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02 Temmuz 2018

عوامل مؤثر در مناسبات ایلخانان با جغتایان

جواد عباسی^۱
حسن دهنوی^۲

چکیده

با تشکیل الوس جغتای در ماوراءالنهر و سپس حکومت ایلخانان در ایران، مرحله تازه‌ای از مناسبات خارجی در مرزهای شرقی ایران آغاز شد. این دو حکومت مغول بنا به ملاحظات و ضرورت‌هایی همواره در تعامل یا تقابل با یکدیگر بودند. در این میان، ایلخانان بیشتر می‌کوشیدند از در صلح و دوستی با الوس جغتای درآیند، اما اصرار الوس جغتای بر دشمنی با ایلخانان باعث بروز درگیری‌هایی میان دو حکومت شد. آنچه در این زمینه اهمیت بیشتری دارد، عواملی است که در نوع مناسبات آن‌ها تأثیرگذار بود. این عوامل متعدد بودند و مجموعه‌ای از مسائل منطقه‌ای و حتی بین‌المللی آن زمان را در بر می‌گرفتند؛ به همین دلیل، شناسایی و تحلیل مستندات آن‌ها می‌تواند به درک و تحلیل دقیق‌تر مناسبات این دو

D4285



۱. استادیار گروه تاریخ دانشگاه فردوسی مشهد abbasiiran@yahoo.com

۸۱-۱۰۶

۲. کارشناس ارشد تاریخ dehnavi.hasan@yahoo.com

تاریخ دریافت: ۸۸/۱۲/۱۵ تاریخ تصویب: ۸۹/۶/۱۴

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الدعوة إلى الإسلام

بحث في تاريخ نشر العقيدة الإسلامية

Gagatay Hanliqi
تأليف

سير توماس . و . أرنولد
Sir Thomas W. ARNOLD

Via tem tarandi

M. Ö. ترجمه إلى العربية وعلق عليه

الدكتور حسن إبراهيم حسن
الدكتور عبد المجيد عابد

استاذ عميد النجدي

6832

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A.R.N.O



مكتبة النخبة المصنفة
رأبها حسن محمد وأولاده
شارع صدر باشا بالقاهرة

1970

- ٢٦٥ -

عنه ، وعمد باسم نيقولا . على أنه لم يلبث أن أسلم بعد موت أمه ، وهو لا يزال شاباً في مقتبل العمر ، وذلك بتأثير زوجته (١) . ويذكر ابن بطوطة (٢) أن سيرة ذلك الأمير كان لها أثر كبير في نفوس المغول . ومن ذلك العهد غدا الإسلام الدين السائد في دولة إيلخانات فارس .

يسمى أسرة عظماي : وإن ما لدينا من المعلومات عن تقدم الإسلام وانتشاره في إمبراطورية المغول الوسطى ، التي كانت من نصيب جنغطاي ، لا يزال ضئيلاً . وكان كبير من أعقاب هذه الأسرة يستعينون في دولتهم بوزير من المسلمين على الرغم من أنه لم يبد أي ميل إلى الإسلام . وقد ضيق جنغطاي على رعاباه من المسلمين بما سنه من القوانين الشديدة الحرج ، التي ضيقت على شعائرهم الدينية ، فيما يتعلق بذبح الحيوانات للطعام وفرائض الوضوء . ويذكر ابن خلدون أن جنغطاي هذا كان ألد أعداء المسلمين من بين خانات المغول كافة . وقد بلغ من شدة عداوته لهذا الدين أنه لم يكن

ما سجل عليه من احبوا . وعله يرد منا احبار) نسى عربته . وذكر برون أن غازان لما تولى فر أولهايتو وظل مشردا يرعى الحبير في إقليم كرمان وفرن : وذلك أطلق عليه اسم عربته أو راعي الحبير . وقيل أيضاً إن أبوي الطفل كان يطلقان عليه اسما قبيحا حتى لا تؤثر فيه حيون الحساد ، ولذلك سمي عربته كما يسمى العرب أبناءهم بغير وكاب وصخر ومعوية ونحو ذلك تفاؤلا بأنه يكون الولد في كبره صخر أو كلبا على عدوه . وقال ابن الوردي (تاريخ الوردي ص ٢٦٤) إن عربته اسمه خدابنده ، وأن ماكنه مثل بلاد العراق وخراسان والعراق العجى وأذربيجان وديار بكر .

(١) Hammer-Purgstall : Geschichte der Hichasen, vol. II, p. 188.

لايحد أن تكون سببا للمسلمين قد قمن بدور عام في تحويل المغول إلى الإسلام . ويظهر أن المرأة شملت مركزاً من مراكز الشرف والكرامة بين المغول . ويمكن أن نأق بأمنظة كثيرة تؤيد أنه كان لها أثر طاهر في الشؤون السياسية . وقد تصدقنا من قبل لذكر عدة حالات تبين مدى تأثير النساء في أوضاعهن في المسائل الدينية . ويحدثنا ولهم روبروك أنه شاهد بنفسه تأثير إحدى النساء السلمات ، وكيف وقف ذلك التأثير في سبيل نشر تعاليمه الدينية : « وفي عيد المنصرة أتى أحد المسلمين مند ما أخذنا في شرح تعاليم الدين في أثناء حديثه معنا . فلما سمع عن نعم الله على الناس وعن التمجيد وبسبب الموت ويوم الحساب ونحو الخطايا من طريق التمسيد ، رغب في أن يعمد . ولكن ، بينا كنا نعد للعدة لتعميده ، احتطى صهوة جواده على حين غفلة ، قاتلا إنه لا بد من أن يغيب إلى داه . لاستشارة زوجته . وفي اليوم التالي قال لنا في أثناء حديثه سنا إنه لم يستطع أن يجرؤ على أن يعمد ، لأنه لا يستطيع حنفاً أن يشرب لبن الفرس » (Reinbeck pp. 321.)

(٢) ابن بطوطة ج ص ٥٧ .

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- ٢٦٤ -

تقليب نظره في المسائل الدينية ، لأنه درس عقائد الأديان المختلفة المنتشرة في زمانه وعتاد المقيمة ونظرات مع أئمة كل من هذه الأديان (١) . وقد أيد رشيد الدين ، وزيره العالم ومؤرخ عصره ، بالبرهان صحة اعتقاده الإسلام ، الذي أخذ على عاتقه المحافظة على شعائره في حماس وغيره طوال عهده ، ولو أن معاصريه (وكثيرا ما ردد الكتاب الذين جاءوا فيما بعد هذه التهمة) أظهروا أنه إنما أذعن لإلحاح بعض الأمراء والمشايخ وتوسلاتهم (٢) . « فضلا عن ذلك ، يسأل من يتصدى للدفاع عن عقيدة غازان الدينية : أي شعور خطير يمكن أن يشر اهتمام حاكم في مثل هذه القوة والثفوذ فيلهمه بتبديل دينه ؟ بل قل اهتمام أمير قام أسلافه الوثنيون بغزو العالم ؟ » على أن اعتقاد غازان الإسلام قد جذب إليه ، بلا مرء قلوب الفرس عند ما كان في نزاع مع بنو علي اعتلاء العرش . وقد عدل المغول من المسلمين الذين كانوا في جيشه ، ناقسه عن تأييد دعوى أخيه في الدين . وكانت هذه هي الاعتبارات الحق التي تلوع بها نوروز في حث غازان على قبول دعوته إلى الإسلام . وكان نوروز أميراً مسلماً . ملاً غازان ، وناداه بلقب الأمير وتنبأ بأنه سيظهر حول ذلك الوقت لحماية عقيدة الإسلام وإعادتها إلى سابق مجدها ، كما أعلن أنه إذا اعتنق الإسلام ، أصبح حاكم بلاد الفرس ، وأن المسلمين إذا تخلصوا من نير المغول الوثنيين المؤلم ، انتحلوا دعوته واعترفوا بأنه الدين الحق الذي يتخلصهم من هلاك محقق ، وباركوا آلائه الحربية ودعوا له بالنصر (٣) . وبعد قليل تردد بجهر غازان بإسلامه ، وافقت أثره جنده وقواده : ووزع المنح على أفرادها وأهل العلم وزار المساجد ومقام الصالحين ، وظهر في كل أطواره بمظهر الحاكم المسلم المطلق . وقد شب أشبه أو خلبتو Aljayū الذي خلفه في سنة ١٣٠٤ م باسم محمد خدابنده (Khudābandah) على المسيحية

(١) Cahun, p. 482. Id. ib. pp. 188, 224. (٢) C. d'Oksenz, tome iv, p. 365.

(٣) C. d'Oksenz, tome iv, pp. 125, 126.

(٤) ذكر ابن بطوطة (ج ١ ص ١٤٣) أن اسمه مختلف فيه . وقد قيل خندا (بضم الخاء) ومعناها بالفارسية اسم الله ، وينده ، ومعناها غلام أو عبد . وقيل عربته (بفتح التاء) ومعناها بالفارسية الحمار ، وينده ومعناها غلام أو عبد ، فيكون عبد الله ، أو غلام الحمار . وقد قيل إن سبب تسميته بهذا الاسم الأخير أن كبتار يسون الطفل باسم أول داخل إلى البيت عند ولادته . فلما ولد كان أول داخل الزمان (الزمان صاحب الزائلة ، والزائلة =

giving her the capability to provide for most of the *altan urugh*, including members of the Chaghatayid and Ögödeyid families. In this manner, as stated by her own admirers, she secured the throne for Möngke. We will never be certain if Sorqoqtani's reputation was as sterling as portrayed. Like Töregene, she was very intelligent, but unlike her fellow *khatuns* she also had the benefit of being on the side that wrote the history of the Mongol Empire.

Curiously, Sorqoqtani's actions, while underappreciated by historians, did not go unnoticed by her son. One can see the tie between the Silk Road, merchants, and the Mongolian government among the first acts of Möngke Khan. The *yam* or postal system of the Mongols allowed messengers and officials to quickly traverse the empire. The postal stations were supported by the local population and were originally arranged so as not to be a burden. Yet, by the time of Möngke, not only did official messengers and officials use the system, but merchants used them as well. The increase in traffic due to permits given to non-government figures became a heavy burden to local populations, causing increased poverty as well as the flight of peasants and nomads, thus threatening the communication network of the empire. Möngke eliminated many of these abuses and restored the *yam* to its original purpose.⁷⁹ This is not to say that merchants no longer traversed the Mongol empire—they certainly did, but no longer could the web of government institutions and commerce become as intertwined as it did in the 1240s.

In summary, the Mongolian queens of the 1240s stand in remarkable contrast to each other. Nonetheless, they all left an indelible imprint on Mongol Empire for better or for worse. In addition, their actions impacted on the Silk Road and the Mongol Empire in subtle ways that cannot be ignored. Indeed, our picture of them is richer because of the *Pax Mongolica* that allowed merchants and envoys to traverse the Mongol Empire on the Silk Road. <Timothy.May@ung.edu>

MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN



D440

23 Temmuz 2015

TIMOTHY MAY

University of North Georgia

The Queen of the Chaghatayids: Orghina Khātūn and the rule of Central Asia¹

Gagatay Hanlığı (030723)

BRUNO DE NICOLA

Abstract

When Chinggis Khan died in 1227, his sons inherited different parts of the empire that had been built by their father. Chinggis Khan's second son, Chaghatai (d. c. 1241), became the ruler of the lands of present-day Central Asia, conforming the origin of what became to be known as the Chaghataid Khanate. After the death of its founder, this political entity experienced a long succession crisis that lasted for a decade until a woman, Orghina Khātūn, took control of the khanate in the name of her son. Although a ruling woman is not an exceptional case in the Mongol empire, she was the first and only woman that ruled over the Chaghataid Khanate, and that did so peacefully and without major upheavals for nine years. Additionally, she did not adopt a passive role but was involved in the running of the khanate, playing her cards in the always-unstable political arena of the Mongol empire. This article looks at the ascension to the throne, the reign and the legacy of this Mongol woman in Mongol Central Asia by contextualising her rule within the history of the region in general and in that of the Mongol empire in particular.

Introduction

The prominent position that some noblewomen acquired in pre-modern nomadic societies has caught the attention of scholars for some time, and especially since the 1970s. Some of them have suggested that certain socio-economic circumstances of nomadic life were behind the fact that nomadic women “were more important in society than their settled sisters”.² They argue that this active role in society is behind the accounts of ancient historians such as Herodotus in his description of the tribes of Amazons and Scythians.³ Yet, apart from this account, the majority of women's presence in historical records from Antiquity is circumscribed to figurine representations of female goddesses in prehistoric times or narratives that have more to do with legend than with historical characters.⁴ For later periods also, a certain degree of climatic determinism has been used to explain why

¹It is a great pleasure to participate in this collection of articles in honour of Professor David O. Morgan. Through his academic contribution he has been responsible (without his knowledge) for initiating my fascination with the history of the Mongol Empire. For that I will always be grateful.

²R. Frye, “Women in pre-Islamic Central Asia: The Khātun of Bukhara”, in G. R. G. Hambly (ed.), *Women in the Medieval Islamic World* (New York, 1998), pp. 55–59, 61.

³Herodotus, *The History of Herodotus of Halicarnassus*, Book IV, Melponeme (London, 1935), §§ 114–115.

⁴See Frye, “Women in pre-Islamic Central Asia”, pp. 55–59.

⁷⁹T. May, *The Mongol Conquests in World History*, pp. 119–122, provides a summary. For a more detailed study, see T. Allsen, *Mongol Imperialism: The Policies of the Grand Qan Möngke in China, Russia, and the Islamic Lands, 1251–1259* (Berkeley, 1987).

قاجاریه (۱۳۰۷-۱۳۰۸)

بوقشی و بُرطاس و بُرجان برنشتند، و به اندک مدت بگرفتند» (۶۶۸/۱).

به نوشته مورخان، چنگیزخان در تقسیم متصرفات گسترده خود میان پسرانش، «سهم جغتای را از حدود اویغور تا سمرقند و بخارا معین کرد، و مرکز آن المالیق بود» (آیتی، ۲۷؛ شبانکاره‌ای، ۲۳۲) و به تعبیری «از ابتدای ولایت ترکستان تا انتهای آب آمویه حکومت حواله به وی بود» (رشیدالدین، ۳۰۰). برخی از محققان معاصر قلمرو موروثی جغتای را اصلاً شامل حوضه [رود] ایلی، و از کاشغر تا ماوراءالنهر در مغرب اردوی سپید سبیری دانسته‌اند (ساندرز، ۱۶۵).

برتشنایدر به استناد تاریخ‌نامه دوره یوان چین، این ممالک و نواحی را در قلمرو «امپراتوری میانه» برشمرده است: «مملکت اویغوران، بیش بالیغ، قراخوجو، کولچاق/قلجاق، جم بالیغ، فوتوقبای، مملکت قارلقها، پولاد، ایمیل، ایلی بالیغ، کوچا، اوچ، کاشغر، ختن، ترکستان، اوزقند، قازان، مرغینان، خجند، اترار، سمرقند، قرشی = نخشب، بخارا، کات، ترمذ/ترمذ، توس، بدخشان، کابل، غزنین یا غزنه» (ص ۳۵۰-۳۷۵). همو به استناد این تاریخ‌نامه در وقایع سال ۶۳۳ ق/۱۲۳۶م آورده است که چین شمالی در این تاریخ تازه از زیرسلطه مغولان درآمده بود و از این اراضی ناحیه یوان در شانسی به جغتای داده شد (ص ۳۳۹). اردوی جغتای در دره ایلی بود و او بیلاق را در شمال، و قشلاق را در جنوب می‌گذراند. جغتای فقط از عواید این اراضی منتفع می‌شد و حکومت آنجا زیر تسلط خان بزرگ بود که اشراف و بزرگان محلی را به اداره سرزمینهای تصرف شده برمی‌گماشت (هوکم، 36).

به نوشته برخی از مورخان معاصر در اواخر دوره جغتایان، پس از مرگ جغتای میان فرزندان او در ممالک ماوراءالنهر و ترکستان کشمکش درگرفت (حافظ ابرو، زبده...، ۳۶۸-۳۷). اوگتای جانشین بلافضل چنگیزخان، پس از مرگ جغتای، در تقسیم متصرفات خود میان ۴ پسرش، قراهلاگو پسر موآتوگان، نوه محبوب چنگیز و فرزند جغتای را نامزد جانشینی جغتای ساخت. اما گیوک‌خان پس از برنشتن به قآنی (سال ۶۳۸ ق/۱۲۴۱م) ییسومونگکه، پسر کوچک‌تر جغتای را که از جوان‌سالی با او انس و آشنایی داشت، با این بهانه که با بودن پسر روا نیست که نواده جانشین باشد، به جای پدر نشانند (جوینی، ۲۲۹/۱؛ رشیدالدین، ۸۰۶/۲-۸۰۷؛ شبانکاره‌ای، ۲۴۶).

یسومونگکه در ۶۴۹ ق/۱۲۵۱م در کشمکش بر سر جانشینی مونگکه قآن از اریغ بوکا، رقیب او حمایت کرده بود و مونگکه پس از برنشتن به قآنی (ربیع‌الآخر ۶۴۹/ژوئیه ۱۲۵۱)، قراهلاگو نوه جغتای را باز به پادشاهی این اولوس روانه کرد، و ییسومونگکه را که برای شرکت در قوریلتای (= مجلس

به گفته رشیدالدین جغتای پس از وفات ییسولون خاتون که مادر همه پسران معتبر او بود، خواهر وی ترکان خاتون را به همسری گرفت (۷۵۷/۱)؛ اما این قول با روایت جوینی که ییسولون پس از مرگ جغتای امر به قتل طیب و وزیر او داد، همخوانی ندارد.

رشیدالدین (همانجا) نوشته که جغتای ۶ پسر داشته است، به این نامها: موآتوگان، موجی بیبشه، بلگشی، ساریان، ییسومونگکا، و بایدار؛ اما در شرح پادشاهی اولوس جغتای پس از مرگ او، از «قدایی، هفتم پسر جغتای» سخن گفته است (۷۷۳/۱). پس از آنکه نخستین پسر در محاصره بامیان به تیر کشته شد و در همان احوال فرزند او قراهلاگو به دنیا آمد، چنگیز، و پس از او اوگتای قآن و جغتای، او را به جانشینی نامزد کردند، و پس از درگذشت جغتای، خاتون وی و حبش عمید و ارکان دولت، این پیمان را نگاه داشتند. پس از آنکه گیوک قآن به خانی برنشت، برای التفاتی که با ییسو داشت، گفت که با وجود پسر، شایسته نیست که نواده جانشین باشد؛ و ییسو را در مملکت جغتای بر تخت خانی نشانند (جوینی، ۲۲۸/۱-۲۲۹).

مأخذ: بارتولد، و. و. ترکستان‌نامه، تهران، ۱۳۵۲؛ برتشنایدر، ایلی و. ایران و ماوراءالنهر در نوشته‌های چینی و مغولی سده‌های میانه، ترجمه و به کوشش هاشم رجبزاده، تهران، ۱۳۸۱؛ جوینی، عظاملک، تاریخ جهانگشای، به کوشش محمد قزوینی، لیدن، ۱۳۲۹ ق/۱۹۱۱م؛ حافظ ابرو، عبدالله، زبده التواریخ، به کوشش کمال حاج سیدجوادی، تهران، ۱۳۸۰؛ خواندمیر، غیث‌الدین، حبیب‌السیر، تهران، ۱۳۳۳؛ رشیدالدین فضل‌الله، جامع التواریخ، به کوشش محمد روشن و مصطفی موسوی، تهران، ۱۳۷۳؛ ساندرز، ج. ج. تاریخ فتوحات مغول، ترجمه ابوالقاسم حالت، تهران، ۱۳۶۳؛ سیفی‌هروی، سیف، تاریخ‌نامه هرات، به کوشش محمد زبیر صدیقی، تهران، ۱۳۵۲؛ شبانکاره‌ای، محمد، مجمع الانساب، به کوشش هاشم محدث، تهران، ۱۳۶۴؛ عقیلی، حاجی بن نظام، آثار الوزراء، به کوشش جلال‌الدین محدث ارموی، تهران، ۱۳۶۴؛ منهاج سراج، عثمان، طبقات ناصری، به کوشش عبدالرحی حبیبی، کابل، ۱۳۴۲؛ نسوی، محمد، سیرت جلال‌الدین منکیرینی، ترجمه کهن، به کوشش مجتبی مینوی، تهران، ۱۳۶۵؛ وصاف، تاریخ، به کوشش محمد مهدی اصفهانی، تهران، ۱۳۲۸؛ ولادیمیرتسف، ب. نظام اجتماعی مغول، ترجمه شیرین بیانی، تهران، ۱۳۶۴؛

نیز:

Boyle, J.A., «The Saljuq and Mongol Periods», *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Cambridge, 1968, vol. V; *Iranica*.

هاشم رجبزاده

جغتای، خانات، عنوان سلسله‌ای از فرزندان جغتای، که اولوس جغتای نیز خوانده می‌شدند و مدت ۱۳۶ سال (از ۶۲۴ تا ۷۶۰ ق/۱۲۲۷-۱۳۵۹م) بر ماوراءالنهر و بخشی از خوارزم، کاشغر، ختن و نواحی دیگر حکومت کردند تا سرانجام امیر تیمور در ۷۷۱ ق/۱۳۶۹م آن را برانداخت.

فرزندان جغتای در گسترش فتوحات چنگیزخان شرکت داشتند، چنان‌که به گفته رشیدالدین: «(در زمان اوگتای قآن، سال ۶۳۴ ق) پسران... و پسرزاده جغتای... یوری و... به جنگ

Tarkan (1/751). However, this statement conflicts with the account of Chaghatāy's death given by Juwaynī which says that Yesülün had Chaghatāy's physician and Wazīr executed after his death, as referred to above.

Rashīd al-Dīn also says that Chaghatāy had six sons, named Mō'etüken, Mochi-Yebe, Balagshi, Sarban, Yesü Mōngke and Baydar. When speaking of the *ulus* of Chaghatāy after his death, however, he refers to a seventh son Qadaqay (1/773). When Chaghatāy's eldest son was killed during the siege of Bāmiyān, Chingīz, and after him Ögedey and Chaghatāy, nominated the dead man's newborn son Qara-Hülegü, as Chaghatāy's heir. After Chaghatāy's death, his senior wife, his advisor Ḥabash 'Amīd and other statesmen accepted this nomination. But Ögedey's successor Güyük Khan declared that it was not right for the grandson of a Khān to become the ruler when there were still sons living, and so he made Yesü Chaghatāy's successor (Juwaynī, 1/228-229).

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HASHEM RAJABZADEH
TR. MUSHEGH ASATRYAN

Chaghatāy Khānate, the name of a dynasty of descendants of Chaghatāy (q.v.), one of the sons of Chingīz Khān, also called the *ulus* (domain) of Chaghatāy. The Chaghatāy khans ruled for 136 years (624-764/1227-1363) over Transoxania (Mā warā' al-Nahr) and parts of Khwārazm, Kāshghar (Kashgar), Khutan (Khotan) and other regions until they were overthrown by Tīmūr leng (Tamerlane) in 764/1363.

Chaghatāy's descendants sought to expand the area under their control, originally conquered by Chingīz Khān, and according to Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh 'in the time of Ögedey in the year 634/1237 Chaghatāy's sons and grandson Būrī... waged war on Boqshi and Burtās and Burjān which they soon captured' (1/668).

According to the mediaeval Persian sources, when dividing the vast territories under his control among his sons, Chingīz Khān specified the regions stretching from Uyghūr to Samarqand and Bukhārā, with Almāliq (650 km northeast of Lake Issyk-Qol) as the capital, as Chaghatāy's portion (Waṣṣāf, abridged version, 27; Shabānkara'ī,

Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko, no. 49, Tokyo 1991, p. 97-118.

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Çağatay Hanlığı (030723)

26 Ağustos 2015

MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

KEBEK AND YASAWR
— The Establishment of
The Chaghatai-Khanate —

KATŌ Kazuhide

Introduction

In the latter half of 13th century, the Mongol Empire split into some historical worlds, such as China, Iran, Central Asia, Qipchaq Steppes, as times went by. The process of this split was that of power struggles among the Mongolian rulers which were known as “**Rebellion of Ariq Boke**” and “**Rebellion of Qaidu**” and they involved the whole of the Empire.

The Chaghatai Ulus (*ulus* = tribe, nation) which had their headquarter in the Ili Valley established their power in Māwarā' al-Nahr and Semirechye seizing the moment of these internal troubles, and about 1306 under Du'a Khān succeeded in getting the sovereignty there by themselves. This was a birth of a Mongol state in Central Asia, what is called 'the Chaghatai-Khanate' which equaled to the Yüan Dynasty (元朝) in China, the Il-Khanate in Iran and the Qipchaq-Khanate in South Russia.¹⁾

This newborn state had to hurry up to strengthen *Khān's* power and arrange the ruling system, in order that it might rule princes of the Chaghatai Ulus and the Ögedei Ulus who would behave only for their own interests, and might rebuild the sedentary society of Central Asia which had been confused by the long power struggles among Mongol leaders.

But no sooner had Du'a himself had felt happy at the result of unification than he died of a disease in 1307, and so the works were thereafter handed to his sons. **Barthold** says that under the reign of Kebek Khān (1318-26) the Chaghatai-Khanate succeeded in centralizing and got its firm foundation for the first time.²⁾

In this writing, I'll try to trace concretely the way how the Du'a family strengthened *Khān's* power and established its reign system during the first quarter of 14th century, dealing with the struggles between Kebek and Yasawr both of whom were princes of the Chaghatais.

On this story of the struggles between Kebek and Yasawr, **D'Ohsson** already wrote in detail in the chapters of the Il-Khanate history, but ignored throughly the meaning of them which would have worked in the history of the

Some two centuries later two native authors mention the consummation of this change. Babur (1483–1530) writes in his *Memoirs* (the *Baburname*):

On the north [of Fergana], though in former times there must have been towns such as Almaliq, Almatu, and Yangi, which in books they write Taraz, at the present time all is desolate, no settled population whatever remaining, because of the Mongols and the Uzbeks.

Babur's cousin and slightly younger contemporary, Muhammad Mirza Haydar, sketches in his book *Tarikh-i Rashidi* the following picture:

Some of the towns of Moghulistan are mentioned by name and described in standard works. Among them is Balasaghun. In books of repute and histories, Balasaghun is said to have been one of the cities built by Afrasiyab, and [the authors] have praised it very highly. The author of the *Surat al-lughat* gives the names of eminent men of every town. In Samarkand, he reckons fewer than ten, but in Balasaghun he mentions the names of a great number of learned and notable persons, and quotes traditions concerning some of them. The mind is incapable of conceiving how there could have been, at one time and in one city, so many men of eminence, and that now neither name nor trace is to be found of Balasaghun. Another town mentioned in books is Taraz. It is said that the Moghuls call Taraz "Yangi". Now in those steppes which they called Yangi, there are remains of many cities, in the form of domes, minarets, and traces of schools and monasteries; but it is not evident which of these ruined cities was Yangi, or what were the names of others.

Finally yet another possible effect of the Mongol invasions deserves mention. The steppes of Eurasia are the home not only of nomads but also of other creatures, marmots among them. These rodents tend to be infested with fleas, which in turn harbor the virus that can cause bubonic plague among humans. It seems that the disease was indeed affecting the Mongols but stayed at a low endemic level among them. Once it reached outsiders, however, it broke out in the catastrophic epidemic of the Black Death that by the end of the fourteenth century wiped out a good third of Europe's population. The gate of entry was, some historians suspect, the Crimean port of Caffa, and the year was 1347. Caffa was a Genoese colony at the time, and a disagreement with Janibeg, the Khan of the Golden Horde (1341–57), led to a siege of the city by the Mongols. The besiegers apparently tossed the bodies of people who had died of plague into the city, and the disease, catching on and traveling in Genoese ships, spread like brushfire – first in Egypt and then on the European side of the Mediterranean.

MADE YAYIMLANDIKTAN
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

Svat Soucek, A History of Inner Asia, Cambridge 2000

CHAPTER EIGHT

The Chaghatayids

Chaghatay Hanlığı (1307-23)

İSAM DİL-
215504

26 Ağustos 2015

About a century after the Mongol invasion, some Chaghatayid khans began to convert to Islam. This tended to happen when they chose to live not in Semireche but in Transoxania, thus among staunchly Muslim populations. True, many of their subjects there were Turks, who had entered that territory since Kōk Turkic and Qarakhanid times, and some of whom nevertheless remained nomads and lived in a style not unlike that of the Mongols themselves; but the area's settled population, whether Iranian or Turkic, and whether urban or agricultural, had survived and conserved or recovered the florescence of its Islamic civilization – in contrast, as we have seen, to Semireche.

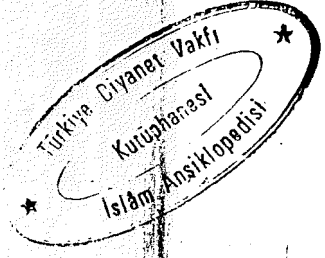
Islam played a fundamental role in the resilience of native identity and renaissance during these years of Mongol rule, and an especially seminal part was assumed by its Sufi dimension (just as it was to do centuries later during the years of Soviet rule). In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the dominant orders in Mongol Central Asia were the Kubravi and Yasavi tariqas. The Kubravi Shaykh Sayf al-Din Bakharzi of Bukhara can serve as an example.

Shaykh Sayf al-Din Bakharzi had been a disciple of Najm al-Din Kubra in Urgench, the founder of the Kubraviya order of dervishes, who at a critical moment sent him with a proselytizing mission to Bukhara. While Kubra perished during the storming of Urgench by the Mongols, Bakharzi not only survived their seizure of Bukhara but subsequently attained such prestige that the aforementioned Berke (Khan of the Golden Horde, 1257–67), a convert to Islam, came to Bukhara to visit the shaykh. Moreover, Sorqaqtani, the widow of Toluy and mother of the Great Khans Möngke and Qubilay, herself a Christian, is said to have donated the considerable sum of 1,000 *balish*¹ of silver for a

¹ *Balish*, Persian for "cushion," was the standard thirteenth-century Mongolian monetary unit (interestingly, it rather than its Turkic synonym *yastuq* seems to have been the term used by the Mongols). See B. Spuler, "Balish," *EI*, vol. I, p. 996.

ابن بطوطة ورحلته

تحقيق ودراسة وتحليل



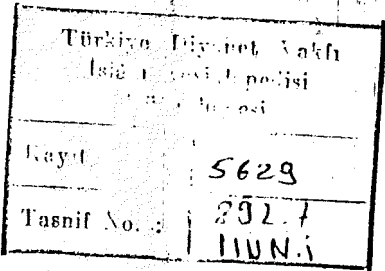
تأليف

د. حسين مؤنس

أستاذ التاريخ الإسلامي
كلية الآداب - جامعة القاهرة

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دارالمعارف

١٤٩

وغيرها من القواعد التي خربت ، ولن تعود إلى سابق عهدها أبداً .

وقد دخل ابن بطوطة البلاد من ناحية خوارزم مقيلاً من السرا عاصمة محمد أوزبك سلطان مغول القفجاق على مسافة قصيرة من ساحل بحر قزوين قرب مدينة جوريف Gureyev الحالية على مصب نهر أورال الصغير .

وأخوارزم كانت قبل الغزوة المغولية إقليمياً واسعاً عامراً بالخير والعمران يشمل البلاد الواسعة التي على المجرى الأدنى لنهر أموداريا وهو جيحون ، وقد يسمى الأقاليم بالخوارزمية . أما خوارزم فكانها اليوم بلدة حيوة - أو خيفا - في جمهورية أوزبكستان السوفيتية .

وكانت خوارزم لاتزال تحتفظ بالكثير من جلالها وروائها عندما دخلها ابن بطوطة في حدود سنة ٧٣٤هـ / ١٣٣٣ - ١٣٣٤م ، فهو يصفها بأنها أكبر مدن الأتراك وأعظمها وأجملها وأضخمها ، ويقول : إنها كانت تموج بالناس موج البحر ، وبلغ من ازدحام الناس في أسواقها أن ابن بطوطة دخل السوق مرة فضاغ في الزحام ، ولم يستطع العودة إلى داره إلا بعد مشقة !

وكانت ناحية خوارزم وما يليها من النواحي التي زارها ابن بطوطة هناك عامرة بالإسلام لا تزال برغم تحزب المغول ، وكانت البلاد قد بدأت تستعيد حياتها الأولى بفضل خان مسلم تولى أمرها يسمى تارما شيرين ، ويكنبه ابن بطوطة : علاء الدين طرمشيرين وقد غضب المغول على ذلك الرجل لدخوله الإسلام ، واجتمع جمعهم المسمى بالقورولتاي وعزله ، وقام عليه كبار المغول سنة ١٣٣٥م أو ١٣٣٦م . وكان له خير طويل بعد ذلك يقصه ابن بطوطة ، فهو أشبه بالأسطورة ، فقيل : إنه قتل ثم ظهر مرة أخرى في الهند ، وثبت أنه لم يقتل ، وكاد ملك الهند أن يصدقه غير أنه أثر تكذيبه حتى لا يغضب المغول ، ولكنه لم يقتله بل تركه يمضي لسبيله ، ففضي واعتزل في شيراز وظل فيها حتى لقيه ابن بطوطة في ذلك البلد عند عودته من الهند سنة ١٣٤٧م .

وقد تحدث ابن بطوطة عن نظم المغول في دولتهم حديث العارف فيقول : « وكان تنكز (أي جنكيز خان) ألف كتاباً في أحكامهم يسمى عندهم «اليساق» - وهو

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مغول شغتاي

نحن نخرج مع ابن بطوطة الآن من واحدة من خانيات - أو إيلخانات - المغول إلى الأخرى ، فعندما يدخل ابن بطوطة خوارزم يدخل مملكة خانات مغول ماوراء النهر ، وهم أبناء جغتاي المنسوبون إلى جغتاي بن جنكيز خان ، وابن بطوطة يسميه الجكطلي .

وكانت هذه الدولة تمتد شرقاً حتى تشمل فارس والعراق ، وملكها هو الذي يذكره ابن بطوطة باسم ملك العراق ، وتمتد غرباً حتى ماوراء غزنة وكابل ، وحدها جبال سليمان من الهندوكوش ، وفيها ممر خيبر الذي يؤدي إلى بلاد الهند . وعندما يعبر ابن بطوطة ذلك الممر يبدأ حلقة جديدة بالغة الطرافة من رحلته وهي الفترة الهندية .

وكانت دولة خانات ماوراء النهر هذه مملكة واسعة جداً تشمل أقاليم إسلامية عظيمة هي العراق والجزيرة - وخوزستان وخراسان وسجستان وبلاد ماوراء النهر وبلخ وهرات وكابل وغزنة .

وقد دخل ابن بطوطة هذه البلاد بعد غزوة جنكيز خان الخربة ، وابن بطوطة يسميه تنكز خان ، ويقص شيئاً من حياته ، ويلقى التبعة فيما أنزله ببلاد الإسلام من التخريب على جلال الدين منكوبرقي المعروف باسم خوارزمشاه ، فقد اعتدى عمداً على قافلة تجار مغولية وقتل رجالها ، فتحرك جنكيز خان للانتقام منه ، ودخل بلاد الإسلام مخرباً سنة ١٢١٤م وكان أول ما خرب سمرقند .

وابن بطوطة يذكر ذلك في إيجاز ، ولا يزال يتحسر في أثناء مقامه في تلك البلاد على ما أصاب الإسلام وكبار مدنه على يد المغول ، من أمثال سمرقند وبخارى وترمد

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444. MANZ, Beatrice Forbes. "The development and meaning of Chaghatay identity", in: Jo-Ann Gross ed., *Muslims in Central Asia: expressions of identity and change*. Durham, Duke University Press, 1992, pp. 27-45, bibliogr.

Auteur d'une première étude sur l'*ulûs* chaghatây au milieu du 14^e s. (*The rise and rule of Tamerlane*, Cambridge University Press, 1989 — v. *Abst.Ir.* XIV.497), B.F. Manz décrit les premières phases de la transformation progressive de cette vaste communauté dominant les populations sédentaires des oasis de Transoxiane, en un groupe ethnique. Le processus commence avec la formation d'une organisation politique, marquée par l'abondance et la mobilité des alliances inter-tribales, et dont la classe dirigeante partageait un certain nombre de traits communs explicites, tels l'adhésion à un mode de vie nomade, la loyauté à la dynastie chaghatayide, ainsi que le voisinage d'une population sédentaire qu'elle exploitait, mais dont elle avait adopté la religion, l'islam sunnite, et connaissait la langue, le persan. A l'avènement de Tamerlan, les membres de l'*ulûs* chaghatây constituaient donc un groupe bien défini, uni à la fois par un certain nombre de traits culturels communs, et par un ensemble de liens politiques actifs et complexes. A la suite des conquêtes de Tamerlan, l'identité chaghatây primitive resta intacte, servant désormais à définir la classe dirigeante, et à la distinguer de la masse des sujets. Comme la dynastie timouride légitimait sa domination par ses liens avec la lignée de Chaghatây, et que l'élite chaghatây conservait le monopole sur nombre de postes de haut niveau dans l'empire, la dynastie et l'élite timourides partagèrent un souci commun de préservation de cette identité, fondée sur une langue distincte, une généalogie et des traits culturels — auxquels se mêlèrent bientôt ceux des populations iraniennes avec lesquels l'*ulûs* chaghatây s'était maintenu en étroit contact.

S.A.D.

MAJLIS KUTUBKHANA
SONBA GILAN DOBILMAN

Abstracta Iranica (Suppl. Studia Iranica),
c. 15-16, 1992-1993, Tehran 1997. p. 102-103

20 MART 1991

- Chagatai Hanlığı

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1919 and temporarily upstaged militant Sinhalese Buddhist activists. The CNC remained effective until 1942, but it never attained the significance of its Indian counterpart. In the 1920s the CNC lost Tamil and Kandyan Sinhalese support, and during the state council period (1931–1946) even low-country Sinhalese members were independent of CNC control.

[See also Sri Lanka and Indian National Congress.]

Michael Roberts, ed., *Documents of the Ceylon National Congress and National Politics in Ceylon, 1929–1950*, 4 vols. (1977). PATRICK PEEBLES

CHAGATAI, political and ethnic term derived from the name of Chagatai (d. 1242), Genghis Khan's second son by his chief wife, and designating the territory of the appanage (*ulus*) assigned to him by his father at the time of the division of the Mongol empire in 1224. The territory of the Ulus Chagatai consisted of Transoxiana (roughly the area between the Amu Darya and Syr Darya rivers in present-day Uzbek SSR), the Semirechie region of present-day Kazakh SSR, eastern Turkestan (present-day Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region of the People's Republic of China), and northern and eastern Afghanistan. Its capital was at Almaligh in the Ili Valley (near present-day Kuldja).

The Chagatai khanate was founded after Chagatai Khan's death by his grandson, Kara Hulegu (r. 1242–1246) on the territory of the Ulus Chagatai. The early khans preserved the nomadic Mongol traditions and avoided mixing with the sedentary population of Transoxiana. There was no centralized authority until the accession of Kebek Khan (r. 1318–1326), who attempted to consolidate his power in Transoxiana. In the second half of the fourteenth century, the khanate split into two sections: the western in Transoxiana, which retained the name *Chagatai* and favored assimilation with the sedentary Muslim population, and the eastern in Semirechie and eastern Turkestan, which did not want to break with the nomadic traditions. The latter became known as Mughalistan and its inhabitants as Mughals (i.e., Mongols). After the death of Kazan Khan in 1347, power in Transoxiana passed to various local Turkic emirs, and the Chagatai khans remained only nominal rulers until Timur (Tamerlane) established his supremacy in 1370.

The term *Chagatai* was also applied, by extension, to the nomadic Turkic and turkicized Mongol population (as distinct from the sedentary Iranian) that inhabited the territory of the Ulus Chagatai and con-

stituted a privileged military caste. The term continued to be used in this sense in the fifteenth century under the rule of the Timurids and was used loosely to designate the entire Turkic population of the Timurid empire. After the collapse of the Timurids, the Chagatai became mixed with the nomadic Uzbeks, but the name was still used as a tribal designation. Moreover, the descendants of Timur who departed from Transoxiana under pressure from the Uzbeks at the beginning of the sixteenth century and founded an empire in India were also called Chagatai.

As an ethnic, tribal designation, *Chagatai* today is applied to a portion to the sedentary population of the Kashka-Darya and Surkhandarya regions of the Uzbek SSR, which is partly Uzbek- and partly Tajik-speaking. The term is also applied to the Eastern Turkic literary language that was formed in the fifteenth century on the territory of the former Ulus Chagatai.

[See also Mongol Empire.]

René Grousset, *The Empire of the Steppes*, translated by Naomi Walford (1970). Gavin Hambly, ed., *Central Asia* (1969). H. H. Howorth, *History of the Mongols* (1876). MARIA E. SUBTELNY

CHAGATAI LITERATURE, a medieval Islamic Central Asian literature written from the fifteenth to the twentieth century in Chagatai, an eastern Turkic literary language that developed from the Karakhanid and Khwarazmian Turkic literary languages. Chagatai literature assumed its classical form in the fifteenth century under the patronage of the princes of the Timurid dynasty (1405–1507), whose realm originally included most of the former Ulus Chagatai. Although the term *Chagatai* was rarely applied to this literature by fifteenth-century authors (who called the language Turki), it later gained currency among both Eastern and Western scholars, particularly in the nineteenth century. Chagatai literature is sometimes also referred to as Old Uzbek, since the modern language most closely related to Chagatai is Uzbek, although the term *pre-Uzbek* would be more accurate.

In its development, Chagatai literature was heavily influenced by Persian models, particularly in poetry. Persian verse forms, romantic themes, and poetical imagery and vocabulary were adopted wholesale. Certain native Turkic verse forms (e.g., *tuyug*) were also made to conform to the Arabo-Persian metrical system. Chagatai prose, on the

Chaghatay Hanlığı

A SEVENTEENTH CENTURY CHAGHATAY TREATISE ON MEDICINE

MADDE TİPİNDEN
SÖZLÜK

László Károly*

11 EYLÜL 2007

Introduction

Chaghatay can be defined as a form of written Turkic used in Central Asia from the fifteenth century up to World War I¹. From this huge period, a great number of written records have come down to us. Thus, scientists are in a relatively favourable position to describe the history of the Turkic communities which used Chaghatay as a literary language. Nevertheless, some areas of their cultural life cannot be examined in detail as they are barely dealt with by the available sources. These areas include medicine: for instance, there is no written record from the Chaghatay period that deals with veterinary medicine².

In spite of the fact that few sources written in Chaghatay contain information about Turkic medical history, there is a unique work which serves as an indispensable source describing late Chaghatay medical history. In comparison with other works, it provides an extremely large amount of material on medicine; however, it is unpublished and almost unknown. The first 12 folios (8v0-14r9) of the treatise were translated into German by Ármin Vámbéry (1867: 164-172). The treatise itself was subsequently mentioned only a few times: some of the more significant works include Thury (1904: 59-60), Eckmann (1964: 378) and Hofman (1969: 271)³.

In the present paper, this treatise will be discussed in detail as an initial, modest step towards the full critical edition⁴.

The Author and His Work

The author of the treatise is Sayyid Subhān Qulī Muḥammad Bahādur, born in 1624 as one of the last members of the famous Astrakhanide dynasty. His ancestors had emigrated from Astrakhan in about 1554 because of the Russian invasion. They founded a dynasty in Transoxiana and then played an important role in Bukhara. Subhān Qulī ruled as khan in this town from 1680 to 1702 (Hofman 1969: 262).

Similarly to many rulers in the Middle Ages, he had a wide range of interests: he patronized every art and science, protected the clerics and dervishes, wrote poetry in Persian and Chaghatay, devoted attention to the hygienic situation by means of his hospitals, gathered together the most important medical books of his time, practised as a physician, and wrote a treatise on medicine (Hofman 1969: 268-271).

The MS of the treatise was discovered by Ármin Vámbéry during his scientific expedition in Central Asia between 1862 and 1864; he found a late copy of the original work in Herat. The MS

* University of Szeged, Department of Altaic Studies, Szeged/HUNGARY. e-mail: laszlokaroly@hotmail.com

Martin Hartmann

Der Islamische Orient

I. Berichte und Forschungen

Amsterdam - 1976, s. 195 - 374.

IRCICA: 4163

MADDE YATIMLANDIKTAN
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

28 TEMMUZ 1997

6 - 10

EIN HEILIGENSTAAT IM ISLAM: DAS ENDE
DER CAGHATAIDEN
UND DIE HERRSCHAFT DER CHOGAS
IN KASGARIEN

I.

Der Verfasser des *tezki-rei' azizân* (Ms. 40)¹⁾ Muhammed Şâdiq geht in dem eigentlichen Werk (über die Einleitung siehe unten in II), das S. 8 Z. 3 mit *ammâ ba'du* beginnt, auf Machdümi A'z'em zurück. Der hinterliess sechzig Nachfolger (Stellvertreter)²⁾, die den Weg lehrten.

¹⁾ Siehe *Die osttürkischen Handschriften der Sammlung Hartmann'* (Mitt. Sem. Or. Spr. VII (1904) Abt. II) S. 5 u. 18 f. Einiges Allgemeine s. in 'Nachträge'.

²⁾ Der Chalifa, heute in Kasgarien *chalpa* gesprochen, ist eine wichtige Persönlichkeit. Er steht zwischen Murid und Pir, ist der Jünger, Adept, der bereits die *tarîqat*, die er vom Pir erhalten, durch Lehren weitergeben kann, wie im Handwerk der Chalfa alle Arbeiten des Meisters macht, nur dass er nicht mit eigenem Material arbeitet. Aus „Vertreter des obersten Lehrers“ (so auch osmanisch; Sämî, *qâmûsi turki* S. 1079 s. v. **تلفه**:

معلمه معاونلك ايدهر ك آشاغى درسده بولنانلره
(تدريس ايدن آدم) wurde es ‚Lehrer‘ im allgemeinen, und ich hörte mehrfach Personen als *chalpatim* bezeichnen (das Pronomen ist hier nicht wirkliche Beziehung, sondern nur Ehrentitel; so wird der Verfasser des *tebât ul' âgizân*, Söfi Allähjâr, in Kasgar gewöhnlich *seperjasotum* genannt; vgl. Choğam; Chenim, osm. *hanym* (ma dame); Igem ist ‚Gott‘ nach Glossar ‚Arabšâhs (Ms. in meinem Besitz); der Buchdrucker Nür Hâgî in Kasgar wird durchaus Nür Hâgim genannt, und so in vielen andern Fällen). Nichts Anderes als ‚Lehrer‘ wird *chalifa* auch sein in dem *chalifat al' arab wal' agam* der Bauinschrift an der Portalruine des Pir-i-‘Âlamdâr in Dâmghân (s. Sarre, *Denkmäler Persischer Baukunst*, Berlin, Wasmuth, Lief. 4, Erläuterung S. 4). Bei genauerer Prüfung der Foto ergab sich mir, dass der Erbauer der Moschee nicht ein Fürst, sondern ein hoher Geistlicher ist: ‚der erhabene Maulâ (Molla), der Lehrer der Araber und Perser, Herr (Sultan) der Richter des Ostens‘ u. s. w. — Eine andere Erklärung von Hâgim s. in Nachträge.

military power for more than a century. Mongol influence continued in government structures as well. Turkic and Mongolian words entered into Persian vocabulary and several Mongol institutions, such as the military governor – *darughā* – and the imperial guard, the *kešig*, lasted through the Safavid dynasty.⁹⁹ A more contentious element of Mongol tradition was the *yasa* (Mongolian: *jasagh*), usually translated as ‘law’ or ‘code’. Scholars disagree over whether or not the *yasa* was a specific set of laws existing as a written document. The precepts preserved deal primarily with military and administrative matters which were tried in the Mongol court, the *yarghu*. By the fourteenth century however the term *yasa* was a general one, encompassing both law and custom (*yosun*). There was considerable disagreement over how much the *yasa* and the *sharīʿa* conflicted. For rulers who adhered to both the Mongol and the Islamic order, like Ghazan Khan and later Tamerlane, there was apparently no contradiction, while scholars hostile to Mongol rule considered the two systems mutually exclusive. Whatever the reality of the *yasa*, as a marker of identity it remained central to Turco-Mongolian government.¹⁰⁰ For centuries the Mongol empire continued to set the standard of imperial power against which all dynasties had to measure themselves, and reference to Mongol ancestry was used in Islamic lands into the nineteenth century.

The Chaghdayid khanate

Transoxania and the Silk Road cities lay within the Chaghdayid khanate, about which we have distressingly little information since the area produced almost no indigenous historical writing. Most of the settled regions were included in the satellite administration created by Ögedei in 1229, which remained in existence for some time after Qubilai’s accession.¹⁰¹ The families of the early officials Maḥmūd Yalavach and Yeh-lü A-hai retained their positions for decades; that of Yalavach until after 1302.¹⁰² Their long tenure suggests that the Chaghdayid administration did not suffer from the vicious bureaucratic infighting that plagued Iran. Political history presents a strong

⁹⁹ Melville, ‘Keshig’.

¹⁰⁰ For recent discussion see: Denise Aigle, ‘Le grand jasaq de Gengis-Khan, l’empire, la culture mongole et la shari’a’, *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 47, 1 (2004), pp. 31–79; David Morgan, ‘The “Great yasa of Chinggis Khan” revisited’, in Arntai and Biran (eds.), *Mongols, Turks and others*, pp. 291–308.

¹⁰¹ The census conducted in Bukhārā about 1265 was at his orders. (Michal Biran, *Qaidu and the rise of the independent Mongol state in Central Asia* (Richmond, 1997), p. 35.)

¹⁰² Biran, *Qaidu*, p. 98; Allsen, ‘Maḥmūd Yalavac’, pp. 122–36.

1974

02 EKİM 2012

MADDE YATIRILAN
SUNRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

Apataylı

THE NEW CAMBRIDGE
HISTORY OF
ISLAM

VOLUME 3

The Eastern Islamic World
Eleventh to Eighteenth Centuries

Edited by

DAVID O. MORGAN

and

ANTHONY REID

Türkiye İslam Vakfı İslam Araştırmaları Merkezi Kütüphane	
Doc. No:	199744
Tas. No:	297.9 NEW.C



175139

HISTORY OF ISLAM

(Classical Period 1206–1900 C.E.)

Volume II

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi Kütüphanesi	
Dem. No:	175139
Tas. No:	2579 HAS.H

PROF. MASUDUL HASAN

Islamic Publications (Pvt.) Ltd.

13-E, Shah Alam Market, Lahore - Pakistan

1988

MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

24 TEM 2008

Chaghtai History

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The Chaghtais 1306-1369 C.E.

Dava

At the dawn of the fourteenth century, Dava was the Chaghtai Khan. He died in 1306 C.E. His rule lasted for thirtytwo years.

Kunjuk

Dava was succeeded by his eldest son Kunjuk. He lacked the brilliance of his father, and failed to have a firm hold on power. He was overthrown in 1308 C.E. by Taliku.

Taliku

Taliku belonged to the house of Mutakan. He was a son of Kadami, a grandson of Mutakan. On accession he became a Muslim. This was resented by the Mongols. In 1309 C.E. within one year of his accession, he was assassinated by his own officers.

Kubak

On the assassination of Taliku, the Mongols installed Kubak on the Chaghtai throne. Kubak was a son of Dava. Dava had allied himself with Kaidu the Khan of Karakuram. Thereafter differences arose between Chapar and the house of Dava. When after the assassination of Taliku power was once again captured by the house of Dava, Chapar attacked the Chaghtais. In the confrontation that followed Chapar was defeated and the territories under Chapar who belonged to the Ogaidai house were annexed by the Chaghtais. That was a great triumph for the Chaghtais.

Isan Buga

Kubak, however, could not enjoy his triumph. Within a year of his accession, in spite of his victory over Chapar, Kubak was overthrown by his brother Isan Buga. In 1418 C.E., Isan Buga invaded Khurasan, but was defeated. That made him unpopular, and availing of this opportunity Kubak came to power again by over-

References :

1. *Cambridge History of Islam.*
2. *History of the Mongols : Bartold Spuler.*
3. *The History of the Mongol Conquests : J. J. Saunders.*
4. *History of the Islamic Peoples : Brockelmann.*

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Gogolay Hanji

6

The Chaghtais 1227-1306 C.E.

Chaghtai

On the death of the Mongol emperor Chenghiz Khan his son Chaghtai was assigned the territories comprising the basin of the Ili in the east, and the valleys of the Oxus and the Jaxartes in the west. The Chaghtai dominions comprised two cultural units. In the western part of the dominions the Muslims were in majority, and they lived in towns and cities. In the eastern part the people were mostly non-Muslims. The people were mostly nomads, and this part comprised very few cities. Chaghtai was a typical Mongol, and he had his capital at Almaligh in the eastern part of his dominions. Almaligh was a typical Mongol city in the valley of the upper Ili near the site of the present day Kulja. The Chaghtai dominions were also known as the "Middle Kingdom", as they lay between the Khanate of Mongolia in the east; the Khanate of the Golden Horde in the west; the Khanate of Siberia in the north; and the Khanate of the Il Khans in the south. During the course of its life the Chaghtai Khanate was distracted by religious differences, and the attacks from the other Mongol states. In the early years of their rule the Chaghtais lost Khawarzem to the Golden Horde. Chaghtai did not favour Islam, but he had to employ Muslims for service under the State particularly in Transoxiana. Chaghtai's Minister was a Muslim known to history as Jamiat-ul-Mulk. Chaghtai ruled for fourteen years and died in 1241.

Kara Halaku

Both Chaghtai and his brother Ogadai the Mongol overlord at Mongolia died in 1241. After the death of Ogadai his widow Turakina became the Regent till the successor of Ogadai could be elected. Chaghtai had four sons; Mutakan; Yasu Mungo; Baidar;

References :

1. *Cambridge History of Islam.*
2. *History of the Islamic Peoples* : Brockelmann.
3. *History of the Mongols* : Bartold Spuler.
4. *The History of the Mongol Conquests* : J. J. Saunders.

ص ۳۱، ۲۲۶؛ نیز به بار تولد^۱، ص ۲۰۵). قلمرو خانات چغتای از نظر جغرافیایی بسیار متنوع بود و از کوهها و جلگه‌های نواحی غربی، که شهرهای پرجمعیتی چون سمرقند و بخارا را دربرمی‌گرفت، تا بیابانها و استپهای نواحی شرقی و شمالی و شهرهای نه چندان آباد را شامل می‌شد. از این رو، تفاوت ژرفی به لحاظ قومی، زبانی، دینی و اقتصادی در دو بخش وجود داشت. همین امر تأثیر بسزایی در تحول تاریخی اولوس چغتای داشت (به حیدر میرزا دوغلات، مقدمه الباس، ص نمود نود و هشت).

پس از مرگ چغتای در ۶۳۸، با نظر اوگتای قآن*، قره‌هولاکو (نوه چغتای) جانشین او شد. در ۶۴۴، گیوک* جانشین اوگتای شد و قره‌هولاکو را از حکومت خلع و یسو، پسر چغتای، را جانشین او کرد (جوینی، ج ۱، ص ۲۲۸-۲۲۹). با به حکومت رسیدن منگوقاآن، یسو از اطاعت او سرپیچید. منگوقاآن نیز او را به دربار باتو تبعید کرد (همان، ج ۳، ص ۵۹).

در این زمان، خاندانهای اوگتای و چغتای فرودستان سیاسی (و دو خاندان تولوی* و جوجی* فرادستان سیاسی) محسوب می‌شدند. موقعیت خاندانهای اوگتای و چغتای سبب نزدیکی آنها شد (به ادامه مقاله).

با برکناری یسو، منگو بار دیگر قره‌هولاکو را به خانی اولوس چغتای منصوب کرد، اما او پیش از آنکه به اردوی خویش برسد، درگذشت. از این رو منگوقاآن، مبارکشا (فرزند خردسال قره‌هولاکو) را جانشین او کرد و نیابتش را به مادر وی، اورقینه‌خاتون، واگذاشت (جوینی، ج ۱، ص ۲۳۰) که ده سال بر اولوس چغتای حکومت کرد. این رویدادها و همچنین آشفتگی در تعیین سرحدات و دخالت‌های خاندان تولوی، خانات چغتای را تضعیف کرده بود (به همان، ج ۱، ص ۳۴-۳۹؛ رشیدالدین فضل‌الله، ج ۱، ص ۵۴۰).

منگوقاآن در ۶۵۶ درگذشت و چون فرزند پسر نداشت، برادرش (اریغ بوکا) جانشین او شد. اریغ بوکا، آغُو (نواده چغتای) را به امارت خانات چغتای برگزید. در کشمکش میان قویلای و اریغ بوکا بر سر جانشینی منگوقاآن، اغو جانب قویلای را گرفت؛ اما پس از مدتی از فرمان او سرپیچید (به رشیدالدین فضل‌الله، همانجا). وی در ۶۶۲ درگذشت و پس از او بار دیگر، مبارکشا به قدرت رسید. وی نخستین فرمانروای این خانات بود که اسلام آورد. اندکی بعد، بَراق خان* (نواده چغتای) با حمایت قویلای بر مبارکشا شورید. براق در ۶۶۳ در اورگند، خزاین مبارکشا را گرفت و بخش غربی اولوس

منطقه قفقاز، تهران وزارت امور خارجه، دفتر مطالعات سیاسی و بین‌المللی، ۱۳۷۲ ش؛ مارسل بازن، *طالش: منطقه‌ای قومی در شمال ایران*، ترجمه مظفر امین فرشچیان، مشهد ۱۳۶۷ ش؛ عباسقلی آقا باکیخاتوف، *گلستان ارم*، چاپ عبدالکریم علیزاده و دیگران، باکو ۱۹۷۰؛ سعیدعلی بُرادگامی، «جواهرنامه لنگران»، در چهار رساله در زمینه تاریخ و جغرافیای تالش، چاپ علی عبدلی، رشت: گیلکان، ۱۳۷۸ ش؛ یاستولویی رابویی، *ولایات دارالمرز ایران: گیلان*، ترجمه جعفر خماسی‌زاده، رشت ۱۳۶۶ ش؛ محمدفتح‌الله بن محمدتقی ساروی، *تاریخ محمدی (احسن‌التواریخ)*، چاپ غلامرضا طباطبائی مجد، تهران ۱۳۷۱ ش؛ محمدتقی بن محمدعلی سپهر، *ناسخ‌التواریخ: تاریخ قاجاریه*، چاپ جمشید کیانفر، تهران ۱۳۷۷ ش؛ صادق صادق، *خاطرات و اسناد مستشارالدوله صادق*، چاپ ایرج افشار، تهران ۱۳۶۱-۱۳۷۴ ش؛ بابا صفری، *اردبیل در گذرگاه تاریخ*، اردبیل ۱۳۷۰-۱۳۷۱ ش؛ فتح‌الله عبدالله‌یف، *گوشه‌ای از مناسبات روسیه و ایران و سیاست انگلستان در ایران در آغاز قرن نوزدهم*، ترجمه غلامحسین متین، تهران [۱۳۵۶ ش]؛ خانک عشقی، *سیاست نظامی روسیه در ایران: ۱۸۱۵-۱۷۹۰*، [تهران] ۱۳۵۳ ش؛ محمدعلی غفاری، *خاطرات و اسناد محمدعلی غفاری (تاریخ غفاری: [ج ۳])*، همراه با اسناد دیوان عدالت عظمی و کتابچه تعدیات حشمت‌الدوله، به کوشش عباس زارعی مهرورز، تهران ۱۳۸۰ ش؛ ابوالحسن غفاری کاشانی، *گلشن مراد*، چاپ غلامرضا طباطبائی مجد، تهران ۱۳۶۹ ش؛ کتاب تاریخی: *گزارش‌های سیاسی وزارت امور خارجه روسیه تزاری درباره انقلاب مشروطه ایران*، ج ۱، ترجمه حسین قاسمیان، به کوشش و ویراستاری احمد بشیری، تهران: نشر نور، ۱۳۶۷ ش؛ احمدبن خدادودی لنگرانی، *اخبارنامه: تاریخ خانات تالش در زمان جنگهای روسیه علیه ایران*، چاپ علی عبدلی، تهران ۱۳۸۰ ش؛ عبدالرزاق‌بن نجفقلی مفتون دبیلی، *مآثر سلطانیه: تاریخ جنگهای ایران و روس*، تبریز ۱۲۰۶ ش، چاپ اقبست تهران ۱۳۵۱ ش؛ میرزاابراهیم، *سفرنامه استرآباد و مازندران و گیلان ...*، چاپ مسعود گلزاری، تهران ۱۳۵۵ ش؛ ابراهیم ناصر دفترروانی، *خاطرات و اسناد ناصر دفتر روانی: انقلاب مشروطیت نهضت جنگل، دوره نامنی خلخال*، به کوشش ایرج افشار و پیروز رزاقی، تهران ۱۳۶۳ ش؛

Eugène Aubin, *La Perse d'aujourd'hui: Iran Mésopotamie*, Paris 1908; Hyacinth Louis Rabino, *Les provinces caspiennes de la Perse: Le Guilan*, Paris 1917.

۱/ علی پورصفر قصابی نژاد /

خانات چغتای، بازماندگان چغتای* که در قلمرو او بر قسمتی از ماوراءالنهر امارت کردند. اولوس چغتای سرزمین وسیعی از حدود اویغور تا سمرقند و بخارا را دربرمی‌گرفت. مرکز آن شهرک فوناس بر کرانه رودخانه ایلی بود (جوینی، ج ۱،

1. Vasily Vladimirovich Barthold

space between the palm groves and the *route nationale* (large groupings and industrial zone). The palm groves, which encompass the town on the east, have been regenerated by the Great Canal (150 km/95 miles) intended to drain the whole of the Oued Rīgh.

Bibliography: Ch. Ferraud, *Les Ben Djellāb, sultans de Touggourt*, in *Rev. Afr.*, Algiers (1879); idem, *Le Sahara constantinois*, Algiers 1877; B. Verlet, *Touggourt et Ouargla, deux fonctions urbaines*, in *Travaux de l'Inst. de Recherches Sahariennes*, Algiers (1960); Cl. Nesson, *Structure agraire et évolution sociale dans les oasis de l'Oued Righ*, in *ibid.*, (1966), 85-127; J.-J. Perennes, *Structures agraires et décolonisation, les oasis de l'Oued R'hir (Algérie)*, Algiers-Paris 1979; A. Amiche, *L'espace urbain de Touggourt (Oued Righ), étude d'aménagement*, diss. Univ. of Provence 1994, unpubl. (M. CÔTE)

TUGH (ت), amongst the early Turks an emblem of royal authority, a standard or a drum (the former being used as a battle-flag and a rallying-point on the battle-field), known from the time of the Türgesh or Western Turks in Transoxania (see below) and of the Uyghurs.

1. In older Turkish usage.

The traditional old Turkish standard was a horse's tail or a bunch of horse hair on a pole, or, in the regions of Inner Asia adjacent to Tibet, the tail of a yak (*kuşās*). A great ruler would be described as having nine *tughs*, the maximum (*tokuz tughlugh khān*). Mahmūd al-Kāshgharī, *Dīwān lughāt al-turk*, tr. Atalay, iii, 127, tr. Dankoff and Kelly, ii, 213, defines *tugh* as (1) a drum beaten in the ruler's presence, i.e. as what would in later Islamic times be described as the *nauba* [see *NAKĀRA-KHĀNA* and *ṬABL-KHĀNA*] (such great drums, *körgä*, were later used by the Mongols as rallying-points in battle, see Doerfer, i, 473-5 no. 339); and (2) an *alam*, with the ruler's nine standards made of brocade or orange silk. This last definition must reflect Chinese influence. In fact, Clauson takes *tugh* to be a loan word from Chinese *tu* "banner". Middle Chinese *dok*, and the borrowing must have taken place early. The historian al-Ṭabarī speaks of the *tūkāt al-turk*, those of the *Khākān* of the Turks which Arab scouts saw (*āyana*) when the commander Asad b. 'Abd Allāh was campaigning in *Khuttal* in the upper Oxus region [see *KHUTTALĀN*] in 119/737 (ii, 1598, cf. also 1611, 1616). Whether the meaning here is flags or horse tails' emblems does not emerge from the context with certainty, but al-Ṭabarī's source might have been expected to have used the familiar term *a'lām* if ordinary flags had been intended.

The word passed from the various Turkish languages into Mongolian as *tukh/tuk* in the sense of "battle-flag" and even as far as Tibetan (as *thug*) and Tungusic languages. Regarding Mongol usage, Marco Polo states that a corps of 100,000 of the Great *Khān*'s troops is called a *tuc*, just as one of 10,000 is called a *toman* [see *TŪMĀN*. 1.] (Yule-Cordier, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, London 1903, i, 261, cf. 263-4). Finally, one may mention that Turkish soldiers brought the term into the history of the Indian Subcontinent in that the commander Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tughluq (*tughluk* "the man with the *tugh*") was in the early 8th/14th century the founder of the Tughluqid line [q.v.] of Dihlī Sultans (see A. von Le Coq, *Türkische Namen und Titel in Indien*, in *Aus Indiens Kultur. Festsache R. von Garbe*, Erlangen 1927, 2).

Bibliography: See on the early usage of *tughs* and on the linguistic aspects, Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, ii, 618-22 no. 969; Clauson, *An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth century Turkish*, 464. See also *IA* art. *Tuğ* (Bahaeddin

Ügel) (mainly concerned with early usages, and does not cover the Ottomans).

2. In Ottoman usage.

Under the early Ottomans, the *tugh* continued to be an emblem of royalty and vicereignty, with the sultans themselves campaigning under their banners (sometimes having on them a crescent moon emblem, amongst several others, see *HILĀL*. ii, at Vol. III, 383b-384a and Figs. 17-19) and as many as seven or nine *tughs*, horse tails suspended from a pole surmounted by a golden ball. Those to whom royal authority had been delegated had a lesser number of *tughs*. *Sandjak beyis* and *mīr-liwās* had one *tugh*; *beylerbeyis*, two; viziers, both the *kubbe vezīrs* [q.v.] of the Imperial *Dīwān* and provincial ones, three; and the Grand Vizier, five.

Bibliography: For older bibl., see *EF* art. s.v. (Cl. Huart); also Pakalın, iii, 522-5; Gibb and Bowen, i, 139-40. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

✓ **TUGHLUK TEMÜR** (d. 764/1363), Çağatayid [q.v.] *khān* in Central Asia. The fullest source of information, though largely concerned with his conversion to Islam, is the 10th/16th-century *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* of Mīrzā Ḥaydar Dughlāt, who reproduces a Mongol tradition that his ancestor, the *amīr* Puladçi, had brought Tughluk Temür from the *Qalmaq* country and enthroned him as *khān* of Çağatay's *ulus* at the age of eighteen (ca. 752/1351). But whereas Ḥaydar names as his father the *khān* Esen Buka (d. ca. 718/1318), which is chronologically impossible, a 9th/15th-century genealogical work, the *Mu'izz al-ansāb*, makes Tughluk Temür the son of Esen Buka's younger brother Emil *Kh'ādja* (Koča). Tughluk Temür ruled over the eastern tracts of Çağatay's *ulus*, the region still dominated by nomads and barely touched by Islam, and known as *Jata* or *Mogholistān* [q.v.] to distinguish it from *Mā warā' al-nahr* [q.v.], which was governed by other Çağatayid *khāns*; the division of the *ulus* into two rival *khānates* dated from not long before Tughluk Temür's own accession. Tughluk Temür's conversion may not have been as complete as Ḥaydar suggests: he is known to have sent to Tibet for a Buddhist teacher at some time after 1360 (*The Blue Annals*, tr. G.N. Roerich, Calcutta 1949-53, ii, 504).

Tughluk Temür twice invaded *Mā warā' al-nahr*, in Rabī' II 761/March 1360 and in *Djumādā* I 762/March 1361: on both occasions he received the submission of local *amīrs*, including the future conqueror *Tīmūr* (Temür), whom he appointed as governor of *Kish* (*Shahr-i Sabz*). On the second expedition, Tughluk Temür advanced as far as *Qunduz* and the *Hindū Kush* before retiring again to *Mogholistān*. His harsh conduct, and that of his commanders, in *Mā warā' al-nahr* had in any case alienated *Tīmūr* among others. *Tīmūrid* chroniclers differ as to the date of Tughluk Temür's death, Yazdī (ed. Ilaḥdad, 87; ed. Urunbaev, fol. 107b) implying 765/1364, while *Natanzī* (125) confirms the year 764 supplied by Ḥaydar. He was buried in *Almaligh* [q.v.]. His son Ilyās *Kh'ādja*, whom he had left as his deputy in *Mā warā' al-nahr*, was recalled to succeed him, but was himself murdered, together with most of his brothers, by the *Dughlāt amīr* *Qamar al-Dīn*. The later *khāns* of *Mogholistān* claimed descent from *Khidr Kh'ādja*, allegedly an infant son of Tughluk Temür who had escaped the massacre.

Bibliography: Mīrzā Ḥaydar Dughlāt, *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, tr. E.D. Ross, with commentary and notes by N. Elias, *A history of the Moghuls of Central Asia*, London 1898, tr. 5-15, 23, 38-9; *Nizām-i Shāmī*, *Ẓafar-nāma*, ed. F. Tauer, Prague 1956, i, 15-16, 18-19; *Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī*, *Ẓafar-nāma*, ed.

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