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and Zābulistān [*q.v.*]. Šālih was captured and killed by the end of 250/early 865, and the Zunbīl defeated and killed in battle in the region of al-Rukhkhadj [*q.v.*], that of the later Kāndahār (251/865). A major campaign in 256/869-70 took Ya'kūb as far as Kābul, Bāmiyān and Pandjīhīr, having marched through Zābulistān via Ghazna, in pursuit of the son of the former Zunbīl. A further campaign into Zābulistān first secured the capture of the Zunbīl's son at the fortress of Nāy Lāmān (nothing more is heard of his fate) and then pushed on northwards to Balkh, where Ya'kūb captured the city from its ruler, Dāwūd b. Abī Dāwūd [see BĀNDJŪRĪDS, in Suppl.]. These conquests also gave Ya'kūb temporary control of the silver mines of Pandjīhīr and Badakhshān [*q.v.*], and coins of his were minted there from 259/872-3 to 261/874-5. These Šaffārid activities in eastern Afghānistān spelt the end of the dynasty of Zunbīls who had blocked expansion of the Arabs there for some two centuries, and the Islamisation of that region, including the Kābul valley (but not the lands to its north, Kāfiristān [*q.v.*] now presumably took shape.

Ya'kūb was now ready to attack the Tāhirids [*q.v.*], nominal suzerains over Sistān as governors of the East for the 'Abbāsids, although they had not in fact exercised any control over Sistān since 239/854. There were clashes in the frontier zone of western Afghānistān where the spheres of Šaffārid and Tāhirid authority met, possibly over taxation, and in 253/867 Ya'kūb attacked Harāt and Pūshang, capturing various of the Tāhirīyya (members of the family or their partisans?). Negotiations over their release brought Ya'kūb into direct contact with the 'Abbāsid caliphs for the first time, and al-Mu'tazz was compelled to award Ya'kūb the governorship of Fārs if he could secure it, explicit recognition for the first time of Ya'kūb's rising power in the East. In 259/873, however, Ya'kūb was ready for a final onslaught on the Tāhirids' capital, Nīshāpūr, at a moment when Tāhirid authority was already being weakened in Khurāsān by pressure from the Zaydī Shī'īs of Ṭabaristān and their Daylamī allies. Ya'kūb entered the city in Shawwāl 259/August 873 without striking a blow, captured Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir II b. 'Abd Allāh [*q.v.*], and advanced into the Caspian coastlands, pursuing the Zaydī Imām al-Ḥasan b. Zayd [*q.v.*]. The 'Abbāsid caliph protested mildly in that same year at Ya'kūb's annexation of Khurāsān, and more vigorously in 261/874, when 'Ubayd Allāh b. 'Abd Allāh b. Ṭāhir I assembled the pilgrims from northern and eastern Persia at Baghdād, denounced Ya'kūb's actions as being without caliphal authority and absolving them from allegiance to him.

Ya'kūb's considered response was to spend the next two years consolidating his position in Kirmān, Fārs and Khūzistān in southern Persia, having temporarily taken over Fārs in 255/869 though unable to hold it whilst he was involved with the affairs of Khurāsān and the Caspian provinces. But in 261/875 Ya'kūb re-appeared in Fārs, defeated the local chief Muḥammad b. Wāṣil, and moved westwards to Rāmhurmuz and Khūzistān, thereby threatening Lower 'Irāk and making feasible a junction with the Zandj [*q.v.*] rebels there against the caliphate (in practice, Ya'kūb rejected overtures from the Zandj leader 'Alī b. Muḥammad, but the appearance of the Šaffārid armies undoubtedly bolstered the Zandj cause indirectly). The panic-stricken caliph al-Mu'tamid offered Ya'kūb a vast array of governorships if he would halt his advance, but the latter refused and advanced into 'Irāk. However, in a battle near Dayr al-'Ākūl [*q.v.*] on the Tigris (9 Radjab 262/8 April 876), Ya'kūb's army was decisively de-

feated, abandoning his baggage and allowing various of his captives, including Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir, to escape. The threat to Baghdād was thus lifted. Ya'kūb spent the last three years of his life in Khūzistān and Fārs, still spurning an alliance with the Zandj, and died of an abdominal malady in Shawwāl 275/June 879. He was succeeded as ruler over the Šaffārid empire by his brother 'Amr b. al-Layth [*q.v.*].

Ya'kūb's meteoric rise and the great empire of military conquest which he assembled mark the first breach in the fabric of the united 'Abbāsid caliphate, for Ya'kūb dismissed the "caliphal fiction" where by all local rulers, however much autonomy they enjoyed in practice, acknowledged their authority as arising from an act of caliphal delegation. The provincial Persian Ya'kūb, on the other hand, rejoiced in his plebeian origins, denounced the 'Abbāsids as usurpers, and regarded both the caliphs and such governors from aristocratic Arab families as the Ṭāhirids with contempt. Frugal in his mode of life and a fearless military commander, Ya'kūb was sceptical in questions of inherited power and social prestige, and was an exponent of *Realpolitik*. He cannot have taken seriously the attempts of the eulogists, who inevitably gathered in his entourage, to link the obscure Layth family with the Sāsānid emperors and the mythical first kings of Persia, nor is it at all certain whether we should regard the scraps of verse in New Persian emanating from his circle as showing Sistān as a cradle of the New Persian literary revival [see MUḤAMMAD B. WAŠIF].

*Bibliography:* 1. Sources. The main ones are Ya'kūbī, *Tārīkh*; Ṭabarī; Ibn (Abī) al-Azhar (in Ibn Khallikān's extensive biography of Ya'kūb, ed. 'Abbās, vi, 402 ff., tr. de Slane, iv, 301 ff.); Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*; Gardīzī and Ibn al-Athīr (both using the lost history of the governors of Khurāsān by Muḥammad al-Sallām [*q.v.*]); Djūzjdjānī and, above all, the anonymous local history, the *Tārīkh-i Sistān*.

2. Studies. The pioneering study was that of Th. Nöldeke, *Yakub der Kupferschmied und seine Dynastie*, in his *Orientalische Skizzen*, Berlin 1892, 187-217, Eng. tr. *Sketches from oriental history*, London and Edinburgh 1892, 172-206. The early career of Ya'kūb is treated in detail by C.E. Bosworth in *Sistān under the Arabs, from the Islamic conquest to the rise of the Šaffārids (30-250/651-864)*, Rome 1968, 109-21, and his career of conquest in idem, *The history of the Šaffārids of Sistān and the Maliks of Nimruz (247/861 to 949/1542-3)*, Costa Mesa and New York 1994, 67-180. See also idem, in *Camb. hist. Iran*, iv, 106-16; *The New Islamic dynasties*, Edinburgh 1996, 172-3 no. 84; and ŠAFFĀRIDIS.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

**YA'KŪB BEG**, Muḥammad, ruler of Kāshghar 1282-94/1865-77.

He was born in 1820, or rather 1826-7, in Pīshkend near Tāshkend. His father was Pīr Muḥammad Mīrzā (or Muḥammad Laṭīf), who claimed descent from Tīmūr. Originally from Karatigīn [*q.v.*], he became *kādī* of Kurama and moved on to Pīshkend in 1234/1818. Ya'kūb Beg's mother was the sister of the influential Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn, who tutored Ya'kūb Beg in his youth. Traditionally, he should have become a *mullā*, but instead through his brother-in-law, Nūr Muḥammad Khān, governor of Tāshkend, he joined the Khoḳand army, and in 1261-2/1845, with the rank of *kosh-begi* [*q.v.*] was entrusted with the defence of Aḳ-Masjdīd. Here he married a Kīpčaḳ woman from Juelik, who bore him his first son, Beg Kulī Beg, in 1265/1848. In 1270/1853 he had to abandon

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dıkları için” (tarafımızdan vurgulanmıştır), kendisinden Müslüman tebaasının ve izleyicilerinin yardımına koşmasını ve İslâmî hayat tarzlarını yok olmaktan kurtarmasını istedi.<sup>42</sup>

Tahttaki Osmanlı Sultanı ve Halifesi Abdülaziz nihayet Comoro (Komor) Adaları'ndaki Henzevan hükümdarına bir elçi göndererek adadaki Müslümanları rahatlatmasını ve güvenliklerini sağlamasını tavsiye etti.<sup>43</sup>

### YAKUB BEY'İN OSMANLI SULTANLARIYLA İLİŞKİLERİ: YENİ BİR YORUM

Yakub Bey (1820-77), Doğu Türkistan'da (Sincan, Sinkiang), merkezi Kaşgar ve Yarkend'de bulunan bağımsız bir devlet kurduğu ve kendisine Osmanlı halife ve padişahu tarafından verilen bey, atalık gazi, badevlet ve son olarak da emir (ü'l-Müminin) unvanları altında bu devlete hükmettiği günlerden beri, bilim adamlarının epey dikkatini çekmiştir. Bazı bilim adamları Yakub Bey'i, Orta Asya'daki siyasi karışıklıkları fırsat bilerek iktidarı ele geçirmek ve ondan sonra daha yüksek Müslüman forumlarından destek ve meşruiyet arayarak bir hanedan kurmak isteyen –Hindistan'daki Tipu tipinde– bir sergüzeştçi olarak görmüşlerdir. Ne var ki, son zamanlarda bu hükümdarla ilgili olarak yapılan çalışmalar değişik yorumlar getirmiş ve daha olumlu sonuçlara ulaşmıştır. Yakub Bey, Nadir Şah'la karşılaştırılmakta ve egemen bir devlet ve modern bir yönetim kurmuş olmakla tanınmakta ve itibar görmektedir.<sup>44</sup> Çalışmamızın bu kesimi, mahallî hanedan çekişmeleri,

42 A.g.b.

43 Ibid., 12 Ocak 1865 tarihli muhtıra.

44 Yakub Bey hakkındaki klasik eser şudur: Demetrius Charles Boulger, *The Life of Yakooob Beg; Athalik Ghazi, and Badaulet; Ameer of Kashgar* (Londra, 1878); ayrıca bkz. Boulger, *Central Asian Portraits: The Celebrities of the Khanates and the Neighbouring States* (Londra, 1880). Daha yakın zamanlara ait objektif değerlendirmeler için bkz. Ho-dong Kim, “The Muslim Rebellion and the Kashgar Emirate in Chinese Central Asia, 1864-1877,” doktora tezi, Harvard Üniversitesi, 1986 ve G.J.Alder, *British India's Northern Frontier, 1865-1895* (Londra, 1963). Ek literatür için bkz. Wen-Djang Chu, *The Moslem Rebellion in Northwest China, 1862-1878* (Lahay, 1966); Henry Trotter, “The Amir Yakub Khan and Eastern Turkistan in the Mid-Nineteenth Century,” *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society* 4, 4. kısım (1917): 95-112; Tsing

uluslararası ilişkiler ve İslâm bağlamında Yakub Bey'in faaliyetlerine toplumsal ve ideolojik bir yaklaşımla bakarak onu yeni bir Müslüman hükümdar tipi olarak yeniden değerlendirme çabalarına bir katkıda bulunmak amacını taşımaktadır.

Yakub Bey mütevazı bir kökenden geliyordu. İktidarını, Andican tacirleri gibi, mahallî sivil grupların ve genel nüfusun desteğine borçluydu. Yakub Bey gerçekten de, İstanbul'daki halife-sultanın, Müslüman ümmetinin başı olarak, her şeyden önce kendi menfaatlerini düşünen gelgeç mahallî hanedanlardan –görkemli geçmişlerine rağmen– çok daha güçlü ve güvenilir bir kaynak teşkil ettiğini gören veya sezebilen yeni tip bir Müslüman devlet adamıydı. Hocalar olarak bilinen o hanedanlar, aslında laik hükümdarın danışmanı olan Hoca Ah-rar ile 15. yüzyılda başladı. Ama torunları bizzat hükümdar oldular. Asya ve Afrika'daki birçok hükümdarlar gibi, Yakub Bey de İstanbul'daki halifeyle kuracağı ittifakın Hocaların nüfuzunu kıracağına ve kendi tahtını emniyet altına alacağına inandı.

Doğu Türkistan, Müslüman Türkî kimliğini daha 8. yüzyılda edindi ve bunu izleyen yüzyıllar boyunca Türklüğün bir çeşit edebî, dinsel ve dinsel beşiği haline geldi. Doğu Türkistan'ı öteden beri topraklarının ayrılmaz bir parçası olarak değil de, daha çok savunma amaçlı bir ileri karakol olarak görmüş olan Çinliler, Moğolların –Cengiz Han'ın soyundan gelenler– egemenliği sırasında bölgedeki kontrollerinin büyük bir kısmını kaybettiler. Sonunda, 15. ve 16. yüzyıllarda Cengiziler çeşitli muhalif gruplara bölündüler, ardından da Peygamber'in soyundan geldiklerini iddia eden dinsel eğilimli Hocalar gerek Doğu gerek Batı Türkistan hükümdarları üzerinde tedricen nüfuz ve iktidar kazan-

Yuan, “Yakub Beg (1820-1877) and the Moslem Rebellion in Chinese Turkistan,” *Central Asiatic Journal* 6 (1961): 134-67; G. Macartney, “Eastern Turkistan: The Chinese Rulers over an Alien Race,” *Proceedings of the Central Asian Society* (Mart 10, 1909); Robert B. Shaw, “Central Asia in 1872,” *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 16 (Session of 1871-1872) (Londra, 1872): 395-409; Ch'en-ching Lung, “Çin ve Batı Kaynaklarına göre 1828 İsyanlarından Yakub Bey'e Kadar Doğu Türkistan Tarihi,” doktora tezi, Ankara Üniversitesi, 1967; Akdes, Nimet Kurat, “Atalık Gazi Yakub Bek” (elyazması, 1930, İstanbul Türkîyat Enstitüsü Kütüphanesi); ve Ram Lakhan Shukla, *Britain, India and the Turkish Empire, 1853-1882* (Yeni Delhi, 1973).