Mehmet Necmettin Bardakçı, and Mehmet Saffet Sankaya (Istanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2015), 319–327 (I am indebted to Andrew Peacock for bringing the latter publication to my attention); Ibn Sarrāj dates this saint’s death to 697/1297–1298, and refers to him as “*al-shaykh* Saltuq al-Turki” (explicitly vowing his name thus, but giving also the form “*şaltūq*”—a bit closer to the form found in the *Qalandar-nāma*—which he says is more widespread). A large body of legendary narratives about Sarı Saltıq and about saints associated with him was assembled in the fifteenth century in the *Şaltuq-nāma* of Abū’l-Khayr Rūmī; see Kemal Yüce, *Saltuk-nâme’de Tarihî, Dinî ve Efsanevî Unsurlar* (Ankara: Sevinç Matbaası/Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1987), *Şaltuq-nâme: Ebū’l-Hayr Rūmî’nin sözlü rivayetlerden topladığı Şarı Saltuk menakibi*, ed. Fahir İz; 7 parts, Sources of Oriental Languages and Literatures, ed. Şinasi Tekin and Gönül Alpay Tekin, Turkic Sources, 4 (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University, 1974–1984), and now Ahmet T. Karamustafa, “Islamisation through the Lens of the *Saltuk-name*,” in *Islam and Christianity in Medieval Anatolia*, ed. A.C.S. Peacock, Bruno De Nicola, and Sara Nur Yıldız (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2015), 349–364.

- 18 As discussed in my *Islamization and Native Religion*, Sarı Saltıq appears, in the fifteenth-century history of Yazıcıoğlu ‘Alī, as the leader of a band of Turkic nomads who established themselves in the Dobrudja, near the mouth of the Danube, where they enjoyed the protection of Berke, khan of the Golden Horde, and his general Noghay; see Paul Wittek, “Yazıcıoğlu ‘Alī on the Christian Turks of the Dobruja,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 14 (1952): 639–668, as well as Smith, “Some *Türbes/Maqāms* of Sarı Saltuq,” and Machiel Kiel, “The *Türbe* of Sarı Saltuk at Babadag-Dobrudja: Brief Historical and Architectonical Notes,” *Güney Doğu Avrupa Araştırmaları Dergisi* 6–7 (1977–78): 205–225.

of the steppe, closer to Crimea. This more easterly focus for his activities may already be reflected in the comment by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, roughly contemporary with the *Qalandar-nāma*, about a village named “Bābā Saltūq,” and by later traditions linking Sarı Saltıq with Crimea and with the steppe.¹⁹ The brief account from the *Qalandar-nāma*, however, offers a more specific localization: one line implicitly links him with the Dasht-i Qıpchāq (نام او صلتوق جایش دشت بود), while another credits him with “opening up” (i.e., to Islam), through his sanctity, the steppe region in the Don (*tūnā*) valley (بر سر جوی طونا می رفت زود / دشت را او با) (ولایت بر کشود).

(6) Following an intervening section on the “*mardān-i hū*” (i.e., on God’s hidden saints, ff. 24a–b), a longer section follows with a heading that promises an account of “*Shaykh Barāq*,” with blessings for the dead (ff. 24b–25a). Once again, we have a relatively early reference to a major figure of late thirteenth-century hagiology, usually referred to as Barāq Bābā, who died in or around 707/1307. There is likewise considerable scholarly literature on this figure.²⁰ He and his “wild” appearance are mentioned in numerous early sources, which link him with the Ilkhanid rulers Ghāzān and Öljeytü and place his death in Gīlān while on a mission for the latter. He is said to have been born

19 *Voyages d’Ibn Battūta*, ed. Defrémery and Sanguinetti, vol. 2: 416–417, 445; *The Travels of Ibn Baṭṭūta*, tr. Gibb, vol. 2: 499–500, 514. The fifteenth-century *Şaltuq-nāma* includes narratives linking Sarı Saltıq with Crimea, and from the seventeenth century, Evliyā Chelebī likewise noted Sarı Saltıq’s activity in the Dasht-i Qıpchāq; see Evliiia Chelebi, *Kniga puteshestvīiia (Izvluchenīia iz sochinenīia turetskogo puteshestvennika XVII veka)*, vyp. 2, Zemli Severnogo Kavkaza, Povolzh’ia i Podon’ia, tr. A.D. Zheltiakov and A.P. Grigor’eva (Moscow: Nauka, GRVL, 1979), 133.

20 On Barāq Bābā, see Hamid Algar, “Barāq Bābā,” in *Encyclopaedia Iranica* vol. 3, ed. Ehsan Yarshater (London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1989), 754–755; Karamustafa, *God’s Unruly Friends*, 1–2, 62–63; Karamustafa, “Early Sufism;” Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, *La révolte*, 105–110; Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Marjinal Süfîlik: Kalendariler (XIV–XVII. Yüzyıllar)* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1992), 69–74; Robert Dankoff, “Baraq and Burāq,” *Central Asiatic Journal*, 15 (1971): 102–117; Mehmed Fuad Köprülü, *Islam in Anatolia after the Turkish Invasion (Prolegomena)*, tr. Gary Leiser (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1993), 22–23; and especially Charles Melville, “The Ilkhān Öljeytü’s Conquest of Gīlān (1307): Rumour and Reality,” in *The Mongol Empire and its Legacy*, ed. Reuven Amitai-Preiss and David O. Morgan (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 73–125 [79–83, 85–87, 98–101, 119–125 on Barāq]. The treatments of Köprülü and Ocak reflect the tendency in much of Turkish scholarship to see in such “antinomian” Sufis evidence of survivals of pre-Islamic Turkic “shamanism,” an approach soundly rejected by Karamustafa. Melville’s article adduces considerable new evidence, mostly from Arabic sources, on Barāq’s links with the Ilkhanid elite, especially Öljeytü. “Shaykh Baraq” (spelled “*b.r.q*”), identified as a Dimashqī (“Damascene”), is also mentioned briefly in the work of Ibn Sarrāj, completed in 715/1315, which notes his association with “Shaykh Saltūq” (see es-Serrāc, *Tuffāhu’l-Ervāh*, 248–249, 327).

near Tokat, in Anatolia, but some sources assign to him the *nisba* “Qirīmī.” As with many saints of Anatolia in this era, he was identified, by the fifteenth century, as a disciple of Ḥājji Bektāsh.

Once again, however, the author of the *Qalandar-nāma* is stingy with specific narratives or features of this “Shaykh Barāq’s” spiritual profile, though he identifies him as a “Rūmī” and implicitly links him with the world of unconventional and “antinomian” dervishes. “His hands and feet and neck were laden with bells” (*dast-u pā vu gardanish basta ba-zang*), he tells us, and the account further notes the ecstatic states he entered during *samā’*, affirms that he was “utterly pure of all good and bad” (*pāk-ū pākīza zi jumla nīk-ū bad*) and “made censure (*malāmat*) his choice,” and links him with the “royal” imagery of “drum and banner” that surrounded many saints of this class (*ṣāhib-farmān-ū bā tabl-ū ‘alam*).

The account is of further importance for linking Shaykh Barāq with “Ṣaltūq,” reflective of traditions insisting that Barāq Bābā was a disciple of Sarı Saltıq (who in some accounts is credited with converting Barāq back to Islam after he had embraced Christianity as a child). The author refers to him as another “drunken” saint (*mast*) who came after Saltūq, and later emphasizes that “Shaykh Barāq-i Rūmī” was in effect a spiritual heir to “his Saltūq,” whom he nevertheless surpassed. The latter passage leads at once into what appear to be allusions, unfortunately not entirely clear, to narrative traditions about Shaykh Barāq:

شیخ براق رومی ز انکه شد مزید
کار مردانه بکرد ان شیر مرد
مشت زد بر روی او و شد روان
ببر را از هیبتش خاموش کرد

این همه معنی ز صلتوقش رسید
آن براقی که قزان را شبله زد
جه براقست او که بر ببر بیان
با ولایت ببر را جون موش کرد

The last three lines evidently allude to a story in which Barāq, having made his way to the court of the Ilkhanid ruler Ghāzān, was “tested” by having a lion or tiger sent against him, and proved his sanctity by stopping the beast with a shout, or, in other accounts, by mounting it and riding it (a familiar hagiological motif), thereby earning the devotion of the Mongol rulers. It seems likely that the term *qazān* in the second line renders the name of Ghāzān, but the nature of the brave deed accomplished by the saint is left unclear, though the third and fourth lines seem to allude to the same story: they quite explicitly show the saint striking a tiger (*babur*, *babr-i bayān*) in the face with his fist and thus, through his sanctity, leaving the tiger silent and meek, like a mouse. The motif of a saint’s power over wild animals is quite common, and the author may have split one episode into two, or may have known multiple traditions

about Shaykh Barāq frightening a tiger. It is also possible that the mention of the saint's name in the second and/or third line—in conjunction with the mention of other animals—should be understood as a contrastive play on the canine implications of his Turkic name, *barāq* (meaning a dog, or dog-like creature, with numinous associations), which according to legend was given to the saint by his master Sarı Saltıq: in the second line, the “dog” Barāq acts in a manly way and is declared to be, in effect, “a lion of a man,” while in the third the author asks what sort of *barāq* it is that subdues a tiger. There is not, however, anything else in the *Qalandar-nāma* that might be construed as an allusion to the meaning of Shaykh Barāq's name, leaving this interpretation conjectural.

(7) Immediately following the section on Shaykh Barāq comes a heading for an account of “**Akhī Avran** the tanner” (*dabbāgh*), who was no longer alive. Here again we have an early reference to a figure who would become quite well-known, Akhī Evren, linked with the town of Kırşehir (Qir-shahr, northwest of Kayseri), and identified as the patron-saint of tanners. He was the subject of an early verse hagiography in Turkic, which dates to the early fourteenth century.²¹ As usual, the section dealing with him (22 lines, ff. 25a–b) is full of general praise for his sanctity and especially his generosity, but a few lines do add some details:

21 Akhī Evren is simply named, among *fuqarā* of the time of Orkhān Ghāzī, in the fifteenth-century chronicle of Āshiq-pāshā-zāda; see Friedrich Giese, ed., *Die altosmanische Chronik des Āşikpaşazāde* (Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1929; repr. Osnabrück: Otto Zeller Verlag, 1972), 199–200, 212; cf. Çiftçioğlu N. Atsız, ed., “Āşikpaşaoğlu Ahmed Āşıkı, Tevārīh-i Āl-i Osman,” in *Osmanlı Tarihleri*, 1: *Osmanlı tarihinin anakaynakları olan eserlerin, mütehasıslar tarafından hazırlanan metin, tercüme veya sadeleştirilmiş şekilleri külliyatı*, ed. Çiftçioğlu N. Atsız (Istanbul: Türkiye Yayınevi, 1941), 193, 235. See further V.A. Gordlevskii, “Dervishi Akhi Evrena (Ėvrana) i tsekhi v Turtsii,” in Gordlevskii, *Izbrannye sochineniia*, vol. 1. (Moscow: Izd-vo Vostochnoi Literatury, 1962), 289–306; Franz Taeschner, “Legendenbildung um Achi Evran, den Heiligen von Kırşehir,” *Festschrift Friedrich Giese aus Anlass des siebenzigsten Geburtstage überreicht von Freunden und Schülern*, ed. Gotthard Jäschke, *Die Welt des Islams*, Sonderband (Berlin: Deutsche Gesellschaft für Islamkunde, 1941), 61–71; Franz Taeschner, ed., *Gülschehris Mesnevi auf Achi Evran, den Heiligen von Kirschehir und Patron der türkischen Zünfte*, *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Abendlandes*, xxxi, 3 (Wiesbaden: Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft, 1955); Franz Taeschner, “Akhī Ewrān,” in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*², vol. 1 (Leiden: Brill, 1986), 324–325; Enver Behnan Şapolyo, *Kırşehir Büyüklere* (Ankara: San Matbaası, 1967), 20–31; and Mikāil Bayram, “Ahi Evren Kimdir? (Gerçek Şahsiyeti ve Eserleri),” *Türk Kültürü*, 16, no. 191 (1978): 658–668 (identifying Akhī Evren with a figure known as a disciple of Awḥad al-Dīn Kirmānī [d. 635/1238], but on the basis, in part, of a *vaqfiya* declared spurious by Taeschner). Cf. Lewis, *Rumi Past and Present*, 216, 311.

در سخاوت بود او از بس سخی	بود اندر روم یک مرد اخی
با شجاعت نادر و فرزانه	در فتوت عاشق مردانه
در فتوت عاشق راه علی	خوش اخی بود و سخی بود آن ولی
می خورائیدی برای حق بدان	سفره از کسب خود با مردمان
ز ان سبب که بود او از اولیا	هیچ در کارش نبودستی ریا
کر اخی اورن بکوی هم رواست	چیست نامش گفت برکوز اولیاست
همتش پولادرا کردی جو موم	صنعتش دباغ وی از ملک روم

The account links him with Rūm and praises his generosity as an *akhī* and an exemplar of *futuwwat*. It specifically links this, further, with the “path of ‘Alī,” but it is doubtful that this should be taken as a sign of specifically Shī‘ī leanings, rather than simply as an allusion to ‘Alī’s status as the personification of the virtues of *futuwwat*. Still more interesting is the allusion to his “social services” profile in the fourth line, as he is said to have provided food for the people, “through his livelihood,” for the sake of God. Before identifying his profession, however, the account first affirms the sincerity of his actions—because he was among the saints—and then notes, evidently, another appellation by which Akhī Avran was known, affirming in the sixth line that his name was “Bürgüz” or “Bir-köz” (*b.r.küz*) Auliya (in the latter case identifying him as a “One-Eyed” saint); this designation is evidently not found in other references to this figure. The seventh line, finally, affirms that he was a tanner by trade, and that “his aspiration would render steel as soft as wax;” the latter point suggests an allusion to the penchant of some dervishes of this era—most notably the Ḥaydarīs, mentioned below—for handling and shaping hot iron, but this is not typically part of Akhī Avran’s profile.

The rest of the account affirms the virtues of *futuwwat* and of the status of *akhī*, stressing the values of service and generosity. Later, however, in the second volume, there is another section devoted to “Akhī Avrān-i Dabbāgh” (19 lines, ff. 67a–b), this time focused on “the story of his cat.” Here he is linked specifically with Kayseri (Qayṣariya), and again with the path of ‘Alī (he is said to be “among the *‘āshiqān-i murtaḏā*”). He is praised for his self-deprivation and for exemplifying *futuwwat* and *muruvvat*. His craft is identified again as tanning (*dibāgh*), and his name is spelled (as in the heading) with a slight difference from its earlier rendering (صنعتش دباغ اوران نام اوست).

(8) In the second volume of the work appears a relatively long section (33 lines, ff. 95b–96a) presenting an anecdote about a figure called “Kh‘āja Ṣadr al-Dīn the distracted” (*muwallah*).²² The account affirms that this Ṣadr al-Dīn

22 This appears to be the reading intended, though the *tashdid* appears misplaced (مؤله); the term *muwallah* is used frequently in this era to refer to dervishes “distracted” by

dwelled in Qonya, and the story, involving his meeting with a judge (qadi) in a public bath (*hammām*), is set there as well, suggesting that the figure intended is the famous thirteenth-century Sufi and proponent of Ibn ‘Arabī’s teaching, Khvāja Šadr al-Dīn Qūnavī (d. 673/1274). No particulars are provided that confirm this identification, however; Khvāja Šadr al-Dīn is simply praised as are other figures mentioned in the work (e.g., he had passed beyond both worlds, he was freed from all but bound to God [و ز همه ازاد با / زین جهان بگذشته / [حق بستۀ]). We might take such characterizations as indicating some distance between this Khvāja Šadr al-Dīn and the intellectual and literary legacy linked with the famous Šadr al-Dīn Qūnavī, but there appear to be no other known candidates for identification with the figure mentioned here.

(9) Immediately following this story is a section (13 lines, ff. 96a–b) praising **Sultān Valad**, the famous son of Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, followed by another section (16 lines, ff. 96b–97a), noted earlier, on the author’s meeting with Sultān Valad in Konya.²³ As noted, the author credits this meeting with having a transformative effect upon him, and with, in effect, giving him his literary voice.

(10) The latter section is followed by a passage in praise of the “*haft tanān*,” i.e., the “Seven Bodies,” hidden (and unnamed) saints identified as each the *quṭb* in his particular clime (*iqḷīm*); and this is followed, in turn, by a brief account (11 lines, f. 97b) with a heading promising a story (*hikāyat*) of “**Shaykh Bakhtiyār Abdāl**.” However, the author again mostly praises this saint, offering just glimpses of what may have been broader hagiographical imagery or narratives (his *khirqā* shone like the sun, for instance, and “in winter he dwelled underwater” [*dar zamistān būd jāyish zīr-i āb*]). The account does link him with the author’s native town, Aksaray, but offers no further substance; I have not been able to identify him through other sources.

(11) Immediately after the section on Bakhtiyār Abdāl appears a brief passage explaining (according to the heading) that “among the friends of God there is a group that is hidden from the eyes of the people, beneath these ‘domes’” (زیر این قباب) [*sic*]), alluding to the famous *ḥadīth qudsī*. The following section (f. 98a, 14 lines) begins with a heading declaring that “**Faqī Aḥmad** [*sic*] was the axial saint of Anatolia (*quṭb-i mulk-i rūm*).” Despite the curious spelling, no doubt intended to reflect colloquial pronunciation, this is clearly a reference to the thirteenth-century figure of Konya known as Faqīh Aḥmad

mystical love. On Šadr Sadr al-Dīn Qūnavī, see W.C. Chittick, “Šadr al-Dīn al-Kūnavī,” in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*², vol 8 (Leiden, Brill, 1995), 753–755; he is mentioned briefly, as Ibn al-‘Arabī’s student, by Ibn Sarrāj (Muhammed b. Ali b. es-Serrāc, *Tuḥfāhu’l-Ervāh*, tr. Gürkan *et al.*, 233).

23 On Sultān Valad in particular, see Lewis, *Rumi Past and Present*, 230–241.

or Aḥmad Faqīh. Aflākī refers several times to Faqīh Aḥmad, identifying him as a Turk who studied Ḥanafī jurisprudence (*fiqh*) with Rūmī's father, Bahā' al-Dīn-i Valad, before becoming *majzūb* and turning into an "intoxicated" dervish, leading Rūmī to speak of him as too inattentive to the sharia.²⁴ By contrast, an anecdote in the anonymous hagiography of Awḥad al-Dīn Kirmānī (d. 635/1238), evidently compiled in the second half of the thirteenth century, shows Kirmānī defending Faqīh Aḥmad's sanctity against a group of his detractors in Konya, though acknowledging that intoxication (*sukr*) usually predominated in him, winning out over sobriety (*ṣaḥv*).²⁵

None of Aflākī's misgivings is reflected in the *Qalandar-nāma*, however, where the account praises Faqī Aḥmad as superior to the people in knowledge and higher in rank than other saints, and again offers only hints at the lore surrounding him: as two lines affirm, he heard that in Khurāsān, "the Quṭb of the Age" had lit a fire, whereupon "Faqī Aḥmad caught sight of its splendor" and spoke of it to the people of Konya:

آتشی افروخت ان قطب زمان وی بکفت اهل قونیه زو شنید	این شنیدی در خراسان کان جنان شعله انرا فقی احمد بدید
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Though vague and fragmentary, the imagery recalls stories associated with various saints of Khurāsān hurling flames that land in Rūm (Ḥājjī Bektāsh is the best-known example).

It would appear that the legacy of this Faqī Aḥmad was in fact linked, for the author of the *Qalandar-nāma*, with that of Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī and Sulṭān Valad, despite the criticism of him attributed to Rūmī by Aflākī. The account of Faqī Aḥmad is sandwiched between the accounts of the son and the father, and there is a brief reference to him earlier, in the section praising Sulṭān Valad (f. 96b), where the author says that everything that was "within" Faqī

24 Aflākī, *Feats of the Knowers*, 30–31, 285, 288–289, 437, 678. On Faqīh Aḥmad, see further Ocak, *La revolte de Baba Resul*, 87, and Köprülü, *Islam in Anatolia*, 17, 57 (n. 4), 81 (n. 61). Poetry in Old Anatolian Turkish is also linked with the name of Faqīh Aḥmad (see Mecdut Mansuroğlu, ed., *Ahmed Fakih: Çarhname* [Istanbul: Pulhan Matbaası, 1956]), but there is no hint of this in the *Qalandar-nāma*. Ibn Karbalā'ī, in the sixteenth century, notes the grave, in Tabrīz, of "Bābā Faqīh Aḥmad," known as "Bābā Faqīh Asbustī," whom he identifies as originally from Konya in Rūm (*Rauzāt al-jinān va jannāt al-janān*, vol. 2., 48–49, 66). It is not clear whether this reflects the Tabrīzī saint's identity with Aflākī's Faqīh Aḥmad or a conflation of traditions about separate figures; the latter is suggested by Ibn Karbalā'ī's portrayal of Bābā Faqīh Aḥmad Asbustī as a contemporary of Shaykh Muḥammad Kujujānī (d. 1279).

25 *Manāqib-i Awḥad al-Dīn Ḥāmid b. Abī'l-Fakhr Kirmānī*, ed. Badī' al-Zamān Furūzānfar (Tehran: Bungāh-i Tarjima va Nashr-i Kitāb, 1347/1968), 189–190 (No. 46).

Aḥmad came from “*maulinā*” (which in this case may refer either to Rūmī or to Sultān Valad, but hardly to Bahā’ al-Dīn-i Valad, who is not mentioned in the *Qalandar-nāma*).

(12) The section on “Faḳī Aḥmad” is followed at once by another (18 lines, f. 98b), praising “**Maulānā Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī**,” who the author declares was “our lord and ruler” (*khudāvandigār va ham sultān-i mā*). The verse praises Rūmī in a way that suggests the author’s personal and professional “investment” in what he represented, both as a saint (Rūmī was like the sun, the author like a speck of dust), and as an author: several lines praise his *Maṣnavī* and promise the reader that all he seeks can be found in it. There is also a short passage praising “Maulānā Jalāl al-Dīn Balkhī” in the third volume (six lines, ff. 174b–175a), and another, longer passage praising Rūmī and the *Maṣnavī* in the fourth volume (ff. 252b–253b, with three sections—praising Rūmī, his *maqāmāt* and *karāmāt*, and his *ṣūrat* and *sīrat*—comprising 16, 18, and 17 lines respectively). Here Rūmī is lauded as the Axis of the Gnostics (*Quṭb al-‘arīfīn*) and the the Proof of Those who Discern the True Reality (*Burhān al-muḥaqqiqīn*), and it is clear from both sections that the author sought to model his work, and his life, on Rūmī. This again suggests the inadequacy of a strict delineation of spiritual “styles” in this era.

(13) Still later in the second volume appears a section on “the *pīr* of Zāva, **Quṭb al-Dīn Ḥaydar**” (15 lines, ff. 109b–110a), which is followed at once by another section (11 lines, f. 110a) on the “*ṭarīqa-yi Ḥaydarī*.” Here we find an entirely laudatory discussion of a figure who is as closely linked with the anti-nomian spiritual style of the *qalandars* as any figure mentioned in this work, and is also one of its most controversial representatives. Quṭb al-Dīn Ḥaydar is again the subject of a substantial body of scholarship.²⁶ He and his followers, the Ḥaydarī dervishes, are mentioned in a host of sources from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, which mostly fall into two classes: some accounts condemn Quṭb al-Dīn Ḥaydar and the Ḥaydarīya as innovators of

26 On Quṭb al-Dīn Ḥaydar, see the discussion in Karamustafa, *God’s Unruly Friends*, 44–46 (and, on Ḥaydarī groups from the thirteenth-fifteenth centuries, 56–62, 67–70), with further references, as well as the accounts in M. Izzī Dien, *The Theory and the Practice of Market Law in Medieval Islam: A Study of Kitāb Niṣāb al-Ihtisāb of ‘Umar b. Muḥammad al-Sunāmī (fl. 7th–8th/13th–14th Century)* (London: E.J.W. Gibb Memorial Trust, 1997), 54 (cf. p. 13), and in the biographical dictionary of Ibn al-Fuwaṭī (d. 723/1323), *Majma‘ al-‘adāb fi mu‘jam al-aḳāb*, ed. Muḥammad al-Kāzīm, 6 vols. (Tehran: Vizārat-i Farhang va Irshād-i Islāmī, 1415/1374/1995), 3: 376–377 (under the *laqab* Quṭb al-‘Ālam). Of special interest are the well-known account of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (*Voyages d’Ibn Battūta*, vol. 3, 79–80; *The Travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*, vol. 3, 583), and the sources discussed in Franz Rosenthal, *The Herb: Hashish versus Medieval Muslim Society* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1971), 49–55.

bizarre practices that put them beyond the pale of acceptable Muslim religiosity, while others speak approvingly of Quṭb al-Dīn Ḥaydar himself, but do so while distancing him from the Ḥaydarī community, which, they say, took his name but departed from his example with their unacceptable lifestyle. Here, however, the author is unequivocal, speaking with nothing but praise both of Quṭb al-Dīn Ḥaydar himself and of the “*ṭarīqa-yi Ḥaydarī*,” directly linking the Ḥaydarī dervishes to their eponym while clearly alluding to elements of their unconventional profile.

The section on Quṭb al-Dīn Ḥaydar refers again to him as the Pīr of Zāva (the town later known as Turbat-i Ḥaydarī, because of his shrine’s presence there), calls him the “Axis of the World” (*quṭb-i ‘ālam*), and affirms that he was active in Khurāsān, where, the author declares, there will never be another like him until the Day of Resurrection. The account alludes to the time he spent in the mountains and in a cave (گاه در کهسار که در غار بود), and again refers to him spending years in the cave, where he slew a huge, hideous serpent (سالها در غار سالها در غار) (می بودی جنان / تا بکشت ان مار زشت بس کلان); his seclusion in the mountains is an element of his hagiographical profile early on, but the slaying of the serpent seems to be otherwise unknown. The author may hint at questions about the propriety of his conduct in exhorting the reader to pass beyond “doubt” (*shakk*) and “rejection” (*inkār*) with regard to Quṭb al-Dīn, but he insists that he was a genuine saint (آن ولی کردکار راستین), that his strength came from God (از خدا قوت), and that he was privy to divine mysteries (بدو واقف هم از اسرارها), and that he was privy to divine mysteries (بدو همراه شد).

As for the Ḥaydarī community, the author is equally laudatory. They are cut off from desires, they have dispensed with good and bad, they have abandoned the created world, and approving of them, moreover, earns divine mercy (حیدری را کر شوی عاشق بجان / رحمتی یابی ز خلاق جهان). The author refers to their distinctive appearance, first by affirming that they dress in felt (کر نمد پوشد بدو باشد), and also by alluding to their fabrication and wearing of “iron rings” (*ṭauq-i āhanīn*), one of the hallmarks of the Ḥaydarīya; the wearing of iron is further linked with their spiritual discipline, as the Ḥaydarī dervish is said to tie chains about his waist and thus to no longer pay attention to his individual self (چونک زنجیری ببندد در میان / باید او خودرا نبیند در میان). The section ends with a brief and self-referential affirmation that the Ḥaydarī and the Qalandar belonged, in effect, to the same path:

خوبت زیبا آمد از نیک اختری
با قلندر حیدری چون شد رفیق

بیت جندی در طریق حیدری
تا بفهمند عاشقان این طریق

Here the author declares that his fine verse on the Ḥaydarī path is intended to allow “the Lovers of this path” to understand “how the Ḥaydarī became the

companion of the Qalandar;” the passage thus links the Ḥaydarīs closely with the two appellations the author uses in the work to refer to his own community, i.e., *qalandar* and *‘ushshāq* (= *‘āshiqān*).

(14) Nearer still to the end of the second volume, there is a heading for a brief section (10 lines, f. 118b) on the sanctity (*valāyat*) of “**Shaykh Maḥmūd Bīl-dār**,” another saint of Aksaray who is otherwise unknown (his name is followed by blessings for the dead). His appellation identifies him as a “digger,” i.e., one who wields a shovel (*bīl*), and though this undoubtedly was featured in stories about him, little of their substance is reflected in the account, aside from two lines that indicate his native town, affirm that, despite his lowly occupation, “his affairs were with kings” (possibly alluding to a narrative about his interaction with royalty, but more likely simply a generic allusion to his nobility), and claim that, by God’s will, his shovel went to work by itself, without need for the saint’s hands or feet:

بیل داری بود کارش با کیا
نی که از وی بود از جبار بود

نام او محمود شهرش اقسرا
بیل او بی دست پا در کار بود

The reference to his miraculous shovel seems to cry out for some narrative elaboration, and though none is offered, the brief allusion to such a wonder suggests that in this case, as elsewhere, more extended narratives or explanations might have been offered (as requested?) in the course of oral recitation of poetic “prompts” of this sort. Otherwise this Shaykh Maḥmūd Bīl-dār is simply praised for giving life to dead hearts and for having devotees among Tajiks and Turks (*tāzī-u-turk*, i.e. the two main constituent socio-political groups in the pre-modern Persianate world). Most likely the author was personally acquainted with him, though unfortunately no more is known of him.

(15) The last discussion of a near-contemporary saint in the second volume again deals with a familiar figure, called here “**Shaykh Jamāl al-Dīn-i Sāva-i**” and simply “Jamāl-i Sāva-i;” he too was no longer alive. The subject here is the famous thirteenth-century saint, active chiefly in Damascus and later in Damietta, in Egypt, who is generally credited with “defining” the Qalandariya as a distinct movement, and with formulating its peculiar tonsorial signature, i.e., the shaving of the hair, beard, mustache, and eyebrows. His career is reflected in numerous early sources, and was the focus of a Persian verse hagiography written in Damascus by a Khaṭīb Fārisī, a Shirāzī devotee of a later Qalandarī shaykh, in 748/1347–48.²⁷ That work recounts narratives about

27 On Jamāl al-Dīn of Sāva, see Karamustafa, *God’s Unruly Friends*, 39–44; Ḥaṭīb-i Fārisī, *Manāḳib-i Camāl al-Dīn-i Sāvī*, ed. Tahsin Yazıcı (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1972).

Jamāl al-Dīn's turn from mainstream Sufism to the Qalandar way, recognizable from other records of the saint's life, but presents an utterly fanciful "chronology" in which Jamāl al-Dīn's death is placed in 463/1070–1071, even as he is portrayed as a companion of the ninth-century saint Bāyazīd Bisṭāmī; by contrast, the *Qalandar-nāma*, which does pay special attention to narratives about Bisṭāmī, says nothing about a link (personal, initiatic, or even imitative) between Jamāl al-Dīn and Bisṭāmī. The two relatively long passages devoted to Jamāl-i Sāva-i no doubt reflect his prominence in the "movement" from which the *Qalandar-nāma* takes its name, but they are also valuable for the glimpse they provide of an "alternative" interpretation of Jamāl al-Dīn's image, independent of but roughly contemporary with that of Khaṭīb Fārisī, by an author equally "invested" in the Qalandar ideal.

This work's account of Jamāl al-Dīn actually begins before the section in which he is mentioned in the heading, following a lengthy discussion focused on the "Lover" (*āshiq*), including the explanation (f. 119a) that the Lover is cut off from everything and attached only to the Beloved (*ma'shūq*). The next short section (f. 120b) is described as "in praise of the spiritual Damascus" (*dar sitāyish-i dimashq-i ma'navī*); there an unnamed "great master" (*pīr-i kibār*) is referred to as "the watchman for the spiritual Damascus" (*pāsbān-i dimashq-i ma'navī*), and another full section (24 lines, ff. 120b–121a) follows, with Jamāl-i Sāva-i mentioned in the first line. The passage speaks of him becoming a "Lover" (*āshiq*), describing him as having abandoned piety, abstinence, and prayer, and as having burned up his prayer-rug. He "washed his hands of stations and leadership" and "went off from 'subsistence' in search of 'annihilation'" (از مقامات امامت دست شست / از بقا سویی فنا می رفت جست). However, he was evidently dissuaded from more impious measures by "Shaykh 'Uṣmān," who led a group of Sufis but is not otherwise identified here, though their encounter was in Damascus. This clearly alludes to the figure of 'Uṣmān-i Rūmī, linked with Jamāl al-Dīn both in the work of Khaṭīb-i Fārisī and in other accounts, but here he is simply portrayed as explaining to Jamāl al-Dīn that certain of his deeds were not in accord with the sharia.

In the second section devoted to Jamāl al-Dīn (28 lines, ff. 121a–b), the author turns to his seclusionary practices in Damietta (*Ṭimyāt*). Abū Bakr Rūmī further praises his greatness, writing, "He had given divorce to both worlds, / He was free both from this one and from that" (*har dū 'ālam-rā ṭalāqī dāda būd / ham az-īn-u ham az ān azāda būd*); he alludes then to a story in which he sat in seclusion, "in a snare" (or net, *mašīd*), focused exclusively upon God (در مصیدی / منزوی بنشسته بود / با دل جان با خدا پیوسته بود), drawing the attention of the people of the city because of the unfamiliar food provided to him miraculously by God. The mosque attendant reported this to the qadi of the city, who went to

see the shaykh riding on a mule (*astarī*). The qadi spoke to him, but when he looked upon his face, he saw that he had no hair or beard (دید قاضی آن جمال و روی / او / هیچ در روی خود نبود از ریش مو). The qadi then told him that this was not proper according to the sharia, and that no saint had ever done this. At this point, as in the lines given below, the saint asked the qadi what he wanted him to do, and the qadi told him to show him his beard; then the saint, after a time in meditation, raised his head to reveal his facial hair restored, amazing the qadi and all the people, and leading them to abandon their rejection (*inkār*) of the saint and to become his devotees:

کفت قاضی ریش خود بنما بِنَا	کفت با قاضی چه می جویی ز مَا
باز سر را در جوالقی در کشید	سر بر آورد ریش ابرو وا نمود
بندَهای قاضی از هیبت کشود	غلغله افتاد اندر آن میان
کردنش اقرار از پیر و جوان	رفت انکار از همه صادق شدند

The miracle, set in Damietta, in which Jamāl al-Dīn produces a beard—usually it is described as full and luxurious—after appearing clean-shaven is a familiar part of his saintly profile. It appears in the work of Khaṭīb Fārīsī, and is recounted also by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who heard it in Damietta.²⁸

(16) and (17)²⁹ Shortly after the passage praising Özbek Khān that appears near the end of the third volume, there is a heading for an account of “the confidence of Ḥājjī Muḥammad Qirīmī with regard to his *pūr*.” The passage that follows (21 lines, ff. 196a–b) is again disappointing in terms of particular details or narrative allusions, aside from linking this Ḥājjī Muḥammad with the *‘ushshāqīyān* and suggesting, by the absence of a blessing for the dead in the heading, that he may still have been living when the author was writing. However, it is of some interest that another hand, evidently, has added in the heading, in black ink, above and after the name of Ḥājjī Muḥammad Qirīmī,

28 *Voyages d'Ibn Battūta*, vol. 1., 61–63; *The Travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*, vol. 1, 38–39; cf. Karamustafa, *God's Unruly Friends*, 116, n. 7. Ibn Battūta's account includes the element of the qadi riding a mule, but develops it further, and also elaborates multiple stages of manifesting the beard; it ends with the qadi becoming the shaykh's disciple.

29 The third volume is largely devoid of passages focusing on particular saints identifiable as belonging to the thirteenth or early fourteenth century, until near the end of the volume. Prior to the two figures discussed here, there is mention of a “Shaykh Muḥammad Yalla” (or Yala), who figures briefly in a passage dealing with Chinggis Khān (f. 194a), discussed in my “*Khāns and Amīrs*,” 55–57. This shaykh is linked with Marv, and thus seems not to belong among the saints, discussed here, whose memory was cultivated in the author's world.

“*valad-i Bābā-yi Fuqqāī* [sic].” This indicates that he was the son of a man who bore the appellation—quite common for saints, especially from Central Asia and Anatolia, but not otherwise found in this work—“*bābā*,” and who was further identified only by an occupational *nisba* (*fuqqāī*, a seller of beer or ale) that suggests both a regional specialty of Crimea and a likely narrative framework involving repentance or conversion.³⁰ Unfortunately, what may have been hinted at in the father’s name is not fleshed out in the account, and we are left only with a likely member of the group—the ‘Ushshāqīs—with which the author links himself, but one for whom neither identification nor further narrative elaboration is made possible by the account.

(18) Not long after this passage appears a heading in which, again, the mere name of the saint is more tantalizing than the account itself: it promises praise of “*Akhī ‘Ajab-shīr Qūlī*,” who was deceased when the work was written. The passage itself (17 lines, ff. 199a–b) stresses his status as an *akhī*, compares him to ‘Alī in bravery, affirms that he had no need of “*shāh* and *khān*,” commends him for having “divorced” his carnal soul (*naḥs-rā dāda ṭalāq*), and offers further praise, as usual; but it also closely links him (and his identity as an *akhī*) with the *futuvva* and its “social” profile (e.g., he “spread the *sufra*”). Moreover, the passage also links him with “Shaykh ‘Uṣmān,” who is said to have bestowed benefits upon him, even though they did not “sit down” together or otherwise associate with one another (presumably this is the same Shaykh ‘Uṣmān mentioned in the account of Jamāl al-Dīn Sāvajī, and not the ‘Uṣmān Fuqqāī mentioned in connection with the preceding saint, given the latter’s activity in Bulghār or Crimea). Unfortunately, no further details are given about their relationship, and the author says that this saint’s interesting name was given to him simply because he was “a lion among lions” (*shīr-i shīrān*).

30 A certain Ḥājī Pīra Fuqqāī appears once, evidently as a disciple of Shaykh Ṣafī al-Dīn Ardabilī (d. 735/1334), in the *Ṣafvat al-ṣafā* (Ibn Bazzāz Ardabilī, *Ṣafvat al-ṣafā*, 844). Unfortunately the brief reference offers no basis for arguing any sort of connection between this figure and the Bābā Fuqqāī mentioned in the *Qalandar-nāma*, or for suggesting what might be signaled by his appellation. A more promising identification, however, is with the figure called “Shaykh ‘Uṣmān Fuqqāī,” said to have become a disciple of Shaykh Ḥasan Bulghārī (d. 698/1298) during the time the latter spent in the lands of the Golden Horde, in the middle of the thirteenth century; see Sayyid Ṣādiq Sajjādī, “Shaykh Ḥasan Bulghārī va maqāmāt-i ū,” *Āyina-yi mīrās*, n.s., 4/2–3 [33–34] (2006), 35; Muḥammad Zaynī, *Maqāmāt-i Shaykh Ḥasan Bulghārī*, ed. Maryam Ḥusaynī, Maryam Rajab-niyā (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Duktur Maḥmūd Afshār/Intishārāt-i Sukhan, 1398/2019), 119, and, more broadly, the account of Bulghārī in Ibn Karbalāī, *Rauzāt al-jinān*, vol. 1, 128–155 (where, however, ‘Uṣmān Fuqqāī is not mentioned).

The one additional concrete detail is the author's affirmation that he dwelled in the town of Tokat (*shahr-i ū tūqāt mulkash ān*³¹ *būd*), in north-central Anatolia between Sivas and Amasya. This leaves it virtually certain that "Akhī 'Ajab-shīr Qūlī"—who is not known from Aflākī or from later sources—is to be identified with a Sufi, called "*al-shaykh* 'Ajab-sīr," who is mentioned in the Arabic hagiographical compendium of the Rifā'ī dervish Ibn Sarrāj, completed in 715/1315.³² He is not among the saints accorded an entry in this work; rather, he figures there as a foil, in effect, in a story about Shaykh Tāj al-Dīn, the author's chief spiritual guide in the Rifā'īya,³³ who is said to have met him in Tokat (*tūqāt*) and later to have "chastised" him from a distance. The story characterizes "*al-shaykh* 'Ajab-sīr" as "large-eyed" (*kabīr al-'aynān*) and as given to self-abasement in his struggle against his carnal soul, but as so clumsy in his efforts that he committed some breach requiring chastisement, whereupon Shaykh Tāj al-Dīn called out his name three times from a village two-days' journey away. As a result, "Ajab-sīr" fell into a fire, back in Tokat, three times, and one of his eyes flew out of his head. The story thus demonstrates the Rifā'ī shaykh's superiority over "Ajab-sīr," whose depiction by Ibn Sarrāj in an inferior light contrasts sharply with the high praise accorded him in the *Qalandar-nāma*; this suggests that "Akhī 'Ajab-shīr Qūlī," or the "group" he represented, may indeed have been a rival of the Rifā'īya as represented by Shaykh Tāj al-Dīn.³⁴

31 Emended from *an*; no *madda* in the text.

32 See es-Serrāc, *Tuffāhu'l-Ervāh*, 343; the translators render this figure's name, understandably, as "Şeyh Aceb Sayr," and though there is no echo in this work either of his designation as an *akhī*, or of the last element in his appellation (*qūlī*, alluding to his "servant-hood"), it seems certain that the form given in Ibn Sarrāj's work masks a reference to the same figure (the two known manuscripts of his work date from the late sixteenth and mid-nineteenth centuries, and in all likelihood the form given in the *Qalandar-nāma* is to be preferred).

33 Ibn Sarrāj in fact traces his initiatic lineage from a brother of Tāj al-Dīn, who, like each of the links in the lineage traced back to the eponym of the Rifā'īya, Aḥmad Rifā'ī (d. 578/1182), was a natural descendant of the latter (there are nine links between Ibn Sarrāj and Aḥmad Rifā'ī, but with several cases of fraternal succession, these nine links appear to represent just four generations).

34 It is worth stressing the quite limited "overlap" between the saints mentioned in the *Qalandar-nāma* and those discussed in the work of Ibn Sarrāj: aside from this apparent reference to Akhī 'Ajab-shīr and the one brief mention of Şadr al-Dīn Qūnavī, only two of the saints discussed here from the work of Abū Bakr Qalandar Rūmī—Shaykh Şaltūq and Shaykh Barāq—are the subjects of entries in the large hagiography of Ibn Sarrāj. Given the Rifā'ī affiliation of the latter, and given the "rootedness" of both works in Anatolia (albeit with Ibn Sarrāj's "catch-basin" well to the southeast of the "center of gravity" in the *Qalandar-nāma*), this suggests that, despite the reputation of the Rifā'ī dervishes for

(19) Roughly in the middle of the fourth volume appears a heading for a long account (30 lines, ff. 262b–263b) of the sanctity of “*Shaykh Naṣr al-Dīn* [*sic*] *al-Qūnyavī*,” who is linked with Aksaray and is identified as a disciple (*murīd*) of “*Shaykh Muḥyī al-Dīn*.” Undoubtedly, Ibn al-‘Arabī is meant here, and in all likelihood this figure should be identified with the Naṣir al-Dīn Qūnavī mentioned by Aflākī in the company of Ṣadr al-Dīn Qūnavī, Mu‘ayyad al-Dīn Jandī, and Sa‘īd al-Dīn Farghānī, all well-known followers of Ibn al-‘Arabī.³⁵ This figure’s learning is praised, in both the religious and worldly sciences (*‘ulūm-i dīn-u dunyā*), and the account focuses on his dealings with “*Sulṭān Ghiyāṣ al-Dīn*,” who “tested” him by asking him to demonstrate his knowledge of *kīmīyā* and making gold out of copper; the shaykh responded that his “chemistry” was not of that sort (کیمیای ما نه زین اکسیرهاست / کیمیای ما عطای کبریاست), angering the ruler, who, however, soon lost his throne:

زین حکایت شد بسططان از قضا
او ز تخت تاج خود بر سر فتاد

اندر ان صحرای شهر اقسرا
پادشاهی که بشیخی در فتاد

The account thus localizes the ruler’s fated loss of “throne and crown” to the region of Aksaray, and implies its connection with his quarrel with the shaykh; this ending suggests that the Sulṭān Ghiyāṣ al-Dīn in question (among the several Saljūqs of Rūm to bear this *laqab*) was the last of this lineage, Mas‘ūd III, deposed by the Mongols in 707/1307.

Conclusion

The *Qalandar-nāma* is a large and rich work, and deserves closer study as a product, and reflection, of the process of acculturation and Islamization underway in the Golden Horde practically since its inception. In its celebration of Muslim saints active in Anatolia and—in at least one case—in the steppe regions of the Jochid *ulus*, and especially in its author’s aim of bringing to that realm the stories and religious legacies of those saints (though sometimes in a quite attenuated form), the work illuminates a significant aspect of the transmission of Muslim hagiology from Anatolia to Crimea and beyond during the first half of the fourteenth century.

antinomian behavior, they and the Qalandars, or “*‘ushshāqīyān*,” of Abū Bakr Rūmī did inhabit quite distinct, and perhaps competing, religious worlds.

35 Aflākī, *Feats of the Knowers*, 249.

Postscript

The initial draft of this article was completed and submitted in the late spring of 2014, and its publication was then expected to precede that of a second, shorter article I prepared on the basis of the *Qalandar-nāma*, which was submitted in the summer of 2015. That article appeared in print already by the end of 2015 (see note 7), but the present article's publication was delayed for many years, during which time other work on the *Qalandar-nāma* has been published, mostly in Kazan and mostly in Russian, including a facsimile of the manuscript, prepared by Il'nur M. Mirgaleev (published in Kazan in 2015 by the Sh. Mardzhani Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Tatarstan) and a partial Russian translation (by Ismagil R. Gibadullin and Miliausha R. Shamsimukhametova, in 2017; in 2014 and 2015, Russian translations of portions of the text were serialized in the *Golden Horde Review*, published in Kazan). One of Mirgaleev's early articles on the work was referenced in one of several brief additions (from 2015 and 2017) inserted during the delay in publication (see note 9), and as the delay continued into early 2019, I occasionally shared the draft, in various stages, with colleagues, by way of bringing the *Qalandar-nāma* to light even as the article remained unpublished. In 2018, I obtained a copy of an English translation of a study by Mirgaleev, "The Islamization of the Golden Horde: New Data," *Golden Horde Review* (Kazan), 2016, no. 1, 89–101; and more recently, two new publications in English appeared in an excellent collection of studies of Islamization in the Golden Horde: A.C.S. Peacock, "Islamisation in the Golden Horde and Anatolia: Some Remarks on Travelling Scholars and Texts," *Revue des mondes musulmans et de la Méditerranée*, 143 (2018/1 = *La Horde d'Or et l'islamisation des steppes eurasiatiques*, ed. Marie Favereau), 151–163, focusing on the ties between Anatolia and the Jochid *ulus* signaled by Abū Bakr Qalandar Rūmī and his work, and Milyausha Shamsimukhametova, "The *Qalandarnāma* by Abū Bakr Qalandar Rūmī," 285–295, intended as an introduction to the work and its author. These publications have to some extent lessened the value of the present article, even as an introduction for an English-speaking readership, but I believe it still warrants publication, both for the discussion of the recent saints mentioned in the work, and for the work's contextualization. In addition, the English article of Mirgaleev introduces some errors and unsustainable assumptions about the identity of the author (including further extrapolations based on the identifications addressed above in note 9, as well as absurd suggestions about the meaning of the *nisba*, Aflākī, borne by the author of the *Manāqib al-ʿarīfīn*, based evidently on reading it as "Eflyaki"), and, like the

article of Shamsimukhametova, over-concretizes the role of “*ṭarīqas*” both in the *Qalandar-nāma* and in the Golden Horde.

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PART 5

Literature



Bābur and the History of a Cross-Linguistic Poetic Imitation Network

Benedek Péri

For there can be no doubt that in art no small portion of our task lies in imitation, since, although invention came first and is all-important, it is expedient to imitate whatever has been invented with success.

QUINTILIAN, *Institutio oratoria*, Book x, chapter 11/1¹



Zahīr al-Dīn Muḥammad Bābur's (1483–1530) infatuation with poetry was an inseparable part of his Turko-Mongol Timurid inheritance, i.e., a combination of Persianate Islam and nomadic traditions. Many of his predecessors wrote verses, and Bābur was brought up at his father 'Umar-shaykh Mīrẓā's court in Akhsi in a milieu where poetry was highly appreciated. 'Umar-shaykh Mīrẓā was a literate person who was acquainted with some of the masterpieces of Persian narrative poetry, the *Khamsas* of Niẓāmī and Amīr Khusrau, Rūmī's *Maṣnavī*, and he very often read his personal favorite, Firdausī's *Shāh-nāma*. Bābur described him as someone who was poetically talented but who simply did not have enough patience or inclination for composing poetry.²

Unlike his father, the young Bābur aspired to poetic honors. He had a strong and constant drive to become a poet in his own right and to actively take part in the bustling literary life of the late fifteenth-early sixteenth centuries. Most contemporary reference works written on the art of versification and the

1 Harold Edgeworth Butler, ed. and trans., *The Institutio Oratoria of Quintilian with an English Translation by H.E. Butler*, vol. 4. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press—London: William Heinemann), 1968, 75.

2 Eiji Mano, ed. *Zahīr ad-Dīn Muḥammad Bābur, Bābur-nāma (Vaḳāyi')*: *Critical Edition Based on Four Chaghatay Texts with Introduction and Notes*, 2nd ed. (Kyoto: Syokado, 2006), 11. (*Bābur-nāma*).

technicalities of poetry advised young would-be poets to study the works of ancient and contemporary poets till “their contents are firmly established in their hearts, their words solidly planted in their memory, their expressions become the possession of their tongue and all their niceties become like a second nature of their mind.”³

We cannot exactly tell whose works Bābur read as a youngster and how he acquired his poetic skills and taste, but scattered references in the *Bābur-nāma* suggest that besides the poets already mentioned, he was familiar with Sa’dī’s *Gulistān*, Kāshifī’s *Anvār-i Suhaylī* and at least some of the poems composed by Ḥāfiẓ (d. 1392), Jāmī (d. 1492), Navāyī (d. 1501), Bināyī (d. 1512) and Muḥammad Sālīḥ (d. 1535).

Aside from the works of earlier and contemporary poets, the critical opinion of his contemporaries might have also played an important role in shaping Bābur’s poetic world. After he occupied Samarqand for the second time, in the autumn of 1500, he exchanged letters with Navāyī and sent him one of his Turkī couplets, probably because he wished for some sort of acknowledgement from him.⁴ Though the expected reply and the encouragement he hoped for never arrived, he was not left without professional support, since Mullā Bināyī, one of the leading poets of the late Timurid period, entered his service the same year.

Perhaps it was due to Bināyī’s inspiring company that Bābur’s poetic output started increasing during and after the few months he had spent in Samarqand. His poetic activity in the pre-Bināyī period was erratic and occasional, and did not yield much result, perhaps because he was searching for his poetic voice and was struggling with basic issues, such as the choice of language.⁵ Bābur, who was initially trying to compose poetry more in Persian than in Turkī (Chaghatay), exemplified those young Turkish poets whom Navāyī denounced

3 Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Qays al-Rāzī, *al-Muʿjam fi maʿāyir ashʿār al-ʿajam*, ed. Muḥammad b. ʿAbu al-Vahhāb Qazvīnī and Mudarris Rażavī (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Dānishgāh-i Tih-rān, 1338/1959), 328.

4 *Bābur-nāma*, 127.

5 Bābur does not say much about his poetic efforts in the pre-Bināyī period, but the story he tells about how he was inspired by a young boy called Bāburī, whom he met in Andijan, suggests that early in his life he was more comfortable with Persian as a poetic medium, especially when it came to composing couplets impromptu. *Bābur-nāma*, 111–112. For an explanation why Bābur preferred Persian to Turkī, see Stephen F. Dale, *The Garden of the Eight Paradises: Bābur and the Culture of Empire in Central Asia, Afghanistan and India (1483–1530)* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 264.

because they chose the easier way towards literary success and wrote their poetic compositions in Persian.⁶

Bināyī's appearance on the scene, however, signaled the coming of profound changes in Bābur's life as a poet. First of all, he finally decided which of the two languages he would use for literary expression. Though some scholars leveled unsubstantiated charges against Bināyī, claiming that he had a prejudice against Turkī, Bābur's final choice for a poetic medium might have been influenced or at least supported by Bināyī as well.⁷

Previously, Bābur had composed only independent couplets, but during his stay in Samarqand he produced his first full poem in Chaghatay, a *rubāʿī* he wrote as a poetic reply to one of Bināyī's Persian quatrains. The next year he lost the city and together with it he had to part with Bināyī's company. Though he endured many hardships and calamities in the coming months, he used every opportunity to compose verses and consult people whom he considered experts on poetics.⁸ His efforts to produce real poetry bore fruit in Tashkent in the summer of 1502 when he managed to compose his first ghazal.⁹

The ghazal written in Turkī, consists of six couplets.¹⁰ It utilizes a very common rhyme, *-ār*, and a rare *radīf*, *tapmadım* "I have not found." Surprisingly, Bābur's choice of meter is not exactly what one would expect from a beginner. *Muzāriʿ-i muşamman-i akhrab-i makfūf-i mahzūf* (--- | --- | --- | --- | ---) is a relatively difficult meter for poetry in Turkish, so beginners or poets with less talent and fewer skills, such as Herat's Timurid ruler, Ḥusayn Bayqara (r. 1469–1506) usually preferred an easy meter, for example, the *ramal-i*

6 'Alī Şīr Nevāyī, *Muhākemetü'l-Lugateyn: İki Dilin Muhakemesi*, ed. F. Sema Barutçu Özönder (Ankara: Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu, 1996), 179.

7 At least this is what the story behind one of Bābur's first *rubāʿīs* suggests. Bināyī complained of his destitute situation in a Persian quatrain not long after he was called to Samarqand from his temporary exile in Shahrīsabz. Bābur's reply came in the form of a Turkī quatrain which was in turn answered by Bināyī with a Turkī paraphrase of Bābur's poem. *Bābur-nāma*, 127.

For Bināyī's alleged prejudice against Turkī, see Abdulgani Mukhamedovich Mirzoev, *Kamal ad-Din Binai* (Moscow: Nauka, 1976), 360–364.

8 *Bābur-nāma*, 146, 148.

9 *Bābur-nāma*, 149–150. For the poem, see the Appendix.

10 Bilal Yücel, *Bâbüür Dîvânı* (Ankara: Atatürk Kültür Merkezi, 1995), 121. Unless otherwise stated, all the references to Bābur's poetry are to Yücel's edition. For further editions of the text, see Zahiriddin Muhammad Bobur, *Sachining savdosi tushti*, ed. Ergash Ochilov (Tashkent: Sharq, 2007), 79; Bobir, *Bobir she'riyatidan*, ed. Saidbek Hasanov and Aziz Kayyumov (Tashkent: O'zbekiston KP Markaziy Komiteti, 1982), 38, I.V. Stebleva, *Semantika gazeley Babura* (Moscow: Nauka, 1982), 209.

muşamman-i maḥzūf (— ∪ — — | — ∪ — — | — ∪ — — | — ∪ —) which is more suitable for Turkish poetry.

Young poets would normally learn the art of poetic composition through imitating their canonical predecessors, in a way very similar to what the Roman author, Quintilian—already quoted in the motto to this chapter—advised to students of rhetoric to follow.¹¹ Therefore, one would assume that Bābur's choice of meter was motivated by a model poem, utilizing the same meter, rhyme and *radif* combination. However, this is not the case.

Though such a poem has not surfaced from the divans of the classics of Turkī poetry yet, a very similar ghazal exists in Bābur's own collection of poems.¹² It is built upon the same rhyme, *-ār*, utilizes a very similar though not the same *radif*, *tapılmas* (“... is not to be found”) and a meter, *hazaj-i muşamman-i akhrab-i makfūf-i maḥzūf* (— ∪ | ∪ — — ∪ | ∪ — — ∪ | ∪ — —) that differs from the previous one only at the beginning of the second and fourth foot.¹³ Besides the formal framework, the signifying universe (*mundus significans*) of the two poems also appears to be overlapping. Even the topic and the mood of the two ghazals are almost identical. Both of these sister poems are set in a romantic mood, depicting the hopelessness and agony of a poet deeply disappointed because he is unable to find a faithful companion. Further features the two poems share include that they are written in the first person and in a very simple language, lacking elaborate rhetorical devices and intricate embellishments.

It is evident that the two poems are related, but the nature of their relation is not clear at first sight. Since the first ghazal was finished earlier, one would think that the poem with its inherent poetical potential, its subject and tone, which could very aptly describe Bābur's feelings in times of hardship, was so deeply absorbed in the poet's mind that later, when a similar crisis occurred in Bābur's life, it resurfaced and inspired the poet to rewrite his first

11 “It is from these and other authors worthy of our study that we must draw our stock of words, the variety of our figures and our methods of composition, while we must form our minds on the model of every excellence. For there can be no doubt that in art no small portion of our task lies in imitation, since, although invention came first and is all-important, it is expedient to imitate whatever has been invented with success.” Butler, *The Institutio Oratoria*, 75.

12 Yücel, *Bābūr Dîvânı*, 133–134; Bobur, *Sachining savdosi tushti*, 61; Stebleva, *Semantika gazelei Babura*, 232; Bobir, *Bobir she'riyatidan*, 67.

13 According to Abdulla A'zam, the meter of the poem is *ramal-i muşamman-i abtar va makhbūn* (— — | ∪ ∪ — — | ∪ ∪ — — | ∪ ∪ — —) (A'zam, Abdulla, *Bobur: Devon: Nazm mahorati* (Tashkent: Tafakkur, 2014), 117). Bābur, however, used the poem to illustrate the meter *hazaj-i muşamman-i akhrab-i makfūf-i maḥzūf* in his work on prosody (Zahiriddin Muhammad Bobir, *Mukhtasar*, ed. Saidbek Hasan (Tashkent: Fan, 1971), 132).

poem in a slightly different form. Our sources, however, suggest a very different explanation.

Chaghatay is a derived literature, born out of the conscious imitation or emulation of the literary products of the Persian tradition, which Central Asian Turkish authors regarded superior.¹⁴ In Persian, reproductive imitation of earlier or contemporary texts was an acceptable practice and as such it was encouraged, especially in the fifteenth century.¹⁵

Literary imitation in general, and its special type when a ghazal composed as a poetic response (*javāb*, *nazīra*) to an earlier text, utilizing the meter, rhyme, *radīf* combination of the model poem, always played an important role in the history of Persian poetry. However, the consolidation and canonization of the Persian literary legacy that took place in the Turkmen-Timurid period brought with it the growing popularity of literary imitation as an acknowledged creative process. Entire *divans* consisting solely of poetic imitations were compiled in the fourteenth—and fifteenth centuries. Suffice it to mention the Persian poems of Navāyī, Qārī-yi Yazdī's (late 15th c.) *divan* on clothes (*Dīvān-i albisa*), Bushāq's (d. 1424 or 1427 or 1456) collection of poems on food (*Dīvān-i aṭ'ima*) and Fattāhī (d. 1448) aka Asrārī's lampoons on cannabis (*Dīvān-i asrārī*).¹⁶ In his analyses of Bushāq's manner of imitation, Paul Losensky has shown that he used a rather basic method of reproductive imitation. Since his main aim was to create parodies of his models, "the strict observance of the similar" was essential to his purposes.¹⁷ Most poetic imitations or emulations, however, were of another type.

As Jāmī's entry on Salmān Sāvajī (d. 1376) in his biographical anthology entitled *Bahāristān* indicates, the process of poetic imitation was very frequently permeated by the spirit of competition; poets did their best to surpass their models because a successful imitation of a well-known poem could bring them acknowledgement and fame.¹⁸ Some famous poems thus inspired many

14 For the term derived literature see Albrecht von, Michael, *A History of Roman Literature*. 1. *From Livius Andronicus to Boethius* (Leiden, Brill 1997).

15 For the concept of reproductive imitation, see Muckelbauer, John, *The Future of Invention, Rhetoric, Postmodernism, and the Problem of Change* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2008), 57–65.

16 Qārī-yi Yazdī, *Dīvān-i albisa*, Qustantiniya: Maṭba'ī Abū Żiyā, 1303/1886; Bushāq, *Dīvān-i aṭ'ima* (Istānbūl: Chāpkhāna-yi Abū Żiyā, 1302/1885); Fattāhī, *Dīvān-i Asrārī*, MS, Süleymaniye Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi, Fatih 5399, ff. 56b–91a. An edition of Fattāhī's text is currently under preparation by the present author.

17 Paul E. Losensky, *Welcoming Fighānī, Imitation and Poetic Individuality in the Safavid-Mughal Ghazal* (Costa Mesa: Mazda Publishers, 1998), 169.

18 'Abd al-Rahmān Jāmī, *Bahāristān va rasā'il-i Jāmī*, ed. 'Alākhān Afşahzād. (Tehran: Mīrās-i Maktūb, 1379/2000), 146.

attempts of imitation and as time passed, an entire network of imitations grew out of them. The first ghazal in Ḥāfīz's divan and the set of imitations it inspired is a typical example of this phenomenon.¹⁹ The popularity of such imitation networks sometimes faded away soon, but in certain cases it lasted for centuries, turning into veritable sub-genres within the ghazal tradition.²⁰ Likewise, the number of imitation poems included in a set may also vary from a sheer handful to several dozens. The nature of the relationship binding the poems within a given set to each other falls into several categories. Some of the paraphrases are related only to the model poem, like Bushāq's lampoons, while others are in dialogue with more than one poem of the set. In most sets there are poems that include intertextual references to several earlier items. By combining select images, key-motifs and phrases of more than one previous poem, their authors seem to have aimed at creating a highly subjective synthesis of what had been done before them. This method was frequently applied, for example, by the Ottoman Sultan Selīm I (r. 1512–1520) in his poetic emulations.

In certain cases, especially when a ghazal imitation network remained popular for a longer period, one of the imitation poems replaced the original base poem and became a model for others. Though the birth and development of imitation networks needs further study, it is clear even at this point that the nature of the ties binding the poems to each other, and thus shaping the inner structure of a network, changes from network to network.

On the surface, ghazals often look simple lyric poems crammed with the same poetic topoi, and thus, for the unskilled eye they appear very similar. Since ghazals were preserved mainly in collections of poems (divans) "as isolated pieces of poetry, detached from the context to which they belonged originally,"²¹ except for the (pen) name of the poet they hardly provide the reader with specific information concerning the poet or the circumstances in which they were conceived. These short poetic texts rarely reveal when and why they were composed. However, if they can be put into some sort of context

19 On imitations inspired by Ḥāfīz's ghazal, see Benedek Péri, "Mir 'Alī-Šīr Navāyī and the first ghazal of Ḥāfīz," in *Alisher Navoiy va XXI asr.mavzuidagi Respublika ilmiy-nazariy anjumani materiallari*, ed. Shuhrat Sirojiddinov (Toshkent: Iqbol, 2018), 176–183; Benedek Péri, "Yavuz Sultan Selim (1512–1520) and His Imitation Strategies: A case study of four Ḥāfīz ghazals," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 73, no. 2 (2020): 233–251.

20 On an Ottoman imitation network that developed into a sub-genre, see Benedek Péri, "... bekerüz": An Ottoman Paraphrase (nazīre) Network from the 16th Century," in Christiane Czygan and Stephan Conermann, eds., *An Iridescent Device: Premodern Ottoman Poetry* (Göttingen: V&R Unipress, 2018), 147–180.

21 J.T.P. De Bruijn, *Persian Sufi Poetry: An Introduction to the Mystical Use of Classical Poems* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2013), 56.

and their relationship to other poems can be mapped, they can yield valuable information about a poet's capabilities, intentions, motives and preferences, potentially leading to a clearer picture of a poet's personality.

Imitation networks provide us with a literary context in which the relations of a poem can be mapped. Once it is determined that a poem is part of a network, an analysis of the intertextual links binding a ghazal to other poetic texts within the network can tell us approximately when and why a poem was composed and provide an insight about the literary context in which the ghazal originated.

As has already been referred to, Bābur's first ghazal does not have a direct model, or such a model has not been surfaced yet; however, the poem seems to be closely connected to another ghazal that utilizes the meter *hazaj-i muṣamman-i akhrab-i makfūf-i mahzūf*, the rhyme *-ār* and the *radif tapulmas*.²² This combination of meter, rhyme and *radif*, as well as the *'āshiqāna* ("amorous") mood of the ghazal provides an easy-to-recognize, seemingly unique poetic framework.

However exceptional this poetic construction may look, Bābur was neither the one who invented it, nor the first poet to use it. A search of the published divans of Chaghatay poets has yielded six more poems based upon the same poetic scheme. Three of them, respectively composed by Ḥāfiz-i Khwārizmī (late fourteenth-early fifteenth century), Luṭfī (1366?–1465?) and Gadāyī (1404?–1491?) are from the fifteenth, while three, 'Ubaydī's (1480–1539), Bayram Khān's (d. 1561) and Ṣānī's (d. mid-sixteenth century), were conceived in the sixteenth century.²³ Poets writing in Chaghatay adopted many elements of the signifying universe developed in the Persian classical poetic tradition, including phraseology, imagery, ideas, poetic devices. Therefore, before trying to answer the question which of the abovementioned six Turkish poems was composed first, let us first consider Persian poems composed by the end of the fourteenth century that might have inspired the first Turkish *tapulmas* ghazal.

It goes without saying that the Turkish refrain *tapulmas* will not be found in Persian poems. Its exact Persian translation, *na-t[a]vān yāftan*, however, was used as a *radif* in a ghazal by Sayf-i Farghānī (d. after 1305–1306) and also

22 Yücel, *Bābur Divanı*, 133–134.

23 Recep Toparlı, ed., *Hârezmlî Hâfiz'in Divanı* (Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu, 1998), 419–420; Günay Karaağaç, ed., *Luṭfî Divanı: Giriş—Metin—Dizin—Tıpkıbasım* (Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu, 1997), 88–89; Gadoiy, *Devon*, ed. Ahmadxojaev (Tashkent: G'afur G'ulom Nomidagi Adabiyot va San'at Nashriyoti, 1973), 61–62; Qul Ubaydiy, *Vafo qilsang: Turkiy devondan namunalar*, ed. A. Hayitmetov (Tashkent: Yozuvchi, 1994), 10; Münevver Tekcan, *Bayram Han'in Türkçe Divanı* (İstanbul: Bulut Yayınları, 2005), 90; Üzeyir Aslan, *Ubeydullah Han (Ö. 1539) Şairi Sâni ve Türkçe Divanı* (Konya: Palet Yayınları, 2009), 67–68.

by Auḥādī (1271–1338).²⁴ Even more interesting, apart from their meter both poems count as possible models. The ghazals are composed in an amorous mood, their rhyme is *-ār* and their signifying universe is very close to that of the Chaghatay poems. All this would suggest that either any one of the ghazals or both poems could inspire the author of the first Turkish ghazal, who, having translated the refrain into Turkish, was forced to change the meter because the original did not suit the syllabic pattern of the changed *radīf*.

The question, which one of the fifteenth-century Chaghatay poets was the first to be inspired by the Persian models is not easy to answer. Though poets' biographical data can usually help decide which poem served as a model for others, this time it is not the case. Not much is known of Ḥāfiz-i Khwārizmī's life, as he is not mentioned in any contemporary literary source. Scattered references in his poems, however, suggest that he was born sometime in the second half of the fourteenth century, spent much of his adult life in Shiraz and died sometime in the first quarter of the fifteenth century.²⁵

The main events of Luṭfi's career are not known, either. Even his birth date is debated. While most scholars think that he was born around 1367 and thus he was a contemporary of Ḥāfiz-i Khwārizmī, others suggest a much later date that would make him a contemporary of Gadāyī.²⁶

As far as chronology is concerned, only one thing seems to be sure: Ḥāfiz-i Khwārizmī preceded Gadāyī. In the case of Ḥāfiz-i Khwārizmī and Luṭfi, chronology does not help determining which of these two poets used the aforesaid meter, rhyme and *radīf* combination first. A comparative analysis of the texts, a search for parallelisms and similarities in the use of metaphors, motifs, key-words and poetic vocabulary, however, might enhance our understanding of the relationship of the three fourteenth-fifteenth century ghazals.

When they are compared, it is clear that except for the poetic framework provided by the meter, rhyme, *radīf* combination, the ghazals of Ḥāfiz-i Khwārizmī and Gadāyī have nothing in common. Luṭfi's poem, on the other hand, looks as if it shares features with both. It is not clear in what way the poems of Ḥāfiz-i Khwārizmī and Luṭfi are related, and it is also possible that they are not connected at all. As has already been referred to, Ḥāfiz-i Khwārizmī

24 *Guzīda-yi ash'ār-i Sayf-i Farghānī*, ed. Abū al-Qāsim Rādfar (Tehran: Amīr Kabīr, 1365/1986), 92–93; *Dīvān-i kāmīl-i Auḥādī Marāghāyī*, ed. Aḥmad Ashrafī (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Pishrau, 1376/1997), 315.

25 Hamid Sulaymon, "Hofiz Xorazmiy," in Hofiz Xorazmiy, *Devon*, 2 vols., ed. Hamid Sulaymon and Fozila Sulaymonova (Tashkent: O'zbekiston KP Markaziy Komiteti, 1981), 8–9; Toparlı, *Hârezmli Hâfiz'in Divanı*, 5–7.

26 Karaağaç, *Lutfi Divanı*, XIV.

is not mentioned by any of the contemporary or later Chaghatay sources and the only extant copy of his *divan* seems to have been lying unnoticed for centuries in India, which would make it quite possible that Luṭfi was not aware of the existence of Ḥāfiẓ-i Khwārizmī's poem.²⁷ However, the second couplets of the two poems seem to share some common elements. The key topic of both couplets looks very similar, and within the known poems of the paraphrase network only these two couplets use the rhyming word *kharīdār* "customer."

Ḥāfiẓ-i Khwārizmī

*Naqd-ı köñül ü jānnu nazargha ketürüb men
Likin bu matā'imgha kharīdār tapılmas*

I put the coins of my heart and soul on display,
But not a customer seems to be interested in my goods.

Luṭfi

*Gül keldi yüzüñg davrıda kim husn satay dep
Idlandı u hich yerde kharīdār tapılmas*

The rose came [close] to the circle of your face and said: "I'll sell beauty,"
[Though] it had a pleasant scent, still, it couldn't find a customer.

The couplet of Ḥāfiẓ-i Khwārizmī is dominated by the semantic field of "buying and selling" which is represented by nouns like *naqd* "ready money," *nazar* "display," *matā'* "goods," *kharīdār* "customer." As far as the logical sequence of couplets is concerned, it fits well between the first and the third couplet of the poem. Ḥāfiẓ-i Khwārizmī complains about his inability to find a suitable beloved in the opening couplet (*matla'*). The second couplet suggests that though he offers his heart and soul, two of his most valuable assets in exchange, still no one is interested in becoming his beloved. The third couplet describes the poet's unlucky situation.

Luṭfi's poem lacks this logic. His *matla'* informs the reader that the poet is in pain because he cannot find a loving companion. In the second *bayt*, the focus shifts from the poet to a rose who shows off in order to find admirers, and to

27 Sulaymon, "Hofiz Xorazmiy," 5–6.

the face of an unknown beauty whose charms are more attractive. In the third *bayt* the poet returns to the original line of thought and complains that he is unable to find a faithful beloved.

An investigation into the relationship of the two poems connecting them to the Persian ghazals does not seem to help to solve the puzzle either. The poem of Ḥāfiẓ-i Khwārizmī appears to be related to the ghazal of Auḥādī. Half of the rhyming words used by Ḥāfiẓ-i Khwārizmī are also present in the Persian poet's text, and the second hemistiches (*mişrā'*) of the first couplets (*maṭla'*) have the word *ghamkhār* as the rhyming word in both poems.

Poets composing a poetic reply (*javāb, nazīra*) to a particular poem quite often repeated one or both rhyming words of the first couplet of the model poem in the *maṭla'* of their own ghazal, and thus the first two lines of imitation poems were used as a special kind of "title pages" meant to signal the ghazal's place in the poetic tradition. The first couplet could serve to prepare the initiated reader for what was coming, what to expect from the poem, and it marked out the model or group of models the *javāb* should be compared to. This symbolic poetic gesture served to supply the audience with valuable additional information on the literary context of the poem.

Ḥāfiẓ-i Khwārizmī's opening couplet seems to fall into this category of *maṭla'*s. The rhyming word at the end of the second hemistich is a compound, *gham-khwār*, a noun with a double meaning. It can be used to denote a person who is "afflicted" by troubles and a person who is capable of "condoling" him or her. The same word, though not in the same meaning, occurs in a rhyming position in the second *mişrā'* of Auḥādī's *maṭla'* as well.

Ḥāfiẓ-i Khwārizmī I

Bu 'ālam ichinde maḥa ol yār tapılmas
Gham birle öledür men u gham-khwār tapılmas

I am unable to find that beloved in this world,
I am dying from sorrow and I cannot find anyone to comfort me.

Auḥādī I

Şhīrīn-tar az dil-dār-i man dil-dār na-tvān yāftan
Miskīn-tar az man 'āshiqī gham-khwār na-tvān yāftan

It is impossible to find anyone sweeter than my beloved.
It is impossible to find a sorrowful lover who is more destitute than me.

The appearance of the same word in the second hemistich of both poems in rhyming position might not be a coincidence. Ḥāfiẓ-i Khwārizmī, who lived in Shiraz, one of the long-standing centers of Persian poetry in the early 1400s, might have been familiar with Auḥādī's ghazal. It might have been very conscious on his part that in order to insert a reference to his model in the title-like *maṭla'*, he retained the rhyming word of the second *miṣrā'* of the Persian poem he wished to emulate in Chaghatay. The combination of the rhyming word and the *radif* provided him with a solid base on which he could build a whole hemistich by using a traditional rhetorical topos of classical poetry. The rhetorical potential inherent in the etymologically and semantically related word pair of *gham* "sorrow" and *gham-khwār* (literally, "a person who eats sorrow,") often occur within the same *miṣrā'* in Persian ghazals, especially in poems using the rhyme group *-ār*. Suffice it to cite a couplet from a ghazal by Amīr Khusrau (1253–1325), whose poems were much imitated models during the Timurid period.

Āshiq shudam va maḥram-i īn kār na-dāram
*Faryād ki gham dāram va gham-khwār na-dāram*²⁸

I fell in love and there is no one whom I could tell about it,
 Alas, I am full of sorrow and I do not have a friend to console me.

An ample number of examples found in the divans of various poets suggests that for Persian poets in the fourteenth century it was quite natural to include the word *gham* in lines that had *gham-khwār* as the rhyming word. Ḥāfiẓ-i Khwārizmī, who spent most of his life in Iran, did nothing else but followed the tradition when he resorted to a well-established rhetoric device in a familiar poetic situation.

There is another point where the poems of Ḥāfiẓ-i Khwārizmī and Auḥādī's poem seem to be close to each other. Both Ḥāfiẓ-i Khwārizmī's third and Auḥādī's fourth couplet look to be built around the contrast between wakefulness and sleep.

Ḥāfiẓ-i Khwārizmī III.

Közüm uyagh u bakht erür uyquda dā'im
Ey vāy kim ol daulat-i bīdār tapılmas

28 *Dīvān-i Kāmil-i Amīr Khusrau Dihlavī*, ed. Sa'īd Nafīsī. (Tehran: Sāzmān-i Intishārāt-i Jāvidān, 1361/1982), 383.

My eyes are awake and my luck is constantly sleeping,
Alas it doesn't find the bliss of being awake.

Auḥadī IV.

Hargiz bi-bīdārī kujā dastam bi-vaṣṭ-i ū rasad
Chūn yak shab īn bakht-i ma-rā bīdār natvān yāftan

How could I be together with him when I am awake,
If there isn't a single night when my luck can be found awake.

Luṭfī's poem also seems to include inter-textual allusions to Auḥadī's poem. The rhyming word of both first *miṣrā'*s is *dildār* "beloved," and the fourth couplet in Luṭfī and the third couplet in Auḥadī appear to be related to each other. Both *bayts* have the rhyming word *hushyār* "sober," and both allude to its antonym "intoxicated" as an attribute of "the beloved's eye," which is a well-known topos in classical poetry.

Luṭfī IV.

Ey Sāqī-yi majlis sal eligdin qadaḥ u jān
Kim kōzlering davrida hushyār tapilmas

Alas, Cupbearer of the symposium, throw down the goblet and the cup
from your hands,
Because no one can stay sober when you roll your eyes/when you distribute the cups.

Auḥadī III.

Mā-rā malāmat gū: ma-kun z-īn pas bi-mastī Auḥadī
Ki-z daur-i chashm-i mast ū hushyār na-tvān yāftan

Scold me! Don't make Auḥadī more intoxicated,
Because you will not be able to find him sober when you roll your eyes.

The fifth *bayt*, on the other hand, uses the proverb "No rose without thorns" to describe the beloveds unfaithful ways, similar to the opening couplet in a ghazal by Sayf-i Farghānī.

Luṭfī v.

*Dedim kim raqībni qashungdin kiter aytur
Bir gül qanı kim aluda yüz khār tapılmas*

I said: send away [my] rival. He [i.e., the Beloved] answered:
Where is the rose that doesn't have a hundred thorns?

Sayf-i Farghānī I.

*Hargiz gulī andar jihān bī-khār na-tvān yāftan
Dilbarī basī bīnī valī dildār na-tvān yāftan*

You cannot find a rose without a thorn in this world,
You can see many beauties who rob your heart, but you cannot find a
beloved.

Except for these two possible intertextual allusions, Luṭfī's poem doesn't share more common elements with the two Persian models. Nevertheless, it includes a possible hint at a Persian poem that is not part of the *tapılmas* paraphrase network in any sense, as the second couplet seems to be a Turkish version of a *mişrāʿ* originally composed by Kamāl-i Khujandī (d. 1400).²⁹

Kamāl-i Khujandī

*Chūn bi-daur-i rūy-ash ay gul ḥusn na-tavānī furūkht
Az chaman dāman-kashān jā kay bi-bāzār āmadan*³⁰

Oh, rose, since no one can sell beauty to the circle of his face,
What is the use of coming proudly to the bazaar?

29 For further examples of how Luṭfī imitated the poetry of Khujandī, see Ergash Rustamovich Rustamov, *Uzbekskaja poeziia v pervoi polovine xv veka* (Moskva: Izdatel'stvo Vostochnoi Literatury, 1963), 103–106.

30 Kamāl-i Khujandī, *Divān*, ed. Aḥmad Karamī (Tehran: Silsila-yi nashriyat-i Mā, 1372/1993), 290.

As has already been pointed out, it is possible that Luṭfī did not know of Ḥāfiz-i Khwārizmī's poem and the similarities can be explained by the common model they both imitated.

The connection between the poems of Luṭfī and Gadāyī, however, seems certain. Gadāyī's poem cannot be directly connected to any of the Persian poems, and several clues suggest that this ghazal was meant as a poetic reply to Luṭfī's lines. As has been explained above, the first lines of *javābs* were often used to refer to the model poem. The first *miṣrā'* of both Gadāyī's and Luṭfī's poem has the same rhyming word, *dildār* "lover," and the second hemistich of Gadāyī's *maṭla'* is very similar to the second *miṣrā'* of Luṭfī's third *bayt*.

Gadāyī I.

Har nichä ki sen-dek manga dildär tapulmas
Men-dek saḡa ham yār-i vafā-dār tapulmas

I cannot find a lover like you,
 And you cannot find a faithful companion like me, either.

Luṭfī IIIb.

Gham-dek maḡa bir yār-i vafā-dār tapulmas

I cannot find a faithful companion like pain.

Both second *miṣrā'*s start with a noun followed by the postposition *dek* "like, as" and the dative of a first-person personal pronoun (*saḡa* "to/for you," *maḡa* "to/for me"). The rhyming word in both hemistichs is *vafā-dār* "faithful," which qualifies the word *yār* "companion" in the noun phrase *yār-i vafā-dār* "faithful companion."

Gadāyī's second *bayt* and Luṭfī's *maḡta'* also seems to be connected. The rhyming word is *asrār* "secrets" in both couplets, which appears in the same noun phrase *maḡram-i asrār* "a keeper of secrets; a close friend." Another shared element is the noun *aghūz* "mouth," a key word in both *bayts*.

Gadāyī II.

Fahm etgäli bu khasta köñül sırrını ay jān
Aghūzing Aḡzing kibi bir maḡram-i asrār tapulmas

Since it has understood the secret of this sick soul,
Nothing keeps secrets like your mouth.

Luṭfī VII.

*Qıl muhr aghuz khātamudın Luṭfīnuṣ aghzın
Kim duniyāda bir maḥram-i asrār tapılmas*

Seal the mouth of Luṭfī with the seal of your mouth,
Because you'll find no friend in the world who would keep your secrets.

Gadāyī's ghazal on the other hand must have been known by the sixteenth-century poet 'Ubaydī. The connection between the two poems is most evident in 'Ubaydī's closing couplet. Its main idea, that the opportunity to meet the beloved should be cherished as a rare gift, also appears in Gadāyī's fourth *bayt*. The facts that both *bayts* rely on the same rhyming word and that the noun *ghanīmat* "booty" is one of the key words in both of them, make it all the more possible that 'Ubaydī's couplet was composed in imitation of Gadāyī's lines.

Gadāyī IV.

*Furṣatımnı ghanīmat tut ayā mihr ile māhum
Kim dā'im al-ayyām bu didār tapılmas*

Take my opportunity as a gift, my sun and moon,
As such a meeting is not granted every day.

'Ubaydī

*Didār ghanīmat turur ay tilbā 'Ubaydī
Didārıdın ayrılma ki didār tapılmas*

Ah, mad 'Ubaydī, the [possibility of] a meeting is a gift,
Never leave his/her presence as another meeting will not be granted.

As far as Luṭfī's influence on 'Ubaydī's poem is concerned, it is hard to decide whether the third couplet was inspired by Luṭfī's fourth *bayt* or 'Ubaydī borrowed the idea directly from Auḥadī's Persian poem. Though the motif of "drunkenness" in connection with the description of the beloved's eyes occurs

only in Auḥadī's line, the idea was a traditional element of the signifying universe of classical poetry, and the appearance of the call words *köz* "eye" and *hushyār* "sober" within the same *bayt* could naturally lead to including the motif of "intoxication," which is semantically bonded both to the motifs of "eyes" and "soberness" in classical poetry.

ʿUbaydī III.

Hūshyār netersen tileben ay közi ösrük
Mastāna közüñ davrida hushyār tapılmas

Ah, you with drunken eyes, why are you looking for a sober person?
 You won't find a sober person in the circle/cycle of your intoxicated eyes.

If an imitation network became large enough to have a signifying universe of its own that offered poets a wide and diverse range of characteristic elements, poetic replies were often composed using the *mundus significans* of the network as a pool of poetic devices. Poets selected words and phrases which they judged suitable for their poetical purposes, added other traditional elements taken from the much wider signifying universe of classical poetry, and while preserving the poetical framework, put this mixture into a poetic context that fitted the tradition of the network. In such cases a single model cannot be named and these *javābs* look as if they were inspired by the network as a whole. Some of these imitation poems do not even include direct intertextual allusions to other poems of the network. Šānī's "tapılmas ghazal" is a good example for such an imitation or it would be better to say, emulation poem. Though it includes rhyming words, key elements, nouns and phrases that are present in previously composed "tapılmas ghazals," it does not have known direct intertextual links to any other poems within the network.

Both Bayrām Khān's and Bābur's ghazals were composed using the same method, though if we try to imagine these poems along a line where one endpoint is imitation (i.e., producing a close replica of a single model) and the other is emulation, these two *javābs* would appear closer to the imitation side. Both of them are directly related to other poems within the network. Bayrām Khān borrowed whole phrases from ʿUbaydī and Bābur,³¹ while Bābur's poem contains intertextual allusions to Gadāyī's ghazal.

31 For a detailed analysis of Bayram's poem see Benedek Péri, "When they praise your lips Bayrām's verses are the water of life' Bayrām Khān's Persian and Turkish Ghazals," *Orpheus Noster* 11, no. 4 (2019): 83–86.

Bābur's ghazal starts as if it were meant to be a poetic reply to Gadāyī's poem, but except for the first couplet, which appears to be a close copy of Gadāyī's first *bayt*, it does not contain further allusions to Gadāyī's lines. All the other *bayts* are created from traditional elements available in the signifying universe of classical poetry. It is true that some of the combinations they contain are present in other poems as well, but the differences between these lines and Bābur's verses are bigger than the similarities.

Two keywords of the fourth *bayt*, the nouns *gül* "rose" and *ḥusn* "beauty" for example occur together in Luṭfī's second couplet as well, but the poetic context of the two *bayts* is totally different. The first words of both hemistichs of the third couplet also point to the direction of Luṭfī's poem because the words *aghayār* "strangers" and *gham* "sorrow" appear at exactly the same place in both poems.

The list of poetic elements Bābur took from the *mundus significans* of the classical Perso—Chaghatay poetic tradition contains a set of rhyming words, phrases and poetic devices. Bābur choices of rhyming words are a mixture of words that had already been used by other poets of the *tapılmas* network and new items taken from an extensive set of rhyming words ending in *-ār*. Out of the six rhyming words in his poem three, *jafā-kār* "tormenter," *miqdār* "quantity," *gül-zār* "rose field" were applied only by him and none of the other poets in the *tapılmas* network. A drive to introduce new and sometimes unique elements to the signifying universe of the paraphrase network can be detected throughout the poem. As has already been mentioned, some of the "new" elements count new only as far the network's *mundus significans* is concerned. The fourth couplet illustrates quite well Bābur's method of composing his *tapılmas* ghazal.

*Ay gül meni zār etme ki ḥüsniñ chamanıda
Közni yumub achkunja bu gülzār tapılmas*

Ah, rose, don't make me miserable, because in the field of your beauty,
If I close and open my eyes, I don't see [the beloved's] field of roses.

The pun (*jinās*) created by the identical sounding pair of *gül ... zār* "rose ... miserable" and *gülezār* "field of roses" is not Bābur's invention. As an option it was available for him in the signifying universe of classical poetry,³² similar to the

32 See e.g., Rūmī (d. 1273).

*Khār-i miskīnī ki har dam ṭa'na-yi gul mī-kashad
Khwāja-yi gulzār bād u az ḥasad gul zār bād*

phrases of *hüsn chamanı* “the field of beauty”³³ and *köz yumub achqunja* “after closing and opening [my] eyes.”³⁴ The same is true for other phrases present in the text, such as *shakl u shamāyil* “figure and virtues,”³⁵ *hūr u parī* “hour and fairy,”³⁶ the pun created by the homophonic pair of *yārlugh* “friendship” and *yarlugh* “royal order,”³⁷ and the inclusion of the rhyming antonyms *aghyār*

The miserable thorn suffers ceaselessly from the scoldings of the rose,
Let him be the master of the rose field and let the rose be miserable for its envy.
Maulānā Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, *Kulliyāt-i Shams yā dīvān-i kabīr*, ed. Badī' al-Zamān Firuzānfar (Tehran: Amīr Kabīr, 1378/2000), 2:113.

33 See e.g. Hāfiz.
Shud chamān dar chaman-i husn u laṭāfat līkan
Dar gulistān-i viṣāl-ash na-chamīdīm va bi-raft

He/she went proudly walking in the field of beauty and grace
We didn't walk proudly in the rose garden of his/her presence, so he/she left.
Dīvān-i Hāfiz, vol. 1. *Ghazaliyāt*, ed. Parvīz Nātil Khānlari (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Kh'ārizmī, 1362/1983), 186.

34 The phrase occurs more than twenty times in the divans of Nevāyī. See e.g.
Hijr otunug dūdi kōz achmaqqa qoymas, āh ki
Kōz yumub achquncha hirjān zulmidn tapman āmān

Alas, the smoke coming from the fire of separation doesn't let me open my eyes,
If I close and open my eyes I can't see a refuge from the tyranny of separation.
'Alī Ṣīr Nevāyī, *Nevādirūṣ-Şebāb*, ed. Metin Karaörs (Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu, 2006), 442.
HA.

35 See e.g. Nevāyī.
Nāz et ki sarv u gülde bal ins u cinde yoḡtur
Bu hüsn u bu leṭāfet bu şekl u bu şemāyil

Be graceful in a way that no one can find in a cypress, in a rose, a human being, in a
jinn,
[Look at] this beauty, this elegance, this figure and these virtues.
'Alī Ṣīr Nevāyī, *Ġarā'ibū's-Siġar*, ed. Günay Kut (Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu, 2003), 302.

36 See e.g. Hāfiz.
Shīva-yi hūr u parī gar chi laṭīf-ast valī
Khūbī ān-ast u laṭāfat ki fulānī dārad

Though the ways of the houri and the fairy are full of grace, but
[Real] beauty and grace is what this very person has.
Dīvān-i Hāfiz, 1. *Ghazaliyāt*, 258.

37 See e.g. Nevāyī.
Ķasdim etmiş hijr u bī-ḡudluk 'ilācındır damī
Meyje afyūn yār qıl eyler erseng yārlıĝ

“stranger” and *yār* “companion, friend” within on hemistich.³⁸ The wordplay in the third *bayt* based on the similarly sounding pair of *gham khārī* “the thorn of sorrow” and *gham-khwār* “friend, companion”³⁹ is Bābur’s invention, though its components were available in the signifying universe of classical poetry.⁴⁰ Coming back to the question of the possible models of Bābur’s first ghazal, a comparative analysis of the “*tapulmas* network” and Bābur’s *tapmadim* poem suggests that Bābur found inspiration for his first full ghazal in the poems of the “*tapulmas* network.”

For an unskilled beginner eager to write his first ghazal, the easiest way leading toward success would have been to write an imitation poem. Bābur, however, was a literary adventurer who often tried to show off his talent and his capability to produce something unique, something only few others could do. Perhaps that is why he was attracted to puns (*jinās*), a difficult art, which he tried to use anywhere he deemed it possible. When he set to composing his first ghazal, he might have been driven by the same effort to impress his audience with something new, something that had never been created before, so writing a simple poetic reply would not have satisfied him. Nevertheless, as he was a beginner with limited skills and resources, he was forced to resort

[The pain of] separation wants to kill me. Unconsciousness gives me a moment of relief.

Make wine befriend opium if you want to behave in a friendly way/to give an order.

Nevāyī, *Ġarāʾibūʾs-Sīḡar*, 240.

- 38 *Vādī-yi hijrānda āḡyārīḡa yār oldum ne taḡ*
Ġar bolur gül-i bīyābānī bile dīvāne dūst

I made friends with strangers in the valley of separation and it isn’t strange,

Because a madman gets to like the thistle in the desert.

Nevāyī, *Ġarāʾibūʾs-Sīḡar*, 91.

- 39 For the Persian version of the noun phrase *gham khārī* (Pers. *khār-i gham*) see e.g., Khwājū-yi Kirmānī (d. 1352).
Chūn dūst dar naḡar buvad az dushman chī gham
Chūn gul bi-dast bāshad-at az khār gham ma-khur

When you see your friend don’t worry about your enemies,

When you have a rose in your hand, don’t worry about the thorns.

Khʾājū-yi Kirmānī, *Dīvān-i ashʾār*, ed. Aḡmad Suhaylī Khwānsārī (Tehran: Pāzhang, 1369/1991), 444.

- 40 No one used it before him, first of all because it works out only in Turkish and secondly because matching the ‘i’ sound of the third person possessive to the metrically overlong syllable at the end of the word *gham-khārā* (– –) is hardly acceptable.

to a very simple solution and produced a very simple “literary montage” using pre-existing elements in a new poetical framework.

Bābur might have decided to reshape well-known models and we cannot tell why he picked the *tapulmas* network. First he slightly modified the *radīf* and thus changed the metrical pattern as well. Though even this small change could have led to a totally different direction, Bābur played safe and capitalized on the poetical potential of the new *radīf* to evoke the atmosphere of the *tapulmas* ghazals. This way he could get a firm starting point, a kind of poetical crutch. The signifying universe of the network served as a firm basis for the new poem, providing Bābur with a set of poetic ideas, key words and phrases to which he could add his own selection of elements chosen from the wider *mundus significans* of classical poetry.

It is not by sheer chance that more than half of the rhyming words we found in his first ghazal are also present in either Luṭfī’s or Gadāyī’s *tapulmas* ghazal. Moreover, two of these, the first two rhymes contained in the title page-like *maṭlaʿ*, are included in noun phrases (*yār-i vafā-dār* “loyal companion,” *maḥram-i asrār* “trusted confidant”) that are available in both poems. It seems possible that Bābur’s choice of meter was not the result of a conscious decision. The choices he previously made quite naturally led to this result, as the metrical pattern of the new *radīf* (– ∪ –) and the phrases preceding it (– ∪ ∪ – – ∪) left him with no other options. Though the couplets following the *maṭlaʿ* do not contain direct intertextual allusions to other *tapulmas* poems,⁴¹ as far as their content and atmosphere are concerned, they follow the spirit of the poems belonging to the network, and after the necessary changes are made, they could be inserted into a *tapulmas* ghazal.

As a summary, we can say that Bābur’s first ghazal is clearly the work of a beginner, it already bears some Baburian traits. It seems to have been inspired by previously composed textual models that were used only by Bābur as a starting point. His poem is not a *javāb* in the strict sense of the word, yet it is connected to the *tapulmas* network; without comparing it to the poems in

41 It is difficult to tell whether Bābur’s first ghazal is connected to ‘Ubaydī’s *tapulmas* poem or the similarities between the third couplets of the two poems are coincidental and fall into the category described by contemporary native critics with the term *tavārud* (“the same ideas are expressed by two poets in a similar manner, with similar words”). The rhyming word *hushyār* “sober” quite naturally induces the inclusion of an antithetical concept “drunken” to form the rhetorical figure *taẓādd* (“contradiction”). The word *ösriük* “drunken” quite often occurs as an adjective describing the beloved’s eyes in Chaghatay classical poetry. Moreover, the noun *köz* “eye” is part of the *mundus significans* of the network.

the network that were available to Bābur as possible models, it cannot be fully judged.

The fact that Bābur's ghazal was put together by a beginner can be attested in several features. The vocabulary used throughout the poem is quite narrow; there are unintended word repetitions; and only elementary rhetorical figures, such as *tanāsub* "congruency" and *taẓādd* "contrast, antithesis," embellish the poem. Bābur handles the meter with ease, and observes the rule of overlong syllables and does not resort to *imāla-i maqṣūra* ("lengthening short vowels in Turkish words"), a device often used by beginners in classical Turkish poetry. However, when it comes to his favorite rhetorical figure, *jinās*, he is willing to bend the rules. The fifth couplet contains a rather rudimentary effort for a partial *jinās* based on the homophonic pair of the Persian noun *bār* "occasion" and the Turkish verb stem *bar-* "go." In his effort to include the sound cluster *bar* he inserted the Turkish verb forms *baray* "let me go" and *barıp* "going" into the couplet once with a short first syllable and once with a long one. The same happens with the word *eshikigä* "to his/her gate." First it appears with a short first syllable and a long second one, then for the second time, the other way round.

Compared to his first ghazal, Bābur's *tapılmas* poem shows a more confident author who handles all the poetic resources available to him with great ease. There are less unintended word repetitions, the device of *imāla-i maqṣūra* (i.e., the lengthening of Turkish short vowels) is not used, word plays are more numerous, the number of ready-made phrases borrowed from the signifying universe of classical poetry is higher, and they blend very smoothly into the text of the poem. These small signs indicate that by the time Bābur decided to compose his "real" *tapılmas* ghazal, he had acquired a deeper knowledge of the canon of classical Perso-Chaghatay poetry, and thoroughly understood how the system works, which enabled him to become a more confident and skilled poet.

Appendix: Chaghatay Poems of the *tapılmas* Paraphrase Network

Hāfiz-i Khwārizmī (Late-Fourteenth–Early-Fifteenth Century)

Bu 'ālam ichinde maṇa ol yār tapılmas
Gham birlä ölädür men u gham-khwār tapılmas

Naqd-ı köñül ü jānnı nazargha ketürüb men
Likin bu matā'imgha kharīdār tapılmas

Közüm uyagh u bakht erür uyquda dā'im
Ay-vāy kim ol daulat-i bīdār tapılmas

Mushkil erür āhum elidin hāl maña kim
Boldı jigarım khūn taqı dil-dār tapılmas

Ne tūrfa agar bolmasa bār anda maña kim
Darvishgha sultān qashıda bār tapılmas

Har nichä köñlümni qılır jaur ile āzār
Bir zarraja zāhirda ol āzār tapılmas

Bu khasta dilim sormadı dildār valīkin
Hāfız bigi 'āshıq aña bisyār tapılmas

Lutfi (1366?-1465?)

Jān hasrat ile köydi vü dil-dār tapılmas
Barcha tapılır bizgä valı yār tapılmas

Gül keldi yüzüng daurıda kim hüsñ satay dip
Idlandı vü hīch yerdä kharīdār tapılmas

Aghyār kibi jān ü köñül kitti qashımdın
Gham-dek maña bir yār-ı vafā-dār tapılmas

Ay sāqı-yi majlis sal eligdın qadaḥ ü jān
Kim közlärining daurıda hushyār tapılmas

Dedim ki raqıbiñni qashıñdın kitār aytur
Bir gül qanı kim allıda yüz khār tapılmas

Ay hijr kötär yash ile közüm qarasın
Közni neteyin daulat-i didār tapılmas

Qıl muhr aghız khātamıdın Luṭfiniñ aghzın
Kim dünyāda bir maḥram-i asrār tapılmas

Gadāyī (1404?–1491?)

Her nichā ki sen-dek maṇa dil-dār tapılmas
Men-dek saṇa ham yār-ı vafā-dār tapılmas

Fahm etgāli bu khasta köñül sırrını ey jān
Aghzıñ kibi bir maḥram-i asrār tapılmas

İy közleri cholpan bu qamar daurıda Ḥaqqā
Yüzüñ kibi bir maḥzar-ı anvār tapılmas

Furşatını ghanīmat tut ayā mihr ile māhım
Kim dā'im al-ayyām bu dīdār tapılmas

Yüzüñ şıfatıdur chu Gadā sözleri dā'im
Hiç qayda munung-dek yana ash'ār tapılmas

‘Ubaydī (1480–1539)

Yār istämā ki ‘ālam ara yār tapılmas
Tapılsa dağlı mushfiq u gham-khwār tapılmas

Akhtarsaṇ agar bir yaratıp ikki jihānı
Men-dek saṇa bir zār u giriftār tapılmas

Hushyār netäersen tilābān ey közi ösrük
Mastāna közüñ daurıda hushyār tapılmas

Köp yār agarchi tapılır saṇa velikin
Jān bergüchi men kibi vafā-dār tapılmas

Dīdār ghanīmat turur ay tilbā ‘Ubaydī
Dīdāndın ayrılma ki dīdār tapılmas

Bābur (1483–1530)

Sen-dek maṇa bir yār-ı jafā-kār tapılmas
Men-dek saṇa bir yār-ı vafā-dār tapılmas

Bu shakl ü shamāyil bilä khud hür u parī sen
Kim husn-i bashar ichrä bu miqdār tapılmas

Aghyār köz allıda vü ol yār ‘iyān yoq
Gham khāri köñül içre vü gham-khwār tapılmas

Ay gül meni zār etme ki hüsniñ chamanıda
Közni yumub achqunja bu gulzār tapılmas

Bābur seni chun yār dedi yārlıgh etgil
‘Ālamda kishigä yoq ise yār tapılmas

Bayram Khān (1504–1561)

Men zārgha sen-dek yana bir yār tapılmas
Sen yārgha men-dek yana bir zār tapılmas

Köp zār saña boldı giriftār velikin
Men-dek yana bir zār-i giriftār tapılmas

Yā Rab maña tālī‘ bar-gashta durur kim
Sar-gashta bolub muncha tilāp yār tapılmas

‘Ālamda yigit köp tapılır lik seniñ-dek
Bī-rahm u jafā-jüy u dil-āzār tapılmas

Vah vah bu ne süzdur ki köñül asramagh ichrä
Husn ahlı ara sen kibi dil-dār tapılmas

Eldin ṭama‘-i mihr u vafā eyleme Bayrām
Chun ‘ālam ara yār-i vafā-dār tapılmas

Sānī (d. Mid-sixteenth Century)

Gham-dida köñül-dek manga gham-khwār tapılmas
Ol tilbā-dek öz ishigä hushyār tapılmas

Tā bilmādi yārī ki qılay maḥram-ı rāzım
‘Ālam bārī aghyār erür yār tapılmas

Körsätmäsä jihān ahlgha okshar
 ‘Ālam ara chun maḥram-ı dīdār tapılmas

Ay şāhib-i asrār ki maḥram tilāğındür
 Maḥram tapılır maḥram-i asrār tapılmas

Küyda agar yār-i vafā-dār tilärsäng
 Şāni iti-dek yār-i vafā-dār tapılmas

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Literary Language in Times of Turmoil

Masiḥ-i Tabrizī's Meta- and Cross-Linguistic Poetry in Tabriz in the 1720s

Ferenc Csirkés

After the collapse of the Şafavid dynasty in Iran in 1722, the Ottomans took large swathes of the land in the west, the rest of the country being taken by the Ghilzai Afghans, Russians, and remnants of the Şafavids. The Ottoman army besieged Tabriz twice, before setting up their rule in the city in 1726, which ended three years later with their final withdrawal. During the time they held the city, they tried to coopt the local elite with various degrees of success. As an instance of this interaction between the invaders and the vanquished, a local physician by the name of Masiḥ wrote a peculiar set of panegyrics, dedicating it to the reigning Ottoman sultan Aḥmed III (r. 1703–36) and the Ottoman military governors of Tabriz. This small selection was obviously intended to ingratiate him with the occupiers, but it also deeply resonated with ideologies underlying both Iranian and Ottoman political theology and literary culture writ large.

The chapter sheds light on how the politics of language, or more exactly, the relationship between literary languages (Turkish, Arabic, and Persian) and their hierarchy, was conceptualized and visualized in the early modern period against the background of shifts in politics, literary patronage, and audience in Şafavid Iran in the first half of the eighteenth century. It offers parallels to the attitude to the hierarchy of literary languages in the cultural spheres of the Ottoman Empire and Şafavid Iran with a subject matter related to the political collapse of the latter. I discuss different ways language ideologies—popular assumptions and social imagination about the role and status of linguistic idioms—were negotiated at the time and were connected both to politics at large and to the self-perception of intellectuals. The chapter has three parts: the first part is about the author and the external features of the text and the manuscript containing it, the second part is a descriptive analysis of the four poems that constitute the centerpiece of the manuscript, and the third part locates the manuscript of Masiḥ's poetry in metalinguistic poetic practices in the Persianate literary tradition on the one hand and in the historical context of Iran in the first half of the eighteenth century on the other hand.

I focus on the aforesaid Masīḥ-i Tabrīzī's divan, a hitherto largely unknown physician and litterateur who lived in Tabriz between the late seventeenth and the first half of the eighteenth centuries. There are several methodological problems related to the text, largely deriving from the huge lacunae in scholarship regarding the literary and cultural history of Iran in the early eighteenth century. Indeed, we know very little about the author and the context he wrote in, and our information about literary patronage in Ottoman-held Western Iran at the time or in the entire early modern period is extremely scant.¹ And yet, the manuscript resonates with a whole range of key issues in the cultural make-up of early modern Iran and the Ottoman Empire to such an extent that even with the aforesaid lacunae and the inherent dangers of speculation and hypothesis, it is worth presenting Masīḥ's work both to scholarship in general and to the dedicatee of the present volume, Prof. István Vásáry, whose scholarship has advanced Turkic philology and Iranian and Central Asian history so extensively.

Two of the poems in Masīḥ's small anthology are made up of elaborate forms of trilingual—Arabic, Persian, and Turkish—acrostics, which three languages the manuscript interconnects with one another in various graphic, metalinguistic and translinguistic ways. The poetry is accompanied on the margins of the manuscript by a commentary that explains these features, and it also informs the reader that the verses in the main text serve as examples for various rhetoric and poetic formulae and metric patterns. Attached to these four poems is a short prose piece, written in a different hand, which is an elaborate riddle in Arabic, using geomantic and astrological tools and having a mundane, jocular solution. I argue that this poetic experimentation, the peculiar attitude to the question of language in Masīḥ's collection, and the mutual prestige relations between the aforesaid three literary languages that Masīḥ displays, should be read in the context of changing literary patronage and audience in the post-Şafavid and Afsharid periods on the one hand, and of the political culture and ideology those changes were related to, on the other hand. Indeed, Masīḥ's works reveal an attitude to linguistic identity that is fundamentally

1 For the political history of the period in general and Tabriz in particular, see: Laurence Lockhart, *The Fall of the Safavī Dynasty and the Afghan Occupation of Persia* (Cambridge [Eng.]: University Press, 1958); Fariba Zarinebaf-Shahr, "Tabriz under Ottoman Rule (1725–1731)," Ph.D. diss., The University of Chicago, 1991. For Turkic literature under the Şafavids, see: Willem Floor and Hasan Javadi, "The Role of Azerbaijani Turkish in Safavid Iran," *Iranian Studies* 46, no. 4 (2013), 569–581; Ferenc Péter Csirkés, "'Chaghatay oration, Ottoman eloquence, Qizilbash rhetoric': Turkic Literature in Şafavid Persia," Ph.D. diss., The University of Chicago, 2016.

different from our modern understanding which associates political, ethnic, and linguistic identities. Setting out from Mana Kia's formulation of *adab* as a highly cosmopolitan cultural idiom of "proper forms of aesthetic style and ethical conduct," I will demonstrate that in the extant unique manuscript of Masīḥ's poetry, in a symbolic sense these three languages display a conceptualization and spatial representation of languages that both connects and separates the Turkish/Turkic, Persian and Arabic literary traditions, as well as the Ottoman and Iranian political and cultural enterprises, while it is also impacted by the immediate political context of the 1720s.²

1 Masīḥ-i Tabrīzī and His Poetic Collection

About the life of the author of the collection of poetry under discussion, Muḥammad b. Amīn Kāzīm al-Ṭabīb, also referred to by his penname Masīḥ, we know very little. Aside from the information available from the unique copy of his *divan*, kept at Tabriz Central Library (no. 747), our knowledge about him is based on two short entries in two local sources from the beginning of the nineteenth century.³ According to Zanūzī's (1176/1762–63–1243/1827–28) local chronicle, the *Riyāz al-janna*, Masīḥ was a physician during the reign of Ṭahmāsp II (r. 1729–40), who authored a medical treatise in verse and died towards the end of Nādir Shah's rule (r. 1148–1160/1736–1747).⁴ His pen-name, which means "Jesus," suggests that he might have been a converted Christian, as so many doctors at the time were, but he might also have chosen it for its messianic undertones. However, he might also be another Masīḥ, referred to as Ḥāj Kāzīm-i Tabrīzī in the *Tajrubat al-aḥrār va tasliyat al-abrār*, a biographical anthology of poets, literati, and scholars, written in 1228/1818 by 'Abd al-Razzāq Dunbulī, who says that this person had estates (*ziyā'* va *'aqār*) in Dih

2 Mana Kia, *Persianate Selves: Memories of Place and Origin Before Nationalism* (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 2020), 9.

3 Mīr Vudūd Sayyid Yūnusī, *Fihrist-i nuskhahā-yi khaṭṭī-yi Kitābkhāna-yi Markazī-yi Tabrīz: Nuskhahā-yi marḥūm Ḥāj Muḥammad Nakhjavānī*, new ed. Hādī Hāshimīn (Tabrīz: Intishārāt-i Sutūda, 1393), #46, 1:57–58; Muṣṭafā Dirāyatī, *Fihristagān-i nuskhahā-yi khaṭṭī-yi Īrān (Fankhā)* (Tehran: Sāzmān-i Asnād va Kitābkhāna-yi Millī, 1390–1394/2011–2015), 15:843–44.

4 Zanūzī, *Riyāz al-janna*, ed. 'Alī Rafī'ī (Qum: Maktabat Āyat Allāh al-'Uzmā al-Mar'ashī al-Najafī al-Kubrā: al-Khizāna al-'Ālamīya li al-Makhṭūṭāt al-Islāmīya, [1991 or 1992]–2011), 4:524. For another short description of the manuscript, see also: 'Azīz Dawlatābādī, *Sukhanvarān-i Āzarbayjān: az Qaṭrān tā Shahrīyār* (Tabrīz: Sutūda, 1377/1998), 2:645–47.

Khuvārqān, a village about 60 miles (96 km) from Tabriz.⁵ Dunbulī adds that in addition to medicine, this Masīḥ engaged in fortune-telling from dots and geomancy (*nuqṭa-rīzī va raml*), and when he prognosticated the rise of Nādir Shah and his victories over the Afghans and the Ottomans, it was reported by one of his acquaintances to Ḥekīmoğlu ‘Alī Pasha, the *ser-‘asker* “military commander” of the Ottoman troops in Tabriz, who had him executed. ‘Alī Pasha held this post between 1138/1725 and 1140/1727, which would give us Masīḥ’s death date, were it not for the latter’s encomium in Persian about the capture of Ṭahmāsp II of Isfahan in 1142/1729–30 or his praise of İbrāhīm Pasha, who was the *ser-‘asker* of Tabriz in 1143/1730.⁶ Unfortunately, we know very little about Ḥekīmoğlu ‘Alī Pasha’s literary patronage activities prior to his appointment as grand vizier in the 1740s, particularly about his relations in occupied Tabriz.⁷ Later he did become a major patron of letters and learning, but it is difficult to tell whether the manuscripts in his book collection—today preserved at the Süleymaniye Library in Istanbul—that were of an Iranian provenance were brought to Istanbul during his appointment as *ser-‘asker* of Tabriz in the 1720s or were later acquisitions. Be that as it may, Masīḥ was likely a member of the local urban elite in Tabriz, who tried his luck with his new patrons, including Ḥekīmoğlu ‘Alī Pasha, when the Ottomans captured the city after the Şafavid collapse in 1722. However, it is unlikely that our Masīḥ was executed by Ḥekīmoğlu ‘Alī Pasha, as Dunbulī’s account would have us believe, or even if it is true, he could only be executed sometime after the Pasha’s governorate of Tabriz. Because the last poem in the collection definitely written by Masīḥ is the aforesaid praise of the recapture of Isfahan in 1142/1729–30, and because ‘Alī Pasha remained in Iran until December 1730, it is still possible that the Masīḥ in Dunbulī is the same as the author of the *divan* that is our subject here.⁸ Of course, it is also very much possible that the persons mentioned by Dunbulī or Zanūzī are the same, but one of these biographers gives an incorrect death date.

5 ‘Abd al-Razzāq Beg Dunbulī Maftūn, *Tajrubat al-aḥrār va taslīyat al-abrār*, ed. Ḥasan Qāḍī Ṭabāṭabā’ī (Tabriz: Mu‘assasa-yi Tārīkh va Farhang-i Īrān, 1359sh/1981), 205–206. About ‘Abd al-Razzāq Dunbulī, cf. Christoph Werner, “‘Abd al-Razzāq Beg Dunbulī,” *Encyclopaedia of Islam Three*. About Dih Khuvārqān, cf. Guy Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate: Mesopotamia, Persia, and Central Asia, from the Moslem Conquest to the Time of Timur* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1966), 164.

6 Zarinēbaf-Shahr, 132; Masīḥ, *Dīvān*, ff. 1b, 11a–17b.

7 About his later life as an maecenas, see: Naḡīhan Gür, “Lāle Devri’nde Yetişmiş Kudretli Bir Sanat Hâmisi: Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa ve Şairleri,” *Doğu Batı* 85 (2018): 145–158.

8 M. Münir Aktepe, “Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa,” *TDVİA* 17, 166–168.

Masīḥ's divan is very short, only made up of 19 folios measuring 23X29 cm. Today it is housed at Tabriz Central Library (no. 747), donated by the notable manuscript collector, Ḥājjī Muḥammad Nakhjavānī (1880–1962). The manuscript was left incomplete. The scribe—or perhaps Masīḥ himself—set out to copy the poems with a clear literary and visual plan, but he left it unfinished, and it was others who added further texts, including chronograms and the abovementioned riddle, as well as Persian and Arabic poetry. The chronograms on the flyleaf at the beginning of the tome, the first folio, as well as the flyleaf in the back, date from between 1136/1723 and 1203/1788–89, and are written in at least three different hands that are different from that of the copyist of the main text of the poetry or the riddle following it. While the chronograms on the flyleaves are in Persian and Turkish, the verso of the front flyleaf also contains a well-known anti-Sunni poem in Arabic, at least the first couplet of which goes back to Abū al-Aswad al-Du'alī (d. 69/688–89), who served 'Alī (d. 661), the Prophet's nephew and son-in-law.⁹ On the flyleaf at the end of the manuscript are a number of further chronograms probably written by Masīḥ, commemorating the execution of Shiite clergy in Tabriz and its environs by 'Alī Pasha (1140/1727–28),¹⁰ the death of the Shaykh al-Islām of Tabriz (1132/1719–20), and the Afghan siege of Isfahan (1135/1722). Folio 18b contains a few ghazals in Persian by Masīḥ and a reference to a chronogram he wrote about Shah Ṭahmāsp II's victory over Shah Ashraf Hotak at the battle of Dāmghān (1142/1729), but the text of the latter is not legible. We also find a chronogram commemorating the capture of Isfahan by Ṭahmāsp II.¹¹ All this dates the collection between 1723 and 1730—times of extreme turmoil in Iran.

9 Do the people who killed Ḥusayn hope / for intercession from his grandfather on the Day of Judgement?

No, by God, they have no intercessor / and will be tormented on the Day of Judgement.

They killed Ḥusayn with a tyrannical command, / and their rule violated the ruling of the Qur'an.

Abū al-Aswad al-Du'alī, *Dīwān*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥasan Āl Yāsīn (Beirut: Dār wa Maktabat al-Hilāl, 1991), 329. The poem is included in its entirety in Majlisī's *Bihār al-anwār*, one of the key compendia of Twelver Shiism produced in the late seventeenth century (Muḥammad Bāqir Majlisī, *Bihār al-anwār* (Beirut: Dār Ihyā' al-Turāth al-'Arabī, 1403/1982–83), 45:185).

10 The text of the chronogram is *qatl khaṭā* "killing [them] is an error," which renders the date 1140/1727–28.

11 There is another chronogram on the front flyleaf, the subject of which is the death in 1136/1723 of one Ḥājjī Muṣṭafā Efendi. We do know of a Ḥājjī Muṣṭafā Efendi of Edirne with this death date, who was the brother of the poet Kāmī Efendi (Mehmed Süreyya, *Sicill-i Osmanī* (İstanbul: Kültür Bakanlığı: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 1996), 4:1165), but the identification is quite unlikely.

After the defeat of the Şafavids and the capture of the capital Isfahan at the hands of the Ghilzai Afghans in 1722, the latter attempted to establish themselves in Iran as a dynasty, capturing the bulk of the realm, while large swathes of the west and northwest were occupied by the Ottomans and the Russians, respectively. It might be the case that the four poems in the main text of the manuscript, dedicated to members of the occupying Ottoman high command, became inconvenient for Masîḥ after Ṭahmāsp Quli Khan, the future Nādir Shah, recaptured Tabriz on behalf of Ṭahmāsp II from the Ottomans, and in order to remedy this, the poet or a later scribe—maybe a family member or someone else associated with Masîḥ—added the chronogram praising Ṭahmāsp II, along with a handful of ghazals by Masîḥ in Persian and the heavily anti-Sunni al-Du’alī’s poem in Arabic mentioned above.

All in all, our knowledge about Masîḥ’s life can be summarized as follows: he was active during the last years of centralized Şafavid rule, saw the demise of the dynasty in 1722 with the fall of Isfahan to the Afghans and that of Tabriz to the Ottomans, when he sought patronage from the conquerors of his city, and he died possibly towards the end of Nādir Shah’s (r. 1736–47) reign. In addition to medicine, he also practiced both poetry and prognostication, confirmed by the manuscript, which contains poetry and a riddle heavily reliant on occult knowledge. The scant biographical data about him and some of the aforesaid texts in his *divan* tell the story of an intellectual who tried to walk a thin line in a very difficult period, carrying favors with both Ottoman and then the restored Şafavid and later Afsharid rule.

2 The Poems

The main text in the manuscript is comprised of four poems: a chronogrammatic three-liner on the rebuilding of the castle of Tabriz dated 1139/1726 (f. 1a), a panegyric *qaṣīda* (ff. 2a–7a) on the Ottoman Sultan Aḥmed III (r. 1703–30), an encomium on Ḥekīmoğlu ‘Alī Pasha, the captor of Tabriz (ff. 8a–8b), and a Persian acrostic encomium on İbrāhīm Pasha, who is most likely the İbrāhīm Pasha who was the *ser-’asker* of Tabriz in 1730 (ff. 11a–17a).¹² In addition to his rhetoric skills and proficiency in the poetic tools of the Persianate tradition, the poems must also have served as illustrative of Masîḥ’s language skills in the three prestige languages of the Ottoman realm, Arabic, Persian and Ottoman Turkish. These panegyrics were likely written as elaborate business cards, too,

¹² It is not impossible but unlikely that he is identical with Dāmād İbrāhīm Pasha (d. 1143/1730), the prominent grand vizier of the so-called Tulip period of Ottoman history.

intended to introduce the poet, Masîḥ, to his new masters, the Ottomans, during the 1720s.

Masîḥ's collection is in fact not a *divan* in the usually accepted sense of the word, but a collection of acrostic poems in Persian and Ottoman Turkish, some of whose letters are marked in a different color and can be read as different poems or can yield other texts, such as Quranic verses or hadith. Two of them can even be called macaronic acrostic, i.e., an acrostic poem some of whose letters can be read as texts in more than one language. Reading the letters of the text marked in the same color yields self-standing, interdependent poems that not only elaborate on the text of the core poem, but they also offer a veritable catalog of rhetoric and poetic technique. Such poems, called *qaṣīda-yi maṣnū'* "artificial poem," are also illustrative of various rhetorical devices and are accompanied by marginal notes describing those devices. Despite their structural complexity, the reader can easily understand Masîḥ's word games by following the color schemes of the manuscript and the instructions given at the beginning or on the margin of the poems, but the encrypted texts are also written separately on the page.

2.1 *Poem #1: an Acrostic Chronogram*

The first poem in the main text of the manuscript is a three-couplet long acrostic chronogram in Turkish, the key to which is spelled out underneath the poem. The first and last letters of each hemistich in the three couplets are written in red, adding up the numerological values of their letters yields the date 1139/1726–27, when the castle of Tabriz was rebuilt by the Ottomans. Moreover, the last hemistich of the poem, written in blue (*lājivard*, "azure"), is also a chronogram in and of itself, the numerological values of its letters also adding up to 1139/1726–27.¹³

2.2 *Poem #2: a Macaronic Acrostic*

The second poem in the main text of the manuscript is a panegyric ode dedicated to the Ottoman Sultan Aḥmed III. It is headed by a long epithet, the letters of which, as we are informed by an explanatory note on the margin, form the first letter of each line in the text of the poem itself, poems with such an acrostic structure being called *muvaṣṣaḥ* "girdled."¹⁴ The core text of this

13 Masîḥ, *Dīvān*, f. 1a. There is an explanation in Turkish appended to the end of the poem, which says that the last hemistich is written in blue or azure (*lājivard*); otherwise, the color of the ink has largely faded and is hard to distinguish from the black ink of the rest of the poem.

14 Natalia Chalisoṽa, "RHETORICAL FIGURES," *Encyclopaedia Iranica*.

poem is in Persian, divided into 21 three-couplet long strophes, one strophe on the first folio and twenty strophes distributed over the following 10 folios, 2 strophes to the folio. While this core text is written in black ink, certain letters are marked in blue, red, and green.¹⁵ Combined together, each of these letters in different colors reveal an encrypted text in Persian, Arabic, and Turkish. Blue gives Quranic verses, red gives Persian poetry, and green gives Turkish poetry. The resulting texts are then written in three separate lines underneath the three Persian couplets of the core text, keeping their coloring: Arabic in blue, Persian in red, Turkish in green. These three encrypted lines in these three languages are in fact three hemistiches or half lines of couplets, the letters for the second hemistiches of which can be found encrypted in the second three-couplet strophe. The resulting encrypted Persian and Turkish poems are thus thoroughly intertwined with the main text of the poem, the Persian *qaṣīda* that praises Aḥmed III. This structure—each three-couplet strophe yielding three hemistiches in Arabic, Persian, and Turkish, respectively—goes on in the entire poem, instructions accompanying it all along the way. The hemistiches—both in the core text and in the encrypted texts spelled out—as well as the instructions are flanked on both sides by separate boxes, making the elaborate structure of the poem transparent and giving the text the visual outlook of an edifice. On the left, the encrypted texts in turn are flanked by a box with the name of the rhetoric device and on the right, by a box containing the name of the poetic meter they serve to illustrate, which is given in the normal fashion of using inflections of the verb *fa'ala* “to do.” As was the norm in case of such “artificial odes,” the acrostically derived verses also serve to illustrate certain rhetoric or poetic devices and poetic meters. The margins of the folios are divided, containing commentaries in Turkish on what poetic device the encrypted lines serve to illustrate.¹⁶

The spatial outlook of this poem is also remarkable. It might remind us, for example, of the pattern poems by the English metaphysical poet George Herbert (1593–1633), in which the text is formed in such a way as to either convey an additional meaning beyond the text or to reinforce some aspect of it. As has already been indicated, the text is set into boxes that are arranged like bricks in a building: there are two boxes on top, two underneath, and the pattern is repeated below. This central part is flanked by two horizontally placed rectangular text boxes on both left and right. This structure, together with the different coloring of the acrostic elements, is obviously intended to guide

15 The colors are identified as such only by the explanation on the margin, because except for red and black, blue and green have faded quite much and are difficult to distinguish.

16 For a list of these rhetorical figures and poetic meters, see the Appendix.

the reader's gaze. At the same time, it accentuates our impression that the meta- and crosslinguistic wordplay with the three intertwined languages, metrical display, and rhetorical virtuosity are all integral parts of the same elaborate discourse. The entire visual outlook of the poem is reminiscent of the wall of a mosque with elaborate interplays of visual and textual elements, the latter in multiple languages, normally Arabic and Persian in Iran, and also in Turkish in the Ottoman world. The visual outlook of the poem thus arguably reinforces its fundamental appeal to a shared Muslim *adab* and religious heritage beyond denominational differences.

The encrypted Arabic half lines throughout the pages produce Quranic verses and praises of God in Arabic. Of the encrypted Quranic verses, 3:26–27 underscores the divine favors the rule of the Ottoman sultan enjoys.

Say: "God! Master of the kingdom, You give the kingdom to whomever You please, and you take away the kingdom from whomever you please. You exalt whomever You please and You humble whomever You please. In Your hand is the good. Surely You are powerful over everything. You cause the night to pass into the day, and cause the day to pass into the night. You bring forth the living from the dead, and bring forth the dead from the living. You provide for whomever You please without reckoning."¹⁷

For the sake of illustrating how the poem is structured, let us briefly look at folio 5b:

لوای شان تو عالم به لمحہ بگشود
چو رستمند یلان تو سرفراز و دلیر

Your banners have conquered the world in a wink,
your soldiers are proud and brave like Rustam.

سریر عرش نمای تو هست عالیشان
اسیر نگہت گلزار¹⁸ محفل تو عبیر

Your heaven-like throne is of a lofty character,
The rose-garden is a captive of your gaze, your litter is amber.

17 Arthur J. Droge, *The Qur'an: A New Annotated Translation* (Sheffield, UK; Bristol, CT: Equinox, 2013), 33.

18 Misspelt as *گلزار in the ms.

لوامع رخت ای شه ببرد جلوه ز لعل
همیشه فاتح ملکی بشعله شمشیر

O, king, the sparkles of your face deprive the ruby of its splendor,
With the glitter of your sword you are forever the conqueror of the land.

There are three hemistiches derived from this, one in Arabic, continuing the abovementioned Quranic verse, one in Persian and one in Turkish. Here the encrypted Persian verse—written in red—serves to illustrate the poetic tool called *mawṣūl muthalthā aḥruf wa arbaʿa aḥruf*, in which the first hemistich has words made up of three-lettered words the letters of which are written connected to each other, and the second hemistich has 4-lettered words in which the letters are connected to each other:

محو چمن عیش گهت خیل ملک
جشدت بمثل بهشت لیکن بهتر

O, cavalier of the kingdom, wherever you hold a banquet the meadow is
destroyed.
Your feast is like Paradise, even better.

The encrypted Turkish verse, on the other hand, serves to illustrate *ihām*, i.e., “amphibology,” which features a word in both its hidden and its apparent meaning:

Nola bu rāz-i dilim itlerin ara ola faş
Gözümde kalmadı su çünki yüzden ötdi yaş

Let the secrets of my heart be scattered among dogs,
No more water remains in my eyes, as my tears have flooded my face.

In the expression *yüzden ötdi yaş* (“tears have flooded [my] face”), the word *yaş* can refer to both tears and age, and thus the hemistich can also mean “my age surpassed a hundred years.”

2.3 Poem #3: an Artificial Macaronic (ff. 8a–b)

The next poem—which Masīḥ wrote in 1139/1726–27, according to a chronogram appended to the end of it—follows a structure similar to the previous one, except that here the main text is in Turkish, in which a Quranic verse and Turkish couplets are encrypted, while no Persian verse is included in it.

Also similar to the previous poem is that this short *qit'ā*, “a lyric poem with a monorhyme,” of 12 verses is divided into four groups of three verses each. The initials of the verses are marked in red; combined, they yield the phrase *‘Alī pāshā madda zilluhu*, “Alī pasha, may his shadow extend!”, which is explained and appended to the end of the poem. Further letters in the three-verse long units are also marked in red; combined, they yield the *basmala* and Quranic verses 108:1–3, likely as an encouragement of the dedicatee of the poem to provide patronage:

In the name of God the Merciful and Compassionate. Surely, We have given you the abundance. So pray to your Lord and sacrifice. Surely, your hater—he is the one cut off!¹⁹

Each of the four three-line long strophes has also a Turkish couplet encrypted in it, marked in green. Both the encrypted Quranic verse and Turkish couplet are then written separately, underneath each three-verse long group. The hemistiches of the Turkish couplets are written one below the other and not in the usual fashion of being written side-by-side.

These Turkish couplets that derive from the main text together make up a *qit'ā*. However, each of them is also an elaborate chronogram, encrypting the date 1138/1725–26, when Hekimoğlu ‘Alī Pasha was appointed *ser-‘asker* of Tabriz, the celebration of which is the purpose of the poem, as given in its heading. In the first encrypted Turkish couplet, this date is derived by adding the numeric values of the dotted letters in the first hemistich to the numeric values of the dotless letters in the second hemistich; in the second encrypted Turkish couplet, this is just the other way round: the date 1138/1725–26 is yielded by adding the numeric values of the dotless letters in the first hemistich to the numeric values of the dotted letters in the second hemistich. In the third encrypted Turkish couplet, the date is yielded by adding up the numeric values of the dotted letters of both hemistiches, while in the fourth and last encrypted couplet, the date is arrived at if we add up the numeric values of the dotless letters of both hemistiches. As a final act of intertwining the Arabic of the encrypted Quranic verse and the Turkish of the encrypted Turkish couplet, not only are they written under each other but the second hemistich of the Turkish *qit'ā* also rhymes with the Quranic verse. The Arabic of the quote from the holy scripture and the Turkish of the poem are distinguished by color: the former is red, the latter likely green, though the ink has significantly faded. However,

¹⁹ Droge, *The Qur’ān*, 453.

the two texts, arguably along with the two levels of meaning provided by holy scripture emphasizing generosity and Turkish poetry praising the dedicatee of the poem are intertwined both visually (by being written under each other) and rhetorically (through rhyme).

The complex structure of the text made up of poems in Turkish, Quranic verses, and instructions in Turkish on the margins is not divided so clearly into boxes as in the previous text, perhaps because the whole manuscript was left unfinished. These instructions, which guide the reader to decrypt the hidden texts—both the Quranic verses and the Turkish *qi'ta*—are written vertically next to the three lines of Quranic verse plus the two chronogrammatic hemistiches, and are nevertheless visually part of the text.

2.4 *Poem #4: an Artificial Ode in Persian (ff. 11a–17b)*

Even if the fourth and final poem of Masīh's album of poetry does not contain chronograms and does not illustrate additional rhetoric or prosodic devices, either, the fact that it features five intertwined texts lends it a highly complex structure. Each page starts with three couplets of the core text, which is a Persian *qaṣīda*, some of the letters of which are marked in red and (already quite faded) blue, red encrypting a Persian couplet, and blue a Quranic sura, the well-known Throne Verse (2:255), which might have been intended to remind the dedicatee of the poem that his military successes were due to divine providence and also to celebrate that same providence given to him.

God—(there is) no god but Him, the Living, the Everlasting. Slumber does not overtake Him, nor sleep. To Him (belongs) whatever is in the heavens and whatever is in the earth. Who is the one who will intercede with Him, except by His permission? He knows whatever is before them and whatever is behind them, but they cannot encompass any of His knowledge, except whatever He pleases. His throne comprehends the heavens and the earth. Watching over both of them does not weary Him. He is the most high, the Almighty.²⁰

The encrypted Persian couplets run through the pages of the poem as a sub-text of the core text. Each encrypted couplet contains in turn an encrypted Persian hemistich, these hemistiches also bridging the entire text, adding up to another panegyric. Each of these hemistiches, in turn, contains an encrypted epithet of İbrāhīm Pasha, the resultant text also girdling the whole poem. All

²⁰ Droge, *The Qur'ān*, 27.

the encrypted texts are repeated in a decrypted form following the text that contains their letters. Except for the Quranic verse, they are then repeated, the letters of the encrypted text in them written in a different color. The result is a hierarchy of intertwined poetic texts in Persian and Quranic scripture, visually represented as nine horizontal lines on each page marked by different colors. All in all, the core poem, a Persian *qaṣīda*, is made up of 42 couplets, distributed over 14 pages, 3 couplets to the page. Encrypted in it is another *qaṣīda*, made up of 14 couplets, spanning the same 14 pages, 1 couplet to the page. Encrypted in this shorter *qaṣīda* is a ghazal, 7 couplets long, distributed over the 14 pages, one hemistich to the page. And finally, each of the individual hemistiches of this ghazal has encrypted in it one of the epithets of the dedicatee of the panegyric, İbrāhīm Pasha.

Masīḥ plays with the poetic meter, too, using different meters for the main and the encrypted texts. The core Persian *qaṣīda* and the Persian panegyric encrypted in it are in the *mujtas* (*mujtas-i muṣamman-i makhbūn-i maḥzūf*: x - x - xx - - x - x - xx -) meter, while the hemistich encrypted in the latter is in *mutaqārib* (*mutaqārib-i muṣamman-i maḥzūf*: x - - x - - x - - x -).²¹

3 Masīḥ's Poetry and Metalinguistic and Translinguistic Poetic Practices in the Persianate Tradition

Why all the fireworks of encrypted, intertwined, multilingual poems and holy scripture combined with a rhetoric metatext and the emphatically structured spatial appearance of the written profile of the poems? Each of these pieces is like a riddle in which the text and meaning of the core text is not so significant on its own, as it is but one of the poems constituting this complex, intertwined structure. These acrostic *tours de force* depend on the assumption that language can go beyond meaning defined by grammar. We have seen how the poem was spatially and linguistically arranged in such a way as to go beyond its own textuality through letters acting as agents that are independent of the core text. The acrostics in poems #2, #3 and #4 yield texts that transcend their linguistic boundaries. In poems #2 and #3 the wordplay connects the core Persian texts to both the Quranic revelation and the Turkophone patrons, in addition to yielding Persian poems, too. At the same time, the text is also illustrative of the poet's skills in rhetoric and versification, the various different

21 The instructions appended after the text of the poem (Masīḥ, *Dīvān*, f. 18a) do not fail to mention that the three intertwined poems in this text end in *ā*, *m*, and *n*. Combined, these letters yield the word *amn* "security," or *āmin* "secure, safe," but it is likely accidental.

poetic meters carefully described in the textboxes adjacent to the main text (in case of the first three poems). The manuscript represents not only how a language, i.e., Persian, is conceptualized vis-à-vis the other two literary languages in parlance in Iran and the Ottoman Empire at the time, but it also provides a space to reveal connections between those literary languages that neither orality nor even simple or exoteric literacy would be able to reveal. Indeed, the text is what one could call hyperliterate.

As has been mentioned above, in such artificial, acrostic odes, letters and textual meaning act as agents independent from each another. Masīḥ's poems come from an acrostic tradition in Persianate literature, which gained particular strength from the fourteenth century onwards, probably on account of vast changes in audience, patronage, and literary taste. These, in turn, resulted from the huge transfer of intellectuals after the Mongol conquest, the concomitant emergence of a cadre of intellectuals maintaining a cosmopolitan Persian literary and political culture, the rise of new centers of cultural gravity in the Islamicate world, and the emergence of new dynasties in the post-Mongol world that pursued new political theologies and harnessed literary patronage as a key part of their cultural profile.

The first well-known examples of acrostic poetry in Persian come from the Ilkhanid period, such as Dū al-Faqār Shīrvānī and Badr Jājarmī. They were followed by Ahlī Shīrāzī (d. 1535) in the Aqqyunlu and early Ṣafavid periods, whose famous *qaṣā'id-i maṣnū'*, "artificial odes" also use an elaborate set of colors and columns to mark certain letters in the text of the poem which, when connected, yield another poetic text.²² In this type of poetry the rhetoric acrobatics and the intertwined structure is more important than the verses themselves. Paul Losensky's analysis of Ahlī Shīrāzī's (d. 942/1535) "artificial" *qaṣīdas* also applies to Masīḥ's poems:

Ahlī's artificial odes represent the ultimate expression of the drive for organization and system that is apparent in much of Timurid-Turkmen poetry. In this regard, they are thoroughly remarkable performances, a structuralist's dream come true. Virtually every aspect of the written text is somehow encoded from its visual appearance on the page to its overall thematic development. At the same time, we are presented with a complete grammar of Persian poetry, exhaustively treating meter, rhyme, and rhetoric. Beginning with the colorful acrostics, code is intertwined

22 Paul Losensky, *Welcoming Fighānī: Imitation and Poetic Individuality in the Safavid-Mughal Ghazal* (Costa Mesa, Calif.: Mazda Publishers, 1998), 160–164.

with code in an elaborate system that, in one way or another, implies the entire literary tradition.²³

Losensky reads such “structuralist” poems through his analysis of poetry as a powerful form of social discourse on the one hand, and what he calls the codifying and systematizing ethos that characterized several fields of culture cultivated in the Timurid-Turkmen period, the fifteenth-sixteenth centuries, including Persian poetry, on the other hand.²⁴

While writing acrostic odes had antecedents in the Persianate literary tradition, Masīḥ’s choice of taking wordplay (or rather, *letterplay*) to the next level by mixing the genre of the acrostic ode with the *mulammaʿ*, or macaronic poem, is certainly unique. The *mulammaʿ* or macaronic poems, i.e., poems written in more than one language, had already been a time-honored tradition before Masīḥ. It is enough to adduce, for example, Abu Nuvās (d. 814) from Arabic or Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (d. 1273) from Persian literature. One could also mention Ṭarzī and his satirical syntaxing in both Persian and Turkic from mid-seventeenth century Ṣafavid Iran, who both mixes the two languages and uses grammatical features across Persian and Turkish. In the aforesaid Ṭarzī’s poetry, we can also see both the blurring and the delineation of linguistic boundaries. This is arguably also the delineation of identities in general, which might have been part of how a Turko-Persian poet would fashion his identity in Ṣafavid Iran sometime in the middle of the seventeenth century.²⁵

Losensky’s take on acrostic poetry as a structure-centered catalog of the poetic tradition quoted above is convincing, but perhaps it is also possible to contextualize such poems in which letters are coded in various ways to yield complex, deeper structures of meaning against the background of occult practices that greatly informed intellectual discourse in the premodern Persianate world. Inasmuch as letters in such poems are independent agents, the genre of acrostic poems is related to such metalinguistic genres as the chronogram (*tārīkh*), the *muʿammā* (a poetic riddle the solution to which is a name), and

23 Paul E. Losensky, *Welcoming Fighānī: Imitation and Poetic Individuality in the Safavid-Mughal Ghazal* (Costa Mesa, Calif.: Mazda Publishers, 1998), 162–63.

24 Losensky, *Welcoming Fighānī*, 145–163.

25 Lara Harb, “Persian in Arabic Poetry: Identity Politics and Abbasid Macaronics,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 139, no. 1 (2021): 1–21; Nargis Virani, ““I am the Nightingale of the Merciful”: Rumi’s Use of the Qur’an and Hadith,” *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa, and the Middle East* 22, no. 1–2 (2002): 100–111; idem, ““I am the Nightingale of the Merciful”: Macaronic or Upside-Down?: The *Mulammaʿāt* of Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī” (Ph.D. Diss., Harvard University, 1999); Hasan Javadi and Kathleen Burrill, “Azerbaijan. Azeri Turkish Literature in Iran,” *Encyclopaedia Iranica*.

the *lughaz* (a poetic riddle the solution to which is an object). These poetic riddles went beyond mere wordplay, especially the *mu'ammā* becoming an important genre for intellectuals pursuing occult interests in the fifteenth century. As Evrim Binbaş puts it in his monograph about a key occultist intellectual of the fifteenth century, Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī,

[T]he *mu'ammā*, far from being merely a simple method of setting up rhymed riddles, instead may be described as a way of reaching the full understanding of the *javāmi'-i kalīm* (lit. "all-comprehensive words") or the shortest expressions carrying the widest meaning of God's message. The *javāmi' al-kalīm*, according to Yazdī, constitute the knowledge of divine unity, the rules of the shariah, and the histories of the prophets and kings, and they are embodied in the letters of the Qur'an [...] The meaning of God's message comes to the heart from the hidden world and is inscribed on the "preserved tablet" (*lawḥ-i maḥfūz*) in the heart. From there, it is revealed through sounds and letters, which are reflections of divine existence. The *mu'ammā* is a way of comprehending this convoluted matrix through a kind of poetic expression, at the center of which stands the name of a person. Therefore, the external meaning of the *mu'ammā* is accessible to anyone, but its internal meaning is accessible to only a select group of people who can understand the hidden and concealed allusions expressed through a seemingly meaningless poem.²⁶

Masīḥ's occult interests can also be corroborated by looking at the riddle in Arabic that is included between the third and fourth poems analyzed above (see Appendix 2). According to the text, the solution to the riddle is the name of a friend, the letters of which can be arrived at if one solves the dozens of clues from letter-magic, philosophy, astrology, grammar, etc., that the author provides. These clues refer to the way a certain letter is written, and in several cases, they also give geomantic codes, refer to the astrological properties of letters, or bring motifs from practical letter-based magic. The solution of the riddle is *ghaylān* "hookah," which obviously has a humorous intention.

Masīḥ's eorks analyzed here thus belong to a solid tradition of what can be called metalinguistic devices in Persianate poetry, a self-reflexive, witty poetic attitude, which serves to reveal an inner meaning in the text, something which is linguistically not there, and which can lend the poetry a playful tone, either

26 İlker Evrim Binbaş. *Intellectual Networks in Timurid Iran: Sharaf Al-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī and the Islamicate Republic of Letters* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 84–85.

challenging the reader or the dedicatee of the poem to solve the acrostic or displaying the language game itself. Featuring such poems in his *divan* alongside with the riddle, Masīḥ must have intended to highlight his dexterity both as a poet and as an expert of the *ʿulūm-i gharība*, the occult sciences in general, and the science of letters or letrism, *ʿilm al-ḥurūf*, in particular. As has been outlined above, we do have an account of his dealing in prognostication.

A leading expert on premodern Islamic occultism, Matthew Melvin-Koushki, calls Ṣafavid Iran the “occult-scientific capital of the Persian cosmopolis, pivot of the ecumene.”²⁷ As he outlines, the occult sciences first appeared in the Islamic world as pseudo-Aristotelian hermetic traditions from Late Antiquity cultivated among *ghulāt* “antinomian” groups in eighth-century Iraq, and as divinatory texts associated with the House of the Prophet. They were adopted as part of the natural sciences and also underwent “philosophicization within a neoplatonic-neopythagorean framework,” only to be recast in Sufi terms in the tenth-eleventh centuries. As Sufism was acknowledged in the post-Mongol world as a discourse for charismatic authority, and as it was adopted into political theology by the Ottomans, Mughals, and Ṣafavids, occult science also came to be closely connected to politics.²⁸ For some practitioners it became a master science superseding all other forms of inquiry, including speculative theology, philosophy, and Sufism.²⁹

While it is difficult to see theoretical letrism in Masīḥ’s poems, one can argue that they are based on a tradition informed by ideas of letrism and the notion that letters are referents of a reality that is beyond the lexical meaning of the word. The fact that in his *divan* occultism features together with ideas about language, rhetoric, versification, etc., most probably had the purpose to emphasize the shared culture of victor and vanquished, Ottoman and Iranian.

27 Matthew Melvin-Koushki, “The Occult Sciences in Safavid Iran and Occult Scientists Abroad,” in *The Safavid World* (Abingdon, Oxon; New York, NY: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2022), 423.

28 Matthew Melvin-Koushki, “Of Islamic Grammatology: Ibn Turka’s Lettrist Metaphysics of Light,” *Al-ʿUṣūr al-Wuṣṭā* 24 (2016): 56–59.

29 Matthew Melvin-Koushki, “The Quest for a Universal Science: The Occult Philosophy of Ṣāʿin al-Dīn Turka Iṣfahānī (1369–1432) and Intellectual Millenarianism in Early Timurid Iran,” Ph.D. Diss, Yale University, 2012, 159–166; Liana Saif and Francesca Leoni, “Introduction,” in *Islamicate Occult Sciences in Theory and Practice*, ed. Liana Saif et al. (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2021), 22.

4 The Politics of Language in the Medieval and Early Modern Persianate World

A text having another text or texts embedded in it, which in turn contain another text or texts is a very specific, metalinguistic use of language. This is especially true if this intricate interplay of texts is done in more than one language, particularly when the functional distribution of those languages are at the heart of the political and social structures where the texts originated. The phenomenon is better understood if one considers the language ideologies informing these structures. Language ideologies are popular beliefs, assumptions about the social and cultural role or prestige of a given linguistic idiom. They can be expressly stated or gleaned from linguistic data, but they can also be part of social imagination and social norms. Language ideologies are therefore closely related to political culture and to politics in a broader sense.

In Islamicate Eurasia, the underlying social order produced language ideologies that determined the functional distribution of literary languages. From the tenth century on, Arabic was increasingly relegated to use in religious ritual, theology, jurisprudence, and philosophy, whereas Persian was used for creative literature, governance, and mystical thought, the latter gradually becoming the chief form of piety in the Persianate world. The geographical space for this functional distribution of Arabic and Persian vastly expanded with the Mongol conquest in the thirteenth century. Under Mongol rule, and also during the time of regimes that came in their wake as heirs to the Mongol political and cultural heritage—for example, the Jalayirids, the Timurids, or the Aqquyunlu and Qaraqyunlu, as well as the Ottomans—Persianate culture connected a vast territory from the Adriatic to China. This was a space that Nile Green has termed *Persographia*, a socially shallow but geographically extensive swath of Persianate literacy, shared by a cosmopolitan elite connected through courts, as well as networks of merchants, Sufis, and cosmopolitan bureaucrats, and scholars.³⁰ The other impact of the Mongols, at least for the purposes of the present chapter, was the influx of numerous nomadic Turcophone groups into the Persianate world, who soon converted to Islam, resulting in the sporadic start of Turcophone literacy at different courts and in dervish circles in Central Asia, Iran, and Anatolia from the fourteenth century. Turkish came in third

30 Nile Green, "Introduction: The Frontiers of the Persianate World (ca. 800–1900)," in *The Persianate World: The Frontiers of a Eurasian Lingua Franca* (Oakland, California: University of California Press, 2019), 1–71. See also: Bert Fragner, *Die "Persophonie": Regionalität, Identität und Sprachkontakt in der Geschichte Asiens* (Berlin: ANOR, 1999).

in the shadow of Persian, cultivated both by various Turkophone dynasties who converted to Islam in the territories of the Golden Horde in South Russia, Ilkhanid Iran and Anatolia, and the Chaghatayid territories in Central Asia, as well as Mamluk Egypt and Syria, or by Sufi networks engaged in proselytizing in these areas.³¹

By the time Masīḥ was writing, several language ideologies with regard to the functional distribution of Arabic, Persian, and Turkish had been floating around. The early modern era witnessed the intertwined processes of confessionalization, vernacularization, and the building of the centralized state. Indeed, during the Šafavid period, Iran became confessionally, politically, socially and culturally separated from the Ottoman lands and Central Asia, each of these regions going their separate ways linguistically as well. Today, there is a largely Shii and Persophone Iran, a predominantly Sunni and Turkophone Turkey, and a mostly Sunni and Turkophone Central Asia, although both the confessional and the linguistic make-up of each of these regions is more complex than this neat division would suggest. The process of how these divides came about is part of a globalizing early modernity. Broadly speaking, during the Reformation in Europe, instead of the cosmopolitanism of Latinitas and the universality of Roman Catholicism, confessional and political identities merged in new, centralized empires, in which centralized bureaucracies espoused vernacular languages as a key part of their identity. In a similar fashion, in the Ottoman Empire, Ottoman Turkish was espoused as the language of culture, administration and state-sponsored Sunnism increasingly from the early sixteenth century.³² Iran witnessed a structurally similar process, although built on a profoundly different sociolinguistic make-up as

31 Maria Eva Subtelny, "Art and Politics in Early 16th Century Central Asia," *Central Asiatic Journal* 27, no. 1/2 (1983): 121–48; John Perry, "The Historical Relation of Turkish to Persian of Iran," *Iran and the Caucasus* 5 (2001): 193–200; István Vásáry, "The Role and Function of Mongolian and Turkic in Ilkhanid Iran," in *Turks and Iranians: Interactions in Language and History*, ed. Éva Á. Csató, Lars Johanson, András Róna-Tas, and Bo Utas (Harrassowitz: Wiesbaden, 2016), 141–153; A.C.S. Peacock, *Islam, Literature and Society in Mongol Anatolia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 147–217.

32 Muzaffar Alam, "The Pursuit of Persian: Language in Mughal Politics," *Modern Asian Studies* 32 (1998), 317–49; Peter Burke, *Languages and Communities in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge University Press, 2004); Tijana Krstić, *Contested Conversions to Islam: Narratives of Religious Change in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2011); Tijana Krstić and Derin Terzioğlu, *Historicizing Sunni Islam in the Ottoman Empire, c. 1450–c. 1750* (Boston, MA: Brill, 2021); Brian Spooner and William L. Hanaway, eds., *Literacy in the Persianate World: Writing and the Social Order* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, 2012).

home to both a well-developed Persophone urban culture and major centers of Persian learning on the one hand and Turkophone tribal confederations on the other hand, the latter patronizing Turkic literature, albeit at a much lower scale than Persian.

Although in Iran the language of bureaucracy and the primary literary language of choice was Persian, just as it had been under the Timurids and the Aqqyunlu before them, in a similar way to how the domain of Ottoman Turkish expanded in the Ottoman Empire at the expense of Arabic and Persian, the realm of Persian in Iran also expanded at the expense of Arabic. This happened on the one hand through an extensive translation movement that rendered Arabic jurisprudence and theology into Persian, and, on the other hand, with the production of popular, accessible religious works in Persian, which played a key role in the Shiitization of the population at large.³³ However, a considerable portion of Şafavid society, chiefly the Turkophone tribes that formed the original military backbone of the Şafavids, retained Turkic not only as a language of conversation but also as a literary idiom. While promoting the dominance of the Persophone bureaucracy and urban culture, the dynasty also kept cadres in its employ who were able to conduct official correspondence in Turkish/Turkic, and several members of the political elite also continued to cultivate Turkic as a literary language. Even with the removal of the Qizilbash Turkic aristocracy from key political and administrative positions by Shah ‘Abbās I’s (r. 1577–1629) centralizing reforms at the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and with the consequently less patronage available for Turkic, this marginalization of the Qizilbash was never complete. Furthermore, the early modern Şafavid state was never in a position, and more likely did not even want, to exert complete control over language use. Qizilbash Turkic literary practices continued unabated, albeit in a more peripheral fashion, and not as part of Şafavid language ideologies, which supported the status of Persian as the chief language of literary expression. In addition to poetry, there was also a small number of popular religious treatises, mainly translations, in Turkic, and there was also a handful of lexicographical works, some of them to facilitate the comprehension of the works of the preceding Timurid period written in Chaghatay Turkic, especially those of Mīr

33 Rula Jurdi Abisaab, *Converting Persia. Religion and Power in the Safavid Empire* (London; New York: I.B. Tauris, 2004); Rasūl Ja’fariyān, *Siyāsāt va farhang-i rüzgār-i şafavī* (Tehran: ‘Ilm, 1392/2013), 21348–88; Rosemary Stanfield-Johnson, “From *One Thousand and One Nights* to Safavid Iran: A Persian *Tawaddud*,” *Der Islam* 94, no. 1 (2017): 158–191; Ferenc Csirkés, “Popular Religiosity and Vernacular Turkic: A Qezelbash Catechism from Safavid Iran,” in *Safavid Persia in the Age of Empires: The Idea of Iran, Volume X*, ed. Charles Melville (London; New York: Oxford: New Delhi: Sidney: I.B. Tauris, 2020), 211–239.

‘Alī Shīr Navā’i, the most paradigmatic representative of the Timurid Turkic literary tradition. Of course, the majority of the oeuvre of Turkic poets in Iran was in Persian, but they maintained the tradition of writing in Turkic down to our very own days. It is unfortunate that Western scholarship, still largely compartmentalized along modern nationalist and ethno-linguistic lines, has all but neglected the study of this literary tradition, whereas in Soviet and post-Soviet Azerbaijan it has been subjected to a narrative based on nationalism, which almost exclusively focuses on the Turkic production of these litterateurs, ignoring the fact that they mostly wrote in Persian, and falsely projecting back in time an Azeri Turkish national identity defined by language.

It was now not only mysticism and courtly *adab* literature that could be expressed in a language other than Arabic, but also theology. Indeed, in these polities we see a veritable movement that rendered into accessible Turkish and Persian the main tenets of theology and religious law under both the Ottomans and the Şafavids, respectively. For the Ottoman elite, this produced the language ideology of the *elsine-i selāse* “the triad of languages,” the most succinct summary of which was put forth by Muştafâ ‘Ālî, the well-known litterateur of the sixteenth century:

The astonishing language current in the state of Rum, composed of four languages [West Turkish, Çagatay, Arabic, and Persian], is a pure gilded tongue which, in the speech of the literati, seems more difficult than any of these. If one were to equate speaking Arabic with a religious obligation [*farz*], and the use of Persian with a sanctioned tradition [*sünnet*], then the speaking of a Turkish made up of these sweetnesses becomes a meritorious act [*müstahabb*], and, in the view of those eloquent in Turkish, the use of simple Turkish should be forbidden.³⁴

The religious terminology Muştafâ ‘Ālî uses in this formulation of linguistic superiority is not accidental. It is common knowledge that these languages shared a great proportion of their vocabulary as well as literary tropes and rhetorical devices. However, here the great Ottoman writer goes beyond that, and claims that now it is Ottoman literature that continues the high traditions of Arabic and Persian, i.e., in a symbolic sense, Ottoman imperialism now oversees the implementation of the revealed law of Islam, the sharia, expressed in Arabic, and it is also heir to Persian as a literary language and the political

34 Muştafâ ‘Ālî, *Kühül-ahbār* (İstanbul: Takvîmhâne-yi Āmire, 1270 [1870–71]), 1:11; translated in: Cornell H. Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and intellectual in the Ottoman Empire: the historian Mustafa Āli (1541–1600)* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986), 22.

culture it expresses. Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī's sense of Ottoman imperial Sunni superiority notwithstanding, he puts forth a concept for literary languages that is remarkably similar to what we see in Masīḥ, one that sees literary languages and traditions as derivatives of each other at the textual and at a deeper, metalinguistic level.

Beyond mere word play, in a symbolic sense Masīḥ's multilingual acrostic poems are illustrative of both the interconnectedness of and the cultural difference between Arabic, Persian and Turkic as literary languages in general and how this interconnectedness and difference may have been conceptualized in the Persianate world during the early modern period. By connecting the three languages on a metalinguistic level, and also by elevating Turkish to a level equal to that of the other two idioms, or at least presenting it in the same textual framework, Masīḥ's poetic experimentation can be contextualized against the background of the Ṣafavid and post-Ṣafavid elite's search for new patronage networks in the tumultuous years after the end of the dynasty.

At the same time, these interdependent and multilingual poems also serve to illustrate how linguistic identities were conceptualized in the early modern context, which is very different from the modern concept of language. Accordingly, Masīḥ offers us the three prestige languages of the time, Arabic, Persian and Turkic as characterized by porous boundaries instead of sharp divisions. They can be connected not only through highlighting certain letters of the Arabic alphabet, but they could also feature in the same rhetorical game, which is also spatially represented in the manuscript.

One might also hypothesize and connect such experimentation with the relations between literary languages and the relative prestige attached to them to the intellectual displacement in Iran that must have followed the end of centralized Ṣafavid rule. One example that comes to mind is Nādir Shah. As is well known, in an ideological bid to distance Iran from the charisma of the Ṣafavids, Nādir attempted to have Twelver Shiism accepted as the fifth Sunni legal school. In addition, he pursued Timurid cultural models strongly appealing to both their prestige and the religio-political charisma associated with them, and he also entertained the idea of seeking a common platform with the Ottomans and the Mughals of India on the basis of their belonging to a putative community of Turkmen, the *Īl-i jalīl-i turkmān*, "the great Turkmen nation," as discussed by Ernest Tucker.³⁵ Indeed, this is the context that led one of Nādir Shah's secretaries, Mīrzā Maḥdī

35 Ernest Tucker, *Nadir Shah's Quest for Legitimacy in Post-Safavid Iran* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2006). More recently about Nādir Shah's ideological pursuits, see: Ali Aydin Karamustafa, "The Hero of 'the Noble Afshar People': Reconsidering Nader Shah's Claims to Lineage and Legitimacy," *Iranian Studies* 55, no. 2 (2022): 423–37, who

Khān Astarābādī, to produce a major Chaghatay Turkic-Persian bilingual dictionary, the *Sanglākh*, which is essentially a glossary and study aid to facilitate the reading of the works of Mīr ‘Alī Shīr Navā’ī (1441–1501), the most prominent litterateur of the Timurid Chaghatay Turkic literary tradition, which was tremendously popular among Turkophone literati in the entire Turko-Persian world, including in the Ottoman Empire, Ṣafavid Iran and Uzbek Central Asia. We might also mention that this time also saw the resurfacing of narratives that could be related to the tribal milieu that characterized pre-Ṣafavid and early Ṣafavid times. In particular, there are references to the *Oghuznāma*, a Turkic epic cycle and conversion myth, found in the *Sanglākh* of Mirza Mahdi Khan, after a long silence in Ṣafavid literature. We could also mention the divan of Nash‘a, who was from Tabriz, ended up in Ottoman Istanbul and had his divan copied in 1176/1762–3, which is made up of poems in Turkish and Persian, several of them in praise of Nādir.³⁶ Or we might want to adduce ‘Abd al-Fattāḥ Ishrāq Marāgha’ī (d. 1175/1761–2), the *shaykh al-islām* of Marāgha and his mixture of Persian and Turkish narrative verses in praise of the Shiite Imams.³⁷ Indeed, when the center is not strong enough to project literary models, the peripheries start to look to their own traditions, this time, Turkic. To be sure, there is a lot of research needed regarding this subject. The cultural and literary history between the fall of the Ṣafavids and the beginning of Qajar rule is still largely a *terra incognita* both because of the scarcity of available sources and the shape of scholarship operating along ethno-nationalist lines. This makes the few sources that we have overly precious, but this should also warn us to tread with circumspection.

Linguistic identity and perhaps identity in general were constructed in the premodern Persianate context in ways very different from our modern understanding. Early modern Persianate literati were highly conscious of the vocabulary the three prestige languages, i.e., Persian, Arabic, and Turkish, shared. It was part of their training in these literary traditions and also their everyday experience that this common vocabulary was related to questions of style, register, sociolinguistic function, and by extension, politics in the broad sense of the word. At the same time, it is also part of experiencing the poems to recognize and differentiate the three different languages, the poems thus becoming both the textual and the visual space to indicate those boundaries. Combining all this with rhetorical fireworks and letrist, occult playfulness enabled Masīḥ

convincingly shows that Nādir’s ideological experimentation was not his own invention but was based on an already existing tradition.

36 E.g., MS, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, Hazine 977.

37 MS, Tehran, Majlis 9352; Tehran, Majlis 13469, *Fankhā*, 3:961–62; Tehran, Milli 844 (1725737), *Fankhā*, 15:920.

to show off his multilingual skills and participation in a broad, Persianate literary and cultural ethos which was beyond political, ethnic or even religious profiles, the poet showing these three idioms to be both connected and separated by porous boundaries. While the political motivation behind Masīḥ's appeal to linguistic and aesthetic sensibilities shared with his Ottoman patrons is obvious, his work should also give us interesting insights on the relationship of the premodern self to various spheres of identity, including language, literary practices, and politics in the early modern Persianate world.

Appendix 1

TABLE 12.1 List of rhetorical devices in poem #2

Name of rhetoric device	Explanation of rhetorical device
Muvashshah	"acrostic macaronic"
Muraṣṣa'	"inlaid with jewels:" a couplet with rhyming hemistiches each containing words with morphologically similar structures in corresponding positions
Mulamma'	"macaronic poem"
al-wuṣūl al-tāmm	all the words of the verse are written as one word
al-maqlūb al-kull	"full reversed," i.e., palindrome
al-tashbih al-muṭlaq	"similitude"
raqṭā	a verse in which dotted and dotless letters follow one another
radd al-'ajuz 'alā al-ṣadr	"returning the back to the front," i.e., repetition of the last word of the first hemistich of a couplet at the beginning of the second
khayfā	a verse in which every first word is comprised of dotted, and every second word is comprised of dotless letters.
ḥashw malih	"agreeable pleonasm:" a word is introduced as rhetorical embellishment without adding to the meaning of the verse
munaqqat	a verse exclusively made up of dotted letters
tadwīr	a verse whose meter and meaning does not change regardless of whichever of its words one starts reading it
al-maqtū' wa al-mawṣūl bi-ḥarfayn	A couplet whose first hemistich consists of letters that are written separately according to the rules of the Arabic alphabet, and whose second hemistich consists of letters that are written as pairs.

TABLE 12.1 List of rhetorical devices in poem #2 (*cont.*)

Name of rhetoric device	Explanation of rhetorical device
al-tajnis al-tāmm	“Full paranomasia,” i.e., word-pun based on homonymy
al-mawṣūl thultha aḥruf wa arba’a aḥruf	A couplet in which the first hemistich consists of words of three letters written contiguously and the second hemistich consists of words of four letters written contiguously
al-īhām	“amphibology”
dhū thultha abḥur	A verse that can be read in three different meters
dhū qāfiyatayn	a verse rhyming on two syllables with another
maḥdhūf al-mu’jam	a verse consisting solely of dotless letters
al-lughaz	a riddle whose solution is an object
al-mu’ammā	a riddle whose solution is a person
tārikh	A chronogram encrypting the year when the poem was completed (1138/1725–26)

Appendix 2: Masīḥ’s Riddle

The following is a translation of the Arabic riddle in Masīḥ’s *divan* (ff. 9b–10a). I have not been able to decrypt all the clues the author gives. However, based on the ones that I have managed to crack, the solution is undoubtedly the word *ghalyān* “hookah.” As the original manuscript probably did not contain this solution, the copyist—who was most likely different from the scribe of the poetry included in the volume—adds his suggestions for a solution between the lines, some of which are correct, some are not. I have only included the original Arabic text of those clues Masīḥ gives that refer to the letters making up the solution, omitting the original text of the short preamble. The solution and analysis of the individual clues is given in square brackets.

He is the One Who Grants Victory

After praise and salutation, thus says the servant who is in need of the mercy of God the Beloved, Muḥammad b. Amīn called Kāzīm the Physician: Pious brethren and righteous companions, I have an intimate friend in the corners of solitude and a partner in secret and openness. He is instinctive[ly known] by all people and accepted by both commoner and noble. He mingles fully with all groups of men, and the faces of his companions, when he smiles, brighten. There is no prayer or fasting with regard to

him. "Slumber and sleep does not overcome him" [Qur'an 2:255]. His only victual is but one of the elements which gives life to everything. He has no care for attire, and he is up night and day till the end of his life. The existence of the (four) elements is the most visible and apparent in him when he is speaking with others.

المأت اسمه خماسي الحروف واحدي الأحاد والألوف ثلاثي العشرات ليس له نصيب من

His name has five letters [*khumāsī al-ḥurūf*], one from the ones and the thousands each, and three from the tens. It has no share in the hundreds.

أوله مشاكل أول الحروف وآخر ثانيها

Its first letter is similar to the first letter in the alphabet and the end of the second letter. [*ghayn*, as it is similar to the curve of a *hamza*, which is sometimes listed as the first letter of the Arabic alphabet, and has a dot, which is the last part of the letter *bā*]

آخره لا يمكن أن يوجد الا في الماء

The last letter can only live in water [*nūn* "whale, water monster"].

قلب أوله موصوف بالكاملية في الكلام و قلب آخره مشهور بالمقلوب المستوى بين الأنام

The heart of its first letter is described as perfection in speech [The letter *ghayn*, which is written as an *ʿayn* with a dot on it; i.e., the letter *ʿayn* is the heart of the letter *ghayn*. At the same time, one of the meanings of *ʿayn* as a word is "essence, the best part of something."], the reversal of the last part is widely known as a palindrome among people [*nūn*, which is indeed a palindrome].

كان المقلوب الكل عن قلب ثانيه في غاية الظهور و هو عند أهل الحساب عدد مشهور

The perfect palindrome is quite visible in the reversal [or middle] of the second, and it is a famous numeral among men of numbers. [This is the letter *lām*, reversing the name of which yields the word *māl* "goods, chats, property."]

لو سقط رابعة عن ثلاثة يبقى عدد الأعراض و هما نابتان بين حاشيتا الرياض

If the 4th is dropped from the 3rd, there remains the number of accidental categories. Both of them grow between the borders of the gardens. [*yā minus alif*, that is $10 - 1 = 9$, the number of Aristotle's accidental categories].

عشر ثانية يخبر عن عدد الأجناس العالية من الحميات

[The number] twelve refers to the number of supreme genera through fevers [The copyist gives the solution *alif* and *lām*, but it is unclear why].

وسط آخره مساو للجهات ولست الضروريات

The middle of its end is equal to the modes [*jihāt*] and the six necessities. [the middle of the letter *nūn* is the letter *wāw*, which has the numerological value 6].

مصحف أوله أشهر الأجرام السموية

Rearranging the dots of its beginning yields the most famous heavenly body. [The dot-less form of the letter *ghayn* is *ayn*, one of the meanings of which is “sun.”]

و مضعف رابعة برح من البروج الهوائية

Multiplying the fourth is one of the aerial mansions [i.e., Gemini (*jawzā*, 17), Libra (*mīzān*, 108), or Aquarius (*dalw*, 40)]. As the numerological value of the letter *alif* is 1, this can refer to either of these three zodiac signs]

و أيضا مصحف مطلعاه أول ما هو مشهور بمنفصل من الكم

Misspelling its onset is the beginning of what is known as discrete from quantity [The copyist gives a correct solution. Taking the dot from the letter *ghayn* yields the letter *ayn*, which is the first letter of the word *‘adad* “number, quantity”].

ومضعف مقطعه جبل كأنه بين الوجود والعدم

Doubling its ending [*maqṭa’*] gives a mountain between existence and non-existence [The solution is *nūn*. Its numeric value is 50; doubling it yields 100, which is the numeric value of the letter *qāf*, which as a word refers to the legendary mountain between the celestial and the terrestrial worlds].

أول آخره تاسع البروج عند العيان

The beginning of its end is the ninth visible mansion. [This refers to the letter *nūn*, which begins with a curve, likened here to the ninth zodiac sign, Sagittarius, *al-qaws* in Arabic.]

آخر أوله كوكب دَرِّيُّ به يعلم مواقيت الأزمان

The end of its beginning is a brilliant star time is measured with. [The first letter is *ghayn*, so perhaps this is a reference to the letter *ʿayn*, but the connection is not entirely clear.]

نصف ثالثة يخبر عن عدد الجواهر والكليات والمفاعيل المشهورة بين النحات

[The numeric value of] half of its third letter refers to the number of substances, universals, and effects [*jawāhir, kullīyyāt, mafāʿil*] known to grammarians. [The third letter is *yā*, half of the numeric value of which is 25, but the sentence is not entirely clear to me.]

رابعه مع خامسة جزوء من الزمان الذي ليس له وجود في المخارج عند الثقات

Its fourth letter together with its fifth are part of the time that has no existence in articulation among the trustworthy [The letters *alif* and *nūn* together (*ān*) mean “now, the present, moment.”]

زوج الذي في آخر فرده مطابق لعدد الأوتاد والنطاقات والكل واحد من أمهات والبنات والامتولدات
والزايدات

The even number [numeric value] of the letter that is at the end of its odd number [numeric value] corresponds to the number of the pegs and arcs, and to each of the mothers, daughters, nieces, and appendices [This clue is a reference to geomantic figures, but its exact meaning needs further research].

حصول شكل البياض بعد اسقط أوله ظاهر كذا الإنكيس عن حذف آخره باهر

After dropping its first letter, the resulting white figure becomes visible, and similarly, the inversion (*inkīs*) from hurdling away its last letter becomes manifest.

بأخذ عدد القوايل عن عشر ثانية من كان في الرمل ماهر

Similar to this, he who is an expert in geomancy deduces the number of the midwives [*qawābil*] from twelve.

حاشيته ذى روح أحديهما مائيّ والآخر طاير

Its two margins are animate; one of them is watery, the other a bird [The last letter is *nūn*, which as a word also means “whale” (see above), but the reference to a bird needs further research].

وقوع الثور فيه بين الدلو والحوت من العيان كوضع فرده في النجوم لمفرد الثيران

When Taurus can be seen fall in it between Aquarius and Pisces, it is like the position of its single odd point in the stars compared to the singularity of the Tauruses.

جذر كل واحد منها أصمّ حتى الرابع وكان مشرقه عن المغرب طالع

The root of all of them is the most solid, even the fourth. Its east rose from the west [This likely refers to the letter *alif*, as is also given by the copyist].

يعلم عن خامس البروج في رابعة عدد الأركان والأخلاق والفصول وعن ثاني أوله عدد أجناس بسايط النبضات وعدد العقول

One can know from the fifth sign of the Zodiac in its fourth mansion the number of the elements, the humors, and the seasons [*arkān, akhlāt, fuṣūl*], and [one can know] from the second letter of its first letter the number of the types of simple pulse, and the number of intellects. [The number of the basic elements, the humors and the seasons is four, but the rest of the first part of the riddle needs further research. As to the second sentence, the second letter of the letter *ghayn* is *yā*, the numeric value of which is 10, the number of the intellects.]

لو سقط عن مقدم مؤخره نصفه بقى عدد المبتدلة من الجهات

If half of the [numeric value] of the beginning of its last letter is subtracted, there remains the inverse number of the aspects/sections/directions [*jihāt*].

والسلام على من هو حلّال للمشكلات

Peace be upon him who solves the problems.

Appendix 3

Sample facsimiles from Masih's Divan.

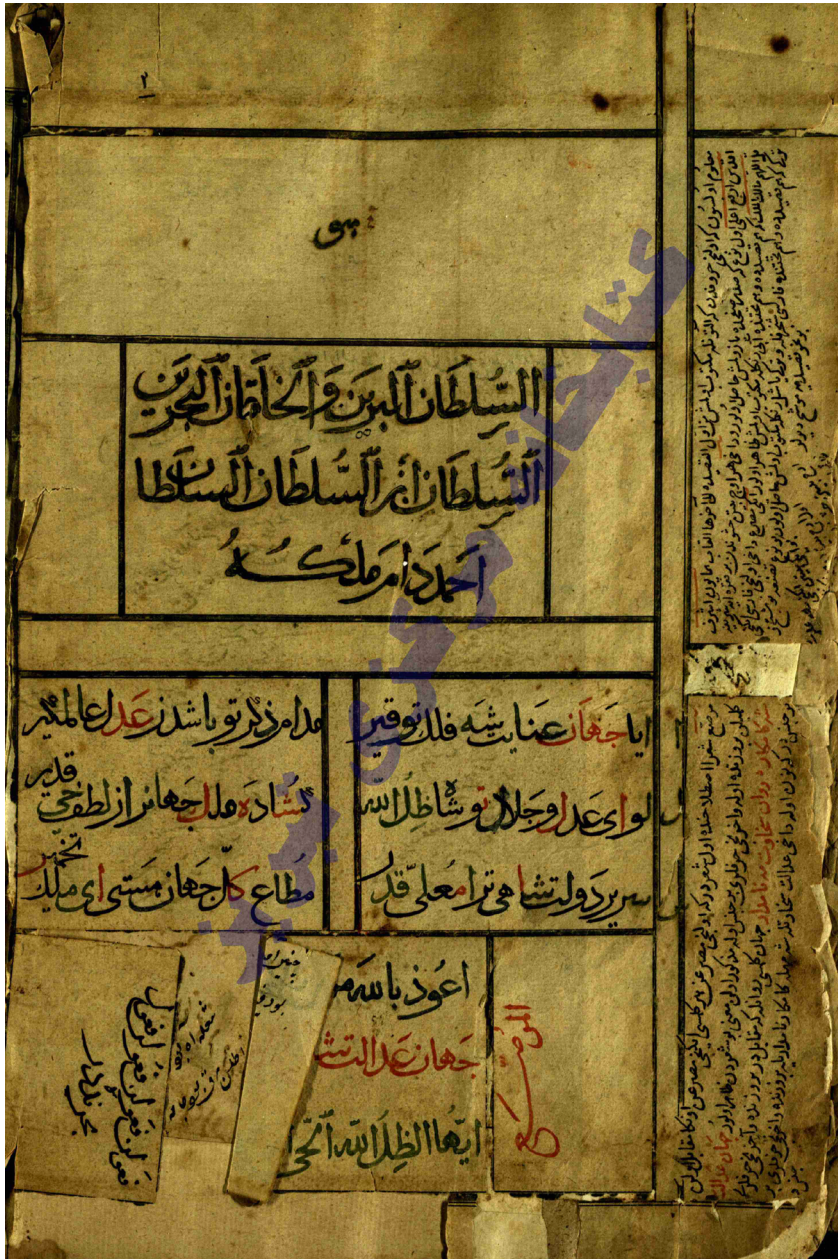


FIGURE 12.1 Poem #2, fol. 2a



FIGURE 12.2 Poem #2, fol 5b

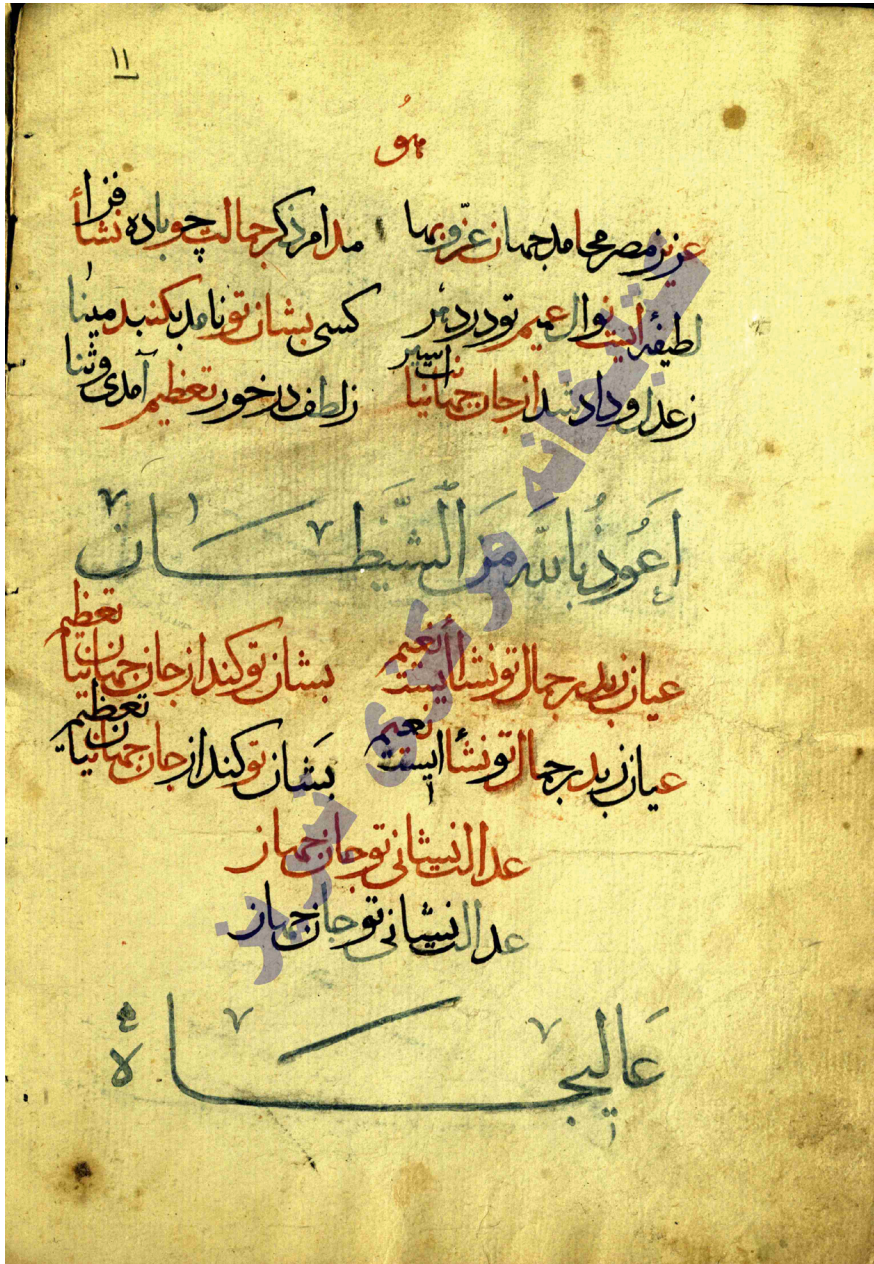


FIGURE 12.3 Poem #4, fol 11a

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PART 6

Linguistics and Philology



On the Historical Layers of Central-Asian Turkic Ethnonyms

Imre Baski

This chapter analyzes some of the structural and semantic types of Central Asian Turkic ethnonyms. At the same time, I am going to make an attempt at identifying the different historical layers of these types in terms of their structural and semantic features.

The system of Turkic ethnonyms has been analyzed in several studies by Gyula Németh,¹ N.A. Baskakov,² S.M. Abramzon,³ D.E. Eremeev,⁴ and Ahmet Caferoğlu.⁵ More than half a century ago, Gyula Németh, a Hungarian turkologist, set up the following categories: 1. Ethnonyms originating from toponyms, e.g. *Yış-kışı*, *Ağaç-eri* “forest man”; 2. Ethnonyms designating external features, e.g. *Koyan-kulaklı* “rabbit-eared,” *Kara-koylu* “having black sheep,” *Kara-kalpak* “black hat”; 3. Ethnonyms designating inner features, e.g. *Çuvaş* “calm, peaceful,” *Kıpçak* “angry, irascible”; 4. Ethnonyms with some other (!) meaning (*Sabır*, *Bulğar*, *Kütäül*, *Çepni*, etc.), such as titles e.g., *Çur*, *Yula*, *Kül-bäy*, meteorological phenomena, e.g. *Qarluq*, *Buzlaq*, etc.

After him, D.E. Eremeev coupled semantical analysis with the study of grammatical features, classifying his data based on affixes as four groups: 1. ethnonyms ending in -Ar: *Tatar*, *Hazar*, *Kangar*, *Bulgar*, *Kangar*, *Macar*, *Kabar*, etc.; 2. ethnonyms ending in -k, -Ak / -Ik /-Uk: *Kazak*, *Emek*, *Yürük*, *Kaltak*, *Caruk*, etc.; 3. ethnonyms ending in -mAn: *Kuman*, *Karaman*, *Akman*, *Besermen*,

1 Julius Németh, “Le système des noms des peuples turcs,” in *Actes du XXI^e Congrès International des Orientalistes*, (Paris: Société asiatique de Paris, 1949), 174; Julius Németh, “Le système des noms des peuples turcs,” *Journal Asiatique* 239 (1951): 69–70; Julius Németh, “Noms ethniques turcs d’origine totémistique,” in *Studia Turcica*, ed. Lajos Ligeti (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1971), 349–359.

2 N.A. Baskakov, “Strukturnye i smyslovye modeli türkskikh ètnonimov i ikh tipologicheskaia klassifikaciia,” *Onoma* 21 (1977): 101–110; N.A. Baskakov, “Model’ türkskikh ètnonimov i ikh tipologicheskaia klassifikaciia,” in *Onomastika Vostoka*, ed. E.M. Murzaev, V.A. Nikonov, and V.V. Tsibul’skiĭ (Moskva: Nauka, 1980), 199–207.

3 Abramzon, S. “K semantike kirgizskikh ètnonimov,” *Sovetskaia Ètnografiia*, no. 3, 1946, 123–132.

4 D.E. Eremeev, “K semantike türskoi ètnonimii,” in *Ètnonimiy*, ed. V.A. Nikonov (Moskva: Nauka 1970), 133–142.

5 Ahmet Caferoğlu, *Türk Kavimleri* (İstanbul: Enderun Kitabevi, 1988).

etc.; and 4. ethnonyms ending in *-t* (Mongolian plural affix): *Teleut, Telengit, Torgout*, etc.

In the wake of Eremeev's promising experiment, N.A. Baskakov dealt with the question in 1977 and set up structural and semantic types for ethnonyms, categorizing them chronologically as well, and emphasizing the need for a many-sided analysis. However, as preliminary investigations and the first results are still missing, a strict classification has to be based on the 1. functional, 2. semantical, and 3. structural aspects of the ethnonyms in question.

The present chapter adopts the basic elements of Baskakov's classification, while adding to it new categories and examples. The additional categories I suggest are also applicable to the classification of other types of proper names, such as personal and place-names, since Turkic name-giving is based on uniform principles in more or less identical cultural and linguistic circumstances.

1 General Notes on Turkic Ethnonyms

According to Kuzeev, a three-grade system (confederation ← tribe ← clan) is typical of Turkic ethnonyms.⁶ However, larger tribes may be divided into 2–3, sometimes 5 groups of clans which have many more clans and sub-clans up to 11 levels (grades), as the example of the Tkm. tribe *Ata* shows, resulting in a very complicated system, or rather hierarchy. Of course the different grades of this hierarchy are far from being stable.

The diversity of low-level ethnonyms is the result of the continuous rearrangement of ethnic groups in society. That is why some higher-level ethnonyms (i.e., macro-ethnonyms—e.g., *Kıpçak, Nayman, Bayındır, Ärsarı, Gökleng*—may form part of the names of clans (i.e., micro-ethnonyms, e.g., Kkp. *Arsarı*, Kz. *Nayman(kul)*, Tkm. *Bayındır, Gökleng, Gıpcak*, Kir. *Uygur*) that are of a lower level.

2 Chronology

There is much more uncertainty about the chronology of ethnic names than certainty. The same holds true for the etymology of most ancient names. Therefore, earlier research dated the emergence of Turkic tribal names in a very long time frame. For the lack of the necessary historical and linguistic

⁶ R.G. Kuzeev, *Proishozhdenie bashkirskogo naroda* (Moskva: Nauka 1974), 64.

data, only a rather vague chronological division can be offered. On the other hand, it seems much easier to determine the chronology of the ethnonyms of Mongolian and Arabo-Persian origin, as the latter ones were primarily anthroponyms, e.g., *Ramadan*, *Şirin*, *Abdrahaman*, *Osman*, etc.

The **Ancient Layer** (shortened **AL**) covers a very long period from the beginnings to the thirteenth century, the start of the Mongol period. It is obvious that the names of the basic tribes (such as *Türk*, *Uygur*, *Oguz*, *Bulgar*, *Kıpçak*, *Kırgız*, etc.) are the oldest. From the structural point of view, they are usually formed from simple or derived nominal or verbal stems (see the structures below).

The **Middle Layer** (shortened **ML**) lasts presumably from the thirteenth century to the sixteenth century. This period totally coincides with the Mongol era in Turkic history. Many of the earlier ethnonyms (and of course the corresponding ethnic groups as well) survived, e.g., *Kıpçak*, *Kırgız*, *Türkmen*, *Bayındır*, *Karlık*, etc., and newer ones emerged, e.g., *Arlat*, *Bataş*, *Corga*, *Kızık*, *Tilev*, *Uyruç*, etc. Most ethnic names of Mongol origin entered Turkic during this period and are present among different Turkic peoples. Such ethnonyms include *Alçın*, *Calayır*, *Mangıt*, *Merkit*, *Kongrat*, *Nayman* and *Tama*. As for the grammatical features of the ethnonyms of this layer, they do not much differ from the ones in **AL**. We can observe a bit more of compound ethnonyms (e.g., *Ak-bayatlar*, *Kara-evli*, *Özce-buluç*, etc.) and anthroponyms (e.g. *Dağ-han*, *Deniz-han*, *Gök-han*, *Kara-gözlü*, etc.) among the ethnic names of this group.

The **New Layer** (shortened **NL**) includes the ethnonyms that emerged after the sixteenth century. This layer is very heterogeneous: in addition to ancient tribal names, we can also find later clan-names of Mongol and Arabo-Persian origin as well as those derived from personal names. The proportion of anthroponyms among the ethnic names of different modern Turkic peoples is very significant. About 15% of the Turkmen, nearly 14% of the Kirghiz and much more than 25% of the Kazak ethnonyms derive from anthroponyms. From a structural point of view, this layer is the most variegated, since all former types of structure can be observed in it. Because of the anthroponyms also used in this layer, one has to reckon with more complicated names as well (e.g., Kz. *Altı-basar*, *Kayıp-berdi*, Kir. *Coldu-bay-uulu*, *Cortuulçu-bay-bolot* (< determinant *Cortuulçu* “?” + PN *Bay-bolot* “Lord-steel”), *İt-bakbas* “the dog won’t look (at him),” *Usta-koçkor*, Tkm. *Agzı-yoluk*, *Övez-geldi*).

3 Functionality of Turkic Ethnonyms

A/ In terms of the *social significance* of the designated ethnic groups, ethnonyms may be divided as follows:

1. **Macro-ethnonyms:** These are the names of the chronologically oldest, large tribal groups and clans (e.g., *Türk, Oguz, Kıpçak, Karluk, Bulgar, Uygur, Özbek, Nogay, Tatar*);
2. **Micro-ethnonyms:** These include names of smaller tribal groups, clans and sub-clans inside higher-level ethnic groups denoted with macro-ethnonyms (e.g., *Afşar, Alka, Bars, Küçüt, Yazgır, On-ogur, Ula-yundluğ*). With the scattering of tribes and the decline of tribal systems in Central Asia, the number of micro-ethnonyms considerably increased. Hence, micro-ethnonyms are typical for the New Layer; for example, in the case of Kazak ethnonyms, where about 130 clan-names belong to a single tribe-name.

B/ The ethnonyms from the point of view of interethnic relations among tribes in question may be examined in two groups:

1. **Autoethnonyms:** these are self-designations of ethnic communities, such as *Oguz, Uygur, Qıpçaq*, etc.⁷

The majority of folk-names and autoethnonyms emerged before or during the formation of class-society. Autoethnonyms usually come into existence inside the tribe. Totem-names (see below) certainly belong to this category.

2. **Alloethnonyms:** these are variants of ethnic names given by other—sometimes foreign—tribes or peoples: e.g., the *Kıpçak* were named *Kun* in Hungarian; the *Oguz* were called *Uz* or *Tork* in Russian.⁸ The name *Gara-türkmen* (Tkm.) is given by Uzbeks and Tajiks to a part of the clan *Gara*.

4 The Semantics of Turkic Ethnonyms

From a lexical point of view, Turkic ethnic names differ considerably from one another. They emerged at different stages of language history from very different *etyma*. In many cases, their original forms (root morphemes) cannot be determined and their primary meaning remains obscure. Since we cannot establish the etymology of such ethnonyms, they cannot be included in semantic research.

1. **Totem-names** (names of wild and domestic animals, birds of prey, etc.).

From an onomatological point of view, totemism essentially stands for the paramount importance attributed to tribal names and clan-names, but a

⁷ Baskakov, "Model," 200.

⁸ Baskakov, "Model," 201.

considerable group of personal names should also be included. Németh considered totemistic tribal names to be the oldest ones; therefore, totem-names, in principle, belong to the **ancient layer (AL)**. It must be noted that numerous animal names used as ethnonyms (originating from anthroponyms) are omen names or fortuitous names, others symbolic, while yet others may belong to the group of *protective names*.

Some of the ethnonyms that presumably have a totemistic origin are as follows:

- AL:** *Bars, Barın*, Kir. *Ayuw, Baarın* “a species of falcon” (< Mo.), *Bagış* “moose elk,” *Börü* > *Kara-börülör / Kök-börülör, Bugu, Tülkü*; Tkm. *Ayl, Çoça* “camel,” *İt, Yılan, Tarlang* “falcon-like bird,” *Teke, Tilki, Torgay*, Kz. *Arıstan, Böri*,
ML: Kir., Tkm. *Ak-barak*, Kir. *Ana-baarın, Barak, Buura, Çong-bağış / Sarı-bağış / Kara-bağış / Kızıl-bağış, Coru* “big bird of prey,”
NL: Kir. *Börü-bay*, Tkm. *Börü-beg*, Kz. *Böri-bay*.

2. **Names of relations**, is a category set up by Baskakov containing ethnonyms that refer to the relation with another tribe/clan, e.g., *Türk, Bacnak (Beçene), Kencek, Ata*.⁹ However, this definition is true only for the names of the ancient layer. Later on, with the appearance of anthroponyms like Tkm. *Baba-çal, Baba-çal-ata*, Kz. *Ata-bay, Baba, Baba-koja* among ethnonyms, the ethnic names of the Newer Layer would express no real relations among the communities any more. Thus the names like *Ata-bay, Baba-koja*, etc. may only belong to the **NL**.

ML: *Oğlan*, Tkm. *Ağalar*,

NL: Kir. *Tagay* (uncle), Tkm. *Baba-çal, Baba-çal-ata*, Kz. *Ata-bay, Baba, Baba-koja*

3. **Anthroponyms** (or personal names, shortened **PN**) belong to different categories of personal names. In this case we must reckon with the names of prominent personae, mostly ancestors, chieftains of the tribes/clans. According to Németh, the formation of ethnonyms from anthroponyms cannot have taken place before the Mongol era.

Among the names of clans, branches, big families in the **New Layer (NL)**, the proportion of names originating from personal names is estimated to be very significant (above 25 % in Kazak, 14% in Kirgiz, 15% in Turkmen). A lot of anthroponyms of Arabo-Persian origin became ethnonyms via personal names of tribal chieftains of heads of clans, e.g., Tkm. *Abdulla, Abdil-gapar, Abdi-rahman*,

9 N.A. Baskakov, “*Model*”, 201.

Abdi-selim, Ganumat, Yusup, Maqtım-gulı, Muhammet-gulı, Rahmet, Şıh-ahmet, Kz. Ramadan, Kir. Alda-yar, Kuday-nazar, Kir., Kz. Murat-alı, Kir. İsmayıl-uulu, Şaa-mırza, Şükür, etc. Most likely, all of them belong to **NL**.

Further examples of the numerous occurrences are:

ML: *Ay-han, Dağ-han, Deniz-han, Gök-han, Gün-han, Kara-gözlü, Otarçı, Topçı, Özce-bulucı, Yıldız-han*, etc.

NL: *Uzb. Çagatay, Kir. Aydar-bek, Cağış-bay, Erke, Kir., Kkp., Kz. Temir, Erke-bay, Tkm. Ağzı-gara, Gutlu-çal, Köse, Söyündik*, etc.

3. **Ethnonyms** (shortened **EN**), can be of both Turkic and foreign origins.

The emergence of foreign ethnonyms among the ethnonyms of a given folk/tribe may be evidence for the assimilation of foreign ethnic elements. According to Baskakov, these **ENS** may refer to the names of the peoples (or tribes) which conquered the tribe in question, e.g., *Oyrot, Nayman, Mogol*.

Further examples include:

AL: *Kanlı, Kurikan, Üç-kurikan, Nayman (< Mo.), Sabar (?), (Sir-)Tarduş, Tatar, Tohsi, Totırka*

ML: *Calayır/Celayır, Dürmen, Kineges, Kitay, Kongrat, Merkit, Mogul, Mongol, Nöküs, Tama, Uyrat* etc. (all of Mongol origin), *Orus, Kir. Sulduz*.

NL: *Uzb. Kara-kalpak, Kir. Dörbööl (< Kalmyk), Er-sarı, Kalmak, Kara-orus, Lakay, Mongoldor, Orustar, Sarı-uygurlar, Uygur, Uranhaylar, Tkm. Ak-nogay, Altı-mamaş, Mogolcıklar, Mukrı, Olam (< Alan), Sakar, Sarık*,

4. Ethnonyms referring to the characteristic occupation and lifestyle of the tribe/clan:

4.1. Names of different tools, weapons (some of them may have become tamga-names)

Kir. Nayza, Ak-nayza, Balta, Alçı, Tokmok, Kz. Taraktı, Tkm. Çeçke “comb,” Çekiç, Pıçaklı, Tabaklı, Tamdırlı

4.2. Names of different materials

Tkm. Pamuk, Temir, Kz. Altın

4.3. Names of domestic animals

Kir. Barak, Boto, Buura, Eçki, İt, Koy, Kozu, Tkm. Düye, Teke, Çoçkalar “pigs,”

4.4. Names of different occupations

Tkm. Avçı, Çoyunçı, Düyeci, Halvaçılar, Harazçı “miller,” Keyikçi, Tilkiçi, Kir. Aktaçı “horseman,” Baytalçı, Kuşçu,

4.5. Names referring to lifestyle

Kir. Sarttar, Sart-kalmaktar

5. *Conspicuous feature* (e.g. color, deficiency, cloths, etc.) of the tribe/clan:

5.1. Inner feature, habit

AL: *Salğur, İgdir* ‘good, brave’, *Bükdüz*

ML: Tkm. *Gızık* “hero(ic),” *Gıruk* “stubborn”

NL: Tkm. *Yağsı, Yaman-türkmen*, Kir. *Suu-murun* “snivelling brat; good-for-nothing,”

5.2. External feature (complexion, deficiency, cloths, etc.)

AL: *Çaruk, Çarukluğ, Uzb. Kanglı, Ula-yundluğ, Kara-koyunlu*

ML: *Al-kara-evli, Kara-evli*

NL?: Trkm. *Cürcenler* “black, black-eyed (people),” *Egri-ayaklar, Eşek-baş, Gara-ıçmek* “black fur-coat,” *Goyun-baş, Gotur-geçili, Gök-donlu, Kırk-öyli, Sarı, Sarı-baş, Sırtı-gara*, Kz. *Kara-sakal, Taz*, Kir. *Ak-tonduu, Kara-ton, Sakaldı, Sokur, Tazdar*.

Some of the ethnonyms that mean colors may refer to the color of horses bred specifically by the tribe, e.g., Kir. *toru, boz, küröñ*, etc.

6. Ethnonyms referring to the *religion of the community*:

ML: Tkm. *Alili* (Ali-ili, Shiite Muslim), *Hıdır-ili / Hızır-ili*

NL: Tkm. *Molla, Mollalar, Mollalı, Muslum (Müslim), Islam, İslamlı*

7. *Toponyms* (shortened TN).

NL: Tkm. *Ak-dağlı, Ak-daş, Çotaklı, Çukur-kölli, Änevlı, Hıvaçı/Hıvalı, Horasanlı, Mürçeli, Nohurlı, Sünçeli, Mehinli, Ürgençli*; Kir. *Aksılık, Alayçı, Alaşan* (a village), *Ancıyançı, Badakşan, Bargı, Leylek-teyit, Oştuk, Talas*

8. *Tamga-names*. Traditionally, every nomadic tribe and clan had a *tamga* of its own. In some cases, the name of the *tamga* became the name of the tribe or clan. E.g., Kz. *Ay-tangbalı, Kos-tangbalı, Teris-tangbalı, Şapıraştı*, Ki. *Cogorku-tamga, Kerki-tamga, Koş-tamga, Kılıç-tamga, Kırk-tamga, Üç-tamga, Üçök-tamga, Çırak-tamga*, Tkm., Uzb. *Ay-tamgalı*, Tkm. *Çeçke* (“comb”), *Çomuçlı, Goş-tamgalı / Koş-tamgalı, Cılan-tamgalı, Halka-daglı* (*dag = tamga*), *Sort-ay-tamgalı, Topar-ay-tamgalı, Tarlang* “a sort of falcon.”

Some of them are names of tools and/or weapons (see above).

5 The Structure of Turkic Ethnonyms

5.1 General Notes

According to the usual grammatical approach, proper names are to be regarded as *nouns* that behave like *nouns*. Since names are formed from different parts

of speech, their grammatical structural types may be outlined on this basis. It is obvious that different kinds of words are not equally involved in forming names. Most proper names, especially ethnonyms, are formed from nouns, numerals, and adjectives, as well as their derived forms.

The structure of Turkic proper names is inherited from previous periods. Therefore, the archaic features of deriving and compounding are preserved, notwithstanding the influence of foreign names. Disyllabic names seem to be characteristic for the Turkic pattern of proper names.

The morphological basis of Turkic ethnonyms tends to expand owing to the infiltration of anthroponyms into it. But the ethnonyms coming from anthroponyms in fact remain anthroponyms; hence, they have to be analyzed as personal names. For this purpose, I have taken over and used the relevant structural types of the *Onomasticon Turcicum*.¹⁰

A. Simple Ethnonyms

1. Nouns (N)

1.1. Simple Nouns (N)

Ethnonyms formed of simple nouns can be illustrated as follows:

AL: *Az, Bars, Bağış* (Kir.), *Börü, Bugu, Çigil, Çik, Halaç, Kanglı, Kay, Kitay* (Kir.), *Küçet, Kürt, Ok, Sayak* (Kir.), *Türk*

ML: *Ata* (Tkm.), *Aday, Çıçak, Çoran, Oğlan, Saray, Tabın, Yazır* (Tkm.)

NL: Tkm. *Ayaz, Böri, Hatap, Keyik, Mergen, Orman, Şükür*, Kir. *Abak, Bakal, Cal, Kebek, Sopa, Şeker*, Kz. *Bura, Kalak, Kalpak, Sakal, Şortan*

1.2. Derived Nouns (N + suff / N + suff + suff)

It seems likely that there are no specific suffixes which would be used exclusively or predominantly for forming proper, especially ethnic names. Although Eremeev conducted some research on the Ancient Layer, the suffixes he examined (e.g. *-Ak /-Ik /-Uk; -Ar /-Ir; -mAn;-t*) are not used widely and exclusively in forming ethnonyms. The suffixes, often seen in names belonging to the New Layer (denominal *-ç, -çU, -çUK/-çIK, -y, -Ay, -KA, -KAy, -ş*, etc.) are those, used in anthroponyms, which are represented abundantly in this group.

¹⁰ László Rásonyi and Imre Baski, *Onomasticon Turcicum: Turkic Personal Names as collected by László Rásonyi*. 2 vols. (Bloomington: Indiana University Denis Sinor Institute for Inner Asian Studies, 2007).

1.2.1. *Denominal Nouns (N + suff / Adj + suff)*

AL: suff. *-t* (< Mo. plur. suff.): *Bayat, Kutat*

suff. *-mAn:* *Türkmen, Kuman, Karaman, Akman, Sarman, Çuman, Besermen,*

suff. *-gIr/-gUr* (denom. adj.): *Yazgır* (Tkm. *Yazır*), *Üregir, Yüregir*

suff. *-k:* *Sarık, Azık, Bulak, Kınık*

suff. *-z:* *Oguz, Kir. Basız, Munduz*

ML: suff. *-t* (< Mo. plur. suff.): *Arlat, Çürçüt, Kereyit, Merkit, Cuyut, Coyrat?*

suff. *-lAr:* *Asıl-bayatlar / Ak-bayatlar*

suff. *-cI/-cU:* Tkm. *Arabaçı, Düyeci, Otarçı, Özce-bulucı, Topçı, Upulaçı*

suff. *-çIn/-çUn* (< Mo.?): *Alçın, Çemerçin*

suff. *-AvUt* (< OT-AGUt): *Bayavut, Kürlevüt*

NL: suff. *-cI/-cU:* Kir. *Aktaçı, Bagaçı, Cayçı, Kuşçu, Sakçı*, Tkm. *Gavunçı, Garsakçı,*

Tilkiçi, Tüpengçi, Uruşçı, Kz. Balıkşı, Bolatşı, Buzawşı, Boranşı, Julkışı, Siyrüş,

Tülkişi. According to our investigations, 3% of Kir. and Tkm. ethnonyms are suffixed with the endig *-cI/-cU*, forming names of professions.

suff. *-mAn:* Kir. *Calçıman, Bıçman, Kz. Kurman, Sarman*, Tkm. *Akman, Garaman, Gırman?*

suff. *-lIk/-lUk:* Kir. *Çakşılık, Kz. Aytık, Kıstık, Kuttık,*

suff. *-lAr* (and its phonetic variants): Kir. *Kökçiler, Tazlar, Sarttar, Kz. Cetimder, Tazdar*, Tkm. *Agalar, Arlatlar, Çarıklar, Oğlanlar, Bekler, Devler, Köpekler, Köseleler, Sirkeler, Türeler*

It seems likely that the plur. suff. *-lAr* and its allophones have not much been involved in deriving ethnonyms in the Kz. and Kir. languages. Their rate is below 1% in them, while it is almost 7% in Tkm.

1.2.2. *Deverbal Nouns (V + suff)*

AL: *Kırık, Az., Tkm., Uzb. Salır/Salar*

2. *Adjectives (Adj)*2.1. *Simple Adjective (Adj)*

Tkm. *Ak, Çong, Gotur, Gızıl, Gök, Daz, Däli, Egri, İri, Yağşı, Kel, Sarı, Uvak, Uzun*, Kir. *Çong, Caman, Cooş, Kotur, Sarı, Sokur, Toru,*

2.2.1. *Denominal Adjectives (N/Adj + suff)*

AL: suff. *-dIr / -dUr:* Tkm. *Bayındur/Bayındır, Çavdur/Çovdur?, Çavuldur,*

suff. *-lIg/-lUg:* *Çaruklug, Ula-yunlug*

suff. *-lIk/-lUk:* *Karluk/Karlık, Kocalık*

ML: suff. *-lI/-lU:* Tkm. *Änevlı, Göklı, Nog., Kkp., Kz. Bucaklı, Tkm. Gutlı, Kz. İstı, Şanıškulı, Şapıraştı, Oşaktı, Sirgeli, Şömiştı, Taraktı, Şekti*

NL: suff. *-II/-IU*: Tkm. *Mehinli, Mürçeli, Nohurlı, Sünçeli, Sayatlı, Hıvalı, Uzb. Tuyaklı*

(According to our calculations, 12% of Tkm., 2% of Kir. ethnic names are suffixed with *-II/-IU* and its variants.)

suff. *-çI/-çU* (= *-II/-IU?*): *Hıvaçlı* (= *Hıvalı*)

3. Numerals (*Num*)

Numbers usually occur in names as *numeral adjectives*, being the *determinant* parts of composite names.

3.1. Definite Numerals

3.1.1. Cardinal Numerals

AL: ?

ML: *Yüz, Uzb., Tkm. Kırk, Ming,*

NL: Kir. *Toguz, Tkm. Dokuz, Yedi, Yigirmi-dört*

Cardinal numbers generally occur in composites as determinants (see below).

3.1.3. Derived Numerals (*Num + suff*)

Kir. *Beşey, Beşter*

3.2. Indefinite Numerals (*IndNum*)

Kir. *Tümön*

4. Verbs (*V*)

Verbs and different verbal forms play a specific part in forming Turkic proper names, especially personal names.

4.1. Simple Verbs (*V*)

Simple verbs as personal names may be interpreted as simple or defective sentence names as well.

4.1.2. Negative Imperative (*NegVimp2*)

NL: Tkm. *Gangırma* “self-willed”

4.2.1.2.3. Aorist (*PresentFuture*) Form (*Vaor(r~Ar~Ir)*)

ML: *Salur*

NL: Kz. *Aydar, Sapar, Japar, Kaynar*

4.2.1.2.3.1. Negative Aorist (*NegVaor(mAz~mAt)*)

Kir. *Köçpös, Tkm. Garışmaz, Dönmez, Kz. Elemes, Ayrılmas, Alamas, Jormas, Kurmas*

4.2.1.3.1. *Definite (Categorical) Past Form (Vpast(DI/DU))*

Kz. *Berdi, Kaldi, Tabıldı, Tölendi*, Tkm. *Köyüندی (= Yandı)*, Tkm. *Begendik, Söyündik, Bulduk?*

4.2.1.3.2. *Indefinite Past Form I. (Vpast(GAn))*

Kz. *Ötegen, Tölegen*

4.2.1.3.3. *Indefinite Past Form II. (Vpast(mİş))*

Tkm. *Avlamış, Garamış*

4.2.2. *Deverbale Noun (or Derived Verb) (V + suff / V + suff + suff)*

NL: Tkm. *Dokma, Dıkma, Yolma*

4.2.4.1. *Infinitive (Inf)*

NL: Kz. *Tilew, Tölew, Suluw, Baylaw*

4.2.4.2.2.1. *Part(DIk/DUk)*

Tkm. *Begendik, Söyündik, Bulduk*

4.2.4.2.2.3. *Part(mİş/mUŞ)*

Tkm. *İkilmiş*

4.2.4.2.3. *Present/Future Participle (Part(r/Ar, Ir, Ur))*

ML: *Salur*

NL: Tkm. *Bolur (< Bolar)*, Kz. *Aydar, Sapar, Japar, Kaynar*

4.2.4.2.3.1. *Negative Present/Future Participle*

Tkm. *Garişmaz, Sıçmaz, Taymaz*, Kir. *Köçpös*, Tkm. *Garişmaz, Dönmez*, Kz. *Elemes, Ayrılmaz, Alamas, Jormas, Kurmas*

4.2.4.3. *Gerund (Ger)*4.2.4.3.4. *Ger (p)*

TN: Kz. *Jarılkap, Esirkep, Ötep, Tilep, Tölep*

B. Compound (Composite) Ethnonyms

Compound ethnic names are formed according to definite syntactic models using different parts of speech. These models are nearly the same as those of the common compound words and word groups.

Grammatical components which usually form compound names have been listed and described in section A. Since most of these components are also used as simple ethnic names, it is problematic to decide whether an ordinary

word (noun / verb, etc.) or a relevant (related) simple ethnonym (or other kind of proper name) was used for a compound ethnic name.

All these types are subordinate constructions, the first part of which is the *determinant* and the second one is the *determined*. A part of these constructions look like common compounds: their components fit completely together both lexically and syntactically, e.g., Tkm. *Ala-börük*, *Ganlı-baş*, Kz. *Ala-köz*, *Ak-köbek*, *Kızıl-börük*, Kir. *Ak-kozu*, *Aksak-koy*, *Caman-kız*, etc.

In the case of many compound ethnonyms, however, the components are not compatible, which means that the construction in question cannot be regarded as a really existing compound structure, either syntactically, e.g., Kaz. *Baltaqara* “Axe-Black,” Kir., Tkm. *Er-sarı*, Kir. *Eşqara* “Companion-Black,” or lexically, e.g., Tkm. *Kelle-ayak* “Head-Leg,” Kz. *Ak-sarı*; hence these compounds occur only in personal names. In this case, at least one of the components, must be regarded as a single proper name. Thus the above composite *Er-sarı* may be interpreted as *Er* “Hero(ic)” + person or tribe/clan called *Sarı* “Yellow(ish),” in fact, the structure looks like *N/Adj + PN/EN*.

5. Binary Construction: A compound with two components (*determinant + determined*)

The most widespread type consists of two components (e.g., *N + N*, *N + V*, *Adj + N*, etc.). In this group a lot of ENs originating from proper (especially personal and ethnic) names are accompanied by an attribute which distinguishes them from the “parent” proper names, e.g., Kir. *Ak-bağış*, *Kara-bağış*, *Sarı-bağış*. It should be noted that some of these “parent” names are composites themselves and they can be attached to further words (or names).

5.1. Compounds of two simple or derived Nouns

5.1.1. Possessive Construction

AL: *Alka-böliük*, *Bukarak-ulus*, *Elke-bulak*, *Kar-yagma* (?)

ML: *Dag-han*, *Deniz-han*, *Gök-han*, *Gün-han*, *Yıldız-han*

NL: Kir. *Suu-murun*, *Tınım-seyit*

5.1.3. Shortened Genitival Construction (*N + N + poss (3rd p. sing)*)

AL: *Agaçeri*, *Beg-tili*

ML: Tkm. *Al-ili* (= *Alı-ili*), *Hoca-ili*, *Hıdır-ili* / *Hızır-ili*, *Adak-ili*, *Esen-ili*

NL: Kz. *Älim-ulu*, *Bay-ulu*

5.2. Adjectival Construction (*Adj + N/Nsuff*)

This is a typical syntactic construction in Turkic languages. The adjectives *aq*, *boz*, *kök*, *qara*, *sarı*, etc. are polysemantic, which means that their meaning in composite ethnonyms depends on the other component(s) of the name.

AL: *Kara-bölük, Kara-börülör, Kök-börülör, Kara-yıgaç, Kara-yagma, Kara-türgiş, Sar-ogur,*

ML: *Ak-bayatlar, Asıl-bayatlar, Kara-bayat, Boz-ok,*

NL: *Kz. Sarı-üysin, Kara-sakal, Kara-kesek, Esen-temir, Kızıl-gurt, Uzb. Kara-kalpak*

5.3. Inverse Adjectival Construction (*N + Adj*)

This type is only characteristic of proper names. See the examples below.

5.3.1. (*N/Nsuff + Adj*)

NL: *Kz. Ata-kara, Bay-kara, Balta-kara, Er-kara, Jul-jaksı “Year-good,” Jol-jaksı, Jan-kara, Tkm. Baba-çal.*

5.3.2. *Nposs + Adj*

Tkm. Ayag-açık (< Ayagı-açık)

5.4. Compounds of two Adjectives (*Adj + Adj*)

AL: *Ula-yundlug*

ML: *Ala-yundlu, (Al-) Kara-evli, Kara-gözlü, Özce-bulucı, Tkm. Gara-daşlı, Gara-goyunlu*

NL: *Kz. Ak-sarı, Jaman-kara*

5.5 Compounds of a Noun and a Participle (*N + Part*)

5.5.1. Compounds of a Noun and a Participle (*N + Part(An)*)

Tkm. Ay(a)-atan, Bulut-kovan, Tkm. İt-emen

5.5.2. *N + Part(GAn)*

Kirg. İt-emgen, Kz. Alda-bergen, Bek-bergen, May-emgen, Quday-bergen, Süt-emgen, Tängir-bergen

5.5.3. *N + Part(Ar)*

Kir. At-basar, Tün-gatar (“Riding all night” = night-watchman), Kz. Ay-tuwar, Bok-basar, İz-basar, Jaw-kaşar, Jaw-basar, Jaw-atar, Julk(ı)-aydar, Tkm. Aya-bakar, Daş-atar, etc.

5.5.4. *N/Nacc + Part(mAz)*

Tkm. Göş-iymez (“not eating any meat”), Köçä-sıgmaz, Çöpe-degmez, Yan-bermez (“resolute, firm”), Kir. İt-bakbas (“the dog won’t look at (him)”)

5.6. Numerical Attributive Construction

5.6.1. Num + N/Adj

AL: *Üç-ok, Üç-oguz, Üç-karlık, Üç-kurikan, Tukur-gur* (= Tokuz-ogur), *Ultin-gur* (= Altı-ogur), *Un-gur* (= On-ogur), *Utır-gur* (= Otuz-ogur), *Tokuz-oguz, Beş-balık, Altı-çub, Altı-oguz, Tört-kara, Altı-bas,*

NL: *Kir. Beş-börü, Beş-kalmakçı, Beş-kaman, Beş-kempir, Beş-köörük, Beş-kürök, Beş-merek, Beş-nayman, Beş-sarı, Beş-terek, Beş-uul, Ceti-aygır, Ceti-kaşka, Ceti-Koşkon, Ceti-kul, Ceti-uruk, Ceti-uruu, Kirk-baatır, Kirk-tamga, Kirk-uruu, Ming-ıtay, Otuz-uul, On-ok, On-ceti(-üy), Segiz-bek, Toguz-kıpçak, Toguz-uul, Toguz-bay, Üç-abıška, Üç-bağış, Üç-bargı, Üç-kurtka, Üç-tamga, Üç-uruk, Üç-öy, Üç-ok,*

Kz. Jeti-kara, Tört-sarı, Tört-kara, Bes-sarı, Bes-taz,

Tkm. Bâş-bağlı, Bâş-deri, Bâş-etmek, Bâş-eşekli, Bâş-öyli, Bâş-serkar, Yedi-urug, Yigirmi-öyli, Kirk-mergen, Kirk-öyli, Kirk-haltalı, Otuz-öyli, Üç-il, Üç-ok, Üç-urug,

Uzb. Üç-urug.

6. Compound Ethnonyms with three (seldom more) components

Ethnonyms composed of three (or more) words are very rare and untypical. Even in such cases these composites can also be traced back to binary constructions, in which one of the constituents is the determinant, e.g., *Tkm. Kiçi-seyit-cemal* (< Adj. *Kiçi* (determinant) + PN *Seyit-cemal* (determined)), *Ak-ata-bay, Baba-çal-ata-ogul, Gara-daş-ayak, Ak-daş-ayak, Gızıl-ayak-mukrı* (“Red-legged Mukry” tribe), *Daş-polat-beg, Daş-rabat-mukrı, Han-yel-berdi, Çakan-ala-göz, Şih-temir-batım, Kir. Az-berdi-caman, Cortuulçu-bay-bolot, Kara-kız-uulu, On-ceti-üy, Orto-kanat-oyrot-uul.*

The legendary Kir. clan-name *Bee-baylabastın-beş-uulu* “Five sons of one who does not tie mares” cannot be considered a real name.

7. Sentence-name (S(N) + P(V))

Names arranged in this group have the structure of an independent simple sentence. In some cases these structures are incomplete remnants of sentences, or parts of sentences. In fact, the names of this type are binary constructions (see No. 5. above).

7.1. Simple Sentence (S + O + P)

7.1.2.1. N + Vim_{p2} / Adj + Vim_{p2}

Kz. Jaw-kaş

7.1.2.3. $N + V_{past}(DI/DU)$

Kz. *Jaw-kaştı, Bay-baktı*, Tkm. *Anna-geldi, Bay-geldi, Dovlat-geldi, Yel-berdi, Can-geldi, İli-berdi, Yäy-berdi, Orus-berdi, Tangrı-berdi, Huday-berdi, Şa(h)-gondi, Şov-berdi*, Kir. *Col-boldu, Kan-keldi, Kar-caadi*,

7.1.2.4. $N + V_{past}(GAN)$

Kz. *Alda-bergen, Bek-bergen, May-emgen, Quday-bergen, Süt-emgen, Tängir-bergen*

7.1.2.5. $N + V_{past}(mİš/mUš)$

Tkm. *Dang-atmuş*

7.1.3. *Direct Object + Predicate* ($O(N) + P(V)$)7.1.3.1. *Indetermined Direct Object + Predicate* ($O(N) + P(V)$)7.1.3.1.1. $N + V_{imp2}$

Kir. *At-keltir*

7.1.7. *Predicate + Subject* ($P(V) + S(N) / P(V) + S(PN)$)

This seems to be the inverse of the structure $S(N) + P(V)$. In Begmatov's opinion, the (de)verbal (predicative) part of the construction is the "head" (or key) constituent which is completed with an "auxiliary" nominal complement: e.g., Tkm. *Berd-alı* (< defective sentence PN *Berdi* (key) + PN *Ali*, auxiliary part), *Berdi-hoca*. The examples show, however, that the nominal components of this structure themselves are independent personal names. According to Blagova, such inverted constructions seem to be modern patterns.¹¹

7.1.7.1. $V_{past}(DI) + N$

NL: Tkm. *Berd-alı, Berdi-hoca*

The element *Berdi* in these names is to be regarded as defective or abbreviated/simplified theophoric name, as is discussed under 7.2. below.

7.1.10.2.2. $Ger(p) + V_{past}(DI/DU)$

Kz. *Jarulğap-berdi, Satıb-aldı*

7.1.10.2.3. $Ger(p) + V_{past}(GAN/KAN)$

Tiläpbergän, Tölepbergen.

7.2. *Defective Sentence* ($[X] + P(VP)$)

Ethnonyms deriving from personal names, which originally consisted of two (or more) components, but recently contain only the verbal part of the

11 G.F. Blagova, "Srvnittel'no-istoricheskoe izuchenie türkskoj antroponimii v sovremennoj Rossii: real'nost' i perspektivy," *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 51 (1998): 45–68.

compound name, can be regarded as *defective sentences*. Most of these names can be traced back to *theophoric names*. Verb-forms *aldi*, *almıŝ*, *berdi*, *boldı*, *bolmuŝ*, etc. evidently refer to the lacking Ablative form of God's name: "taken from God," "become from God." All these Turkic names can be correctly regarded as abbreviated/simplified theophoric *names*.

In Žanuzakov's opinion, names like *Jilkıbay* and *Malısbay* can also be considered as defective sentences from which the basic (verbal) component (in this case *bolsın*) is missing. Thus *Jilkıbay* would be shortened of **Jilkıbaybolsın* which would mean "May He be Rich in Horses."

7.2.1. Defective sentence + nominal complement.

Kz. *Keldi-bay*, *Keldi-bek*, *Keldi-gul*, *Berdi-bay*, *Berdi-gul*, *Berdi-ŝora*, Tkm. *Berdi-hoca*, *Durdu-baylı*.

These are but the preliminary results of my research on Turkic ethnic names. With the accumulation of more data in the future, I hope to set up more precise semantic and functional categories for them.

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Turkological Notes on Pandemics

Uli Schamiloglu

I am delighted to contribute to this Festschrift to honor Professor István Vásáry, whom I met just after graduating from Columbia College on my first visit to Hungary in summer 1979. I was a student of Professor Tibor Halasi-Kun, the first student of Professor Gyula Németh, while István Vásáry was one of Professor Németh's last students. Professor Vásáry generously invited me to participate in his academic salon gatherings (*kruzsok*) with his junior colleagues and later again while I spent a semester in Szeged, Hungary in fall 1982, while a Ph.D. student at Columbia University. It has always been a pleasure to see him later at academic gatherings from Bloomington to Budapest or to visit him while he was Ambassador of the Republic of Hungary to the Republic of Turkey. As a record of the moment in history through which we are living at the time of this writing (mid-April to mid-May 2020) and how it has affected our lives, I have decided to share a few reflections as a Turkologist on pandemics.¹

1 Background

It is quite understandable that Turkologists have not focused on diseases, especially infectious disease (Turkish *bulaşıcı hastalık*; Kazakh *juqpalı awruw*). Contrary to more recent developments in Ottoman history, infectious diseases have not generally been considered important for the study of Turkic peoples and languages or cultural production in Turkic languages, except in very limited instances such as horse diseases (Nissman 1969); a notable exception is the research on diseases among the various Altaic peoples by Ruth I. Meserve.²

1 The publication of this work was included under Nazarbayev University Grant Award Number 091019CRP2119.

2 Ruth I. Meserve, "Additional Notes on Mongol Treatments for Rabid Animals," *Mongolian Studies* 16 (1993): 41–54; "Henry Walter Bellew's Medical Observations on the Kalmyks in Kashghar," *Mongolian Studies* 20 (1997): 65–84; "A Mongol Cure for the Rabid Horse," *Mongolian Studies* 10 (1986): 89–96; "Smallpox among the Tungus Peoples: The Language of a Disease," *Central Asiatic Journal* 50, no. 1 (2006): 75–100; "The Terminology for the Diseases of Domestic Animals in Traditional Mongolian Veterinary Medicine," *Acta Orientalia Hungarica* 49, no. 3 (1996): 335–358.

I would argue, on the other hand, that the history of pandemics must constitute a *fundamental* element in our approach to understanding the history of Turkic peoples and languages, as well as cultural production in Turkic languages, for without that understanding it is impossible to explain critically processes of change in the history of Turkic peoples, languages, and cultures.

I would like to begin with a very brief overview of pandemics (Turkish *pandemi*; Kazakh *pandemiya*) in Eurasian history, especially from the perspective of its relevance for Turkology. “Pandemics” (as transregional and, in modern times, global epidemics are called) are caused either by bacteria (Turkish *bakteri*; Kazakh *bakteriya*) or viruses (Turkish *virüs*; Kazakh *virus*). With regard to pandemics caused by a bacillus (a class of bacteria), I have devoted a number of studies to the history of bubonic plague (Turkish *veba*, *taun*; Kazakh *oba*, *oba indeti* ← Arabic: *‘illa* “illness, sickness, disease, malady”) in the history of the Turkic peoples.³ Aside from most notably the poem recorded in the *Chin shu* (*Jinshu*) in the fourth century CE, there is only scarce evidence for Turkophone peoples and their language before the era of the first recorded runiform inscriptions in Turkic in the early eighth century.⁴ The sixth-eighth centuries were the time of the “First Pandemic” suffered by the Turkic peoples for which we have historical records, namely the Justinianic Plague (Turkish *Justinianus* ~ *Yustinianus veba salgını*). This was followed by the “Second Pandemic” known more commonly as the “Black Death” (Turkish *Kara ölüm*; Kazakh *Qara ölim*, a calque from Russian?), referring to a short period in the mid-fourteenth century.⁵ The Second Pandemic actually extended through the sixteenth-eighteenth centuries, depending upon the region. The “Third Pandemic” refers to the modern reemergence of plague in the late nineteenth century in China, which spread from Canton (Guangzhou) in 1894 to other parts of the world, including San Francisco, after which the disease became endemic among rodents in North America, too.⁶

The oldest samples of *Yersinia pestis*, the bacillus responsible for bubonic plague, are from Sweden and date to approximately 4,900 years BP. It has been argued recently that this bacillus, which had split off only recently from the bacillus *Yersinia pseudotuberculosis*, was responsible for the decline of

3 Hans Wehr, *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic*, ed. Milton Cowan, Third Edition (Ithaca: Spoken Language Services, Inc., 1976), 633.

4 Andrew Shimunek, Christopher I. Beckwith et al., “The Earliest Attested Turkic Language: The Chieh 𐰉 (*Kir) Language of the Fourth Century A.D.,” *Journal Asiatique* 303, no. 1 (2015): 143–151.

5 For earlier epidemics see also: Feda Şamil Arık, “Selçuklular Zamanında Anadolu’da Veba Salgınları,” *Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi* 15, no. 26 (1991): 27–57.

6 Lester K. Little, “Plague Historians in Lab Coats,” *Past and Present* 213 (2011): 267–290.

Neolithic and Bronze Age communities across Eurasia.⁷ This is a very compelling pre-historic parallel to the arguments I have been making (see below). Specialists in ancient DNA (aDNA) studies have localized the geographic origin of the deadly mutations and spread of this bacillus in the sixth and fourteenth centuries to the Tibet-Qinghai Plateau.⁸ There is much more research to be done on the historical outbreaks, the paths of transmission, finding samples of the bacillus through archeological excavations for aDNA analysis, tracing the geographic distribution of various mutations, and discovering the rise of local foci of plague as well as the demographic, political, social, economic, religious, and cultural consequences of this disease, including its impact on the history of Turkic literary languages. There is a growing body of literature on the role of climate change in Eurasia and how it affects the population of animals (usually rodents), since the bacillus is transmitted from animals to humans via fleas.⁹ In addition to transmission via fleas, the plague can also be transmitted between humans through infected secretions such as saliva, or respiratory droplets produced with coughing, sneezing, or talking, which results in pneumonic plague, a particularly deadly form of plague which spreads very quickly among dense populations.

Of course, bubonic plague is not the only illness caused by bacteria. Leprosy (Turkish *cüzzam*; Kazakh *alapas*) is also caused by a bacterium, but it is not highly contagious or lethal. We all live with bacteria in our bodies and rely on them to live, especially to help digest our food. Although not all bacteria are lethal, since the discovery of penicillin by Alexander Fleming in 1928 we have had the means to kill bacteria through the use of penicillin and the other antibiotics which have been developed since. We still witness regular occurrences of bubonic plague or other highly contagious diseases caused by bacteria as a result of poor hygiene (including fecal contamination), such as cholera (Turkish *kolera*; Kazakh *trısqaq*) or typhoid fever (Turkish *tifo*; Kazakh *iş süzegi*).

7 Nicolás Rascovan, et al., "Emergence and Spread of Basal Lineages of *Yersinia pestis* during the Neolithic Decline," *Cell* 176, no. 1–2 (2019): 295–305.

8 Yujun Cui et al., "Historical variations in mutation rate in an epidemic pathogen, *Yersinia pestis*," *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America* 110, no. 2 (January 8, 2013): 577–582. URL: <http://www.pnas.org/cgi/doi/10.1073/pnas.1205750110>.

9 Monica H. Green, "Climate and Disease in Medieval Eurasia," in *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Asian History*, ed. David Ludden (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018); John L. Brooke and Henry Misa, "Earth, Water, Air, and Fire: Toward an Ecological History of Premodern Inner Eurasia," in *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Asian History*, ed. David Ludden (New York: Oxford University Press, 2020).

It is difficult to survey cholera and other bacterium-based pandemics—other than bubonic plague—before the nineteenth century among Turkic peoples in a scholarly fashion because of limited data in the sources on these other diseases. It has been suggested quite convincingly that smallpox was prevalent in the Golden Horde in the mid-fourteenth century.¹⁰ We have far more evidence for major outbreaks of cholera in Eurasia beginning in the nineteenth century, such as the “cholera riot” of 1892 in Tashkent, studied by Sahadeo in a nuanced treatment; and we also find a mention of leprosy in Bukhara in the first half of the nineteenth century.¹¹ Tuberculosis is another important infectious disease caused by a bacterium (Turkish *verem*, *tüberküloz*; Kazakh *qurt awruw*, *köksaw*, *tuberkülöz*).¹² Syphilis is also caused by bacteria, but it is spread through sexual contact. While this disease is probably a post-Columbian import from the New World, in the popular context it is usually interpreted as originating from a neighboring people, for which reason there is a wide range of names for it in various Turkic languages.¹³

While bacteria are alive and produce energy, a whole different category is represented by viruses, which are not necessarily considered to be alive. They reproduce by infecting cells with genetic material, but do not produce energy themselves. We are living in the age of the pandemic caused by the 2019 novel coronavirus (2019-nCoV) (Turkish *koronavirüs*, also popularly *tacvirüs* or just *tac*; Kazakh *täjvirus*, but *koronavirus* is used widely in the media), which is now known officially as “SARS-CoV-2,” giving rise to an illness called COVID-19. This is a special kind of virus which apparently spread from bats (Turkish *yarasa*; Kazakh *jarqanat*) to humans in Wuhan, China.

Viruses are usually transmitted through coughing and sneezing, resulting in airborne particles which may be ingested or land on a surface and be picked up again by a human being through physical contact. (Without a host, they cannot survive for long, which is why articles appear every day discussing how long the coronavirus can survive on metal or plastic surfaces, paper or cardboard,

10 Green, “Climate and Disease in Medieval Eurasia.”

11 Jeff Sahadeo, *Russian Colonial Society in Tashkent, 1865–1923* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2007), 79–107; Jeff Eden, *Slavery and Empire in Central Asia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 73.

12 The great Kazan Tatar national poet Gabdullah Tukay died at a young age of tuberculosis see: Uli Schamiloglu, “Gabdulla Tukay häm tatar üzaı: çit ildän ber karaş,” *Fänni Tatarstan* 2016, no. 4: 100–106.

13 Uli Schamiloglu, “The New World and its Impact on Turkic Lexicon and Culture,” in *Tyurkskaya i smejnaya leksikologiya i leksikografiya (Sbornik k 70-letiyu Kenesbaya Musaeva)* (Moscow: Institut Yazikoznaniya. Rossiyskaya Akademiya Nauk, 2004), 248–249.

or fabrics.) Some virus-based diseases are also transmitted by insects such as mosquitoes (Turkish *sivrisinek*; Kazakh *moskit*; *bäkene şıbn*), lice (Turkish, Kazakh *bit*), fleas (Turkish *pire*; Kazakh *bürge*), bed bugs (Turkish *tahtakurusu*; Kazakh *töseğ qandalası*), or by ticks (Turkish, Kazakh *kene*). One particularly deadly disease transmitted by ticks is Crimean-Congo hemorrhagic fever.

In the former USSR, the state tried to control outbreaks of bubonic plague by killing the fleas which were the vector of transmission of *Yersinia pestis* from rodents to humans.¹⁴ This was a continuation of late Imperial Russian practices to control the spread of disease by modern methods other than just quarantine.¹⁵ However, you cannot control viruses that way; the only way to control an outbreak in the absence of vaccinations and herd immunity is through quarantine and isolation. We are also asked to wear face masks (Turkish *yüzlük*, popularly *maske*; Kazakh *bet perde*, popularly *maska*) when we go outside and to wash our hands with soap frequently, because it kills the virus by breaking down its fatty outer surface.

We witness regular outbreaks of viral infections ranging from the common cold to annually recurring epidemics of influenza (Turkish *grip*; Kazakh *tumaw*). Some common highly contagious viral infections (which are usually not lethal, fortunately) are chickenpox (Turkish *suçiçeği*; Kazakh *jelşeşek*), measles (Turkish *kızamık*; Kazakh *qızılşa*), mumps (Turkish *kabakulak*; Kazakh *misqıl*), and German measles or rubella (Turkish *kızamıkçık*; Kazakh *qızamıq, jänşaw*, also *nemis qızılşası*). Today young children are routinely administered the MMR vaccine against the last three as well as other diseases.

People develop immunity or resistance to disease (Turkish *bağışıklık*; Kazakh *immunitet*) with prior exposure to a virus-based disease or a weakened version of it in a vaccination (Turkish *aşı*; Kazakh *vaktsina*). Vaccines also exist against bacteria containing fragments of dead or attenuated bacteria. Regular mutations mean that vaccinations need to be updated annually for some diseases such as influenza. (Bacteria also mutate, of course.) In some years the flu is mild, but in other years, such as during the time of the so-called “Spanish influenza” of 1918, tens of millions of people died worldwide because of the

14 Andrew E. Kramer, “Soviet System That Targeted the Plague Helps Russia Battle a New Menace,” *New York Times*, April 16, 2020. URL: <https://nyti.ms/3aelH7w>.

15 See for example: T.Yu. Şestova, “Bor’ba s çumoy v Rossii na rubeje XIX–XX vekov,” in *Natsional’naya bezopastnost’: Strateğişeskie prioriteti i sistema obespeçeniya. Materiali mejdunarodnoy nauçno-praktişeskoj konferentsii* (Perm’: Prikamskiy sotsial’niy institute, 2016), 543–552; V.P. Litvinov, “Sanitarno-èpidemiologişeski meri vlasti v sisteme palomniçestva musul’man russkogo Turkestana (1865–1917 gg.),” *Vlast’* 25, no. 5 (2017): 210–216; D.V. Mixel, “Çuma i èpidemiologişeskaya revolyutsiya v Rossii: 1897–1914,” *Vestnik Evraziï* 2008, no. 3: 142–164.

strong immune response of the body known as a “cytokine storm.” (The same “cytokine storm” also appears to be the reason why victims of COVID-19 are dying of severe respiratory problems.) The entire human population had no immunity to the SARS-CoV-2 virus prior to December 2019, because, as far as we know, it had not been exposed to it before. That is the reason there was no vaccine yet at the time of the writing of this article.¹⁶

Among humans, one particularly cruel virus-based disease called smallpox (Turkish *çiçek hastalığı*; Kazakh *şeşek awruwı*) was eradicated in the twentieth century, with samples preserved only in a few research facilities with the highest levels of bio-security. The first modern attempt in Western Europe at vaccination (< Latin *vacca* “cow”) against smallpox was made in 1796 by the British doctor Edward Jenner. Noticing that milkmaids and others working with cows who had caught cowpox did not suffer from smallpox, he infected a human patient with cowpox on purpose. Interestingly, Turks already had knowledge regarding inoculation against smallpox much earlier (see below).

For Turkologists, another related topic meriting further study is the highly contagious virus-based disease rinderpest, which afflicts cattle and other even-toed ungulates. The study of outbreaks of rinderpest (Turkish *sığır vebası*, *malkıran*, *çor*; Kazakh *sıyr obası*) would also be significant for the study of the history of Turkic peoples. As we know from the history of Kazakhstan, the death of herds of animals from contaminated melted snow which has refrozen (Kazakh *jüt*) can lead to the mass die-off of animals, which can also prove deadly for humans who depend on their herds for their own survival. Outbreaks of rinderpest would have a similarly negative impact on both Turkic nomads and sedentary populations. I have had difficulty finding studies of the history of rinderpest in the territories of the former USSR (except for scientific studies of the virus), but there exists scholarship discussing it for medieval Iran and the late Ottoman Empire.¹⁷

I will not offer a detailed treatment of parasites (Turkish, Kazakh *parazit*), which are a somewhat different category (for example, one can become infected by exposure to a body of contaminated water, especially through

16 COVID 19 vaccines were subsequently developed and began to be introduced in the second half of 2020.

17 A.K.S. Lambton, *Continuity and Change in Medieval Persia: Aspects of Administrative, Economic and Social History, 11th–14th Century*, Columbia Lectures on Iranian Studies 2 (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1988), 166 and n. 39; Kamuran Şimşek, “Osmanlı Devri Denizli’de Sığır Vebası: Vebâ-yı Bakaî,” *Belgi Dergisi*, Pamukkale Üniversitesi Atatürk İlkeleri ve İnkılap Tarihi Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Yayını 19 (2020): 2068–2080. Around the time I was writing this article I saw on local Kazakh television a report on an outbreak of infectious disease among camels as well.

mucous membrane). They are generally not as lethal as bacteria or viruses, and they do not cause pandemics. (After all, parasites rely on their host remaining alive in order to survive themselves.) Malaria (Turkish *sıtma*; Kazakh *bezgek*) is a classic example of a parasite transmitted by mosquitoes. Mass injury or death can also be the result of other phenomena, such as food poisoning, as in rye mold poisoning, which is a result of overly cool and wet summer growing conditions. The territory of Tatarstan is historically one of the world's hotspots for rye mold poisoning.¹⁸

2 Pandemics and Turkic History

The first and most obvious consequence of pandemics is sudden, unexpected, and dramatic loss of population. We certainly see this in modern history from bacteria-based diseases, such as bubonic plague, cholera, and typhoid on the one hand, and virus-based diseases, such as smallpox and influenza, on the other hand. (In a normal year, influenza has a much lower level of mortality, compared to the pandemic of 1918–1920.) Thankfully, today we have vaccinations, modern anti-biotics and anti-virals, and a more or less well functioning public health infrastructure.

Not counting some plagues of various origins known from antiquity, such as the Antonine Plague in the second century CE, the first plague that we encounter in recorded Turkic history is the Justinianic Plague, which was the first recorded pandemic of bubonic plague caused by the bacillus *Yersinia pestis*.¹⁹ While scholarship on the impact of this first recorded pandemic of bubonic plague on Turkic-speaking peoples is still in its infancy, I have tried to show elsewhere that an understanding of the First Pandemic is a very powerful theoretical tool for understanding the history of the sixth-eighth centuries.²⁰ We see that the First Türk Empire spread very quickly to the Black Sea region, but then it somehow collapsed just as quickly as it had arisen. I believe that the collapse of the First Türk Empire, the rise and subsequent fall of the Second

18 Uli Schamiloglu, "Napravleniya v issledovanii Zolotoy Ordi," in *Istočnikovedenie istorii Ulusa Djuči (Zolotoy Ordi): Ot Kalki do Astraxani, 1223–1556*, ed. M.A. Usmanov et al. (Kazan: Institut Istorii im. Ş. Mardžani—Kazanskiy Gosudarstvenniy Universitet, 2002), 16–17.

19 See: Lester K. Little, ed., *Plague and the End of Antiquity: The Pandemic of 541–750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

20 Uli Schamiloglu, "The Plague in the Time of Justinian and Central Eurasian History: An Agenda for Research," in *Central Eurasia in the Middle Ages: Studies in Honour of Peter B. Golden*, *Turcologica* 104, ed. Osman Karatay and István Zimonyi (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2016), 293–311.

Türk Empire, the rise of the Khazars and the Bulğar Turkic states out of the confusion of the collapse of the Western Türk Qağanate, and other movements of population, are all tied somehow to the Justinianic Plague. The rapid expansion of Arab Islamic armies into Central Asia in the eighth century, where their competitors were the Chinese and Tibetans, can also be seen as a contest over a depopulated region.

The rising Chinggisid state may have already encountered *Yersinia pestis* in the early thirteenth century.²¹ But it is clear that beginning in the 1330s, the Mongol appanage states, i.e., the Il-khanate, the Chaghatay Khanate, the Yüan dynasty, and finally the Golden Horde, collapsed during the time of the Second Pandemic.²² It is quite surprising that the Golden Horde did not fall apart until the death of Berdibek Khan in 1359. Following a period of demographic decline and anarchy, in Central Asia Timur reunited the two halves of the former Chaghatay Khanate, while in Western Eurasia, where the demographic consequences of bubonic plague were apparently far more severe, we witness the rise of a series of smaller khanates that were much smaller in size than the earlier Golden Horde, reflecting in all likelihood a greatly reduced population.²³

Further to the southwest, the Ottoman state began its meteoric rise, as its rivals around the coastal regions and inland in Anatolia practically disappeared due to plague. The Ottomans eventually conquered Constantinople, the depopulated capital of Byzantium, in 1453. By that time, they had already

21 Robert Hymes, "Epilogue: A Hypothesis on the East Asian Beginnings of the *Yersinia pestis* Polytoomy," *The Medieval Globe* 1 (2014): 285–308.

22 Lambton, *Continuity and Change in Medieval Persia*, 25.

23 Uli Schamiloglu, "Preliminary Remarks on the Role of Disease in the History of the Golden Horde," *Central Asian Survey* 12, no. 4 (1993): 447–457; "Çernaya smert' i ee posledstviya," in *Istoriya Tatar s drevneyšix vremen v semi tomox*, iii. *Ulus Djuçi (Zolotaya Orda): XIII–seredina XV v.* (Kazan, 2009), 686–690; "The Black Death in the Golden Horde and the Later Golden Horde and its Consequences," in *Natsional'naya istoriya tatar: Teoretiko-metodologičeskie problem*, Vypusk 2, Bibliotheca Tatarica (Kazan, 2011), 98–117; "Gravestones and the History of Medieval Tatar Civilization: A Brief Overview," in *Islam i tyurkskiy mir: Problemy obrazovaniya, yazyka, literatury, istorii i religii; Materialy VIII mezhdunarodnoy tyurkologicheskoy konferentsii (Islam and Turkic World: Problems of Education, Language, Literature, History and Religion. Materials of VIII International Turkic Conference)* (Kazan: Yelabuga Institute of Kazan Federal University—Abai Kazakh National Pedagogical University, 2016), 76–80; "The Impact of the Black Death on the Golden Horde: Politics, Economy, Society, and Civilization," *Golden Horde Review / Zolotoordinskoe obozrenie* 5, no. 2 (2017): 325–343; "Reflections on Regional Variation in the Impact of the Black Death on the Golden Horde," *Tyurkologičeskie issledovaniya / Turkological Studies* 1, no. 3 (2018): 19–22.

made deep inroads into the depopulated Balkans as well.²⁴ Waves of plague would continue, with early modern states of the region developing the quarantine (< Italian *quarantine* “40 days” → Turkish *karantina*; Kazakh *karantin*; *waqtşa tyım*) and other responses to epidemic disease.²⁵

I do not have a clear idea about population losses beginning at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, but the quarantine and public health measures taken by modern states—however imperfect—seem to have been more successful than the efforts of pre-modern states. We are currently maintaining social distance while outdoors; of course, medieval Turkic nomads were also epidemiologically less susceptible to infection, because they formed less dense communities and led an essentially outdoor life in fresh air, compared to sedentary and especially urban populations.

3 Pandemics and Turkic Religion and Culture

As will be understood from my explication so far, infectious disease has been a fact of life for Turkic peoples since at least the sixth-eighth centuries. It also seems to be documented for the peoples of Eurasia, including the ancestors of Turkic peoples, as early as 4,900 years BP. This suggests that Turkic populations have over their entire pre-history and history an experience of dying from sudden onsets of infectious disease, surviving and reacting to epidemics (including trauma associated with both individual and communal encounter with them), and developing cultural mechanisms for coping with the diseases which afflicted them or their herds. Because of taboos, however, there is frequently no direct reference to disease, which is often expressed instead by euphemisms (see below).

24 Uli Schamiloğlu, “The Rise of the Ottoman Empire: The Black Death in Medieval Anatolia and its Impact on Turkish Civilization,” In *Views from the Edge: Essays in Honor of Richard W. Bulliet*, ed. Nequin Yavari et al. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), 255–279; “Revisiting ‘Randosmanisch’: A Hypothesis on the Black Death and the Turkification of the Balkans,” in *Building Bridges to Turkish: Essays in Honour of Bernt Brendemoen*, ed. Éva Á. Csató et al., *Turcologica* 116 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2018), 285–294.

25 John T. Alexander, *Bubonic Plague in Early Modern Russia: Public Health & Urban Disaster* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980); Nükhet Varlık, *Plague and Empire in the Early Modern Mediterranean World: The Ottoman Experience, 1347–1600* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015); Mesut Ayar, and Yunus Kılıç, “Osmanlı’da Vebanın Sona Erişine Dair Bir Değerlendirme,” *Journal of Turkish World Studies* 17, no. 2 (Winter 2017): 163–181; Adem Çalışkan, and Ahmet Eyicil, “xviii. ve xix. yüzyılda Halep ve civarında salgın hastalıklar,” *Bingöl Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi* 9, no. 18 (Güz 2019): 1289–1319. URL: <http://busbed.bingol.edu.tr>.

We have all kinds of information about the religion and cultures of the Türks in this period. The Byzantine chronicler Theophylactus Simocatta (d. ca. 630–640), for example, offers an overview of the beliefs of the Türks, writing that they honor fire, respect the air and water, sing hymns to the earth, and bow only to the creator of the sky and earth, whom they call “god.” They sacrifice horses, bulls, and small livestock to this deity. They designate as their religious figures (i.e., shamans) those who they believe can predict the future. He also writes that there are two things of which the Türks are proud. One is that since ancient times, since the beginning of their lives, they have not seen pestilence; the other is that earthquakes are a rarity in their land. Only the city of *Bakat* of the Onoğurs was destroyed in an earthquake, and Sogdiana experienced both pestilence and earthquakes.²⁶ Yet, elsewhere Simocatta writes that Türk prisoners sent to the Emperor Maurice in 598 had on their foreheads the sign of the cross. When the emperor inquired what this was for, they responded that they had received it from their mothers upon the advice of some Christians during the outbreak of a deadly pestilence. Because they had followed this advice, since that time they had been safe from pestilence. These details are also found in Theophanes.²⁷

The evaluation of these accounts poses several problems. We now know that the Qinghai-Tibet Plateau was the point of origin of the polytomy which gave rise to the outbreak of the Justinianic Plague. It spread rapidly across Eurasia (perhaps via the Indian Ocean), and no doubt affected the First Türk Empire (552–603). Were these Türks mentioned by Theophylactus Simocatta denying that they had experienced plague because of a taboo or other negative connotation? These several accounts have embedded within them an affirmation that their people and neighboring lands had, indeed, experienced plague in an earlier time. Finally, were the “inoculation tattoos” on their foreheads strictly a Christian phenomenon, or did it have an analog in Türk culture, too, something similar to the tradition of amulets? Turkic nomads would most likely have had some notions of how to protect at least their animals—even if only symbolically—just as they did in medieval and modern times. Are there perhaps survivals of such traditions or medical knowledge in folklore texts or ethnographic accounts today?

26 Theophylactus Simocatta, *Istoriya*, translated by S.P. Kondrat'ev, Pamyatniki srednevekovoy istorii narodov Tsentral'noy i Vostochnoy Evropi (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1957), 161; Etienne de la Vaissière, “Theophylact's Turkish Exkurs revisited,” in *De Samarcande à Istanbul étapes orientales: Hommages à Pierre Chuvin—II* (Paris: CNRS Éditions, 2015).

27 Theophylactus Simocatta, *Istoriya*, 130–131; Schamiloglu, “Rise of the Ottoman Empire”; “The Plague in the Time of Justinian and Central Eurasian History”.

In subsequent centuries we also see the rise of a substantial translation literature of medical texts from Sanskrit into Old Uyghur, such as those which were published by Reşit Rahmeti Arat and studied by Süheyl Ünver.²⁸ Today the study of medical knowledge (*Heilkunde*) among the ancient Turks in the Old Turkic period is based largely on these texts, even though many questions remain about medical knowledge among the Türks. This may also be studied within the broader context of the transmission of medical knowledge along the Silk Road.²⁹ As I have argued elsewhere, translating and copying religious texts in this period could also be an indication of increased religiosity because of disease.³⁰

The literature of the Golden Horde also came to an end during a time of pandemic with the last copying of the religious manual *Nehc ül-feradis: Uştmahlarnıñ açuq yolu*, “The Salvation of Paradise: The Clear Path to Heaven,” in Arabic and Turkic. The writing and the copying of such a work are both pious acts reflecting an increase in religiosity in the Golden Horde, perhaps directly because of the plague.³¹ Another work in Persian, Abū Bakr Qalandar Rūmī’s *Qalandarname*, is yet another example of a work from the mid-fourteenth century reflecting an increase in religiosity during a time of pandemic.³² I also see Süleyman Çelebi’s ubiquitous *Mevlid* in Ottoman Turkish, written in the early fifteenth century, as yet another vernacular work reflecting heightened piety in a time of pandemic. To continue along this line of reasoning, we have good reason to include the *Codex Cumanicus* on this list, too, since the first “Italian”

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- 28 Macidegöl Batmaz, “Eski Uygur Türkçesinde Tıp Terimleri,” (M.A. thesis, Hacettepe Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 2013), 27–31.
- 29 Ronit Yoeli-Tlalim, “The Silk-Roads as a Model for Exploring Eurasian Transmissions of Medical Knowledge: Views from the Tibetan medical manuscripts of Dunhuang,” in *Entangled Itineraries of Aterials, Practices, and Knowledge: Eurasian nodes of convergence and transformation*, ed. Pamela Smith (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2019), 47–62.
- 30 Uli Schamiloğlu, “The Rise of Runiform Turkic as the first Turkic Vernacular Literary Language,” *Turkic Languages* 21, no. 2 (2017): 161–177.
- 31 Uli Schamiloğlu, “The Islamic High Culture of the Golden Horde,” in *Proceedings of the Second International Symposium on Islamic Civilization in the Volga-Ural Region: Kazan, 24–26 June 2005*, ed. Rafik Muhammetshin et al., Sources and Studies on the History of Islamic Civilization 17 (Istanbul: Research Centre for Islamic History, Art and Culture, 2008), 19–39.
- 32 Abu Bakr Kalandar Rumi, *Kalandar-name: Faksimile*, ed. I.M. Mirgaleev (Kazan: Sh. Marjani Institute of History of Tatarstan Academy of Sciences, 2015); *Kalandar-name*, trans. I.R. Gibadullin and M.R. Shamsimuxametova (Kazan: Sh. Marjani Institute of History of Tatarstan Academy of Sciences, 2017). The work was rescued from obscurity by Ilnur Mirgaleev of the Usmanov Center of the Märçani Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Tatarstan.

part (which according to Ligeti may have its origins around 1294 or 1303) is more about the grammar and lexicon, while the second “German” part (which may date around 1340–1356) contains mainly religious hymns and prayers.³³

With regard to the early modern period, knowledge about smallpox in the Ottoman Empire is certainly worth our attention. An inoculation against smallpox is mentioned in a letter from 1717 by Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, wife of the British ambassador to the Ottoman court. She describes how Ottoman society at the time already had a method of inoculating thousands of children against smallpox by using fluid drawn from smallpox pustules of an infected patient. Ahmed Cevdet Pasha’s (1823–1895) *Tarih-i Cevdet* also describes a method of inoculation using cowpox which was introduced to Istanbul from Anatolia in 1679. Indeed, it has been argued that the practice of inoculation was exported to Europe from the Ottoman Empire and that Jenner (see above) simply adapted the Ottoman practice.³⁴ There are various claims as to whether this practice ultimately originated in China, India or elsewhere. For all we know, it may (should?), in the end, be connected to the practices and knowledge of Turkic livestock breeders, knowledge of which is hardly a part of the training of Turkologists studying cultural production in Turkic languages. As one additional example of this, we may note that at the turn of the last century, Tatars would travel from Kazan to Ufa and nearby regions to drink *qumız* as a treatment for tuberculosis.

Coming to the modern period, we have data from Turkic folklore that is hardly available from before the modern period, since very few such works were transcribed before the nineteenth century. (The *Book of Dede Qorqut* is a rare example of a work which was recorded perhaps as early as a half millennium ago, with the first manuscript copies dating from the second half of the fifteenth century.) Wilhelm Radloff’s *Proben der Volksliteratur der türkischen Stämme Süd-Sibiriens* or the 100 volume *Babalar sözi* published recently in Kazakhstan are sources which no doubt present researchers with material for the study of the issues which I have raised. Although I was unable to go through such voluminous materials for the purpose of this article, I can cite several examples with which I was unfamiliar before undertaking the research for this study.

33 Lajos Ligeti, “Prolegomena to the Codex Cumanicus,” *Acta Orientalia Hungarica* 35 (1981): 1–54.

34 İrfan Elmacı, “Bilimsel ve Teknolojik Açıdan Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda XVIII. Yüzyıldan XIX. Yüzyıla Çiçek Aşısı ve Kuduz Aşısı,” *Belleten* 79, no. 285 (Ağustos 2015): 613–614.

According to the *Türk Mitolojisi Sözlüğü*, we find the following examples of spirits protecting Turkic-speaking peoples from disease:³⁵ *Koorusun Ata*, who is the spirit of smallpox (*çiçek ruhu*); *Payne*, who according to the Kumandin is an all-protective spirit whose strength (and that of their shamans) is evidenced by the low degree of occurrence of death and disease; *Yeg*, an evil spirit whose presence is evidenced by disease; and *Yula*, the true soul of a person which may be separated from a human being and reunited with the body through the help of shamans. Even though we find mention of disease here, our research is still hampered by the fact that, more often than not, popular lore among Turkic peoples seems to simply resist mentioning a disease by its name because of the spirits which it may invoke, which is why they refer to it by a euphemism or just refer to it obliquely.³⁶ The lexical material presented below will offer clear evidence of this as well.

The only obvious conclusion to me as a Turkologist is that there is still room for substantial interdisciplinary research to be carried out integrating our knowledge of languages and awareness of taboos (see below) with the evidence regarding diseases and attitudes towards them in cultural production, including deities in Turkic mythology associated with disease, especially before some of these endangered languages and cultures disappear forever ...

4 The Impact of Pandemics on Turkic Literary Languages

Another topic on which I have been writing of late is the history of Turkic literary languages and their relationship to vernacular-based written languages. I will briefly summarize my views on this topic. I believe that the origin of Turkic literary languages is intertwined with the history of pandemics. From the first runiform Turkic inscriptions to the rise of Old Uyghur and other closely-related Old Turkic languages written in a myriad of alphabets, I think it is all to be tied somehow to the First Pandemic.³⁷ As some of my readers may know, I have been arguing for some time that we should consider

35 See also Fuzuli Bayat, *Türk Şaman Metinleri (Efsaneler ve Memoratlar)* (Istanbul: Ötüken, 2019), 185ff.

36 See: Vilmos Diószegi and Mihály Hoppál, eds. *Shamanism in Siberia* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1978); Engin Gökçür, "Türkmen Türkçesinde Tabu ve Örtmeceye Dayalı Söz Varlığı Üzerine," *Karadeniz Araştırmaları* 16, no. 64 (2019): 671–684; Azatlıq Radiosı. "Tatarlar élek épidemiyalárgá niçek karşı torgan: 5 fikir," 28 mart 2020. URL: <https://www.azatliq.org/a/30513033.html>.

37 Schamiloğlu, "Plague in the Time of Justinian"; "The Rise of Runiform Turkic as the first Turkic vernacular literary language."

Middle Turkic written languages and literature as having been impacted severely—some indeed extinguished—by the Black Death and its aftermath. I have in mind the end in the 1340s of the Syriac Turkic inscriptions in the region of Issyk Kul and the demise of Volga Bulgarian in 1356, to be replaced later by Old Tatar.³⁸ Recently it has been discovered that the strain of *Yersinia pestis* found in Bolgar is actually related to the strain of *Yersinia pestis* which spread to Europe during the Black Death.³⁹ This lends further support to my argument that the Volga Bulgarian epigraphical language came to an end because of bubonic plague. In addition, I have argued that the orthographic system of Old Anatolian Turkish—derivative of Central Asian Turkic—also gave way to the Arabo-Persian-based system of Ottoman Turkish as a result of pandemic.⁴⁰ The archaic earlier literary traditions were replaced by written languages closer to the spoken vernacular, including Ottoman Turkish and Chaghatay Turkic.⁴¹

5 Selected Words for Infectious Diseases in Historical Turkic Languages

We may turn next to the data offered by historical and modern Turkic languages. In this section I will try to survey some of their terms for diseases, with a focus on the names for 14 bacterium-, virus-, and parasite-based infectious diseases I will review in the later part of this section. Beginning with our standard reference works for Old Turkic, we find that the number of relevant words represented is extremely limited in Old Turkic in the period leading up to Kashghari's famous dictionary from the eleventh century. From the terms for 12 human diseases (plus livestock diseases) we will review later, we find 6 basic roots attested (given in the forms listed in *EDT*), with only three of them (based on Clauson's interpretation) referring to a specific disease or specifically to being ill in the attested texts:

38 Uli Schamiloglu, "The End of Volga Bulgarian," in *Varia Eurasiatrica: Festschrift für Professor András Róna Tas*, (Szeged: Department of Altaic Studies, 1991), 157–163.

39 Maria A. Spyrou et al., "Historical *Y. pestis* Genomes Reveal the European Black Death as the Source of Ancient and Modern Plague Pandemics," *Cell Host & Microbe* 19, no. 6 (2016): 874–881.

40 Schamiloglu, "Rise of the Ottoman Empire"; "Ortaçağ Dillerinden Modern Dillere: Avrupa ve Türk Dünyasında Yeni Edebi Dillerin Varlığa Gelmesi," in *iv. Dünya Dili Türkçe Sempozyumu Bildirileri. 22–24 Aralık 2011, Muğla, i–ii*, ed. Mehmet Naci Önal (Ankara, 2012), vol. 1, 501–507.

41 Schamiloglu, "Ortaçağ Dillerinden"; "Gravestones."

ala “many colored” (*EDT*, 126; *DTS*, 32–33).
bezge:k “ague, malaria” (*EDT*, 391; *DTS*, 97).
çéçek “flower” (*EDT*, 400–401; *DTS*, 143).
kezig “recurrent (fever)” (*EDT*, 758–759; *DTS*, 305).
qızla:muq ~ *qızla:muq* “measles” (*EDT*, 684; *DTS*, 450).
tuma:ǵu: “a cold in the head” (*EDT*, 505; *DTS*, 585).

Clauson does not define *ala* by its well-attested later meaning “leprosy,” although *DTS* defines it as “1. bol’noy lojnoy prokazoy; 2. lojnaya prokaza, pes, vitiligo.” Clauson does, however, elaborate further regarding *çéçek* as follows: “hence metaphorically “a skin eruption,” especially “smallpox.”” He does not interpret *kezig* as a term for a disease per se, though *DTS* does define it as “lixoradka, goryaçka,” meaning “fever” (based on Kashghari, however). While he does not mention disease explicitly, we may derive *qızla:muq* ~ *qızla:muq* from the root *qız-* “basically ‘to be red’; hence (1) ‘to be red hot’; (2) ‘to be red’ (with anger, shame, etc.)” (*EDT*, 681). We may add *sl:ş* “swelling, boil” (*EDT*, 857; *DTS*, 506) as a word for a symptom connected to this group of terms related to infectious disease. (In modern Turkic languages, this word is more frequently used in connection with different kinds of “cancer,” however, so it will not appear in the list of modern names for infectious diseases.)

The impressive M.A. thesis by Batmaz on medical terms in Old Uyghur is exceptionally useful for our purposes here. She reviews the Old Uyghur medical texts (*Heilkunde*) and summarizes their terminology.⁴² She lists the word for “sickness” (*ig* “hastalık”), various parts of the bodies and symptoms (including *şış* “şış, kabarıklık”), various aches and pains, and many different kinds of diseases.⁴³ Those which are relevant for our study here are (following her transcription):

ala “cüz zam.”
bezgek “soğuk ateş, sıtma.”
qızamuq “kızamık.”⁴⁴

Also relevant is “cough” (*yötül* “öksürük”), which is a symptom of some of the diseases we are discussing, but not a specific disease in itself.⁴⁵

42 Macidegül Batmaz, “Eski Uygur Türkçesinde Tıp Terimleri” (M.A. Thesis, Hacettepe Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 2013), 76–78, 101–111, 123.

43 Batmaz, “Eski Uygur Türkçesinde Tıp Terimleri,” 123, 68–75, 76–78, 78–111.

44 Batmaz, “Eski Uygur Türkçesinde Tıp Terimleri,” 103, 104, 106–7.

45 Batmaz, “Eski Uygur Türkçesinde Tıp Terimleri,” 110–11.

Kashghari offers a variety of terms for various illnesses. We may draw upon Dankoff's list of words falling under the semantic category of sickness and infirmity, etc. (12, including the spread of infections), stomach ailments (12a), and cold, stuffiness (12b):⁴⁶

(12) *sa:ğ, äsän* "health, soundness."
mü:n "disease, fault."
i:g, tuğa [~ *toğa?*] "illness."
sökäl "sick."
çalqa:n, yuq- "spread of an infection."
siz- "become thin from fever."
isit- "fever."
käzig, yapa:qulaq, bāzgä:k, bāzig "fever and chills."
talğa:n ig "epilepsy" [*i:g?*].
külgü, kültgü "apoplexy."
ala "leprosy."
anu:mi, yama:n i:g "elephantiasis."

(12a) *çär, çärlät-, ağru-, tođğur-, turul-, bük-, olin-, yarsi-, ye:r-, qusinçığ, köñül bulğan-, o:m, tolğar-; yalq-, çiwşa-* "Heaviness of body, disgust, indigestion, nausea."

atğa:q, topulğa:q "colic."
inäğü "a sickness like colic."
tolğa:ğ "dysentery, colic."
tala:ğu "fatal poison, dysentery."
ötüg "dysentery."

(12b) *uçğuq, tuma:ğu* "common cold."
tuğa, tunçuq- "difficulty breathing."

What strikes me immediately is that from the earliest Old Turkic forms cited above (*ala* "many colored"; *bezge:k* "ague, malaria"; *çéçek* "flower"; *qıza:muq* "measles"; *tumağu* "common cold"), the only words to appear in Kashghari as the name of a specific disease are *bezge:k* and *qıza:muq*. Could it be that they

46 Maḥmūd al-Kāšyārī, *Compendium of the Turkic Dialects (Dīwān luḡāt at-Turk)*, ed. and trans. Robert Dankoff, in collaboration with James Kelly, *Sources of Oriental Languages and Literatures* 7 (Cambridge (Mass.): Harvard University Press, 1982), 259; cf. the corresponding entries in *EDT* and *DTS*.

are not very threatening and therefore do not have a taboo associated with them? Otherwise it is impossible to explain why among the many words associated with disease in Kashghari, almost none of them is associated with a fatal disease (except *tala:ǰu*).

Given the thoroughness of Clauson's review of the Middle Turkic and modern Turkic data, I will be selective in my treatment of them. Turning to the *Codex Cumanicus* and the medieval Kipchak dictionaries, we find later forms derived from Old Turkic *bezge:k*, *çéçek*, *kezig*, *qıza.muq*, and *tuma:ǰu*: as below:

bezgek “sert ateş, sert humma (CC)” (*KTS*, 29).

çiçek “çiçek (CC, DM, GT, İM, Kİ, TA, TZ) *krş.* *şışek* (II)” (*KTS*, 51); *şışek* (II)
“çiçek (CC) *krş.* *çiçek*”; *şışek* (III) “çiçek hastalığı (TZ)” (*KTS*, 253).

keziv “salgın” (CC) (*KTS*, 142).

qızamuq “kızamık, kanın bozulup vücudun çıban dökmesi (İH)” (*KTS*, 147).

dumaǰı “nezle (İH)” (*KTS*, 65); *tumaǰı* “nezle (TZ)”, *tumav* “nezle (TZ)” (*KTS*, 283); *tumov* “nezle (CC)” (*KTS*, 284).

There is no word for “leprosy” based on *ala* attested in Middle Kipchak. If we also consider Old Turkic *şl:ş* we find in Middle Kipchak:

şış “şış, şışkinlik” (BM, BV, DM, GT, İM, Kİ, TA, RH, TZ).

şış- (II) “1. şışmek, su vb. yükselmek (İM) 2. kabarmak, şışmek (BM, BV, CC, Kİ, KK, RH, TZ)” (*KTS*, 253).

When we turn to the early modern period, the account of the famous seventeenth-century traveler Evliya Çelebi is a source which offers rich data concerning the names for infectious and various other kinds of diseases in Ottoman Turkish. The great traveler mentions a long list of diseases by name over the course of his work however, it is doubtful that he actually encountered all of them in person.⁴⁷ A recent study lists the terms he cites, including words for back, tooth, head, ear, nose, nose and throat pains; leprosy, gonorrhea, lentigo, scabies, smallpox, hair loss (alopecia areata), acid reflux, dry cough, heart palpitations, fever, angina, diarrhea, mumps, facial paralysis from stroke, emotional and nervous illnesses, epilepsy, jaundice, malaria, anthrax, bubonic plague, dysentery, and pleurisy (for a list of the original terms see Appendix 1).⁴⁸

47 Mehmet Yaşar Ertaş, and Kağan Eğnim, “Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi’nde Hastalıklar,” *Pamukkale Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi* 10 (2011): 83–108.

48 Ertaş, “Evliya Çelebi,” 84–86.

The aforementioned study summarizes in greater detail Evliya Çelebi's encounters with diseases he seems to have actually observed first hand, including bubonic plague (88–92), leprosy (93–94), dry cough (94–95), gonorrhoea (95), scabies (95), smallpox (95–96), eye diseases (96), syphilis (96–97), diarrhea (97–98), epilepsy (98–99), malaria (99–101), boils (101–102), “humoral pathology,”⁴⁹ and gout (103–105). Evliya Çelebi's work and its lexical depth gives us just a few examples of how rich this field can be for future researchers interested in the terminology of illness in the Turkic languages and its truly complex history, stretching from the Old Turkic period to the Islamic period.⁵⁰ We may observe that the diseases and the terms for them are far more numerous compared to the Old Turkic period, chiefly because of a rich variety of terms from Arabic and Persian. From among the Old Turkic lexical items *bezgäk*, *çeçäk*, *kezig*, *qıza.muq*, and *tuma:ǰu*: which we have been tracing, Evliya Çelebi mentions only one, namely *çiçek* “smallpox.”

We can draw roughly the same conclusions for another recently published seventeenth-century source from Central Asia, the medical treatise in Chaghatay (*Türki*) by Sübhan Qulı Khan. If we select a few terms related to the diseases and words already cited plus some terms which will occur in modern languages, we may consider the following list:

ābila P “small-pox; sty, hordeolum (in the eye)” (SQ, 217).

baraş A “leprosy” (SQ, 234).

bezgäk T “ague, malaria” (SQ, 238).

çeçäk T “flower; small-pox” (SQ, 245).

ısıtma T “fever” (SQ, 266).

küy- T “to burn, irritated, inflamed”; *küydür-* T “to burn, roast sg” (SQ, 279).

laqwa A “facial paralysis” (SQ, 280).

qız- T “to be hot, become hot”; *qızıl* T “red”; *qızıl bol-* T “to get red, flushed,”

qızıl et- T “to make flush, ruddy” (SQ, 303).

şış T “swelling”; *şış-* T “to swell”; *şışkan* T “swollen, puffy; swelling”; *şışuq* T “swelling, tumour” (SQ, 322–323).

şiküfa P “smallpox” (SQ, 323).

zukām A “cold (in the head)” (SQ, 347).

49 Zeynep Koyuncu, “Ahlât-ı erbaa/Humoral Patoloji Teorisi ve Divan Şiirinde Hakkânî Örneğinde İşlenişi,” *Hikmet-Akademik Edebiyat Dergisi* 5, no. 10 (Bahar 2019): 75–97.

50 The terms given by Evliya Çelebi which coincide with the specific illnesses treated in this article are given in boldface in Appendix 1.

As with Evliya Çelebi, Sübhan Qulı Khan also offers a greater variety of diseases and terminology (some of these I include here because Evliya Çelebi also mentions them, including *ıstma*, *lağwa*, and *zukām*). From among the Old Turkic lexical items *bezge:k*, *çéçek*, *kezig*, *qıza:muq*, and *tuma:ǰu*: which we have been tracing, Sübhan Qulı Khan mentions only two, namely *bezgäk* “malaria” and *çeçäk* “smallpox.” Smallpox is represented by both Persian and Turkic terms, and leprosy is represented by an Arabic term. Major categories of epidemic disease such as plague, cholera, and others are missing from his treatise altogether. These are words formed on the basis of roots such as *küy-* “to burn” and *qız-* “to become hot” which later come to be used widely as names of diseases in modern Turkic languages (see below). (Of course, I cannot claim that my own study is sufficiently comprehensive to be completely sure ...)

6 Selected Words for Infectious Diseases in Modern Turkic Languages

Coming finally to the modern period, we may also examine what Radloff (with additional reference to Räsänen and Doerfer) offers us regarding the following selected terms known from the medieval and modern languages which occur with the definition of a disease (or at least a symptom) in his dictionary:

- ala* (3) [Ad.] prokaza—der Aussatz. (VWTD, I, 352; cf. VEWT, 15; TMEN, II, 95–97)
- bäzgäk* [... (Dsch. OT. Tar. Kom.)] lixoradka—das kalte Fieber. (VWTD, IV, 1634)
- bezgäk* [Kir.] = *bäzgäk* lixoradka—das kalte Fieber. (VWTD, IV, 1634; see also VEWT, 72; TMEN, II, 387)
- çäçäk* [Kas. Alt. Tel., ... (Dsch. OT. Tar. Krm.)] (2) (Tar. Kas.) ospa—die Pocken. (VWTD, III, 1988)
- çiçäk* [... (Osm. Tub.)] (2) ospa—die Pocken; *su çiçäyi* ospa—die Pocken. (VWTD, III, 2144–2145; see also VEWT, 102; TMEN, III, 57–59)
- çuma* [... (Osm.), aus dem Slaw.] çuma, zaraza—die Pest, die Seuche. (VWTD, III, 2188)
- ıstma* [... (Osm.), von *ıst-* + *-ma*] = *sitmä* (Krm.) lixoradka, goryaçka—das Fieber, hitzige. (VWTD, I, 1389–1390; see also *sitma*)
- käzik* [Tar.] = *kezik*. (VWTD, II, 1174)
- kezik* [Kir.] goryaçka, tif—das hitzige Fieber, der Typhus. Različniya tifozniya boleznı—verschiedene typhöse Krankheiten: *sarı käzik*, *kältä süzök*, *käzik süzök*. (VWTD, II, 1174; see also VEWT, 260)
- maxau* [... (Sart. Dsch.)] prokajennıy—der Aussätzige. (VWTD, IV, 2003)

- qızamıq* [Kas., Osm., vergl. *qızıl*] (1) kor'—die Masern. (2) skarlatina—das Scharlachfieber. (VWTD, II, 823; see also VEWT, 269)
- qızılzuq* [Bar.] kor', krasnuxa—die Masern, Rötheln. (VWTD, II, 829; see also TMEN, III, 472)
- qızılşa* [Kir.] (1) kor'—die Masern. (VWTD, II, 829; see also TMEN, III, 472)
- sıtma* [... (Osm.)] goryaçka—das hitzige Fieber; *sarı sıtma* jeltaya lixoradka—das gelbe Fieber. (VWTD, IV, 656; see also *ıstma*)
- süzök* [Kir.] goryaçka—das hitzige Fieber. (VWTD, IV, 845; see also VWTD, II, 1174)
- şiş* [Schor., ... (Osm.)] (1) opuxol, vered—die Geschwulst, das Geschwür; *şiş atar* (Osm) opuxol uveliçivaetsya—die Geschwulst nimmt zu; *şiş änär* (Osm.) opuxol ubavlyaetsya—die Geschwulst nimmt ab; *bir şiş päida oldu* (Osm.) obrazovalas' opuxol—es hat sich eine Geschwulst gebildet; *yüzündä bir şiş var idi* (Osm.) litso ego opuxlo—sein Gesicht war geschwollen. (2) (Osm.) opuxşiy—angeschollen, geschwollen; *şiş yüz* opuxşee litso—ein geschwollenes Gesicht; *ayağım şiş-tir* nogi u menya opuxli—meine Füße sind geschwollen. (VWTD, IV, 1082; see also VEWT, 424)
- talau* [Kumük. Kir.; Kar. L.T.] (1) roja (bolezni)—die Rose (Krankheit) (2) (Kir. bei Shaw.) opasnaya bolezni loşadey—eine gefährliche Krankheit der Pferde. (VWTD, III, 880, 886; see also VEWT, 458)
- tumau* [Kir.] oxriplot', nasmork—Heiserkeit, der Schnupfen, der Halsschmerz. (VWTD, III, 1517; see also VEWT, 498)
- väba* [... (Osm.), aus dem Arab.] epidemiya, çuma—die Epidemie, die Pest. (VWTD, IV, 1974)
- väba* [Sart, Chiv. Trkm.] = *väba*. (VWTD, IV, 1974; see also VEWT, 527)

Since I did not have access to the index to the German definitions in Radloff's work for the purposes of this study, my list of terms for illnesses to be found in Radloff is no doubt incomplete.⁵¹

What we see is that the five basic terms attested in Old Turkic—namely *ala*, *bezge:k*, *çéçek*, *qıza:muq* (but not the form *qızla:muq*), and *tuma:ğu*—are all to be found in modern forms in Radloff's dictionary with their original meanings, even though only two of them are to be found in Kashghari. In addition, while Kashghari defines *tala:ğu* as "fatal poison, dysentery," Radloff defines *talau* as a human infectious disease as well as a dangerous equine disease. As will be

51 Annemarie von Gabain and Wolfgang Veenker, "Radloff": *Index der deutschen Bedeutungen*, 4 vols., Veröffentlichungen der Societas Uralo-Altaica 1 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1969–1972).

seen below from the data for modern languages, *talau* can be a generic term for an epidemic of bubonic plague (Nogay) or anthrax (Karachay-Balkar). In Kazan Tatar it also refers to “a disease in which cattle can no longer stand on their feet.”

7 Names of Selected Diseases in Modern Turkic Languages

Let us now turn to a review of the various terms used in Turkic languages for 14 of the most dangerous and/or common types of infectious disease: bubonic plague, leprosy, cholera, typhoid fever, tuberculosis, anthrax (livestock and humans), common cold, influenza, smallpox, chickenpox (also known as varicella, herpes zoster), measles, German measles, Rinderpest (livestock), and malaria. I do not include syphilis because it appears to have been introduced only later (see above).

7.1 *Bacterium-Based Infectious Diseases*

7.1.1 Plague, Bubonic Plague (Russian: *çuma*, *bubonnaya çuma*)

MODERN TURKIC LANGUAGES: Altay *çuma* (*yuguş ooru*); Azeri *taun* (*xästälik*); Bashkir *çuma*, *tagun* (*yogoşlo awırırw*); Crimean Tatar *veba*, *taun*; Chuvash *çuma*; Karachay-Balkar *emina*; Karaim *élet*, *ölet*; *qarası ölyat'* (?); Karakalpak *oba*, *oba keseli*; Kazakh *oba*; Kazan Tatar *çuma* (*yogışlı avıru*); Kumık *çuma*, *taun avruv*, *qrğın* (*bek yuğunçlu avruv*); Kyrgyz *çuma* (*ötö juğuştuu katuu ooru*); Nogay *çuma*, *talav*; Turkish *veba*, *taun*; Türkmen *gyrgyn*; *bubon keseli* (?); Tuvan *sarıg dumaa*; Urum *ölet*; Uyghur *yuqumluq kesäl*; Uzbek *vabo*; Yakut *çumaa*, *çumaa taaru*; Pekarskiy 1916: *albax*, *d'añ*, *öliüi*.

NO DATA: Shor; Xakas.

DISCUSSION: Many modern languages have borrowed the term from Russian. (Türkmen *bubon keseli* must be a calque from Russian, if it is used in Turkmen at all.) It is not always clear whether the term used is for “plague, epidemic” generally, or for “bubonic plague” specifically. Some languages use words derived from the Arabic terms *wabā'* “infectious disease; epidemic” and *tā'ūn* “plague, pestilence.”⁵² Several languages (including the earlier dictionary for Yakut) use generic words for “illness” or “death.” Karaim *qarası ölyat'* is translated as “çernaya ospa | dzuma” which sounds like it should be translated as the “Black Death” rather than “(black) smallpox” (?). According to Tavkul, the

52 Wehr, *Dictionary*, 1045, 560. For a discussion of these terms in Arabic see Lawrence I. Conrad, “Tā'ūn and Wabā': Conceptions of Plague and Pestilence in Early Islam,” *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 25, no. 3 (1982): 268–307.

Karachay-Balkar word *emina* is itself a loanword from Kabarda *yemine* or Adige *yemin*.⁵³ In the absence of access to sources for NW Caucasian languages (or any background in these languages, I hasten to add), I would guess that this word in these and other Northwest Caucasian languages is a likely borrowing from a word related to Arabic *yamīn* ı “right side; right hand,” ıı “oath” and is likely a euphemism in those languages.⁵⁴ The Tuvan form “yellow cold” is based on the Old Turkic word for “headcold.” The forms in Yakut do not appear to refer specifically to bubonic plague.

7.1.2 Leprosy (Russian: *prokaza*)

MODERN TURKIC LANGUAGES: Altay *prokaza*; Azeri *cüzam (xästälik)*; Bashkir *prokaza, maxaw awırtıwı*; Karachay-Balkar *kelepen*; Karaim *tsaraat*; Karakalpak *jaman kesel, pes keseli*; Kazakh *alapes*; Kazan Tatar *maxaw avıruu, prokaza*; Kumık *prokaza (gönde bolağan, yuğağan yaman avruv)*; Kyrgyz *ala, pes oorusu*; Turkish *cüzzam*; Türkmen *heýwere*; Tuvan *prokaza (émnettılmes dep sanadır aar-berge keş aaru)*; Uyghur *moxov (bir xil yuqumluq kesäl)*; Uzbek *moxov*; Yakut *rañ uaru, xotugu ölüü*; Pekarskiy 1916: *näs ölüü, kusağan ölüü, xotugu ölüü, birtax ölüü, kiläki*.

NO DATA: Crimean Tatar; Chuvash; Nogay; Shor; Xakas.

DISCUSSION: Many modern languages have borrowed the term from Russian. Some languages use words derived from the Arabic term *cudām* “leprosy” or *maḥw* “effacement, obliteration, blotting out; erasure, deletion; elimination; abolition, abolishment, annulment.”⁵⁵ Those dictionaries which offer the term in the Arabic script spell it with *x* (as in Uzbek *moxov*) but derive it from *maḥw*. At least one of the Yakut forms (*xotugu* “girl”) is a euphemism.

7.1.3 Cholera (Russian: *xolera*)

MODERN TURKIC LANGUAGES: Altay *xolera*; Azeri *väba, ovma*; Bashkir *vaba, xolera*; Crimean Tatar *veba*; Chuvash *xaler, xolera*; Karachay-Balkar *emina avruv*; Karakalpak *xolera, trıspay*; Kazakh *trısqaq*; Kazan Tatar *vaba, xolera*; Kumık *xolera, vaba (avruv)*; Kyrgyz *xolera, uvaba (kusturup, iç ötkörgön, ötö juguštuu taralma ooru)*; Nogay *xolera (avır yukpali avruv)*; Turkish *kolera*; Türkmen *holera*; Tuvan *xolera (ijim-şöyündününj ona xaldavırlıq kusturar,*

53 Ufuk Tavkul, “Karaçay-Malkar Türkçesinde Hastalık Adları ve Bunlarla İlgili Bazı Fiiller, Deyimler ve Atasözleri,” *Modern Türklük Araştırmaları Dergisi* 13, no. 3 (Eylül 2016): 111–122. DOI: 10.1501/MTAD.13.2016.3.34.

54 Wehr, *Dictionary*, 1109.

55 Wehr, *Dictionary*, 117, 895.

kudu olurturar, tirtar aaru); Uyghur *vaba*; Uzbek *vabo*; Yakut *xolera (ulaxan sistıgannaax ıaru)*.

NO DATA: Karaim; Shor; Xakas.

DISCUSSION: Many modern languages have borrowed the international term from Russian. Some languages use the word for “plague” for “cholera” as well, usually the word derived from the Arabic term *wabā* “infectious disease; epidemic.”⁵⁶ Cf. Uzbek *tirişqoq* (< *tiriş-*) “har qanday işga astoydil harakat qiladigan, tirişib işlaydigan; harakatčan,” which may be the same word, in which case the Kazakh and Karakalpak forms would then have developed a secondary meaning related to “illness” (perhaps referring to the trying symptoms or the speed with which one succumbs to illness through diarrhea?). Karachay-Balkar *emina avruv* is likely a borrowing from other Northwest Caucasian languages of a word which is likely of ultimate Arabic origin (see above).

7.1.4 Typhus (Russian: *tif; bryuşnoy tif* (Not to Be Confused with *sipnoy tif* “Typhoid Fever”))

MODERN TURKIC LANGUAGES: Altay *tif, yadış; içtiñ yadıji (ooruzı)*; Azeri *yatalaq, gari yatalağı*; Bashkir *qara harqaw; qorhaq tifi*; Chuvash *tif (ereken yivär çir)*; *var-xurām tifē*; Karachay-Balkar *teli avruv*; Karakalpak *süzek, tif, terletpe; iş süzegi*; Kazakh *iş süzegi, kezik*; Kazan Tatar *tif; korsak tifi*; Kumık *tif, qağ avruv; qursaq tifi (avruv)*; Kyrgyz *kelte (ooru)*; *iç keltesi (kelte ooruunun bir türü)*; Nogay *tif, kızba*; Turkish *tifo; kara humma*;⁵⁷ Türkmen *tif*; Tuvan *tif; ijin tivi*; Uyghur *tif*; Uzbek *tif*.

NO DATA: Crimean Tatar; Karaim; Shor; Xakas; Yakut.

DISCUSSION: Many modern languages have borrowed the international term from Russian. Some languages use a word related to “fever” or “abdominal illness.” Karachay-Balkar calls it the “crazy illness.” Many languages use a form based on *süzek*, which does not seem to be attested before Radloff’s dictionary, in which it appears as *süzök*.⁵⁸ This word is most probably derived from Persian *sūz* “burning; inflammation, heat; a burning fever; heart-burning, ardour; affection; disturbed in mind; the cautery; a stanza of a *marşiya* or elegiac poem,” *sūznāk* “burning, ardent; plaintive,” or a related form.⁵⁹ The Azeri form derives from a word for “bedridden”: *yatalaq (... (Osm.)) lejaşçıy v bolezni—bettlägerig*.⁶⁰

56 Wehr, *Dictionary*, 1045.

57 Sir James W. Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon, shewing in English the significations of the Turkish terms* (Istanbul, 1890), 803.

58 *VWTD* II, 1174; IV, 845.

59 Francis Joseph Steingass, *A Comprehensive Persian English Dictionary* (London: Routledge & K. Paul, 1892), 708; see also Redhouse, *Turkish and English Lexicon*, 1090–1091.

60 *VWTD*, III, 199; see also Redhouse, *Turkish and English Lexicon*, 2180.

The Altay form *içtiñ yadji* seems to be formed on the same root *yat-, yadar*. At the same time, I should note that Old Turkic *ya:t* refers to “rain magic; rain stone,” “koldovstvo, volšebstvo, svyazannoe s vizivaniem dojdya i vetra,” in which case there may possibly be at least an allusion in a word such as Altay *içtiñ yadji* or Azeri *yatalaq* to a similarly sounding word with magical powers (see more on this below).⁶¹

7.1.5 Tuberculosis (Russian: *tuberkulëz*)

MODERN TURKIC LANGUAGES: Altay *tuberkulëz*, *çemet ooru*; Azeri *väräm*; Bashkir *tuberkulëz*; Chuvash *tuberkulëz*; Karachay-Balkar *orus cötel*; Karakalpak *tuberkulëz*, *jürek ayırw*, *ökpe awırw*; Kazakh *tuberkulëz*, *qurt awruw*, *köksaw*; Kazan Tatar *tuberkulëz*; Kumık *tuberkulëz*, *kökürek avruv*; Kyrgyz *tuberkulëz*, *kurgak uçku*; Nogay *tuberkulëz*; Shor *ökpe ağıryı*; Turkish *verem*, *tüberküloz*; Türkmen *inçekesel*; Uyghur *tuberkulëz*; Uzbek *sil kasali-kasalligi*; Yakut *sellik*.

NO DATA: Crimean Tatar; Karaim; Tuvan; Xakas.

DISCUSSION: Many modern languages have borrowed the international term from Russian. Some languages use a word related to “fever” or “chest illness.” Karachay-Balkar calls it the “Russian cough.” Some languages use a word derived from the Arabic term *waram* “swelling, intumescence, tumor” or *sill* “consumption, phthisis, tuberculosis.”⁶² It appears the latter term may have made its way all the way to the remote region where Yakut is spoken, but this is not as improbable as it might seem, given the long distances traveled by Naqshbandi shaykhs as far as Tümen and elsewhere in Siberia under the Shibanids. Kazakh also uses a form which may be based on *qurt* “worm,” “wolf” (?), perhaps analogous to some other diseases which refer to its name with a term based on “ant.” Another one of the terms is based on *kök*, which can be compared with the Altay word for “anthrax” (below).

7.1.6 Anthrax (Russian: *sibirskaya yazva*)

MODERN TURKIC LANGUAGES: Altay *kök ooru*; Bashkir *tülämä* (*mal awırwı*); Chuvash *šepër suraně*; Karachay-Balkar *qara kösev*, *talaq avruv*; *talaw*; Karakalpak *küydırgı*; Kazakh *küydırgı*; Kazan Tatar *tülämä*; Kyrgyz *küydürgü* (*maldın juğuştuu oorusu*); Turkish *şarbon*; Türkmen *garynja*; Uyghur *küydürgä*; Uzbek *kuydirgi*; Yakut *sotuun*; Pekarskiy 1916: *sotuun*.

NO DATA: Azeri; Crimean Tatar; Karaim; Kumık; Nogay; Shor; Tuvan; Xakas.

DISCUSSION: Anthrax is rendered by a greater variety of names as compared to other illnesses. Some modern languages (including Chuvash) have calqued

61 EDT, 883, DTS, 247.

62 Wehr, *Dictionary*, 1063, 419.

the term from Russian. The Turkish form is from the French *maladie du charbon* (because *anthrax* comes from the Greek word meaning “coal, carbon, charcoal”). Karakalpak and Kazakh use a term which refers to the concept of “to burn” (*küy-*). The Kazan Tatar and Bashkir words seem clearly to mean “payment,” but it is explained as “(among horses, large horned cattle, sheep, goats and pigs).” (Might it have developed from *talaw*?) The Altay form is based on a word with meanings related to “sewing; (green) grass, blue; god,” but it may also be a near homophone for **kögör-ü* (not attested in the Altay dictionaries) “turning blue or green” (see the General Discussion below). Türkmen uses the word for “ant” for this disease and others (see below). Karachay-Balkar uses a word used for other animal diseases as well. The Yakut form may have the primary meaning of “indirect connection,” so it may be a euphemism, too.

7.2 *Virus-Based Infectious Diseases*

7.2.1 Common Cold (Rhinovirus) (Russian: *prostuda*)

MODERN TURKIC LANGUAGES: Altay *tmu*, *sookko aldirgan*(*t*); Azeri *soyug-däymä*; Bashkir *halqın* (*hıwıq*) *teyeü*; Crimean Tatar *suvuqlanma*; Chuvash *şänsa päsälni*; Karachay-Balkar *kesekle*; *kesekle*; Karaim *suvuqlan-* “to catch a cold”; Karakalpak *suwıq tıyiv*, *tumaw*, *ayaz ötiw*; Kazakh *suwıq*, *tumaw*; Kazan Tatar *salkın tiyü*, *suk tiyü*; Kumık *suvuq tıyiv*, *suvuq tiyip avruv*; Kyrgyz *suuk tiyüü*; Nogay *suvık aluv*, *suvık kiriv*, *suvık tüsiiv*; Shor *sooq qaptırğan*; Turkish *nezle*; Türkmen *sowuk*; Tuvan *sookka alzirı*; Uyghur *soğuq tägmäk*; Uzbek *sovuq*; Yakut *tmnıyu*, *tmnıyan ıald’u*; Pekarskiy 1916: *tmnıyu*.

NO DATA: Xakas.

DISCUSSION: The majority of languages (including Chuvash) use a word related to “catching a cold” or the word preserved from Old Turkic pertaining to a “head cold.” The Karachay-Balkar word may be derived from a word otherwise used for “fever” (the intervocalic -s- is unvoiced, which suggests it is an archaic form).

7.2.2 Influenza (Russian: *gripp*)

MODERN TURKIC LANGUAGES: Altay *yaştıju*; Azeri *grip* (*xästälik*); Bashkir *gripp*; Crimean Tatar *gripp*; Chuvash *gripp*; Karachay-Balkar *kesekle*; Karaim *tumov*, *tumuv*; Karakalpak *gripp*, *tumaw*; Kazakh *tumaw*; Kazan Tatar *gripp*; Kumık *gripp* (*suvuq tiygende tınış yollarda bolağan yuğağan avruv*); Kyrgyz *gripp* (*sasık tumoo*); Nogay *gripp*, *tmav*; Turkish *grip*; Türkmen *dümew*; Tuvan *gripp*, *dumaa*; Uyghur *influenza*, *yuqumluq zunam*; Uzbek *gripp*; Yakut *gripp*.

NO DATA: Karaim; Shor; Xakas.

DISCUSSION: Many modern languages have borrowed the international term from Russian. Many languages also use the word preserved from Old

Turkic pertaining to a “head cold.” As with the word for “common cold,” the Karachay-Balkar word for “influenza” may also be derived from a word otherwise used for “fever.” I cannot explain the Altay word.

7.2.3 Smallpox (Russian: *ospa*)

MODERN TURKIC LANGUAGES: Altay *ospo*, *keen ooru*; Azeri *çiçäk*; Bashkir *säsäk*; Crimean Tatar *çiçek xastalıǵı*; Chuvash *çeççe*, *şatra çirě*; Karachay-Balkar *çaqğan avruv*, *çeçek*; Karaim *tsetsek*; Karakalpak *şeşek*; Kazakh *şeşek awruwı*; Kazan Tatar *çäçäk (avru)*; Kumık *çeçek (avruv)*; Kyrgyz *çeçek*; Nogay *şeşek*; Turkish *çiçek hastalıǵı*; Türkmen *garynja, mama*; Tuvan *ospa, bijar-dumaa*; Uyghur *çeçäk*; Uzbek *çeçak*; Yakut *uospa*; Pekarskiy 1916: *äd’ii, uospa (buospa), baabıska, kini* (i.e. “he/she/it”).

NO DATA: Shor; Xakas.

DISCUSSION: Some modern languages have borrowed the term from Russian. It appears that all the native words for this cruel and dangerous disease are euphemisms, such as Altay *keen ooru* “beautiful disease,” Türkmen “ant,” and the widely-used “flower” (because it is similar in appearance to the pox?). Yakut (and Azeri?) as well as Türkmen also refer to it by a term for a female relative, midwife, or just “her” (?). One modern Yakut dictionary indicates that *éd’iyy* “elder sister” is also used as a term for “childhood measles.” (Cf. Karaim *qarası ölyat’* under 7.1.1 Plague, bubonic plague.)

7.2.4 Chickenpox (Russian: *vetryanka, vetryanaya ospa*)

MODERN TURKIC LANGUAGES: Altay *baldardıñ yuǵuş çıbırtkan ooruzı, salkın ospo* (?); Azeri *suçiçäyi*; Bashkir *hıw säsäge (balalar awırwı)*; Karachay-Balkar *dımmıl, suv çeçek*; Karakalpak *suv şeşek keseli*; Kazakh *jelşeşek*; Kazan Tatar *su çäçäge, cil çäçäge (balalar avıru)*; Kumık *sıvlu çeçek, qızıl zat (çeçekge osayǵan avruv)*; Kyrgyz *suu çeçek (ooru)*; Nogay *yel kotır*; Turkish *suçiçeǵi*; Türkmen *garamyk*; Tuvan *salgın ospazı*; Uyghur *su chechigi (kesällik)*; Uzbek *suvçeçak*; Yakut *salgın uospata*.

NO DATA: Crimean Tatar; Chuvash; Karaim; Shor; Xakas.

DISCUSSION: Some of the languages borrow the Russian word *ospa* “smallpox” as a part of the formation. The forms based on *su* “fluid” presumably refer to the fluid from the blister. The forms based on *salkın, yel* (etc.) “wind” may refer to the airborne nature of transmission of this highly infectious disease, but I cannot be sure. Türkmen *garamyk* is the same word as a “plain cherry” (*vişnya prostertaya*), presumably because it resembles the blister (and perhaps a euphemism for it?). I cannot explain Karachay-Balkar *dımmıl*; cf. Karaim *tımbıl* “Easter bread.”

7.2.5 Measles (Russian: *kor'*)

MODERN TURKIC LANGUAGES: Altay *kor'* (*baldardıñ yuğuş ooruzı*); Azeri *qızılca*; Bashkir *qıdılsa*; Crimean Tatar *qızamıq*; Chuvash *xěrlěxen, xěrlě şatra*; Karachay-Balkar *çaqğan avruv, köme avruv*; Karaim *qızamıq*; Karakalpak *qızılşa*; Kazakh *qızılşa*; Kazan Tatar *kızamık (balalar avruu)*; Kumık *qızamıq*; Kyrgyz *kızılça (baldardıñ yuğuştuu oorusu)*; Nogay *kor', kızılşa*; Turkish *kızamık*; Türkmen *gyzamyk*; Tuvan *ulaanot*; Uzbek *qızamıq*; Yakut *kuor, éd'iy*; Pekarskiy 1916: *kuor*.

NO DATA: Shor; Uyghur; Xakas.

DISCUSSION: Some of the languages borrow the Russian word. Most of the languages (including Chuvash) have a word based on the root *qız-* “to be hot.” While Crimean Tatar, Kazan Tatar, Turkish, Türkmen and Uzbek preserve the attested Old Turkic word, other languages use a form of the word *qızılça* “red beet,” which may also be a euphemism. One modern Yakut dictionary indicates that *éd'iy* “elder sister” is also used as a term for “childhood measles.” The Tuvan word is formed from Buryat *ulaan* “red.”

7.2.6 German Measles or Rubella (Russian: *krasnuxa*)

MODERN TURKIC LANGUAGES: Azeri *mäxmäräk (xästälük)*; Bashkir *qıdılsa, qıdamıq*; Karakalpak *qızılşa, eşek jemi*; Kazakh *qızamıq, jänşaw*, also *nemis qızılşası*; Kazan Tatar *kızılça*; Kumık *qızılça (yaşlarda bolağan qızamıqqa oşayğan yuğağan avruv)*; Kyrgyz *kızamık (baldardıñ yuğuştuu oorusunun bir türü)*; Turkish *kızamıkçık*; Türkmen *nemes gyzamyk*; Tuvan *krasnuxa, şivişkilээр аары*; Uzbek *qızılça*; Yakut *krasnuxa*.

NO DATA: Altay; Crimean Tatar; Chuvash; Karachay-Balkar; Karaim; Nogay; Shor; Uyghur; Xakas.

DISCUSSION: Some of the languages borrow the Russian word or translate the term “German measles” (if the sources are accurate about this, some may be eliciting translations from English into the local language). Most of the languages also have a word based on the root *qız-* “to be hot” (as with “measles”). While Bashkir, Kazakh, and Turkish (in an extended form) preserve the attested Old Turkic word for “measles,” other languages use the word *qızılça* “red beet” or “bunch of small (red?) flowers growing in the desert or rocky places,” which may also be a euphemism, for this disease (Bashkir, Karakalpak, Kazakh, Kazan Tatar, Kumık, Uzbek). The Azeri word must be based on the Arabic root *ħmr* “red” (not attested), but the Arabic word for “German measles” based on this root is actually *ħumayrā'* or more usually *ħaşba*.⁶³ The Tuvan name is a translation as “rash disease.”

63 Wehr, *Dictionary*, 205, 181; Redhouse, *Turkish and English Lexicon*, 1767, 788.

7.2.7 Rinderpest (Russian: *çuma rogatogo skota*)

MODERN TURKIC LANGUAGES: Altay *müüstü maldıñ çuma ooruzı*; Kazan Tatar *talaw* (?); Kazakh *mälik, iri qara obası, sıyr obası*; Kyrgyz *iri müyüzdüü maldın (uydun) çuması*; Turkish *sığır vebası, malkıran, çor*; Türkmen *mal gyrgynçylygy*.

NO DATA: Azeri; Bashkir; Crimean Tatar; Chuvash; Karachay-Balkar; Karaim; Karakalpak; Kumık; Nogay; Shor; Tuvan; Uyghur; Uzbek; Xakas; Yakut.

DISCUSSION: Despite the importance of this disease for the livelihood of both nomadic and sedentary Turkic populations, I am having trouble finding a native Turkic term, with the exception of Kazan Tatar *talaw*, which refers to several possible diseases (above), not necessarily just Rinderpest. (It is also used in other Kipchak languages, see above). From among those few languages for which I could find a name, they are either calques from the modern Russian term or simply mean “livestock plague” (so in the end both are the same). Turkish and Türkmen have words that refer as well to “mass death of cattle” (again the same principle). Kazakh *mälik* has several possible explanations. Turkish also has the word *çor* which is seen variously as derived from Slavic *çert* “devil” or claimed as having ties to South Siberian Turkic or Mongolian (investigating that connection—which also seems rather problematic—would go too far afield for this study.) The word *çor* also exists in Azeri, but as a disease afflicting especially the leaves of grape and cotton plants.

7.3 *Parasite-Based Infectious Disease*7.3.1 Malaria (Russian: *malyariya*)

MODERN TURKIC LANGUAGES: Altay *kaltırak ooru*; Azeri *malyariya, isitmä*; Bashkir *bidgäk, tapma awırıwı*; Crimean Tatar *sıtma*; Chuvash *siv çir*; Karachay-Balkar *bezgek*; Karaim *suvuk xastalık*; Karakalpak *bezge, isıtpa*; Kazakh *bezgek*; Kazan Tatar *malyariya, bizgäk*; Kumık *qızdırma-bezgek, malyariya*; Kyrgyz *malyariya, bezgek*; Nogay *malyariya, bezgek, kızdırma (avruv)*; Turkish *sıtma*; Türkmen *gyzzyrma*; Tuvan *malyariya*; Uyghur *bäzgäk, sıtma*; Uzbek *bezgak, isıtma*; Yakut *kumaxı, titiriir (sıstıgannaax, tiihiktèx taru)*.
NO DATA: Shor; Xakas.

DISCUSSION: Some modern languages have borrowed the term from Russian. Most languages use the word for “malaria” known from Old Turkic (from *bez-* “to shiver, tremble, shudder”),⁶⁴ a word for having a fever, or a word from the roots “to be cold” (Chuvash) or “to tremble” (Altay, Yakut). Many languages use more than one of these roots. Karaim also has *bezgyak, bez’gyak, böz’gek* “lixoradka | febra,” but uses *suvuk xastalık* for “malaria.”

64 EDT, 389.

8 General Discussion of the Names of Fourteen Diseases

I identified earlier in this study six words in Old Turkic which were either used as names of diseases or would later become standard names for diseases, namely: *ala* “many colored”; *bāzgü:k* “ague, malaria”; *çeçäk* “flower”; *keziğ* “recurrent (fever)”; *qıza:muq~qızla:muq* “measles”; and *tuma:ğju:* “a cold in the head.” With the exception of *qızla:muq*, which disappeared early on in favor of *qıza:muq*, all of these forms have survived in modern Turkic languages, albeit displaying the regular developments we expect from Old Turkic to New Turkic. Of these, only *keziğ* does not appear frequently in the list of 14 diseases above, since it is not used as the name of a dangerous infectious disease (except in the case of Kazakh *kezik* “typhus”). From the time of the dictionary of Kashghari on, however, we encounter many additional forms for illnesses, as evidenced by Evliya Çelebi, among others. It cannot be my task here to cover all the terms for illnesses throughout the Turkic world over time and space, but it is clear that over time many Arabic and Persian words entered the lexicon of various Turkic languages. In the modern period words from Russian, French, and other European languages have also entered Turkic languages.

I think the most important argument I offer in the discussion of the individual diseases (other than the fact that some words are used to identify more than one disease) is that we can observe that euphemisms are regularly used to identify maladies because of a deep-rooted cultural taboo against invoking the powers of a disease by speaking its name. Indeed, I have found *no data* for any disease in modern dictionaries for Khakas to which I had access. There are many Yakut examples referring to diseases by a pronoun for “she” or as a female relative, but there is also an example of this from Türkmen.

I also suggest that several terms for disease seem to be homophones (or near homophones) of words with magical power, as in Altay *ıçtıñ yadıjı*, Azeri *yatalaq* “typhus,” compare Old Turkic *ya:t* “rain magic; rain stone,” “koldovstvo, volşebstvo, svyazannoe s vizivaniem dojdya i vetra.” The Altay term for “anthrax” also coincides potentially with a heavenly name. See also the discussion (above) of Turkic mythology and deities protecting from various diseases. I suspect that this can be a fruitful avenue for research in the future.

Finally, I have hardly considered any languages other than Turkic languages and the languages which have lent words to modern Turkic idioms. In his magisterial work on Turkic and Mongolian loanwords in New Persian, Doerfer offers a discussion of how the word *çäçäk~çiçäk* has wandered back and forth between Altaic languages and Uralic languages (including Hungarian *csécs*, plural *csecsek* “die Pocke”) and even further afield to Iranian, Caucasian, and

Balkan languages.⁶⁵ One could investigate such borrowings for all the lexical items mentioned in the present study, but this would be very far beyond the scope of this article (let alone unrealistic with regard to what might be possible during a time of quarantine without access to a great research library). It is, however, yet another topic for future researchers.⁶⁶

9 Turkic Sources on Pandemics

I hope that I have outlined many avenues for future research, from knowledge about diseases in the Old Turkic period to terms for various diseases in the Turkic languages, or why they may not be attested in the usual sources owing to taboos ... I have surveyed sources from Theophylactus Simocatta onwards to Evliya Çelebi and Sübhan Quli Khan. Perhaps a few additional words are in order regarding the modern period as well. After all, we may be researchers of various periods, but we are also teachers. Many of our students will be interested exclusively in the modern period.

The world of late nineteenth–early twentieth-century newspapers is a world I usually visit only when I am working with graduate students. While I organized a project many years ago for microfilming a number of such newspapers, there are many periodicals from the Russian Empire which have not been microfilmed or digitized; there are even more abundant resources for the Ottoman Empire.⁶⁷ I understand from colleagues that the Kazakh newspaper *Ayqap* has articles on the Third Pandemic. There must be much more material on outbreaks of disease in newspapers from both the Russian Empire and the Ottoman Empire. I also have a reference for a modern source on the treatment of plague (thanks to the sharp eyes of my former student, Dr. Selçuk Altuntaş), namely the following work to be found in the Turcica collection of the Finnish National Library:

65 *TMEN*, III, 57–59.

66 For words which are no longer in use see: Ahmet Turan Doğan, “Türklerin Dünyasından Uzaklaşan Türkçe Tıp Terimleri: Eski Anadolu Türkçesinden Türkiye Türkçesine,” *Selçuk Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları Dergisi* 42 (Güz 2017): 37–57.

67 Uli Schamiloglu, “Rusya imparatorluğundaki Tatarlar’ın Yazılı Mirası: Metin Yayımları, Kataloqlama, Dijitalleştirme Durumu Konusunda Bazı Düşünceler,” *Türkçe Tarihî Metin Araştırmaları*, ed. Vakur Sümer et al. (Almaty: Hoca Ahmet Yesevi Üniversitesi Avrasya Araştırma Enstitüsü, 2019), 363–382.

(496) Turc—512

Faṣîheddîn b. Muḥyiddîn: Vaba—vâ andan şaqlanmaq öçün isti'mal qilina torğan äsbâb vâ çaralar. Qazan 1892. 30 p.

Fasixeddin was a former student of the great Tatar scholar Şihabeddin Märçani.⁶⁸ I have already indicated that Gabdullah Tukay died of tuberculosis. What was the cultural impact of the death of so many intellectuals from tuberculosis, cholera, leprosy, or other infectious diseases in the Turkic world in the Ottoman Empire, Turkestan, the Kazkh steppe, the Volga-Ural region, Siberia, or elsewhere? The study of infectious diseases among the Turkic peoples is still in its infancy, and there are many opportunities for research based on Turkic-language sources in the modern period as well.

One final note on fictional literature. As with *The Plague* (French: *La peste*, 1947) by Albert Camus, Turkish literature also has great works of fiction incorporating disease. I will mention only the Turkish Nobel laureate Orhan Pamuk, whose novel *The White Castle* (Turkish: *Beyaz Kale*, 1985) features quarantine from disease and whose novel *The Black Book* (Turkish: *Kara Kitap*, 1990) includes much information on plague. He has been researching this topic at length for many decades.⁶⁹ His latest novel is entitled *Nights of Plague* (Turkish: *Veba Geceleri*, 2021) ...

10 A Proposal in Lieu of a Conclusion

Finally, I would like to conclude by way of a proposal. In 731 Kül Tëgin died a death which for the narrator was apparently sudden, unexpected, and painful (Kül Tëgin, N10–11). Could the reason for this have been the bubonic plague? Perhaps, but I have no evidence concerning how he might have died. But Bilge Qağan explains that his oldest son died of disease, or so it appears (Bilge Qağan, S9):

uluğ oğlum ağrip yoq bola quğ sänjünüg balbal tikä birtim.

When my oldest son died of a disease, I readily erected Qu, the general, as a *balbal* (for him).⁷⁰

68 Şäräf 2010, 125.

69 Orhan Pamuk, “What the Great Pandemic Novels Teach Us,” *New York Times*, April 23, 2020. URL: <https://nyti.ms/2x6cyk8>.

70 Talat Tekin, *A Grammar of Orkhon Turkic*, Indiana University Publications, Uralic Altaic Series 69 (Bloomington: Indiana University, 1968), 246, 279.

This means that, aside from external historical sources, the Old Turkic runiform inscriptions in and of themselves arguably offer evidence for disease.

One final (and even more sensational) point. The Kül Tëgin inscription (Kül Tëgin, S2–3) states:

[*bunç*]a bodun (S3) *qop itdim. ol amti añıǵ yoq. türiük qaǵan ötükän yiş olursar, iltä buı yoq.*

This many peoples (S3) I have organized thoroughly. These people are not rebellious now. If the Turkish kagan rules from the Ötükän mountains there will be no trouble in the realm.⁷¹

The parallel phrases *ol amti añıǵ yoq ... iltä buı yoq* have been translated various ways in the Turkological literature. Clauson discusses two of the key words as follows:

añıǵ meaning both (a) “extreme(ly), excessive(ly)” and (b) “evil(ly)” and the like, so practically sy. w. **yavlak**.
buı “grief, sorrow, melancholy” and the like.⁷²

Further down in the definition of *añıǵ* Clauson translates that part of line S3 as: “that present good (lit. “without evil”) Türkü *xaǵan*.”

Let us recall from Kashghari, however, the form *mü:n* “disease, fault.” Clauson offers us the following data: *bü:n* “defect” and the like. This lexical item is a problem and worthy of a whole other discussion (cf. also *müñüzge:k* “something horny,” which appears to be unrelated).⁷³ But what if the inscription (Kül Tëgin, S2–3) is really saying (relying on not one, but two euphemisms in parallel, with *buı* actually alluding to *bü:n*):

ol amti: añıǵ yo:q. türk qaǵan ötükän yı:ş olursar, é:lte buı yo:q.

The “evil one” is not there now. If the Türk qaǵan is at the Ötükän mountain forest, there is no “grief” among the people.

In other words, there is no disease there now, and so long as the Türk qaǵan is ruling from the Ötükän mountain forest, there will be no disease among the people (meaning that the qaǵan will protect the people and/or that the holy

71 Tekin, *Grammar of Orkhon Turkic*, 231, 261.

72 EDT, 182, 347.

73 EDT, 347, 771.

mountain forest will protect the people). In this case, I propose that both *arığ* and *buğ* may be considered euphemisms for “bubonic plague.”

I hope that this contribution during a time of a modern pandemic will serve to underscore the importance of reconsidering the role of earlier epidemics and pandemics in Turkological approaches to the history of disease, Turkic culture, and cultural production in Turkic languages.

Appendix 1: Terms for Illnesses in Evliya Çelebi's *Seyahatname*

ağrı hastalığı “malaise”; *ahlât-ı fâside marazı* “humoral pathology”; *âkile* “infirmity of reason (?)”; *behak* “leprosy”; *bel ağrısı* “backache”; *belsovukluğu* “gonorrhea”; *beras* “(vitiligo)”; *boğaz ağrısı* “sore throat”; *cereb* “scabies”; *cüzzâm* “leprosy”; *çiban* “boil”; *çiçek* “smallpox”; *dâî sa'leb* “beard hair loss”; *diş ağrısı* “toothache”; *felç* “stroke”; *frenği* “syphilis”; *ger* “scabies”; *giciyik* “pharyngitis”; *hafakan* “palpitations (of the heart?)”; *hararet marazı* “fever”; *hummâ* “fever”; *hummâ-yı muhrıka* “burning fever (?)”; *hummâ-yı rub'a* “fever (what kind?)”; *hunâk* “angina”; *hünam* “(?)”; *ısıtma* “malaria”; *ishal* “diarrhea”; *istiska* “edema”; *kaba* “mumps”; *kabz* “constipation (?)”; *kaş dökülmesi* “loss of all body hair”; *kuba* “herpes simplex”; *kulak ağrısı* “earache”; *kulunc* “muscle knot (from stress)”; *kuşka* “sore throat (?)”; *külinçül* “shingles (?)”; *lakva* “facial paralysis from a stroke (?)”; *mâlihulya* “melancholia”; *masrû* “epileptic”; *mesâne marazı* “cystitis”; *miskinlik* “laziness”; *nasır* “dermatitis”; *nikriz* “gout”; *öksürük* “cough”; *ra'şe-i vücud* “trembling of the body (Parkinson?)”; *renc-i bevâsır* “hemorrhoids”; *rûh-ı bevâsır* “excessive gas; flatulence”; *saçkıran* “alopecia areata (hair loss)”; *sara* “epilepsy”; *sarılık* “jaundice”; *selesül-bevl* “incontinence”; *sill* “tuberculosis”; *suda* “headache”; *şirpençe* “boil on the back or neck (possibly anthrax?)”; *tâ'ûn* “bubonic plague”; *temrege* “tetter (a skin disease)”; *uyuz* “scabies”; *kızıl uyuz* “red scabies (?)”; *yerakan* “jaundice”; *yürek ağrısı* “heartache; heart pain”; *yürek kurdu* “(?)”; *yürek oynaması* “irregular heartbeat; palpitation; racing heartbeat”; *yürek sıkılması* “heartache”; *zahir* “dysentery”; *zâtül-cenb* “pleurisy”; *zehir* “poison”; *zükâm* “cold; runny nose”; *unutkanlık* “forgetfulness; dementia (?)”; *zykü'nefs* “asthma.”⁷⁴

74 Source: Ertaş, “Evliya Çelebi,” 84–86. English translations, additional edits, and interpretations by Uli Schamioglu. Those lexical items which were cited in this article (above) are in boldface.

Bibliography

Note: At the time of this writing in April–May 2020, we are locked down in our apartments in Nur-Sultan,⁷⁵ Kazakhstan, teaching and working on-line, without access to our offices, libraries, or even the Nazarbayev University campus. For this reason, this chapter is based exclusively on what materials are available to me in my apartment: physical books (very few!), digital copies of books on my computer, or digital copies of books via the Internet (including books available on-line through university libraries or internet archives).

With regard to Turkic lexica, I have relied upon standard Russian-, English-, or Turkish-Turkic dictionaries as available on-line or on my computer. Generally, I do not cite them, and I include in the References only those lexical works which I cite specifically. Luckily, I was able to consult the main reference dictionaries for most of the Turkic languages in one form or another. It would have been impossible for our purposes here to conduct a more thorough study of Turkic lexical materials given the fact that I could not access a physical library, including my own rich personal library (which I have donated to Nazarbayev University and which is currently in storage on campus) or the rich library of the International Turkic Academy in Nur-Sultan, Kazakhstan.

By now there are also various Internet translation sites where I had the opportunity to mine data in the absence of access to the full range of dictionaries I might have wished for. This technology is relatively new for Turkic languages in 2020. (When I found translations which appeared questionable or clearly mistaken, I simply used my judgement and/or consulted with colleagues, after which I sometimes opted not to use them.) I also sought data from lexical websites (especially from sites from the Russian Federation) based on standard dictionaries, crosschecking when possible against various online sources such as Wikipedia in multiple Turkic and other languages, articles available online, etc. (especially to ascertain precisely to which disease a word in a given language is referring). The scholarly apparatus required to document all this would have increased the length of this study manifold without really making a lasting contribution, especially since it is not clear how long those on-line sources will exist, or whether the information contained in them today will still be the same a year from now, let alone decades from now.

Finally, such a chapter would not have been possible under quarantine one or especially two decades earlier because of the far more limited amount of publications available on-line then. (Three decades earlier there was hardly any Internet as we know it today. I know, I was there ...) I wonder how quaint this will seem in 50 or 100

75 Subsequently in September 2022 the Constitution of the Republic of Kazakhstan was amended to rename the city Astana, restoring the former name of the capital.

years, when all the books I will ever need (perhaps) might be available at the touch of a keyboard, button, or perhaps the wave of a finger ...

Abbreviations

DTS	Nadelyaev et al., <i>Drevnetyurkskiy slovar'</i> .
EDT	Clauson, <i>An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth Century Turkish</i> .
KTS	Toparlı et al., <i>Kıpçak Türkçesi Sözlüğü</i> .
SQ	Károly, <i>A Turkic Medical Treatise from Islamic Central Asia</i> .
TMEN	Doerfer, <i>Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen</i> .
VEWT	Räsänen, <i>Versuch eines etymologischen Wörterbuchs der Türkssprachen</i> .
VWTD	Radloff, <i>Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Türk-Dialecte</i> .

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