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AZERBAIJAN'DA 'DİVÂNÜ LÜGHÂTİ'T-TÜRK'ÜN TÜRKÇE'YE ÇEVİRİLMESİNE İLK KATKIYI SUNAN MUHSİN İBRAHİMÎ

© Ali Şamil Hüseyinoğlu

Azerbaycan Bilimler Akademisi Folklor Enstitüsü, Bakü, Azerbaycan

MUHSİN İBRAHİMÎ: PIONEER OF THE FIRST TURKIC TRANSLATION OF "DİVÂNÜ LUGHÂT AL-TURK" IN AZERBAIJAN

Keywords: Muhsin İbrahimi, "Dîwānu Lughāt al-Turk", Mahmud Kaşgari, scholars, Turks.

Abstract: The 19th century was a century of significant administrative and military changes in the Ottoman Empire. These developments at the state level naturally reflected in social life and literature. Mehmed Esad Muhlis Pasha, who never ceased to engage in art and literature alongside his administrative duties, was one of the prominent figures of this century. Raised with a Sufi education due to his family's background, Esad Muhlis Pasha also developed himself within the bureaucracy, becoming a respected bureaucrat through his various roles in state affairs. Today, we have a Dîvânçe of Esad Muhlis Pasha, whose acumen and merit in his statesmanship can also be felt in his poetry. When we examine his poems, written in various poetic forms, we encounter a poetic world nourished by tradition and reflecting the social and political developments of his time. Until now, studies on Esad Muhlis Pasha's art and poetry have utilized the lithograph edition of his Dîvânçe. This article aims to introduce the manuscript of his Dîvânçe in the author's handwriting and another manuscript copied from the lithograph edition, while exploring the poetic universe of Esad Muhlis Pasha.

Giriş

Hayatını kültürümüzün öğrenilmesine, korunmasına ve tanıtılmasına adan Ali Emiri, 1914 yılında eski kitapların satıldığı bir sahaf dükkânından aldığı elyazması ile adını ölümsüzleştirmiştir. Ali Emiri, kitabı görür görmez ne kadar değerli olduğunu anlayarak onu büyük bir özenle korumuştur. Bu eser,



Muhsin İbrahimî

11. yüzyılda yaşamış Kaşgarlı Mahmud'un "Divânü Lügâti't-Türk" adlı eseriydi.

"Divânü Lügâti't-Türk"ün Ali Emiri'nin elinde bulunduğuna dair haber, kısa süre içinde İstanbul aydınlarının dikkatini çekmiştir. Ancak kimse bu eseri ondan alıp okuyup inceleyememiştir. Bunun üzerine aydınlar, durumu Osmanlı Devleti'nin Baş Nazırı Talat Paşa'ya iletmışlerdir. Birinci Dünya Savaşı'nın tüm dünyayı kasıp kavurduğu ve Osmanlı Devleti'nin tüm gücünü savaşa verdiği bu dönemde, Talat Paşa kitabın değerini ve konunun ciddiyetini anlayarak, Ali Emiri'den eserin yayımlanmasına izin vermesini rica etmiştir.

İyice düşündükten sonra, Ali Emiri, ünlü bilim insanı Rıfat Kilisli'nin "Divânü Lügâti't-

Türk"ün kopyasını almasına ve yayımlamasına izin vermiştir. Ardından Rıfat Kilisli, 1915–1917 yılları arasında eser üzerinde çalışarak onu matbaa usulüyle yayımlamıştır. Savaş ve kargaşa dolu yıllarda, insanların geleceklerinden endişe duydukları ve hayatları için korktukları bir dönemde, Türk aydınlarının tarihlerine ve milli kimliklerine sahip çıkarak "Divânü Lügâti't-Türk"ü yayımlamaları gerçekten takdire şayandır.

Azerbaycan ise 100 yıldan fazla bir süredir Rusya'nın boyunduruğu altındaydı. Birinci Dünya Savaşı sırasında Azerbaycan, Osmanlı Devleti ile savaşan Rusya İmparatorluğu'na bağlı olduğu için Azerbaycanlıların Osmanlı'ya gitmeleri kısıtlanmıştı. Savaş sona erdikten sonra ekonomik ve kültürel ilişkiler yeniden canlanmaya başlamıştır.

Kaşgarlı Mahmud'un "Divânü Lügâti't-Türk" eserini Azerbaycan'da ilk kez yayımlayan Ramiz Asker, şöyle yazmaktadır:

Ancak şunu söylememiz yeterli olacaktır ki, Divan'ın Azerbaycan dilinde neşri, Türkiye'den yaklaşık 60 yıl, Özbeklerden 40 yıl, Uygurlardan 20 yıl ve Kazaklardan 10 yıl sonra gerçekleşmiştir. Oysa Divan'ın Azerbaycan dilinde yayımlanan ilk tercümesi, geçen yüzyılın 30'lu yıllarında yapılmıştır. Aynı dönemde Divan hakkında bazı araştırmalar da yapılmıştır. Daha 1924 yılında ünlü edebiyat araştırmacısı Henefi Zeynalli, Divan ve Kaşgarlı Mahmud hakkında kendi görüşlerini belirtmiştir. 1926 yılında Bakü'de düzenlenen 1. Türkoloji Kongresi'nde, Bekir Çobanzade (1893–1937) Divan'ın materyalleri üzerinden Türk şivelerinin yakın akrabalığı hakkında bir bildiri sunmuştur.

Çobanzade, Ferhad Ağayev ile birlikte yazdığı Türk grameri üzerine bahsederken, yeri geldikçe Divan'dan söz etmiştir (Əsgər 2008:13).

1919–1926 yıllarında İstanbul Darülfünun'da öğrenim görmüş ve “Azeri Türklerinin Edebiyatı” (Əhmədov, Şamil 2020) konusunda doktora tezi yazmış Azerbaycanlı Emin Abid, Türkiye’de yazmayı planladığı 6 ciltlik “Azerbaycan Türklerinin Edebiyatı Tarihi” (Şamil, Ahmedov 2016) adlı eserinin birinci cildinde de, Bakü’de yayımladığı “Hece Vezni’nin Tarihi (Edebiyat Teorisi Üzerine)” (Abid 1927: 3 (23), 4 (24), 6–7 (26–27) ve “Türk Halkları Edebiyatında Mani Nevi ve Azerbaycan Bayatılarının Özellikleri (Beş bin bayatı-mani üzerinde yapılmış bir incelemedir)” (Abid 1930: 4–5 (9–10) makalelerinde de Kaşgarlı Mahmud’un “Divânü Lügâti’t-Türk” eserlerinden yararlanmıştır.

Emin Abid, ister atasözlerini, ister mani ve bayatları, isterse Alp Er Tonga destanını analiz ederken “Divânü Lügâti’t-Türk”ten (DLT) yararlanmıştır. Dikkate değer bir nokta ise, o dönemde DLT’nin Azerbaycan’da henüz Türkçe’ye çevrilmemiş olmasıdır. Örneklerde gösterilen kaynakçalardan anlaşılmaktadır ki, metinleri Emin Abid kendisi çevirmiştir.

Muhsin İbrahimî’nin 1924 yılında Bakü’de Latin alfabesinde neşredilen “Yeni Yol” gazetesinde Mirza Muhsin imzası ile yayımladığı beş makaleden şu kanıya varılabilir ki, araştırmacı, Kaşgalı Mahmud ve DLT’ni tanıtmakla kalmamış, DLT’yi çevirmeye de gayret etmiş. Bu, Azerbaycan’da “Divânü Lügâti’t-Türk”ün tercümesine yönelik yapılmış ilk girişimdir (Hüseynoğlu 2008: 58).

Mirza Muhsin İbrahimî kimdir?

Mirza Muhsin İbrahimî’nin hayatının ve edebî kişiliğinin pek bilinmemesinin bir sebebi onun her zaman KGB baskısı altında olması ise, ikinci sebebi de onun kendini ve eserlerini tanıtmaya meyilli olmamasıdır.

Azerbaycan tarihinin 20. yüzyıl belgeleri esasında araştıran Adalet Tahirzade, Muhsin İbrahimî hakkında şöyle yazmaktadır: “Adı bir sıra belgelerde “Mövsün”, “Mövsüm”, “Mirza Mövsüm han”, “Mirza Möhsün han” olarak not edilmiş İbrahimzade gibi bir filologumuzun hayatı ve edebî kişiliği hakkında maalesef ki şimdiye kadar bir yazı yazılmamıştır” (Mərdanov, Tahirzadə 2019: 411).

Azerbaycan’da imzaların değerli araştırmacısı Gulam Memmedli, Muhsin İbrahimî’nin bir kaç makalesinin yayımlandığı eserleri göstermiştir (Məmmədli 1977: 72). Ancak kitabın genişletilmiş yayımında (Məmmədli, Əliyeva 2010: 275) Muhsin İbrahimî hakkında ek bilgi verilmemiştir.

Adalet Tahirzade şu şekilde yazmaktadır: “İbrahimzade Paris Üniversitesi mezunudur. İlk ve son faaliyeti hakkında elimizde bilgi yok. Bildiklerimiz aşğıdakılardan ibarettir.

Azerbaycan Cumhuriyeti döneminde o, Halk Maarif Nazırı Hamit Bey Şahtatinski'nin 10 şubat 1920 yılı tarihli 52 sayılı emri ile Bakı Darülmüallimini'nde (Erkek Öğretmenler Kolejinde) 3 Şubat'tan itibaren muallim olarak atanmış ve bu konuda ona 15 Şubat'ta 2226 sayılı bildiri mektubu gönderilmiş.

O, 10 Ocak 1921 yılından Bakü'de öğretmen hazırlayan Farsça kurslarında öğretmen olarak çalışmıştır.

1924 yılında onu Azerbaycan Erkek Öğretmenler Enstitüsü'nün Fars edebiyatı tarihi öğretmeni olarak görmekteyiz.

Elimizde 15 Ekim 1926 tarihinde Yüksek Pedagoji Enstitüsü'ne Öğretim Görevlisi olarak kabul edilmeden önce doldurduğu “şahsi kitapçası” ve “şahsi sayfası” bulunmaktadır. Kitapça ve sayfa sayesinde Mirza Muhsin İbrahimzade'nin (İbrahimî) 1878 senesinde Tebriz'de doğduğunu öğrenmekteyiz. Ana dili Türkçedir, Türkçe dışında Farsça, Fransızca, Arapça da serbest konuşabilmektedir. Bunların yanı sıra Farsça, Fransızca, Almanca, İngilizce ve Rusça yazmaktadır. İki bilimsel araştırma ve çalışma için yabancı ülkelerden Avusturya, Almanya, İsviçre, Belçika, Hollanda, Fransa ve İngiltere'de bulunmuştur. Memur ve sanatçıdır, yüksek tahsillidir, Fransa'da “Alyans Fransız”da yüksek felsefe ve hukuk kurslarında okumuştur. Genel olarak felsefe, hukuk, edebiyat ve dil bilimi öğrenmiş, ihtisası edebiyat ve dilbilimidir. Aynı ihtisas üzerine 25 sene çalışmış (onların 20 senesi Bakü'de geçmiştir). Yüksek Pedagoji Enstitüsü'ne gelmeden önce Darülfünunda çalışmış, vazifesi muallimdir. Evli ve iki çocuk babasıdır. Büyük Minare sokağı¹ No.12'de yaşamıştır. Hiç bir parti mensubu olmamış; devrimci ve sosyal faaliyetlerde bulunmamıştır. 1920 yılından itibaren Maarif Hizmetlileri İttifakı'nın üyesidir. İran tebaasıdır.

Azerbaycan Halk Maarif Komiseri Mustafa Guliyev'in 20 Kasım 1926 tarihli 119 sayılı emri ile “yoldaş Mirza Muhsin İbrahimzade” 15 Ekim'den itibaren Yüksek Pedagoji Enstitüsü'ne müdür olarak atanmıştır (Mərdanov, Tahirzade 2019: 411). Adalet Tahirzade'nin aynı çalışmasına göre, Ali Şamil, Muhsin Bey'in Kaşgarlı Mahmud'un “Divânü Lügâti't-Türk” eserinin Azerbaycan Türkçesine tercüme edilmesine dair araştırma yapan ilk araştırmacı olduğunu da belirtmiştir (Mərdanov, Tahirzade 2019: 411).

Muhsin İbrahimî, Kaşgarlı Mahmud Hakkında

Muhsin İbrahimî “Kaşgarlı Mahmud” makalesini şu sözlerle başlar:

“Miladi 11. yüzyılda büyük bir Türk filologunun Araplara Türkçeyi öğretmek amacı ile Türkçenin eski şivesinde yazmış olduğu “Divânü Lügâti't-Türk”, Türk

¹ Günümüzde Asef Zeynalli sokağı olarak geçer.

dili ve edebiyatı için büyük önem taşır. İncelemelerde tespit edildiğine göre, Macar Bilim Komisyonu Dil Bilimi Şubesi 13.yüzyılın sonunda kaleme alınmış Türkçe kitaplar hakkında yazılmış bir muhtırada en eski Arapça Türkçe olmak üzere “Divânü Lügâti’t-Türk” isminde bir eserin mevcudiyetini Türk alimi Katib Çelebi’ye atfen haber vermektedir. Gerçekten de, Katib Çelebi “Keşfü’z-zunûn an esâmi’l-kütübi ve’l-fünûn” adlı eserinde mezkur divandan azıcık malumat vermektedir “Divânü Lügâti’t-Türk”ün müellifi: Mahmud ibni Hüseyin ibni Muhammeddir” (Osmanlı, Qasımlı 2004: 73–74).

Muhsin İbrahimî’nin makalesindeki “464 seneyi hicriyenin semadil-ula kuresinde yazılmaya başlanarak 466 cemadil ihrsasının onuncu pazar ertesi günü bitirmiş olduğunu ve “Abdülkasım Abdullah ibni Muhammedi Mukredi bi emirullah halifeyi Abbasi’ye hediye edilmiştir ir” cümlesi bu gün önemsiz görünebilir. Ama 1924 yılında oldukça önemli bilgi sayılmakta idi.

Araştırmacı ilk makalesinde dikkati Kaşgarlı Mahmud’un ön sözüne yöneltmiştir. O, şöyle yazmaktadır: “Kitabın mukaddimesinde söylendiği gibi bu Türk oğlu Türk; Türk elleri, Türk obaları ve Türk bozkırlarını karış karış gezmiş, dolaşmıştır. Sonra Türk şivelerini toplamış ve uzun incelemeler sonrasında eseri yazmıştır” (Osmanlı, Qasımlı 2004: 73–74). Bu da sebepsiz değildir. Başka kaynakçalarda Kaşgarlı Mahmud ve onun eseri hakkında bilgi olmadığı için araştırmacı esas kaynak olarak “Divânü Lügâti’t-Türk”ü görmektedir. Arapçayı, bilim ve kültürünü “pek iyi bilen” yazarı, “Türk tarihi ve coğrafyasına efsanelerine ve halk edebiyatına “iyiden iyi aşına” olan biri olarak değerlendirmektedir. Eseri ise bir lügat kitabı telif ettiği halde bir çok deyimleri, sarf kaidelerini, şiirleri, hikmetli cümleleri ve halk edebiyatının güzel örneklerini yansıtan zengin bir hazineyi ortaya çıkardığı için alkışlanmaktadır.

Günümüzde dillerde ezber olan “Türkçeyi öğrenin, çünkü onların uzun bir saltanatı vardır” hadisine dikkat çeken Muhsin İbrahimî eserden aşağıdaki cümleyi de yazmakta: “Şu hadis sahih ise (ravilerin boynuna) Türk dilinin öğrenilmesi şeriaten vaciptir, eğer sahih değilse söz konusu dilin öğrenilmesi mantık olarak zorunludur” (Osmanlı, Qasımlı 2004: 73–74).

Bolşeviklerin milli düşünceli aydınları Pantürkizm ile suçlayıp kurşuna dizdiği, hapis ve sürgünlere gönderdiği bir zamanda Mirza Muhsin’in Bakü’de yayımlanmış devlet gazetesinde bu tarz makale yayımlatması büyük cesaret örneği idi. Yazar makalesinde Türklük meselesine önem vererek Kaşgarlı Mahmud’tan aşağıdaki alıntıyı yazmıştır: “Gördüm ki, yüce Tanrı devlet güneşini Türklerin burcunda doğurmuş, felekler dairelerini onların saltanatları çevresinde döndürmüş, Türk adını onlara kendisi takmış, hakanlığı onlara kendisi vermiş, zamanımızın padişahlarını hep onlardan teşkil etmiş, dünya halklarının alevlerini onların eline

bırakmış, saadet-i beşer için onları sebep yaratmış, doğrulukta her zaman onlara yardımcı olmuş, onlara mensup olanları, hizmetlerinde bulunanları aziz kılmış, hadimleri istedikleri amaçlarla kullanmış, uygunsuzlukların münasebetsizliğinden kurtarmıştır”

Bu, Bolşeviklerin Azerbaycan'ı işgal ettikleri 1920 yılının Mayıs ve Nisan aylarından 1921 yılı Eylül ayına kadar 42 bin vatanperveri kurşuna dizdikleri zor zamanlar idi. Ülkeden kaçmaya mecbur ettikleri, hapis ve sürgüne yolladıkları insanların sayısı hakkında ise net bilgi bu güne kadar mevcut değildir. Şunu da unutmayalım ki, Bolşeviklerin 42 bin insanı kurşuna dizdikleri zaman Azerbaycan'da nüfus sayısı 2 milyon bile değildi.

“Divânü Lügâti't-Türk”ü Çevirmeye İlk Girişim

Mirza Muhsin “Divânü Lügâti't-Türk”ü çevirmeye başlarken Azerbaycan Erkek Muallimler Enstitüsü'nün Fars edebiyatı tarihi öğretmeni olarak çalışıyordu. Ona “Divânü Lügâti't-Türk”ü çevirmek için hiç bir teşkilattan görev veya talimat verilmemiştir. Tabiri caizse, sosyal fikri şekillendirmek, aydınların ve bilimsel kurumların dikkatini bu esere çekmek istiyordu. Amacını şu şekilde ifade etmiştir:

“Arapça yazılmış eseri anlayan Azeri Türklerinin az olduğunu göz önünde bulundurarak genel bir kullanım kaynağı olsun diye bu değerli eserin en mühim yerlerini Türkçeye çevirmeye karar verdim” (Osmanlı, Qasımlı 2004: 75).

Burada Muhsin İbrahimi'nin neden eserin hepsini çevirmek gibi amacı olmadığına dair soru çıkagelir. Onun yeteneği, bilgisi ve çok dil bilmesi “Divânü Lügâti't-Türk”ü çevirmesinin mümkün olduğunu göstermektedir. Fakat dönemin şartlarına baktığımız zaman buna dönemin teknik ve maddi imkanının yetersizliğinin sebep olduğunu görmekteyiz. Azerbaycan'da Arap alfabesinin değiştirilmesi ile ilgili müthiş savaş vardı. Sadece “Yeni Yol” gazetesi Latin alfabesi ile yayımlanıyordu. Başka gazetelerde ise bazı makaleler, bazen sayfa Latin alfabesi ile yayımlanıyordu. Bakü matbaalarının hepsinde “Divânü Lügâti't-Türk”ü yayımlatmaya gerekli yazı tipi yoktu. “Yeni Yol” gazetesi Mirza Muhsin'in “Kaşgarlı Mahmud” makalesinin birinci kısmını 26 Haziran 1924 tarihinde yayımlanan 21.sayısında şöyle yazmakta: “Matbaada mezkur harfler mevcut olmadığından (makalenin devamı – A. Ş.) yayımlanmadı”.

Makalenin devamı yazı tipi elde edildikten sonra, yani 11 Ağustos 1924 tarihinde çıkmış 23.sayısında yayımlanmıştır. Mirza Muhsin “Divânü Lügâti't-Türk”ten Türkçemize çeviri yaparak onu bilim insanlarına takdim ettiğini yazmaktadır. Bilimsel önemini göz önüne alarak gösterdiği örneklerde eski imlayı aynen koruyarak bir kez daha yeni imza ile yazdığını da belirtmiştir.

Araştırmacıya göre aşağıdaki 18 harf bunun Türkçe şivelerini ifade etmektedir. İkinci makale “Divânü Lügâti’t-Türk”ten çevirmedi. Burada Türkçe telafuzda bulunup da yazıda bulunmayan 7 harfin izahı verilmiştir. Hemen ardından sunduğu bölümde a, c, ş, ğ, q, k, g, l, m ve v harfleri hakkında bilgiler açık ve anlaşılır bir dil ile verilmiştir.

Mirza Muhsin üçüncü makalesinde Türk kabileleri ve Türk dilleri hakkında bölümden bir parça, dördüncü makalesinde Türk sözlüklerinin farklılığı hakkında, beşinci makalesinde ise sarf kuralları hakkında bölümlerden parçalar çevirmiştir.

Çevirmenin gazetede yayımlattığı parçalardan açıkca görülmektedir ki, o, “Divânü Lügâti’t-Türk”te gramerden çok Türk şivelerine ve onları bir birinden farklılaştıran özelliklere önem vermiştir.

Ne yazık ki, Mirza Muhsin’in bin bir zahmetle hazırladığı çeviriler beklediği sonuçları vermemiş ve bilim camiası çalışmasına sessiz kalmıştır.

Sonuç

Muhsin İbrahimî, yüksek okullarda ders vermekle yetinmemiş, bilimsel araştırmalar yürütmüş ve çeviriler yapmıştır. Onun, Ali Şir Nevâî hakkında 1925 yılında yayımladığı makale, bugün de bilimsel önemini korumaktadır. Edebi çeviri alanında da çalışan araştırmacının, Ebu’l-Kasım Firdevsî’den çevirdiği destan, 1934 yılında Veli Hulufu’nun genel editörlüğü ile Bakü’de Azerneşr tarafından yayımlanan “Şahname: Seçilmiş Destanlar” kitabında yer almıştır.

Muhsin İbrahimî’nin arşivi korunmadığından, onun “Divânü Lügâti’t-Türk” tercümesi üzerinde yaptığı değişiklikleri bilemiyoruz.

1878 yılında Tebriz’de doğmuş İbrahimî hakkında 1936 yılından sonra herhangi bir bilgiye rastlanmamaktadır. 1937 yılında Azerbaycan’da baskılar artmaya başlamıştır. Mirza Muhsin’in ise İran vatandaşı olması, Avrupa’da eğitim almış ve birkaç dil biliyor olması nedeniyle Sovyet KGB’si tarafından casusluk ve antidevrimcilikle suçlanmış olabileceğini düşünmekteyiz. Bu sebeple, hapsedilmiş, kurşuna dizilmiş ya da Azerbaycan’dan İran’a sınır dışı edilmiş olması muhtemeldir.

1929 yılında Azerbaycan Devlet İlmi Araştırma Enstitüsü’nün kurulması, ülke genelinde bilim insanlarının bir araya gelmesi için olumlu bir ortam yaratmıştır. Enstitü, 1932 yılında SSCB Bilimler Akademisi Zakafkasya (Güney Kafkasya) Şubesi’nin Azerbaycan Bölümü’ne, 1935 yılının Ekim ayında ise SSCB Bilimler Akademisi Azerbaycan Şubesi’ne dönüştürülmüştür. Aynı yıl, Kaşgarlı Mahmud’un “Divânü Lügâti’t-Türk” eseri, Akademide çalışan, İstanbul Darülfünun mezunu, Özbek asıllı ünlü dilbilimci Halid Sait Hocayev’e verilmiştir. Hocayev, görevini titizlikle tamamlayıp çeviriyi 1937 yılının Haziran ayında

Leningrad'a göndermeye hazırlanıyordu. Ancak hapsedilince işi yarım kalmıştır. Sonraki yıllarda eserin üzerinde birçok araştırmacı çalışmış olsa da pek başarılı olamamıştır. 1980'li yılların ortalarında bu eser kaybolmuştur. Araştırmacılar eseri bulmaya çalışsa da bir sonuç elde edememiştir. 2023 yılında, Akademinin Dilbilimi Enstitüsü Başkanı Nadir Memmedli, Halid Sait Hocaev'in çevirdiği ve başka bilim insanlarının da üzerinde çalıştığı "Divânü Lügâti't-Türk"ü bulmuş ve 2024 yılında üç cilt hâlinde yayımlatmıştır.

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ŞAİR VE DEVLET ADAMI ESAD MUHLİS PAŞA’NIN ŞİİRLERİ ÜZERİNE BAZI DEĞERLENDİRMELER

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SOME EVALUATIONS ON THE POET AND STATESMAN ESAD MUHLIS PASHA AND HIS POEMS

Keywords: 19th century Turkish literature, Esad Muhlis Pasha, *Divânçe*, poetry.

Abstract: The 19th century was a century of significant administrative and military changes in the Ottoman Empire. These developments at the state level naturally reflected in social life and literature. Mehmed Esad Muhlis Pasha, who never ceased to engage in art and literature alongside his administrative duties, was one of the prominent figures of this century. Raised with a Sufi education due to his family’s background, Esad Muhlis Pasha also developed himself within the bureaucracy, becoming a respected bureaucrat through his various roles in state affairs. Today, we have a *Divânçe* of Esad Muhlis Pasha, whose acumen and merit in his statesmanship can also be felt in his poetry. When we examine his poems, written in various poetic forms, we encounter a poetic world nourished by tradition and reflecting the social and political developments of his time. Until now, studies on Esad Muhlis Pasha’s art and poetry have utilized the lithograph edition of his *Divânçe*. This article aims to introduce the manuscript of his *Divânçe* in the author’s handwriting and another manuscript copied from the lithograph edition, while exploring the poetic universe of Esad Muhlis Pasha.

Esad Muhlis Paşa’nın Hayatı ve Ailesi

Esad Muhlis Paşa’nın hayatına dair en kapsamlı ve derli toplu bilgi, *Divânçe-i Esad Paşa*’nın baş kısmında bulunmaktadır. Oğlu Said Bey’in himayesiyle basımı yapılan bu *Divânçe*’nin mukaddimesinde Paşa’nın doğumundan vefatına kadarki hayatı özetlenmiştir. Bundan başka Esad Mehmed Efendi ve İbnülemin Mahmud Kemal İnâl’in tezkirelerinde onun hayatına ilişkin ayrıntılı malumat bulunmaktadır.

Daha sonra yazılan biyografik kaynaklarda daha ziyade bu bilgilerin tekrar edildiği görülmektedir.¹

Esad Muhlis Paşa'nın soyu, Ankara'nın manevi mimarı Hacı Bayram-ı Veli'nin halifesi Bünyâmin-i Ayaşî'ye kadar uzanmaktadır.² 1780 yılında Ayaş'ta dünyaya gelen Esad Muhlis'in babası, Bünyâmin-i Ayaşî'nin ahfadından Ayaş Müftüsü Hasan Efendi'dir. Kaynaklarda bu yüzden Müftî-zâde olarak da anılan Esad Muhlis, çocukluğunda iyi bir tahsil görmüştür. Henüz genç yaşlarda Ayaş voyvodalığını deruhte etmiş, sonrasında silahşorluk payesine nail olmuştur. 1806'da Dergâh-ı Âlî kapıcıbaşılığı kendisine tevcih edilmiştir. Böylece Dersaadet yolu açılmış, burada devletin üst kademesiyle kurduğu ikili ilişkiler sayesinde çok geçmeden önemli memuriyetlere tayin edilmiştir. Mîrâhurluk, humbaracıbaşılığı, başbâki kulluğu gibi görevlerinden sonra onun esas şöhretini sağlayan valilik serüveni başlamıştır. Sırasıyla Çirmen Mutasarrıflığı, Bursa, Konya ve Erzurum valiliklerinden sonra merkeze çağrılarak Meclis-i Vâlâ azalığı verilen Esad Muhlis, 1839'da Boğaz Muhafızı olarak tayin edilmiştir.

¹ Örnek olarak bk. (Muallim Naci 2000: 284; Bursalı Mehmet Tahir 1972: 89–90, Ayaş Kültür Derneği 1948: 13).

² Esad Muhlis Paşa, soyundan geldiği Bünyâmin-i Ayâşî için bir manzume kaleme almış ve bu şiir Ayaş'ta bulunan Bünyâmin-i Ayâşî Camii'ne asılmıştır (Şahin 1992: 491):

Nesl-i pâk-i mefhar-ı kevneynden ibn-i Yamîn
Mustafâdur namı Bünyâmin Ayâşî şöhreti
Ol semiyî-i fahr-i 'âlem olduğundan dâ'imâ
Sünnet-i Peygamberî idi sülûk u sîreti
Hacı Bayram-ı Veli kim ser-firâz-ı evliyâ
İttifâkidür zamânında anun kutbiyyeti
Himmet-i vâlâsın ol kutbun alup irşâd ile
Mesned-i fermûde-i 'lâ havf'a vardır rütbeti
Öyle rütbet kim Hacı Bayram'dan sonra anun
Düşüne kutbiyyetün iksâ olındı hil'ati
Nûr-ı mihr-i Ahmedî'den lem'a-yâb-ı feyz olup
Evliyâ burcında bedr oldı anun mâhiyyeti
Mâsivâdan dûr idüp meyl-i derûn-ı pâkini
Güşe-i vahdetde buldı lezzet-i kurbiyyeti
Ya'ni mâh-ı zir-i ebr-âsâ nihân-ı nâs olup
İtmedi dünyâya aslâ 'arz-ı rûy-ı râğbeti
'Âzim-i dergâh-ı bâki olıcak 'izzet ile
Meymenet-bahş oldı bu câ içre yümn-i türbeti
Es'ad ahsen-i edeble kıl ziyâretle du'â
Evliyânun dâ'imîdür feyz-i rûhâniyyeti
'Afv u mağfûr eyleye züvvârını Rabb-i Gafûr
Enbiyâ vü evliyâ vü etkiyâsı hürmeti

Tanzimat'ın İlanı ile birlikte Paşa'nın yeni bir valilik serüveni başlamış; bu defa sırasıyla Sivas, Halep ve Sayda valiliği kendisine tevcih edilmiştir. Arada 20 günlük bir azil süresinden sonra ikinci defa Erzurum, ikinci defa Sivas ve sonrasında Musul ve Diyarbakır valilikleri Esad Muhlis Paşa'nın durakları olmuştur. Yaşı yetmiş geçmiş olduğu hâlde, Diyarbakır Valiliği esnasında zatülcenp (akciğer iltihabı) hastalığından ötürü Hicri 1267 senesinin Rebiülevvel ayının yirmi birinci günü³ ahirete irtihali vuku bulmuştur (Esad Muhlis Paşa 1268: 2–4; Esad Mehmed Efendi 2018: 159–160; İnal 2000: 1352–1354; Şahin-Subaşı 1995: 350).

Esad Muhlis Paşa, Abdurrahman Paşa'nın kızı Afife Hanım ile evlenmiş fakat bu evlilikten bir çocuğu olmamıştır. Beş erkek, beş kız çocuğu dünyaya gelen Paşa'nın tüm çocukları cariyelerindendir. Erkek çocuklarının isimleri Yusuf Sıddık, Mehmed Nusret, Mehmed Said, Mehmed Sadullah ve Mehmed Ragıb; kız çocuklarının isimleri ise Ayşe, Saide, Seniha, Feride ve Zeynep'tir (Akyıldız 2011: 2–4; Yıldız 2010: 219). Oğullarından Mehmed Nusret Bey babasının şair tabiatını, Mehmed Sadullah Bey ise bürokrat tarafını temsil edecektir. Ne var ki Nusret Bey henüz yirmili yaşlarda hayatını kaybetmiş, Sadullah Paşa ise Viyana sefirliği sırasında intihar etmiştir. Mısır Valisi Kavalalı Mehmed Ali Paşa'nın Osmanlı'yı zayıflatmak maksadıyla Anadolu'da başlattığı isyanlardan olan Tahmiscioğlu İsyanı'nın bastırılmasında büyük yararlılıklar gösteren Hacı Mesud Ağa'nın da Esad Muhlis Paşa'nın kardeşi olduğu bilinmektedir (Akyıldız 2011: 4).

Esad Muhlis Paşa'nın oğullarından şair Mehmed Nusret Bey'in babasının vefatı üzerine henüz on sekiz yaşındayken kaleme aldığı ve *Dîvânçe*'nin girişinde de yer verilen mersiyesi şöyledir:

Sâhib-i seyf ü kalem âlim ü şeyhü'l-vüzera
İbn-i Müftî-i Ayaş Hazret-i Es'ad Paşa
Mahlası Muhlis olup şâ'ir-i mâhir idi kim
Sühan-ı gevher-i nâ-yâb idi beyne's-şu'arâ
Emr-i şâhâne ile vardığı mansıblarda
Neşr-i 'adl-ile ahâlîden alur idi du'â
Mansıb-ı âhiri hem Hıttâ-i Kürdistân olup
Hükm-i kânûn ile eyler idi emrin icrâ
Yetmiş sinni tecâvüz idicek Âmid'de
İrci'⁴ emri gelüp eyledi 'azm-i 'ukbâ
Herkesün 'âlem-i fânîde ser-encâmı budur

³ Miladi 24 Ocak 1851 tarihine tekabül etmektedir.

⁴ “Sen O’ndan razı, O da senden hoşnut olarak rabbine dön” (Kur’an-ı Kerim, Fecr 89/28) ayetinden iktibas edilmiştir.

Çeşm-i em'ân ile bak bir pula değmez dünyâ
 Dîde hûn-âbe-feşân sîne pür-âteş olarak
 Pederün fevtine mersiye iderdim inşâ
 Didi târîhini Nusret iderek Hakk'a niyâz
 Ki ola kasr-ı cinân merkez-i Es'ad Paşa

(Esad Muhlis Paşa 1268: 4-5)

Yukarıdaki beyitler Esad Muhlis Paşa'nın soyuna, şairliğine, adaletli yöneticiliğine ve vefatına ilişkin ilk ağızdan bilgiler içermesi bakımından Esad Muhlis biyografisi için dikkate değer olmasının yanı sıra Nusret Bey'in şairliğine dair de ipucu vermektedir.

Dîvânçe-i Esad Paşa'nın Nüshalarına Dair

Takvimhane-i Âmire Nüshası (Taş Baskı Nüsha, T)

Esad Muhlis Paşa'nın *Dîvânçe*'sinin biri taş baskı, ikisi el yazması üç ayrı nüshası bulunmaktadır. Bunlardan taş baskı nüsha onun vefatının hemen ardından Takvimhane-i Âmire'de basılmıştır. İbnülemin'in "nüshası nadir" (İnal 2000: 1354) olarak nitelediği bu baskı kırk yedi sayfadan müteşekkil olup tıpkı yazma eserlerde olduğu gibi serlevhalı ilk sayfasında "Hüve'l-azîz" esması bulunmaktadır. Eserin son sayfasında ise şu bilgiler yer almaktadır:

"İşbu Dîvân-ı belâgat-unvânın tab' u temsîli sâye-i ma'ârif-perverî-i âsâyiş-verî-i devlet olan es-Sultân ibnü's-Sultân es-Sultân Abdülmecîd Han Efendimiz hazretlerinin sâye-i devletlerinde Takvîmhâne-i Âmire'de Recâî kullarının nezâretiyle bin iki yüz altmış sekiz senesi Ramazan-ı Şerîf evâ'ilinde sûret bulmuştur"

(Esad Muhlis Paşa 1268: 47).

Bu bilgilerden eserin Sultan Abdülmecid devrinde Recai isimli birinin gözetiminde basıldığını da öğrenmekteyiz. Bu nüsha günümüze gelinceye değin yapılan çalışmalarda kullanılan nüshadır. Bu nüsha üzerinde biri kitap yayını diğeri yüksek lisans tezi olmak üzere iki çalışma yapılmıştır. Bunlardan Çögenli vd. (1992) tarafından hazırlanan çeviri yazılı metinde taş baskı nüshanın girişinde yer alan Esad Muhlis Paşa biyografisine yer verilmediği görülmektedir. Öte yandan Serdaroglu (1994) tarafından hazırlanan yüksek lisans tezinde ise çok fazla okuma hatası tespit edilmiştir.

Taş baskı nüshaya, Mehmed Nusret Bey "Târîh-i Tab'-ı Dîvânçe" başlığıyla tarih düşmüştür:

Olıcak defter-i âsâr-ı cenâb-ı Muhlis
 Dâhil-i silk-i devâvîn-i gürûh-ı şu'arâ
 Tab' u temsiline Nusret didi târîh-i tamâm
 Neşr ü i'lân ola Dîvânçe-i Es'ad Paşa

(*Esad Muhlis Paşa 1268: 47*)

Bu dörtlüğün son mısrasındaki harflerin ebced değeri, *Dîvânçe*'nin baskı tarihi olan 1268'e tesadüf etmektedir.

Millî Kütüphane Nüshası (MK)

Ankara Millî Kütüphane'de Yz. A 2236 numarada kayıtlı bu nüshanın Esad Muhlis Paşa'nın elinden çıkmış olması muhtemeldir. Eser adı katalog kayıtlarında "Divan / Es'ad Mehmed Muhlis Paşa Ayâşî" olarak geçmektedir. 26 varaklık bu yazma nüsha 222 x 127 mm ölçülerindedir. Yazı türü rikadır. Söz başları kırmızı, manzum kısımlar siyah mürekkeplidir. Satır sayısı her sayfada değişiklik göstermektedir. Muhtelif renkte yapraklara sahip bu nüsha karton cilt içerisinde. Müellif hattı olduğunu düşündüğümüz bu nüsha mürettep değildir. Telif tarihi belirsiz olan nüsha,

Yâ Rab bu 'abd-i 'âcize kudret 'atâ kılup
 İtsem hezâr hamd u senâ her nefes sana

beyitiyle başlayıp

Bûm nevbet mî-zened der-kal'a-i Efrâsyâb
 Perdedârî mî-küned ber-tâk-ı Kısra 'ankebût⁵

beyitiyle sona ermektedir. Bu nüshanın müellif hattı nüsha olmasını düşünmemizdeki temel sebeplerden birincisi eserde taş baskı nüshada ve ondan istinsah edilen nüshada görülen yazım yanlışlarından kaynaklı vezin bozukluklarının olmamasıdır. Diğer bir sebep bazı mısralar üzerinde düzeltme (silme, karalama) işaretlerinin bulunmasıdır. Bu düşünceyi kuvvetlendiren en önemli hususlardan biri de yazma nüshada bazı beyitlerin yanına konulan sah kayıtlarıdır.

Türk ve İslâm Eserleri Müzesi Nüshası (TİEM)

İstanbul Türk ve İslâm Eserleri Müzesi "Türkçe Divanlar" koleksiyonunda Ktb. 2027 numarada kayıtlı bu nüsha Takvimhane-i Âmire nüshasından istinsah

⁵ Sadi-i Şirazi'ye ait olan bu beyite *Dîvânçe*'de bir taşir (ona tamamlama) bulunmaktadır.

edilmiştir. Müstensihî Mahmud Esad et-Trabzonî'dir.⁶ Eserin adı kayıtlarda "Divan" olarak geçmektedir 33 varaktan müteşekkîl bu istinsah nüsha bordo meşin ciltli ve mikleplidir. Cildi ve miklebi oldukça tezyinatlı olup altın yaldızlı şemse motifi işlenmiştir. Yazı türü nesihdir. Söz başları kırmızı, manzum kısımlar siyah mürekkeplidir. Satır sayısı 15 olup tezhipli serlevhaya sahiptir. Cetvelleri altın yaldız ve muhtelif renklerle çekilmiştir. Mürettep olan bu nüshanın 2b-4b varak numaraları arasında Esad Muhlis Paşa'nın "tercüme-i hâl"i bulunmakta, şiirler 5b'den itibaren başlamaktadır. Manzum kısım

Yâ Rab bu 'abd-i 'âcize kudret 'atâ kılup
İtsem hezâr hamd u senâ her nefes sana

beyitiyle başlayıp müstensihe ait olan

Nazmına incü gibi dürlü ma'ânî dizilür
Kim ki insâf ider ol zâta 'ayân 'arz itdüm

beyitiyle sona ermektedir.

Nüshanın son kısmında yer alan şu ifadelerden istinsah işinin, Esad Muhlis Paşa'nın oğullarından Mehmed Said Bey'in arzusuyla yapıldığı ve Hicri 1306 yılının Recep ayında tamamlandığı anlaşılmaktadır:

"Nâzım-ı merhûmun işbu Dîvân-ı belâgat-unvânı mahâdîm-i kirâmlarından olup hâlâ Defter-hâne-i Hâkânî Nezâreti Senedât-ı Umûmiyye İdâresi müdürü bulunan atûfetlü **es-Seyyid Mehmed Saîd Beg Efendi** hazretleri tarafından gösterilen emel ü arzuya mebnî işbu **bin üçyüz altı sene-i Hicriyyesi** şehri Recebül-ferdinin yedinci Cumartesi günü marîfet-i dâiyânemle bi-mennihi'l-Kerîm ketb ü tahrîri hüsn-i hitama resîde olmuştur." (TİEM 31a).

Esad Muhlis Paşa'nın Şiirleri Üzerine Değerlendirmeler

Osmanlı Dönemi şairlerinin biyografileri ve şairliklerine ilişkin en önemli değerlendirmeler şüphesiz şua tezkirelerinde bulunmaktadır. Kimi şairlerin şiir kudreti olsa bile farklı saiklerle tezkirelere alınmaması da mümkündür. Bu noktada Esad Muhlis Paşa'ya ayrı bir yer açmak gerekmektedir. Her ne kadar bürokrasideki esas yükselişini İstanbul'da bulunduğu vakitler elde etmişse de ömrünün büyük kısmını taşrada geçirmiş bir bürokrat olarak çağdaşı ve

⁶ Mahmud Esad Efendi, Trabzonlu olup ulema ve hattatından reisü'l-kurra Mirzâde Hasan Rüşdî Efendi'nin oğludur. İbnülemin, Son Hattatlar'da Mahmud Esad'ı sülûs, nesih ve talik yazıda hüner sahibi bir hattat olarak tavsif etmektedir (İnal 2021: 172-173).

sonraki tezkire yazarlarının dikkatini çekmiş olması onun şiir kudretinden ileri gelmektedir. Görece ve sayıca az şiir kaleme almasına rağmen şiir otoriteleri tarafından takdir edilmesi ve hâl tercümesine tezkirelerde yer verilmesi, karşımızda edebî zevki yüksek bir devlet adamının olduğunu belgelemektedir.

Fatin Davud, *Hâtimetü'l-Eşâr*'ında Esad Muhlis Paşa'nın şiirinden övgüyle bahsederek "... bir kıt'a dîvânçe-i eş'âriyle cerîde-i âlemde ibkâ-yı nâm u şân eylemiştir" demektedir (Fatin Davud 2017: 440). Paşa'nın biyografisine en uzun yer veren tezkirecilerden biri olan Esad Mehmed Efendi, *Bağçe-i Safâ-endûz*'unda onu, Alî Şîr Nevâyî'ye benzeterek yed-i tûlâ sahibi bir kimse olarak tavsif eder: "... muhibb-i evliyâ ve mürebbî-i fuzalâ-mekîn-i mekân-ı vekâr-ı şer'î ve mer'î münşî-i ibni 'İbâd ve 'adîl-i sühan-sâz-ı Mîr 'Alî Şîr-misîl belâgat-semîr-i kalem-i müşkâfâne-i rakamı her hatda sâhib-i yed-i tûlâ ve hâfîza-i dakâyık-ı lâhızaları gencîne-i cevâhir-i fûnûn-ı şettâ kerîm-i kâmrân ve vâhid-i devrân..." (Esad Mehmed 2018: 160).

Tezkire yazıcılığının son temsilcilerinden İbnülemin ise *Son Asır Türk Şairleri*'nde "Muhlis" mahlası altında ele aldığı Esad Muhlis Paşa bölümünü oldukça geniş ve teferruatlı işlemiştir. İbnülemin, Esad Muhlis'in şairliğinden çok şahsiyetinden bahsetmiş, onun günlük hayatta ve ikili ilişkilerinde sergilediği tavırları gözler önüne sermiştir. Tezkire yazarının Esad Muhlis'in diline ilişkin değerlendirmelerini içeren şu bölümü buraya nakletmekte fayda görülmektedir:

"Divan'ın başına yazılan tercüme-i hâlden naklen "Şehidi" imzasıyla Hazine-i Fûnûn'a dercedilen makalede:

"Ehibbasından bir zatın kavline nazaran taşralı olmak münasebetiyle lisanı pek kaba imiş. Eşarına bakılınca lisanı kaba bir âdemin böyle rakik, latif münakkah şiir söylediğine taaccüb olunur." deniliyor. Bu mülahazaya da taaccüb olunur. Dili kaba olmasıyla yazının da kaba olması icab etmez. Çünkü yazıyı yazan dil değildir, kalemdir." (İnal 2000: 1354).

Buradaki ifadelerden *Hazine-i Fûnûn* mecmuasında çıkan bir yazıda, Esad Muhlis Paşa'nın taşralı ve dilinin kaba olmasına rağmen oldukça ince ve güzel şiirler söylemesinin yazı sahibi tarafından hayretle karşılandığı anlaşılmaktadır. Bu durumun aynı oranda İbnülemin'de şaşkınlık yarattığı görülmektedir. Nitekim İbnülemin'e göre taşralı olmak veya kaba bir dile sahip olmak incelikli şiirler söylemenin önünde bir engel değildir.

Esad Muhlis'in şairliği üzerine tezkireler dışında da değerlendirmelere rastlanmaktadır. 19. yüzyılın ünlü devlet adamı ve tarihçisi Ahmed Cevdet Paşa onu "Meşhur şâir-i mâhir Esad Paşa" diyerek anar (Ahmet Cevdet 1301: 98). İsmail Hikmet Ertaylan "Esad Muhlis Paşa, Osmanlı vezirlerinin şeref ve haysiyet, rûyet ve ehliyetle şöhret bulanlarından biri olduğu gibi şiir ve sanat, edeb ve

belâgatle de benâm olanlarındandır” (Ertaylan 2011: 411) demekten Muallim Naci “Şairlerin mahirlerinden idi’ diyerek onu övmekte (Naci 2000: 284), Bursalı Mehmet Tahir onun şiirlerini “hakîmâne” olarak nitelemektedir (Bursalı 1972: 89).

Edebiyat tarihinde kaynaklarda Esad Muhlis şiiri için övgü dolu ifadelerle karşılaşırken kendisi, nazmı (şiiri) için mütekebbir tabiatına yaraşır bir şekilde şu ifadeleri kullanmaktadır:

Mahsûl-i kân-ı tab’umı Muhlis cihân bilür
Hâlis ‘ayâr nazmuma olmaz mihek gerek
(Esad Muhlis Paşa 1268: 22)

Tab’umun Muhlis ‘ayârın bî-mihek herkes bilür
Sikke-i nazmumda gış yokdur mis ü erzîzden
(Esad Muhlis Paşa 1268: 24)

Bütün bu değerlendirmeler bize göstermektedir ki Esad Muhlis Paşa idareciliğinin yanı sıra şairliğiyle de dikkatleri üzerine çekmeyi başaramış, böylelikle edebiyat tarihinde müstesna bir yer edinmiştir. “*Dîvân*’ında 11 farklı nazım şekliyle yazılmış manzumeler vardır ki bunlar değerlendirildiğinde Esad Muhlis Paşa’nın devrinin önde gelen şairlerinden olduğu kanaatine varılabilir” (Arslan 2020). Onun şiirlerinde gelenekle zamanın ruhunu aynı anda okuyabilmekte, devrinin sosyal ve siyasi hadiselerine dair izlere erişebilmektedir. Terekesinde kayıtlı divanların sayısından hareketle Esad Muhlis Paşa’nın aynı zamanda iyi bir şiir okuru olduğunu, ayrıca vurgulamak gerekir (Yıldız 2010: 220–228).

Bir alt başlıkta onun şiir evrenine girilerek kimi zaman ince, latif hayallerle süslü şiirlerinden örneklere yer verilecek kimi zaman edebiyat tarihine olduğu kadar Türk tarihine de ışık tutan manzumeleri irdelenecektir.

Esad Muhlis Paşa Şiirlerinde Öne Çıkan Unsurlar: Muhlis mi Esad Mı?

Esad Muhlis Paşa şiirlerinde iki mahlas kullanmıştır. Bunlardan biri Esad, diğeri Muhlis’tir. Bu mahlasların kullanım sıklığı incelendiğinde daha ziyade Muhlis’in tercih edildiği müşahede edilmektedir. Oğlu Nusret Bey de *Dîvânçe*’nin başında yer alan şiirinde babasının Muhlis mahlasını kullandığını dile getirmektedir:

Mahlası **Muhlis** olup şâ’ir-i mâhir idi kim
Sühan-ı gevher-i nâ-yâb idi beyne’ş-şu’arâ
(Esad Muhlis Paşa 1268: 4)

Şimdiye kadar sadece üç yerde rastlanan Esad mahlasının kullanımına bir örnek şöyledir:

Sâye-i şâhâneyi Hak halka itsün sâyebân
Ber-karâr oldukça çetr-i bî-sütûn-ı âsmân
Hânedede şemsiyyede her yirde **Es'ad** bendesi
Bu du'â-yı hayrî eyler dâ'imâ vird-i zebân

(*Esad Muhlis Paşa 1268: 45*)

Diğer Dillere Hâkimiyeti

Muhlis Paşa'nın herhangi bir Batı diline vukufiyeti olup olmadığı noktasında kaynaklarda ve kendi şiirlerinde bir belirtiyile karşılaşmasak da Arapça ve Farsçaya şiir söyleyecek kadar vâkıf olduğunu bilmekteyiz. *Dîvânçe*'de biri dört beyitlik diğeri iki beyitlik iki şiir baştan sona Farsça söylenmekle birlikte bazı şiirlerinde Farsça söz öbeklerine de tesadüf edilmektedir. Onun İstanbul üzerine Farsça bir beyiti şöyledir:

Şehr-i İstanbul-râ her dem be-nezd-i 'ârifân
Cüz cinân-ı in cihân güfteş sitâyîş nâ-be-câst

(*Esad Muhlis Paşa 1268: 9*)

[*Arifler nezdinde İstanbul şehrini, bu dünyanın cennetlerinden başka bir şeyle övmek her zaman yersizdir*].

Başka Şairlerle Etkileşimi

Esad Muhlis Paşa şiirlerinde klasik Türk şiirinin büyük isimlerinden etkilenme ya da esinlenme de söz konusudur. Aşağıda vereceğimiz gazelinde, Fuzûlî'nin *Leylâ ve Mecnûn* mesnevisinde Mecnun dilinden söylediği "Öyle sermestem ki idrâk etmezem dünyâ nedir / Men kimem sâkî olan kimdir mey-i sahbâ nedir" beyitiyle başlayan gazelinin sesini duymaktayız:

Mest-i 'aşkam bilmezem ağyâr kim dildâr kim
Hasm-ı dil-âzâr kim yâr-i vefâ-kirdâr kim
Çeşm-i pür-gû gamze-i câdûsına hayretdeyim
Sorsalar fark itmezem ceffâr kim sehhar kim
Olsa meyveş neş'e her eşyâ-yı hürmetgârde
Ol zamân ma'lûm olur mey-hâr kim huşyâr kim
Zer gibi erbâb-ı câh olsaydı muhtâc-ı mihek

Bilinürdi lâyı-k-ı serkâr kim ‘ayyâr kim
 Kimse bilmez bildigüm vahdet-sarây-ı ‘aşkda
 ‘Âşık-ı dîdâr kim ma’şûk-ı gül-ruhsâr kim
 Kendü eyler nikbetin da’vet Mısırlular gibi
 Olmayan farkında hidmetkâr kim hünkâr kim
 Muhlisâ meclisde sûfiye niçün sâkî didün
 Mest-i ‘aşkam bilmezem ağyâr kim dildâr kim
 (Esad Muhlis Paşa 1268: 22–23)

Dîvânçe’de yer alan bir başka gazelinde ise devrinin meşhur devlet adamlarından Âkif Paşa’nın (ö. 1845) bir gazelini tahmis ettiğini, “Tahmis-i Gazel-i Merhum Âkif Paşa” kaydından ve mahlas beyitinden anlamaktayız:

Yiterken **Muhlis’e** endûh-ı cevri ü nâz-ı cânâne
 Felek bir mihnet-i gurbet de tahmîl eyledi cânê
 ‘Aceb mi çâki-i ceyb-i tahammül inse dâmâne
 Gam-ı hicrân çeker bir yane baht-ı tîre bir yane
 Girîbân-ı hayâlüm ‘Âkifâ vakf-ı keşâkeşdür
 (Esad Muhlis Paşa 1268: 35–36)

Gurbet Şiirleri

Esad Muhlis Paşa görevi icabı hayatının büyük bölümünü taşrada geçirmiştir. Bu görevler onun İstanbul’dan ve ailesinden uzak kalmasına sebep olmuştur. Bu ayrılıklar ve ayrılışlardan zuhur eden gurbetlik hissi ve vatan hasreti Paşa’nın şiirlerine de sirayet etmiştir. Vatan hasretinin Esad Muhlis şiirinde yansımalarını gördüğümüz sanatla örülü birkaç beyit aşağıda sıralanmıştır:

Gurbetde vatan yâdı kalbe götürür şâdî
 Geçmiş günü sohbetde bir başka safâ vardır
 (Esad Muhlis Paşa 1268: 13)

Zevk-i gurbetle gider her keder ammâ Muhlis
 Neyleyim mevkî-i şâdîde vatan yâda gelür
 (Esad Muhlis Paşa 1268: 18)

Halk-ı ‘âlem bi’t-tabî’ hubb-i vatan mecbûridür
 Bin gülistâna değışmez bûm bir vîrâneyi
 (Esad Muhlis Paşa 1268: 31)

Bu beyitlerde, her ne kadar makam ve mevki sahibi olsa da Esad Muhlis'in gurbetteyken vatan hasreti (aile hasreti) çektiğini sarıh bir şekilde okumaktayız.

Esad Muhlis'ten Nasihatler

Okuyucuya nasihat etmek maksadıyla hikmetli söz söyleme geleneğinin Esad Muhlis'te de karşılık bulduğu görülmektedir. Onun muhtelif gazelleri ve beyitlerine sıkıştırılmış hatta zamanla darbimesel niteliği kazanmış sözleri bulunmaktadır. Bunlardan belki de en meşhuru, akıllı kimseye enaniyetin yaraşmayacağını, âlemde herkesin bin makam altı, bin makam üstü olduğunu hatırlattığı şu beyittir:

Lâf-ı da'vâ-yı enâniyyet ne lâyık âkile
Herkesün 'âlemde bin mâ-fevki bin mâ-dûnı var
(Esad Muhlis Paşa 1268: 18)

*Dîvânçe'*de "Der-Nasihat-i Ferzendân" başlığını taşıyan gazelinde doğrudan çocuklara nasihat etmekte ve baba ile evlat arasındaki ilişkileri veciz bir şekilde ifade etmektedir. Gazelin ilk ve son beyitleri şöyledir:

Zâde-i Nûh'a şeref vormeyicek hazret-i eb
Âharun oğlına bilmem ne virür "izzet-i eb
...
Muhlisâ Hazret-i Hak'dan budur aksâ-yı niyâz
Veled-i nâ-halefe düşmeye hiç hâcet-i eb
(Esad Muhlis Paşa 1268: 8-9)

Babadan (eb) sonra evlâd redifli bir gazelinde, ebeveynlere hitap ederek "göz aydınlığı" olarak tarif edilen çocukların dünya hayatında ne anlam ifade ettiğini hatırlatır:

Nahl-i nesl-i beşere mîve-i terdür evlâd
Bahr-i sulb-i pedere tâze güherdür evlâd
Kurretü'l'-aynıdır vâlîde vü vâlidinün
Dîde vü rûh u dile nûr-ı basardur evlâd
...
Kesb-i 'ilm ü edebe sa'y idicek ümm ü ebe
Muhlisâ cân u dil ü dîde vü serdür evlâd'
(Esad Muhlis Paşa 1268: 13)

Paşa'nın hatır yıkarak ömür binasını berbat eylememeyi, Allah'ın lutfuyla mamur olmak için gönüller yapmayı tavsiye ettiği bir beyiti de şöyledir:

Binâ-yı 'ömri berbâd eyleme tekdîr-i hâtırla
Gönül yap lutf-ile ma'mûr u âbâd olmak istersen
(*Esad Muhlis Paşa* 1268: 22-23)

Şair başka bir beyitte okura seslenerek Allah'ın huzuruna çıkacağını günü düşünerek gafleti terk et diye uyarıda bulunmaktadır:

Fıkr it huzûr-ı Hakk'ı hemân terk-i gaflet it
Dîvân-ı Şâh'a hâzır olan er uyanmalı
(*Esad Muhlis Paşa* 1268: 29)

Sadakat ve sebatı pergel benzetmesiyle anlattığı bir beyiti şu şekildedir:

İstikâmetde gerekdür revîş-i sıdk u sebât
Kademin merkeze kor devrde pergârun ucu
(*Esad Muhlis Paşa* 1268: 29)

*Dîvânçe'*de bunlardan başka satır aralarında nasihat odaklı pek çok ifade bulunsa da, yeri geldiğinde nasihatın de bazen muhatabına ulaşamayacağını bildiren şu beyitle bu başlığa son verelim:

Nâ-ehli terbiyet katı bî-hûde kârdur
Gûş-ı girân-ı huşk-sere nush u pend 'abes
(*Esad Muhlis Paşa* 1268: 11)

Coğrafya ve Mekân

Esad Muhlis şiirinde görülen önemli özelliklerden birisi de bol miktarda coğrafi yer adı ve mekân ismi içermesidir. Onun bu özelliği de çok yer gezip görmesiyle açıklanabilir. Bilhassa valilik vazifelerinden dolayı çok fazla yer değiştiren ve Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun birbirinden farklı yerlerinde bulunan Esad Muhlis Paşa'nın şiirlerinde de bu coğrafyaların izdüşümlerini görmek mümkündür.

Ayaş, Erzurum, Kân, İstanbul, Beşiktaş, Bebek, Fındıklı, Kâğıthane, Konya, Meram, Muğla, Menteşe, Niğde, Halep ve Olacak bu yerlerden sadece bazılarıdır. Erdem Sarıkaya bu konuda tafsillatlı bir makale⁷ kaleme aldığı için burada ayrıntıya girmeden birkaç örnek vermekle iktifa edilecektir:

⁷ Bk. (Sarıkaya 2018).

Esad Muhlis'in Beşiktaş ve Bebek'i veciz bir şekilde şiire dâhil ettiği beyiti şu şekildedir:

Biliş çıkduk Bebek'de bir büt-i bî-gâne-meşreble
Beşiktaş'da çocukken sevdiğüm bir nev-cüvândur bu
(*Esad Muhlis Paşa 1268: 25*)

Dîvânçe'de "Bu gazel Haleb-i şehbâda söylenmiştir" kaydıyla yer alan bir gazelinde ise Haleb'i şöyle anmaktadır:

Füzûndur hürmet-i sâgar Haleb'de şîr ü şekkerden
Tolandur bezme sâkî gâh 'arak geh bâde şehbâda
(*Esad Muhlis Paşa 1268: 27*)

Tarih Düşürmeler

Divan edebiyatının bedîî sanatlarından sayılan "tarih düşürme sanatı"na *Dîvânçe-i Esad Muhlis Paşa*'da pek çok örnek bulunmaktadır. Bu tarih düşürmeler aynı zamanda Esad Muhlis'in tarihçi kimliğine de işaretler. Nitekim "şairler tarih düşürmede, bu manzumelerine kısaca 'tarih' ve kendilerine de 'müverrih' adını vermişlerdir" (Karabey 2015: 53). Esad Muhlis'in tarihleri incelendiğinde, II. Mahmud tarafından Edirne'de inşa ettirilen Asâkir-i Mansûre Kışlası'na dair iki, II. Mahmud'un dünyaya gelen oğulları Şehzade Muhammed ve şehzade Nizameddin için birer, Yeniçeri Ocağı'nın kaldırılmasına dair bir, Mustafa Reşid Paşa'nın ikinci kez sadarete getirilmesine dair bir, Erzurum'a vali olarak atanmasına ilişkin bir tarih düşürdüğü görülmektedir.

Mustafa Reşid Paşa'nın sadaretine ilişkin söylediği tarihin son beyiti şöyledir:

'Vezîr-i sâbıkına mihrini kılup ihsân
Kerâmet-i şeh-i dâna cihâna oldu "ayân"
(*Esad Muhlis Paşa 1268: 41*)

İkinci mısradaki harflerin Arapça yazılışlarının ebced hesabıyla toplamı 1264 yılına tekabül etmektedir.

Paşa'nın Erzurum'a vali olarak atanmasına ilişkin düşürdüğü tarih ise şöyledir:

"Muhlisâ vâlî bulunduk hayr ide Rabb-i enâm
Erzurûm lafzı bu sâle oldu târîh-i tamâm"
(*Esad Muhlis Paşa 1268: 42*)

Bu beyitte de “Erzurum” kelimesinin Arapça harflerle yazılışının ebced değerlerinin toplamı, Esad Muhlis’in Erzurum’a vali atanma tarihi olan Hicri 1247 yılını vermektedir.

Manzum tarihlerin daha ziyade II. Mahmud devriyle alakalı olması, Esad Muhlis Paşa’nın padişah tarafından takdir ve taltif edildiğinin bir göstergesidir. Bu durum padişah tarafından kendisine gönderilen belgelere de yansımıştır (Saydam 2021: 1323, 1325).

Kalıbın Dışına Çıkan Şiirler

Divan şiirinde bazı mahalli veya avami olarak nitelenebilecek kelime ve kavramların şiire girişi 18. yüzyılla beraber başlar ve sonraki yüzyıllarda da artarak devam eder. Esad Muhlis’in şiirleri de bu gelişmelerden nasibini almıştır. Birkaç yüzyıl önce şiirde kullanılması abes olarak nitelenecek bazı unsurlar artık diğer şairlerde olduğu gibi Paşa’nın şiirlerinde de görülecektir. Kireç, kiremit, tuğla bir beyitte şu şekilde karşımıza çıkmaktadır:

Hüsn-i binâya rağbeti yok Menteşeli’nün
Hîç görmedük **kireç kiremid tuğla** Muğla’da
(Esad Muhlis Paşa 1268: 25)

Gönlünde ateş, başında duman, gözündeki yaş olduğu hâlde âşığın deniz üzerinde yüzen vapura benzetilmesi de Esad Muhlis şiirinin farklı yanlarından biridir:

Dilde âteş serde dūd u eşk yem dü dide çarh
Cism-i ‘âşık sûretâ **vapur** şeklin gösterür
(Esad Muhlis Paşa 1268: 21)

Paşa, vapuru şiire dâhil etmekle yetinmeyecek, belki de vapurda şiir söyleyen ilk şair olacaktır (Özgül 2006: 274). “İşbu gazel vapurda söylenmiştir” kaydıyla söylenen bir gazeli şöyledir:

Öyle mecrûham sinân-ı va’d-i hulf-âmîzden
Dil bu zahmı çekmemişdi gamze-i hûn-rîzden
Gâh havf-ı ihtirâk u gâh hevl-i iğtirâk
Mihnet-i **vapur** kalmaz renc-i rustâ-hîzden
Firkatünle ol kadar cûş u hurûş eyler ki dil
Fark olunmaz nehr-i eşküm bahr-i mevc-engîzden
Neş’e-i ikbâlün idbâr-ı humârın fîkr ile

El çeker sermest-i dâna sâgar-ı leb-rîzden
Gamdan itsem her kime şekvâ tesellisi bana
Be-g'zered mâ-ba'dına terkîb olan in nîzden
Kadr-i mühdâ tuhfe-i nâ-çizi reddeden men' ider
'Add ider ricl-i cerâdı mûr-ı destâvîzden
Nev-hevesler kim ider tanzîr şî'r-i kâmilân
Sohbet-i sadra karışmak gibidür dehlîzden
Bu zemînde seyr iden Şebdîz-i hâmem cünbişin
Zann ider kalmış bana ol Husrev-i Pervîz'den
Tab'umun Muhlis 'ayârın bî-mihek herkes bilir
Sikke-i nazmumda gış yokdur mis ü erzîzden

(Esad Muhlis Paşa 1268: 24)

Özgül'e göre Esad Muhlis bu gazeliyle gençlere yeni bir ufuk kazandırmıştır ve bunun da farkındadır (Özgül 2006: 274).

Sonuç

Osmanlı Devleti'nin son döneminde yetişen devlet adamlarından Esad Muhlis Paşa gerek devlet adamlığında gösterdiği başarılar gerekse sanat ve edebiyat alanında telif ettiği eserlerle siyasi ve edebî tarihimizin önemli isimleri arasında yerini almıştır. Bu makalede onun *Dîvânçe*'sinden hareketle edebî yönü irdelenmiş, şiirlerinin muhteviyatı incelenmiştir. Bu incelemeler neticesinde şairin çok yönlü kişiliğinin şiirlerine de sirayet ettiği örneklerle gözler önüne serilmiştir. Ayrıca bu çalışmayla *Dîvânçe-i Esad Muhlis Paşa*'nın biri müellif hattı olmak üzere el yazma nüshaları da gün yüzüne çıkarılmış ve tanıtılmıştır.

Klasik Türk şiirinin son döneminde, bir nevi geçiş ya da arayış döneminde hayatını sürdüren Esad Muhlis'in üslubunda daha ziyade geleneğin izleri görülmektedir. Bununla birlikte bilhassa Tanzimat ile birlikte yenilenen zihniyet dünyasının yansımaları onun şiirinde de zaman zaman tezahür etmiştir. Çağdaşları ve kendinden sonra gelen edebiyat tarihçileri tarafından çokça takdir edilen Esad Muhlis'in şiirlerinde vatan hasreti, hikmet, sosyal ve siyasi hadiseler, coğrafya ve mekân, tarihî hadiselerle tarih düşürme sık rastlanan unsurlar olarak karşımıza çıkmıştır. Öte taraftan bu denli mahir bir şairin sınırlı sayıda şiirinin bulunması, Türk edebiyatı tarihi için talihsizlik olarak değerlendirilmektedir. Onun sanat ve şiir dünyasına bir nevi giriş denemesi olan bu makalenin daha sonra yapılacak çalışmalara kaynaklık etmesi ümit edilmektedir.

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FEMALE CHARACTERS IN FOLK MYTHS AND BELIEFS OF KARAKALPAKS

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Keywords: myth, female cults, female characters, Khauwa Ene, Ana Zher, Paigambar kyzy, Mazlumkhan Sulu, Anbar ana, Pirim Bibi Patpa, Albasty, Mamelek.

Abstract: This article is an attempt to study ancient mythological characters and cults associated with the feminine principle among the Karakalpaks. The mythological characters Khauwa Ene and Ana Zher studied in this article are considered as representatives of a divine maternal figure, protector, and patroness in the Karakalpak worldview. The character of Ana Zher symbolizes the fertility and vital energy of the earth that nourishes and cares for all life on earth. Particular attention is paid to female cults like Paigambar kyzy, Mazlumkhan Sulu, Anbar ana, Pirim Bibi Patpa. Special attention is paid to the role of female characters in the culture and religious practices of the Karakalpaks and the ritualism associated with them. Through the analysis of mythological texts, archaeological discoveries and ethnographic data, an attempt is made to reveal the meaning and symbolism of female characters in the context of the cultural heritage of the Karakalpaks. An analysis of traditional ideas associated with the feminine principle shows that female characters constitute a complex system that included elements with their various historical, social roots and genesis that belong to different periods or social layers. All of them, with no exception, were transformed by Islam to different degrees and, having determined its local specificity, they were delivered to us in a changed form.

Woman cults own a special place in the mankind history reflecting deep aspects of faith, mythology and social life. From ancient to modern times female deities and cults have accompanied people inspiring, protecting and filling their lives with meaning. In this article we will consider the world of female cults of the

Karakalpaks, explore their role, meaning and influence on various aspects of the traditional culture of the people.

Information about beliefs and traditions associated with female mythological characters and cults among the peoples of Central Asia is included in the studies of M. S. Andreyev (Andreyev 1927: 3–19; 1953: 247), N. P. Dyrenkova (Dyrenkova 1928: 133–138), S. M. Abramzon (Abramzon 1990), G. P. Snesev (Snesev 1969), T. D. Bayaliyeva (Bayaliyeva 1972), L. P. Potapov (Potapov 1973: 265–286), O. Murodov (Murodov 1979), V. N. Basilov (Basilov 1994: 49–76), O. V. Gorshunova (Gorshunova 2001: 219–231) and others.

The article “Central Asian version of Cinderella (Cendrillons)” by M. S. Andreyev published in 1927 represents a particular interest and attempts to systematize the ideas about female patron saints among Uzbeks and Tadzhiks (Andreyev 1927: 3–19). In another thesis Andreyev addresses the topic of sacred and demonic female characters presenting data on widespread beliefs associated with the character of Albasty (Andreyev 1953: 54).

Various aspects associated with the deity Umai including her role in motherhood, fertility, protection of family and children among the Turkic-speaking peoples of the Sayan-Altai and individual Turkic communities in Central Asia were described in detail in the paper of N. P. Dyrenkova (Dyrenkova 1928: 134–139).

The connection between the cult of the female deity and the water element was developed in the thesis of G. P. Snesev (Snesev 1969). The researcher paid special attention to the cult of Saint Anbar Ana, as well as the female saint Khur Kyz. G. P. Snesev associates both characters with the cult of the goddess Anakhit (Snesev 1969: 243).

V. N. Basilov devoted a special article to the demonic character *Albasty* in which he conducted a detailed analysis of this character. Initially, *Albasty* was a good goddess, the patroness of fertility and hearth but gradually was presented as one of the worst spirits. Based on his own materials V. N. Basilov presented a detailed description of the origins and transformations that occurred with this character. He supported the hypothesis of M. S. Andreyev regarding the connection between the character of *Albasty* and the ancient female deity, making some significant clarifications and additions regarding the original functions and prototype of this demon (Basilov 1994: 51–52).

In the studies of Karakalpakstan ethnographers the issue of studying the character of women in the representations of the Karakalpaks was not the subject of special research, however, there are theses in which this problem is addressed. For example, we should mention the manuscript of one of the first Karakalpak

ethnographers U. Kusekeyev in which he provides information about beliefs widespread in the region associated with such creatures as *Peri*, *Dau* (*dæu*), *Martuu* (Kusekeyev 1934: 34, 35). Certain aspects of the existence of *Peri* and *Albasty* are touched upon in a study devoted to traditional family rituals (Kamalova 1996: 80).

The spiritual culture of the Karakalpaks, as part of the Turkic world, was formed under the influence of such religious beliefs as Tengrism, Zoroastrianism, and Islam. Religion also had a significant influence on the formation of female characters in spiritual culture, which was reflected in several mythological and epic works of the people.

Among the Karakalpaks folklore there are myths in which a woman is illuminated as the Mother of God, the creator of all life on earth. One of them is *Khauwa Ene*, wife of *Adam Ata*, that is a symbol of a powerful benevolent force. According to etymology, the term “Khauwa” is associated with the Mother Goddess who represents the basis that fills the endless expanses of the universe with life. In the Turkic worldview, the need to designate all life on earth with the word “mother” emphasizes the depth and breadth of the spiritual world of the people. The mother is perceived as a force that creates, protects and develops life, and her qualities were highly valued by the ancestors. The phonetic similarity of “Khauwa” to “havva” and “eva” emphasizes its correspondence with the biblical Eva. According to legend, she convinced *Adam* to taste the forbidden fruit and because of that both were expelled from paradise. After the expulsion, according to legend, they met near Mecca, where they lived, and after death, they were buried nearby (Encyclopedic Dictionary 1992: 277).

The closeness of the character of *Khauwa Ene* with the Mother Goddess comes from her fundamental functions assigned to her. According to the views of the

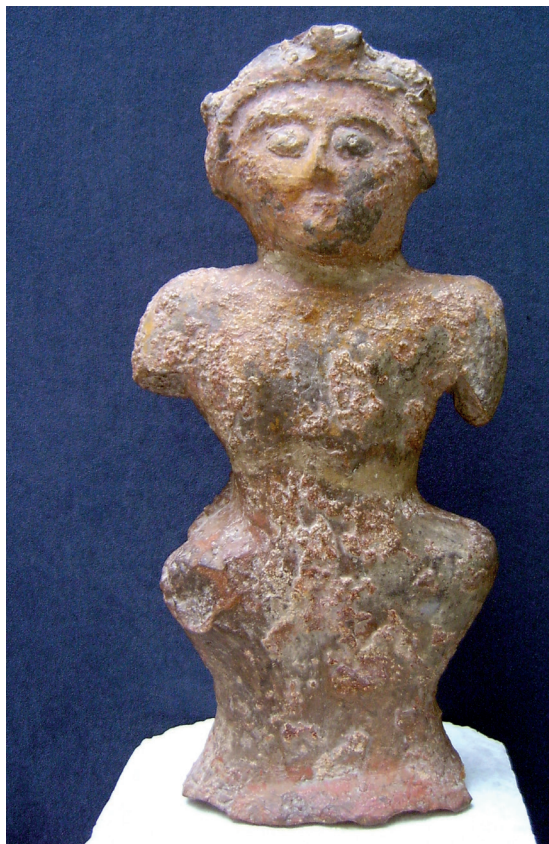


Fig. 1. Umai

Karakalpaks its most important task was to ensure the reproduction of the human race and life in general. *Khauwa's* functions include not only physical birth, but also spiritual birth, ensuring harmony and well-being on earth. Her role in the cult and mythology of the Karakalpaks reflects deep archaic ideas that had a significant influence on the character of women in ancient societies.

The cult of the Earth occupied an important place in the ideas of the Karakalpaks. The earth, as a being that produces every necessary thing, has long been the subject of special veneration. The Karakalpaks considered her a living being and represented her in the form of a woman – *Ana Zher*. It was endowed with purifying powers and was considered a source of fertility.

The cult of the Earth among the nationalities of the Central Asian region has ancient roots and is closely connected with local religious and cultural traditions. The earth was perceived as a maternal and fertile entity, possessing vitality and capable of bearing fruit. The birth of the Earth cult in this territory is associated with the worship of nature, cyclical agricultural rituals, also beliefs in the connection between man and the environment.

Umai is one of the most important characters in the traditional culture and mythology of the Turkic peoples. Her character is imbued with deep historical roots reflecting the diverse aspects of life and beliefs of the ethnic groups living in the region. Mother *Umai* is depicted among almost all Turkic-speaking nationalities as the spiritual patron of women and babies. *Porkhans* (quacks), shamans (healers), and *kindik sheshe* (the woman who cut the newborn's funicle) asked mother *Umai* for protection.

Material evidence of the existence of female deities on the territory of the Southern Aral Sea region is represented by discoveries of *Umai* statuettes at the monument of the *Kerder* culture (Yagodin 1999; Mambetullayev 2000). The veneration of the deity *Umai* had a profound impact on the spiritual and cultural life of the region, forming unique ideas about the connection of man with the world around him.

The results of archaeological research indicate that the cult of *Umai* was widespread among the early medieval population of *Kerder*. The culture of *Kerder* played a big role in the ethnic formation of the Karakalpak people. Archaeologists delineate the territory of *Kerder* within the Aral delta of the Amu Darya and part of the Ustyurt plateau (Yagodin 1971: 69–74). By comparing archaeological and ethnographic data, V. Yagodin comes to the conclusion that the cult of *Umai* was widespread among the population of the early medieval *Kerder*, which was widespread among the Turkic nationalities from the early Middle Ages to modern times (Yagodin 1999: 93).



Fig. 2. Statuette from Sadvar

The sculpture of the goddess *Umai* found at the site of *Kurgancha* represents a woman in rich robes and jewelry, wearing a helmet-shaped headdress and wearing a tiara or diadem with a three-horned headdress on top of it. According to L. R. Kyzlasov the three-horned tiara on her head was worn by the common Turkic goddess *Umai* who was part of the triad of the highest deities of the Turks (Kyzlasov 1949: 50).

Statuettes with a three-horned headdress kindle researchers' interest in the context of their possible connection with the representation of the goddess *Umai*. Some scholars see in this symbolism attributes correlated with the goddess *Umai* in Turkic mythology, such as the symbolism of cornucopia and vitality (Kyzlasov 1998: 39–53; Yagodin 1971: 69–74; Dluzhnevskaya 1978: 230–237). Other researchers suggest that this character is more likely associated with shamanic symbolism (Akhinzhanov 1978: 65–79; Baipakov, Ternovaya 2005), where it is not the “everyday rendering of a female character” that is presented, but the ‘three-horned’ character acts as the spiritual patron of warriors when fighting with enemies” (Tabaldiyev 1996: 69–70). Yu. Khudyakov expressed doubts about this interpretation due to the lack of convincing interpretations: “None of the currently known characters of ancient Turkic, Western Turkic, Turgesh and Yenisei Kyrgyz women in ‘three-horned’ headdresses can be properly interpreted as a reproduction of characters of the

supreme god Tengri, the female deity *Umai* or other characters of the divine pantheon of medieval Turkic nomads” (Khudyakov 2010: 99).

The absence of a clearly defined iconographic character of the goddess *Umai* creates certain difficulties in attempts to identify characters and sculptures associated with this deity. This uncertainty in the visual representation of the goddess *Umai* leads to a wide variety of interpretations and debates among researchers and archaeologists. However, based on the available evidence we are inclined to assume that the statuettes with three-horned headdresses may represent characters of the goddess *Umai*. This hypothesis is supported in the works of L. Kyzlasov and V. Yagodin and was also confirmed in the study of E. E. Nerazik where authors suggested that this deity was the patroness of the rulers of Kerder (Nerazik 2013:122). Archaeological discoveries and the context of their discovery, as well as ethnographic parallels, allow us to strengthen the assumption that these statuettes may be associated with the cult of the goddess *Umai*.

Based on ethnographic parallels and context, the helmet-shaped headdress with semicircular earpieces found on the *Kurgancha* statuette suggests its analogy with the traditional Karakalpak headdress *saukele*. This headdress has ritual specificity and was used as a wedding attribute, symbolizing the likeness of the bride to the heavenly queen and goddess *Umai*. Karakalpak *saukele* represents a soft round deep hat with earflaps made of felt covered with red cloth and variously decorated. To decorate it the embroidery and jewelry were used in the form of silver pendants and plaques of scaly or filigree work with eyes of carnelian and corals. Researchers associate the genesis of this headdress with the combat helmets of warriors of the *Saq-Massaget* and *Sarmat-Alan* tribes among which the traditions of matriarchy prevailed and women along with men often occupied high posts and leadership positions (Morozova 1963: 138; Zhdanko 1971: 161–163).

The cult of the goddess *Umai* is closely connected with the ritual practices that accompanied the birth of a child and aimed at providing protection of both the afterbirth and the baby itself. According to the ancient traditions of the Kyrgyz if a son appeared in the family, then his afterbirth was buried in the house under the threshold along with a sheep astragalus, known as *assyk*, which was one of the symbols of the goddess *Umai* (Fiel'strup 2002: 94). Among the Karakalpaks the placenta of a child regardless of the sex of the newborn was buried by the father under the threshold of the dome to the left of the entrance. When a girl was born, millet was buried along with the afterbirth. These actions are considered as one of the forms of manifestation of the cult of ancestors and the desire to save the lives of subsequent children. The boy's afterbirth was buried along with a bone for the game *assyk* (astragalus, alchik). *Assyk* and millet symbolized the semi-sedentary

life of the Karakalpaks (Yesbergenov, Atamuratov 1975: 136). A similar ritual is known among the Turkic peoples of Altai, where, according to ideas, the soul of a baby was called Umai. This is what they called the baby's navel cord which they buried in the house (Potapov 1973: 271, 276).

With the advent of Islam, the cult of Umai underwent changes, and its aspects and symbolism were reflected in the worship of the Islamic saints Bibi Fatima and Zukhra who symbolized the female deity.

Ardvisura Anakhit – the goddess of water and fertility in Zoroastrianism took the place of one of the three *akhuras* who headed the pantheon of Zoroastrian gods (Bojs 1987: 17, 76–77). The divine character of Anakhita in the Avestian tradition is a synthesis of the features of several goddesses who were worshipped by the nationalities living in the Middle East and Central Asia even in the period before Zoroastrianism. Particularly close to this deity are the goddess *Apa*, the patroness of waters, and her relative *Kharakhvati* who symbolized the mythical river that flowed into the sea and who were revered in ancient Zoroastrianism.

Unlike the Mother Goddess the prototype of Anakhita, associated primarily with the earth, is the Zoroastrian goddess personifying the water element. S. P. Tolstov suggested that the agriculture with a developed irrigation system became the main reason for identifying the female fertility deity with the water element. In particular, he associated the character of Ardvisura-Anakhit with the great waterway of Central Asia, the Amu Darya (Tolstov 1948: 200). G. P. Snesev, sharing this opinion, writes the following:

“It was precisely due to the fact that in the agricultural regions of Asia the life depended primarily on water sources and artificial irrigation those characters of fertility goddesses, personifying the water element, could establish themselves and acquire independent significance in developed pantheons” (Snesev 1969: 231).

Scientists have long identified the water stream personified in the character of Anakhita with the Amu Darya. It is of no coincidence that in the Amu Darya basin – in Khorezm, along the middle course, on the territory of ancient Bactria, in the valley of the Zarafshan River, which was once its tributary – archaeologists found such an abundance of images of Anakhit, in the form of terracotta statuettes.

Islam, as one of the most important religions in Central Asia, had a significant influence on the formation of women's cults in this region. With the advent of Islam, female cults and ideas about female deities underwent changes and revaluation in accordance with the principles of the new religion. In Islam, women received a new status and role that influenced their representation in culture and

religious practice. Although Islam introduced strict rules and regulations regarding religious practice, including cultic rites, it also introduced new ideas about female spirituality, morality and responsibilities. As a result of the formation of women's cults in Central Asia under the influence of Islam, there was a combination of traditional ideas with new interpretations and religious practices that affected the cultural and religious diversity of this region.

Above thousand years of Islamic rule have not completely erased popular ideas about the feminine principle. In due course of time the old characters were replaced by new, already Islamized venerations. And in the Muslim era we see the character of saint *Anbar Ana*.

Anbar ana who replaced the ancient goddess of water, fertility, childbirth, the patroness of ancient Iranian women *Anakhit* and other similar goddesses of the ancient East is well known from several legends.

A. Vamberi during visits of these places have recorded the myth that *Anbar Ana* – patroness of women lived on *Mnazhat-tau* (on the north of the graveyard of Sultan Baba). “Lady Amberena was like Zulaikha by her beauty, Fatima by her virtue, and for accepting Islam she was hated and expelled by her husband who was the sworn enemy of this faith. And she would have died of hunger unless



Fig. 3. Grotto *Anbar ana*. Photo 1982. Archive of the Archeology Department of the Karakalpak Research Institute of Humanities

every day a female deer, which was milked by the hermit, appeared at the entrance of her cave,” where she was subsequently buried (Vambéry 1868: 123–124). The spirit of the owner of the area *Mnazhat-tau* is *Anbar ana* in the appearance of a woman. *Mnazhat-tau* is the place of pilgrimage for the “healing” of sick people, children, especially childless women. There is a grotto on *Mnazhat tau* which, according to the beliefs of pilgrims and the local population, belongs to *Anbar ana* and it is revered to this day.

Cult of *Pirim Bibi Patpa* among the Karakalpaks is preserved to this day as the patroness of women, a *Pir* of women’s crafts. Before starting independent activities in honor of the patroness of *Pirim Bibi Patpa* they performed a prayer for fruitful and prosperous work on the product. The cult is associated with Fatima, daughter of the Prophet Muhammad. As noted by O. A. Sukhareva, this cult is widespread mainly among women and “acquired the character of a typical female cult, with its archaic appearance and limitations that locked it in specifically female areas of living” (Sukhareva 1950: 170). Previously M. S. Andreyev expressed the opinion that Fatima was considered the patroness of spinners, replacing the ancient patroness of spinning – *Bibi-seshanbi* – (Lady Tuesday) under the influence of Islam (Andreyev 1927: 3). He noted that she was especially worshipped among women. And this cult was widespread only in those locations of Central Asia where spinning and weaving from cotton was developed (Andreyev 1927: 18). O. A. Sukhareva, delving into the analysis of this cult, comes to the conclusion that it is not associated with weaving in general, but only with cotton processing. The connection of the veneration of *Bibi-seshanbi* with the processing of cotton, but not wool, indicates that it was originated in a higher stage of cultural development associated with the cultivation of a plant such as cotton. These features of the cult indicate the antiquity of the cotton culture and processing of cotton fiber here (Sukhareva 1950: 174).

Karakalpaks still revere the patroness of weavers *Bibi Patpa* as a kind old woman of great skill. The beginning of the process was necessarily accompanied by an address to the *Pir* with the words “Oh, my *Pir Bibi Patpa*, support me, give me good luck in the business I started” (Author’s field materials – hereinafter AFM 2023: No. 23).

Cult of *Pirim Bibi Patpa* is closely integrated into the daily life of Karakalpak society and shows stability at the present time. Karakalpak women practice this cult before starting any business. For example, before starting work, master weavers say the following words: “This is not my hand but the hand of *Pir Bibi Patpa*, help us weave a beautiful carpet. Preservation of relics of the patronage of the cult of *Bibi Patpa* associated with the patronage of crafts is manifested in

the rituals of the children's cycle. To this day before bathing a baby Karakalpak women say: "This is not my hand but the hand of *Pir Bibi Patpa*, help this child to become a master of his craft in the future" (AFM 2024: No. 1).

As in other types of craft, weavers had a school for transferring experience and skills from teacher to student – *ustaz-shakirt*. Before starting to learn the craft, in order to receive a blessing from the craftswoman, the student presented her with a piece of fabric and a scarf. After which she blessed her – *petia bergen*. The craftswoman presented her student with tools for work as a gift. Craftswomen had their own names for the days of the week like the following manner:

Duishembi – azhaiyp kun,
Siishembi – aumetli kun,
Sarsenbi – satli kun,
Piishenbi – Mubarek kun,
Zhuma – muqaddes kun,
Shembi – Kewilli kun
Ekshembi – Payizly kun

Monday is a wonderful day
 Tuesday is a successful day
 Wednesday is a favorable day
 Thursday is a happy day
 Friday is a holy day
 Saturday is a soulful day
 Sunday is a pleasant day
 (Turenliyazova 2023: 285)

The day of the week on which work on the product began was considered to have a significant impact on the subsequent process of its manufacture.

The widespread development of crafts among the Karakalpaks is confirmed by folklore: "*Business of a non-mastery person is ineffective*", as well as in several proverbs:

"A mastery youth will not suffer, will not perish",

"A mastery one will not fail, a non-mastery one will persist in misery".

(*Qaraqalpaq ao'yzeki halyq dóretpeleri* 1990: 96)

Women's cults play a significant role in the traditional culture of the Karakalpaks. Particularly revered cults are *Mazlumkhan Sulu* (Beautiful Mazlumkhan) and *Payambar kyzy* (Daughter of Prophet). The cult construction of *Mazlumkhan Sulu* was considered the abode of the soul. Anciently, on the night from Thursday to Friday, *porkhans*¹ gathered in the vault of the mausoleum and held *dhikr*. The majority of *dhikr* participants are women, while the *porkhans* are men. *Porkhans* were considered as specialists in fortunetelling, prediction and treatment, especially for female infertility. The performance of rituals in the mausoleum,

¹ porkhan – shaman

and the cruciform layout of the mausoleum indicate its original purpose – “*chille-khana*” – the abode of spirits, the souls of the dead that pass to the mother of the child at certain periods, etc. (Kurbanova 2010: 33).

The population treats this shrine with special reverence. The functional significance of the mausoleum has changed somewhat. Today it is an object of pilgrimage, mainly for women, and a considerable part of them are young, unmarried women. The graveyard is visited for various reasons: on religious holidays, to get rid of illness. Most young women visiting the mausoleum make a pilgrimage to ask the saint for happiness in family life, good luck and health (Kurbanova 2010: 33).

In the Kungrad region near *Kuba Tau* there is a graveyard (sacred place) of *Paigambar Kyzy* dating back to the 9th–14th centuries. According to legend, she was the daughter of *Shamun Nabi* from Khodzheyli and the sister of *Mazlumkhan Sulu*. According to another version, she was the daughter of *Hakim Ata* (Karlybaev 2021: 148). Another legend is presented in the message of S. Yesbergenova which notes that *Paygambar kyzy* was the daughter of a mullah that fail to pay off his creditor (merchant – Z. K.) and was forced to give him his daughter. She sets a condition for the merchant: “I, together with my friends, will turn into a pigeons. We will flutter and peck grains near human habitation. If the groom catches me, I will become his wife.” Pigeons kept in a flock. They pecked the grain and let the merchant come close. However, when he reached out his hands to grab the bird the pigeons flew away. The merchant chased for a long time, but could not catch it. Then angry merchant decided to kill pigeons. Got frightened the birds turned into girls. Fleeing from the merchant, they approached the mountain with a prayer and asked it to open the gates of salvation. The mountain opened up covering the girls” (Yesbergenova 2021: 48).

Today, the cemetery of this holy person is a place of pilgrimage for childless women. According to the ritual, it is necessary to spend the night in the cemetery 3, 5, 7, 9 times on Thursday. Women that stay overnight at the cemetery devote the night to prayers during which they turn to God with a request to give them a child (AFM 2017: 11).

The character of a female deity is seen in some female characters of Central Asian demonology. One of the most striking, archaic and peculiar demons of the local pandemonium is a creature called *Albasty*. The area of distribution of ideas about this character covers almost the entire Eurasian continent; this demon is known to peoples professing different religions and speaking different languages. It is not surprising that the character of *Albasty* carries a variety of properties (sometimes contradictory) starting with the details of the external appearance of

this character and ending with its functions. However, there are several consistent features that are repeated in various descriptions of *Albasty* that make it possible to distinguish it into a separate category.

Most local myths are drawn by *Albasty* in the form of an anthropomorphic female creature, whose distinctive features are flowing red or blond hair, long breasts thrown over the shoulders behind the back. It was believed that *Albasty* could cause illness and nightmares but was especially harmful to women in childbirth and newborns.

Some scientists trace the character of *Albasty* to ancient times. S. M. Andreyev suggested a connection between this character and the character of the ancient deity of fertility (birth). In his opinion, the homeland of the demon *Albasty* is precisely Central Asia from where “it spread to Europe in ancient times” (Andreyev 1953: 81).

In Karakalpak folklore, this character turned out to be surprisingly tenacious. According to popular beliefs *Albasty* does a lot of harm to people: he steals people, harms young women, steals the minds of children. If *Albasty* steals a child's mind, the child becomes clueless. If *Albasty* touches the breast of a woman that recently given birth, her milk will disappear (Ao'yzeki gúrriñler 2014: 369).

In 2015, during an ethnographic expedition, various stories about *Albasty* were recorded that are still current among the population and delivered from generation to generation. One of them recorded from the words of our informant is given below: “My father was riding a horse, suddenly *Albasty* rose in front of him. He immediately grabbed her, without hesitating, pulled out the tooth and cut off a lock of hair. According to the Karakalpaks if you take away a tooth and a lock of hair from *Albasty* then she loses her strength and becomes submissive to man. Having lost her strength *Albasty* begged her father to return her tooth. To prevent *Albasty* from stealing the tooth, it must be protected. But father got tired and fell asleep, then she took the advantage and stole the tooth” (AFM 2015: No. 21). The stability of this character among the population remains to be determined through more-in-depth researches.

Albasty, according to some scientists, originally was a good goddess, the patroness of fertility, the hearth and home, as well as wild animals and hunting, that with the spread of more developed mythological systems, was relegated to the role of one of the evil undermost spirits. This theory seems to be close to the truth. With the advent of Islam the deity becomes “evil spirits”, a creature that is hostile to people. Such a transformation is quite understandable, because this character has been studied little in the folklore tradition, although there are many interesting points that would be interesting to explore.

According to the field materials we collected, the most common spirits are those that live in the element of water: wells, lakes, rivers – *Suu peri* (*Aranlar*). We can find an analogy of *Suu peri* among other peoples: mermaid, ursula. In the minds of the people she had the character of a woman of enormous stature and great physical strength. She lived in reservoirs and protected the water but people could only encounter her in the dark. In the dark, she could suddenly stun with a blow someone who carelessly approached the water and even drown. Therefore, anyone who was heading to the water in the evening or at night had to cajole *Suu peri* with gentle words, beg her not to cause harm and allow to draw water.

She is most harmful towards women, especially young women. Therefore, they tried not to send women for water after nightfall or they should be accompanied by one of the men. Before taking water from the well it was necessary to ask permission from *Suu peri*.

While many have heard about *Albasty*, we were not able to collect much information about another harmful female creature *Martuu* (Algyslar ham Kargyslar 2014: 547). The most interesting information is about where this creature came from. According to the story of our informant, *Martuu* is nothing more than a child left in the womb of a woman who suddenly died. The child somehow survives and comes into the world. This creature is popularly called *Martuu* (AFM 2015: No. 17). The respondent's information is confirmed by records made in the 1930s by ethnographer U. Kusekeyev. In the manuscript by U. Kusekeyev *Martuu* appeared as a result of a dispute between Adam ata and Hauwa Ene the subject of which was to find out who was the progenitor of man. During the dispute, both extract liquid from themselves (it is not specified which liquid is under discussion – Z. K.), they place it in a bottle and wait 9 months and 10 days. When they check the vessels after the expiration of the term, Hauwa Ene discovers that there is a piece of meat in her bottle, and there is a man in the Adam Ata's bottle. Realizing that she lost the argument, she throws the content of her bottle into the water and admits this to Adam Ata. Then he complains that it was necessary to show him first, but now *Martuu* will be born from this piece of flesh that will harm women until the end of the days (Kusekeyev 1933: 35).

It is known that *Martuu* is a harmful creature, arose from the flesh of Hauwa Ene, the mother goddess and ancestor of humanity. The fact that only women are harmed is obviously due to the fact that *Martuu* was generated by a woman and not recognized by her. In retaliation for this the creature harms specifically women.

Today, in the memory of the population, *Martuu* is associated with a person of small stature, but possessing such negative qualities as anger and deceit (AFM 2015: No. 22).



Fig. 4. Paigambar Kyzyni. Kungrad district. 2024



Fig. 5. Pilgrims. Paigambar Kyzyni

Mamelek is a creature in Karakalpak beliefs that leads travelers astray. Some disagreement in determining the gender of this creature persists to this day but the majority of people we interviewed are inclined to believe that it is a woman.

Mamelek is a common demonic character. To this day there are many stories about her. Let us give one, the most typical story: "One night, when we were returning from a medical consultation we saw a cowshed among the sands. We drove away from it but having made a circle we found ourselves again and again in the same place. My travelers became alarmed and began asking 'What's the matter'? The driver himself was discouraged, he drives correctly but still returns to the same place. Then one of the older ones began to read a prayer. Only after this we arrived safely. Later we realized that it was *Mamelek* who confused us" (AFM 2015: No. 20).

In the village of Shakhaman we recorded an interesting story about an old woman – a giantess – *Dau kempir*. In the village there is a place called "*Dau kempir*" and one of the old-timers told us where the name came from.

Previously a lonely old woman lived on the outskirts of the village. One night she heard a rustling and groaning outside the door. She went out to look and saw a wounded tiger. The tiger injured his paw and could not walk due to pain. He asked the old woman for help. The old woman removed the object that was causing pain to the animal and sprinkled the ashes from the felt on the wound. The tiger left. After some time, the old woman again heard a noise outside, and when she came out she saw the very tiger that she had healed. The tiger brought her the animal he had caught. Thus thanking the old woman. Since then the old woman was nicknamed *Dau kempir* that means a giant old woman, and the area is also named accordingly *Dau kempir* (AFM 2015: No. 17).

The presented materials on demonology show what a strong influence Islam had provided on ancient pre-Muslim ideas. Almost all demonological characters have undergone a significant transformation and have lost many ancient features. At the same time, as a result of the interaction of Islam and ancient beliefs, these characters turned out to be viable, as evidenced by the transformed forms of these ancient ideas that exist today.

In conclusion, it can be emphasized that female characters and cults in the Karakalpak mythology are an amazing reflection of the richness and diversity of the ethnic traditions of the region. They are not only symbols of female strength, motherhood and fertility, but also a reflection of the sociocultural aspects of the ancient societies' life. Study of these characters allows us to improve the understanding of the unique cultural characteristics of the peoples of Central Asia and their interaction with the world.

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THE GENEALOGY OF THE TURKIC STATES: THEORETICAL ASPECTS¹

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Keywords: Abulğazi Bahadur Khan, Şacārā-i Türk, Turkic statehood, notion of “state”, notion of “Turkic”, theory

Abstract: In this paper – whose title is inspired by *Abulğazi Bahadur Khan’s Şacārā-i Türk* – number of theoretical aspects in the study of the history of Turkic statehood is addressed². The goal is to problematize the notion of what is a “Turkic state” in order to explore this topic further. The author argues that one must first agree upon what the definition of a “state” is, after what is “*Turkic*” (*Türk*) must be defined. A belief is substantiated that it is only by defining the terms and introducing theoretical rigor into this discussion that one can make progress towards achieving the research goals. At the same time, such view angle will allow to address in an academic manner some approaches which the author considers to be problematic.

Definitions of “state”

How does international academic theory define the “state”, in other words, “what is a state?” We need to accept that there is a difference in definition between the modern state and different kinds of pre-modern states. Modern states have fixed boundaries, offer a definition of who is a citizen with specified rights guaranteed to citizens, and have a constitution (in most cases) and laws defining and regulating political institutions. The number of definitions of a “state” is also

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nearly as numerous as the number of scholars who write about the subject. Plato's *Republic* offers an ideal picture of a state with a philosopher-king. The outstanding Turkic work from the 11th century, the *Qutadğū bilig*, offers the sovereign guidance in governing his affairs. Meanwhile Thomas Hobbes in *Leviathan* imagines a society without a state.

In modern social science many prominent scholars have offered well-known definitions. A minimalist definition is offered by Weber, who famously writes that “a state is a human community that (successfully) claims *the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force* within a given territory” (Weber 1946: 78). Charles Tilly offers a more detailed definition relevant for European states over the past millenium:

A state's essential minimum activities form a trio: *statemaking*: attacking and checking competitors and challengers within the territory claimed by the state; *warmaking*: attacking rivals outside the territory already claimed by the state; *protection*: attacking and checking rivals of the ruler's principal allies, whether inside or outside the state's claimed territory. No state lasts long, however, that neglects a crucial fourth activity: *extraction*: drawing from its subject population the means of statemaking, warmaking, and protection.

At the minimum, tribute-taking states stayed close to this indispensable set of four activities, intervening in the lives of their nominal subjects chiefly to impose ruling-class power and to extract revenues. Beyond a certain scale, however, all states found themselves venturing into three other risky terrains: *adjudication*: authoritative settlement of disputes among members of the population; *distribution*: intervention in the allocation of goods among the members of the subject population; *production*: “control of the creation and transformation of goods and services produced by the population” (Tilly 2006: 96–97).

Perhaps Tilly's most-often quoted observation is: “War made the state, and the state made war” (Tilly 1975: 42).

The views of Weber and Tilly give a sense of the two ends of the broad spectrum of definitions which are possible. In the interest of space, I will only cite two standard reference summaries, from two different editions of the *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*. Fried (1968) explores various approaches to the concept of state, including the definition of the state, territoriality, sovereignty, legitimacy, state and economy, state and religion, state and law, state and nation, and state and war. Fried writes:

Aristotle had provided for at least three polarities, monarchy, aristocracy, and polity, each with its nonideal form, tyranny, oligarchy, and democracy.” He continues: Nineteenth-century theorists, whether in moral philosophy or the emerging disciplines of political science, sociology, and anthropology, accepted a more or less rigid concept of the state as a complex of specific mechanisms of government which could be described in their own contemporary societies and which could be recognized in some form in the classical Mediterranean civilizations.

In the late 19th century, the emergence of functionalism led to a decline in the analysis of the state as a complex of concrete institutions. In the 20th century there were new ways of looking at the state influenced by parallel developments of behavioral and operational approaches. Later, the analysis of political systems as a whole, the implicit focus of evolutionary studies, was abandoned on the ground that the state, taken as a totality, was too complicated and an unwieldy research subject. He also discusses those situations in which kinship rather than territoriality furnishes the basis of association. Some scholars will consider that a state, but not all do.

In the more recent edition of the *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, Barrow classifies states into four kinds: (1) ancient city-states, (2) ancient empire-states, (3) modern city-states, and (4) the modern nation-state. The origins of the state are generally traced to the late Neolithic period (3000–4000 BCE). The first archaic states emerged on the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers in Mesopotamia, the Nile River Valley in Egypt, the Yellow River Valley in China, and the Indus River Valley in South Asia (Barrow 2008: 102). These states were all sedentary. I would add that since pastoral nomadism in Eurasia arises during the Bronze Age (ca. 2500–1000 BCE), any state formations among the pastoral nomads in Eurasia would necessarily date to later than the beginning of this form of socio-economic organization. We may also recall that during this period there were relatively small sedentary centers across the forest-steppe zone such as the site at Arkaim (Kohl 2007).

The definition of “state” in pre-modern Eurasia

When it comes to the nomadic states of Eurasia, there is a specialized body of literature on this, too, but it is a highly problematic body of theory from the perspective of the study of Turkic statehood. In the words of Peter Golden:

Something resembling statehood was always embryonic among the nomads, who moved along a scale ranging from structurally loose, sometimes

acephalous tribal unions (often containing a number of leading clans, but no supreme leader) to statelike confederations. These were polities with varying degrees of hierarchical and administrative organization, ranging from the minimal to “nomadic statehood” or “nomadic empires” (the Turks, Uyghurs, and Khazars are examples of the latter). The question of what precisely constitutes a “nomadic state” or “nomadic empire” and the causes or stages of its development remain in dispute. They have been categorized as “chieftaincies,” “advanced chieftaincies,” “super-complex chieftaincies,” “pre-states,” “early states,” and “xenocracies” (i. e., polities in which nomad elites and their core tribes rule over subordinated peoples). Central to these categorizations is the determination of the degree of central political authority exercised by the “leader” and the extent of administrative apparatus (Golden 2018: 322–323; cf. Golden 1992: 148–149).

In what follows I offer a brief summary of some aspects of this classification in order of progression as chiefdoms, complex chiefdoms, super-complex chiefdoms, pre-states, early states, and xenocracies (see also Di Cosmo 2002: 167–174). I only cite a relevant selection of works from this large body of literature, see Golden (2018) for a selection of additional works not cited here. I hasten to add that this summary does not reflect my own personal views.

Chiefdoms

In the view of Kradin, the theory of the chiefdom is one of the important achievements of political anthropology. He cites Service’s characterization of a chiefdom as a socio-political organization with centralized direction and a hereditary clannish hierarchy of theocratic chiefs. In a chiefdom, inequality of social status and property occurs, however, there is no formal and legally repressive machinery enforced (Kradin 2011: 95, citing Service 1975).

Complex chiefdoms

The term complex chiefdom is generally used to distinguish simple from complex chiefdoms based on the complexity of its hierarchy. For simple chiefdoms one level of hierarchy is characteristic. Their population is generally not high and comprises approximately several thousand people. Complex chiefdoms consisted of several simple chiefdoms. Their population reached already tens of thousands of people. Among the characteristic features of the complex chiefdoms are also probable ethnic heterogeneity as well as exclusion of the administrative élite and a number of other social groups from the immediate production activity (Kradin 2011: 96).

Super-complex chiefdoms

More recently scholars have introduced the category of super-complex chiefdoms. The principal difference between complex and super-complex chiefdoms consists of a new principle rather than in the number of hierarchy levels. The weakness of complex chiefdoms lies in the fact that when they have many links, the supreme chief cannot overcome the separatism of sub-chiefs and the structures quickly break up. In super-complex chiefdoms, the ruler removes sub-chiefs and appoints his supporters to control the separate segments (Carneiro 2000; Kradin 2000). This allows the ruler to consolidate multinational polities of several hundreds of thousands (Kradin 2011: 96).

Pre-states

According to many current theories of the state, the main distinction between statehood and a pre-state forms lies in the fact that the chiefdom's ruler has only consensual power, *i.e.*, in essence authority, whereas in the state, the government can apply sanctions with the use of legitimated force... In this view, the power character of the rulers of the steppe empires is more consensual and prevented a monopoly of legal organs. The *chanyu*, khan, or khagan is primarily a redistributor and his power is provided by personal abilities and know-how to get prestige goods from the outside and redistribute them among subjects (Kradin 2004: 510, following Service 1975; Claessen and Skalník 1978).

Early states

Early states are characterized in part by food production yielding regular surplus used to maintain the specialists and the privileged categories; scale; level of sociocultural and political complexity; and appreciable social and wealth stratification; and emergence of strata, or classes of the rulers and ruled (Grinin 2004: 104).

Xenocracies

These are polities in which nomad élites and their core tribes rule over subordinated peoples. In the transformation from a tribal pastoral system to a nomadic xenocratic empire, the only change which is observed is a growth in the total population. The political system becomes more complex and the total number of hierarchical levels increases. In Kradin's view, the xenocratic empires of nomads represent the limits reached in the increasing complexity of pastoral societies, since nomads did not independently evolve beyond this stage of integration (Kradin 2004: 502, 514). Golden considers Kradin's "xenocratic," "super-complex chiefdom" to be virtually the same as Barfield's "imperial confederacy" (Barfield 1989; Golden 2018: 322–323).

This body of theory necessarily leads scholars to the conclusion that nomads in ancient and medieval Eurasia could not have had a state *by definition*. For example, Golden questions whether the Hsiung-nu (Pinyin *Xiongnu*) actually formed a state (Golden 1992: 64). Elsewhere he writes: Scholars have based most of their analyses of “nomadic states”/ “empires” on the Xiongnu or Mongol realms, which according to the various schools of thought, met or did not meet the prerequisites for “statehood” (Golden 2018: 322–323).

In considering what signs of an early state can be found in the Xiongnu confederation, Kradin sees the conservation of clan-lineage relations as characteristic, but also observes the case of some extra-clan relations in the management subsystem. The other sign indicating an early state is related to the means of income acquisition by the administrative élite. Here, the financial source of the functionaries is fed at the expense of their subjects as well as by wages from the center. Nomadic elites have always received presents from pastoralists. The *chanyu* of the Xiongnu had no money to pay wages to the chiefs and patriarchs, so he gave presents to their companions-in-arms. One of the most important signs of the early state is the presence of a written code of laws, which the Xiongnu are lacking. The Xiongnu power, like other nomadic empires, had an autocratic and state-like appearance on the outside, as it was established to withdraw surplus products from outside the steppe, but it was based on tribal relations on the inside. Such polities can be called xenocratic (Kradin 2011: 86, 94).

This body of theory, which consists in large measure of Soviet and post-Soviet scholarship, has another inherent shortcoming for which reason it has been criticized – with good reason, in my view – by Khazanov:

The Soviet studies of pastoral nomadism, however serious and important they were in many respects, suffered from one important deficiency. Their fundamental premise was the Marxist concept of universal and progressive socioeconomic formations. In accordance with this, every society had to develop in a similar way and in the same direction, and the nomads were in no way considered an exception. Thus, ideology forced Soviet scholars to deal with an unsolvable problem: how to prove that the nomads were developing toward higher economic systems (Khazanov 2004: 485).

I must admit that this sampling of rarified views taken from the theoretical discussions focusing on nomadic empires in medieval Eurasia does not inspire great confidence in me as a specialist on the history of the Golden Horde. I do not consider that these definitions allow me to develop better insights into the structure of that state (which by definition I apparently should not even consider to have been a state, in the view of this body of theory). These definitions and

many more points which I have not mentioned seem to hold an inherent bias in favor of sedentary states with agricultural production, a monetary economy, a well-developed writing system, and a bureaucracy (cf. Di Cosmo 2002: 173). Definitions based on such inherent biases would necessarily exclude pastoral nomadic polities from consideration as a state.

Another approach which should be mentioned here is offered by Di Cosmo (1999), who emphasizes the role of crisis, militarization, the charismatic leader and sacral investiture, centralized government structures, and revenues and territorial expansion in the formation of steppe empires in Eurasia. His periodization of these empires into tribute empires (209 BCE–551 CE), trade-tribute empires (551–907), dual-administration empires (907–1259), and direct-taxation empires (1260–1796) seems to focus entirely on the way nomadic empires extract resources from hapless external societies.

In conclusion, I am not sure whether we can identify a universal definition of “state” or one for pre-modern Eurasia which would suit our purposes here well. The received theory seems to deny that there were nomadic states in medieval Eurasia (or, more precisely, that the nomadic polities in medieval Eurasia *qualified* as states). I am very skeptical about the usefulness of such an intellectual dead end, since it does not allow us to discuss Turkic *statehood* until the establishment of late medieval or early modern empires, or in some cases perhaps even modern nation-states? On the other hand, there is also the question of the purpose or goals of the state, which is an altogether different issue. I have just noted as well that one prominent scholar defines the role of the pre-modern polity as extracting resources from its population. (One would think that no scholar of nomadic empires has ever paid taxes to a modern state...) In contrast, in modern times, the goals of the state are often considered to be based on liberal or universal values, or are related to the notion of guarding the boundaries of the state, the currency, and the welfare of the population. If international academic theory cannot offer a working definition of a complex pre-modern nomadic polity or – upon providing a definition of a “state” – agree that nomadic empires formed states, then there is a very large problem in the international theoretical scholarship which deserves a considered response. Otherwise, in the view of this body of theoretical literature we cannot talk about states formed by pastoral nomads in medieval Eurasia or earlier *by definition*.

Who is a “Turkic” sovereign?

I do not mean to be flippant, but this leads me to pose the fundamental question: “Who is a Turk?” (on the name *Türk* see Golden 1992: 115–117). If we

go back to the earliest Turkic state, the First Türk Qağanate established in 552, we have ample reason to suppose that the first rulers of the first state we are accepting as “Turkic” may not have been of Turkic origin, and/or not even speakers of a Turkic language. As many scholars have observed, the name 阿史那 *A-shih-na* (Pinyin *Ashina*) denoting the royal family which established the dynasty of the First Türk Qağanate likely has non-Turkic origins. Needless to say, there are many different reconstructions of the pronunciation of this name. To cite just one view, according to Beckwith the reconstruction of the name pronounced in modern Chinese as *A-shih-na* itself transcribes Old Turkic *arşilaş*, which is a borrowing from the Tokharian A title *ārśilāñci~ārśilās* “noble (*ārśi*) king (*lās*)” (Beckwith 2016: 43). Thus, according to this interpretation, the name refers to the lineage as a noble one, without denoting any particular language or ethnicity.³

When it comes to the names of the earliest Türk rulers, we see a long list of names offered by Golden, including: A-pang-pu (Pinyin *Abangbu*), No-tu-lu/No-tu-liu (*Nodulu/Noduliu*), A-hsien (*Axian*), T’u-wu (*Tuwu*), Bumın, T’u-men (*Tumen*), İştämi, *Muqan/Muğan, *Taspar, *Nivar/Näbär, and Näbuk/Nävuk. Most of these names are not readily recognizable as Turkic names in the sense of being related etymologically to the modern Turkic languages of today. In the case of many of these names (No-tu-lu/No-tu-liu, *Muqan/Muğan, *Nivar/Näbär, Näbuk/Nävuk) they are unlikely to be of Turkic origin linguistically because of the initial nasal consonant *m*-, *n*-, *ñ*- (Golden 1992: 121–122). We may certainly assume that the first generation or two (or possibly even more?) of rulers of the First Türk Qağanate may not have been speakers of a Turkic language (see also Sinor 1990: 289–290). While the question of what language they spoke is an interesting question for all scholars, it is not the most pressing consideration for understanding the origins of their state. It can be of concern, however, for the national history of modern Turkic nation-states, which is an entirely different matter and not our direct concern here.

On the other hand, the dominant language of the majority of the population of the state was probably Turkic, for which reason we see the linguistic Turkification of the dynasty by the time of the Second Türk Empire. There is no doubt that Sogdian had played a role as a *lingua franca* before the 8th century as evidenced by the Bugut Inscription (late 7th century), but the Old Turkic runiform inscriptions of the early 8th century offer clear evidence that the sovereign was addressing his subjects in the language which they spoke and which the sovereign evidently commanded at a very high level, especially since the texts offer evidence of literary

³ Additional new insights for addressing this matter are to be found in Beckwith 2023. I hope to return to this topic in a future contribution.

features and some of the passages echo the language of the later Turkic oral epics. I have also discussed the role of the Plague in the Time of Justinian as speeding the demise of Sogdian as a *lingua franca* in Mongolia and the dominant written language in Central Asia, opening the way to the rise of new vernacular-based written Turkic languages, albeit in two phases (Schamiloglu 2017b).

Thus, the founders of the earliest Turkic state may not have spoken a Turkic language (or, if they did, perhaps as a second language). Instead, they were from the *Arşilaş* noble lineage whose ethnic or linguistic roots were distinct from that of speakers of Turkic languages. Over time, however, the rulers of the Türk Qağanate no doubt became speakers of a Turkic language. Certainly by the beginning of the 8th century at the latest, the earliest rulers of the Second Türk Qağanate were no doubt speakers of a Turkic language as their native language, and perhaps as their only language. This is parallel to the case of the Golden Horde by the time of Özbek Khan (if not earlier). It is clear that within a century following the establishment of the Mongol World Empire by speakers of the Mongolian language (predominantly?), the Golden Horde had become a thoroughly Turkic-speaking state, assimilating to the dominant linguistic community residing in the territory of the state. In this way, the Chinggisid empire's originally Mongolian-speaking élite became Turkic-, Persian-, and Chinese-speaking élites in the territories of the Golden Horde and the Chağatay Khanate, in the Il-Khanate, and in Yüan China respectively. Following the collapse of the Golden Horde, the Chağatay Khanate, and the Il-Khanate, the post-Chinggisid rulers were usually speakers of a Turkic language through the beginning of the 20th century.

What is the title of a “Turkic” sovereign?

I would say that all pre-modern Turkic polities were led by a ruler whom we may term the “sovereign”. As we have already seen, not all scholars classify these pre-modern polities as states, so for this reason it is necessary to state the obvious. The title of the sovereign in the First Türk Qağanate was *qağan*. The *qağan* underwent sacral investiture, was raised on a felt carpet, turned around 9 times, paraded on horseback, and ritually strangled with a silk scarf. Just as he was about to lose consciousness, he was asked how many years he would serve as ruler, which he then explicitly stated (Liu Mau-Tsai 2019: 20; Golden 1992: 147). The *qağan* ruled over a complex socio-political organization which we may call a “state”. This tradition then continued in the many states which descended from the First Türk Qağanate.

Before I proceed any further, I should say a few words about the question of the title *xağan* ~ *qağan* and whether it is related to the term *xan* used later (EDT

1972: 611). According to Doerfer, *xağan* ~ *qağan* is a Hsien-pi (Pinyin *Xianbei*) title **xa'an* borrowing into Juan-juan (Pinyin *Rouran*) (TMEN 1963–1975, III: 141–180). Janhunén and Schönig consider the Xianbei to have been speakers of a Para-Mongolic language (Janhunén 2003: 391–393; Schönig 2003: 405–406).

There is also disagreement about the relationship between the terms *xağan*~*qağan* and the terms *xaqan* and *xan*. For me, the evolution of *xağan* ~ *qağan* > *xaqan* or the parallel evolution among the Chinggisids of (*qağan* >) *qa'an* > *xān* (the first used by the Chinggisid imperial historians) seemed to make the most sense, especially since the latter is a regular development from Middle Mongolian to New Mongolian. As we will see below, the title *xağan* ~ *qağan* has such a long history that it makes sense to see this as a very stable single term (or institution?) borrowed back and forth, rather than a cluster of unrelated terms. On the other hand, others believe, on reasonable grounds, that the distinction between *qağan* and *xan* was maintained in the Chinggisid period, with the former the term for “supreme ruler” and the latter term for just “ruler” (Vovin 2007: 179). I am increasingly swayed by this approach.

In the end, the “chicken or egg” question remains unanswered (or unanswerable) for now, namely: “Which came first, the first Turkic sovereign or the first Turkic state?” In other words, did the first Türk *qağan* precede the establishment of the First Türk Qağanate and therefore create it, or did the establishment of the First Türk Qağanate elevate its ruler into a sovereign bearing the title *qağan*? One question we may ask is whether the ruler of the First Türk Qağanate had to meet certain requirements for proclaiming himself *qağan*, or whether any leader of any polity was allowed to proclaim himself *qağan* in the spirit of “success breeds success.” Was being a scion of the *Arşilaş* noble lineage sufficient? What were the consequences of proclaiming yourself a *qağan* if you did not already have both a noble lineage and a powerful organization backing you? Was there only one form of qağanate, or was there already variation among the states with sovereigns using this title in the period of the First Türk Qağanate or earlier? We observe that the title *qağan* was passed down to the Western Türk Qağanate and then on to the Khazars, which is why many features associated with the *qağan* in the Khazar state such as the investiture ceremony are identical with those described in the sources for the earlier Türk Qağanate and other states (Golden 1982: 46–47, 59–60; 1991: 240).

Nor do these terms have a single path moving forward. The term *xaqan* is known in the Qaraxanid period (as used famously by Kaşgari), but the ruler to whom the *Qutadğū bilig* is dedicated is Tavgaç Uluğ Buğra Xan, thus showing that the two titles co-existed in an Islamic Turkic milieu already in the 11th century (see the

discussion in Vovin 2007), regardless of whether the possible original distinction between the two was maintained. As already noted above, Vovin argues that the distinction between *qağan* ~ *qa'an* and *xan* was maintained in the Chinggisid period, with the former the term used to designate the “supreme ruler” and the latter term for just “ruler” (Vovin 2007: 179).

The title *xaqan* is used later by the Safavids and Qacars, whereas the Ottoman sultan used the title *xan* (modern Turkish *han*), among many other titles. Of course, since this title (or titles) was used in the Mongol World Empire and the fate of a large part of the Turkic world was to merge with the Chinggisid state tradition, this begs the question of whether we can also see the Chinggisid state tradition as a neo-Turkic state tradition because it adopts titles associated with the earlier Turkic state tradition while also incorporating elements of earlier Uyğur bureaucratic traditions. If not, would it be more accurate to consider the later Turkic khans of the Later Golden Horde and the post-Timurid states of Central Asia as representing a unique new synthesis of the Turkic and Chinggisid state traditions, and therefore distinct from each of them?⁴

What is the prehistory of “Turkic” sovereignty?

In this section I am concerned with the pre-history of the state tradition which culminated in the establishment of the First Türk Qağanate and its institutions. As I noted above, there is much evidence suggesting that the first generation(s) of rulers of the First Türk Qağanate did not speak a Turkic language. Therefore, it should not be surprising that the titles connected to the institutions of the First and Second Türk Qağanate appear to be largely or even completely of non-Turkic origin (*i.e.*, their names cannot be etymologized on the basis of modern Turkic languages). Indeed, as already noted, many scholars believe that much of the political system of the Türk derives from the Rouran, whom the Türk first overthrew, with some elements going back to the Hsien-pi (*Xianbei*) and even back to the Hsiung-nu (*Xiongnu*) (Golden 1992: 71–72, 146). On the Rouran see further Kradin (2005) and de la Vaissière (2024: “Index thématique”). For a different perspective, see He and Guo (2008: 19ff., 147–149).

This also begs the question of the ethnic and linguistic composition of the Xiongnu. Vovin offers the controversial argument that the language they spoke was an ancestor of Ket, a Yeniseian language. On the other hand, Beckwith (2019) has argued that the name of the Xiongnu suggested that they were

⁴ I hope to explore this topic in greater detail in a paper to be presented at the 2nd Turkic Statehood History Congress organized by the Turkic Academy (Almaty, Kazakhstan, 4 October 2024).

actually Eastern Iranians, in other words Scythians. Schönig argues that there is evidence for Turkic components among the Hsiung-nu (Schönig 2003: 405; see also Tekin 1993). Dybo sees the Xiongnu words transcribed in Chinese to be partially of Eastern Iranian origin and partially of Turkic origin (see Dybo 2007: 82–115 and the summary on 114–115; Savelyev and Jeong 2020: 5–6 and Table 1). All this is consistent with the view that the Xiongnu confederation was most likely multi-ethnic and multi-lingual including ancestors of the Rouran, Xianbei (**Serbi*), and Turks (see also Di Cosmo 2002: 161–166; on their genetic diversity see most recently Lee et al. 2023). Based on a variety of evidence, Savelyev and Jeong argue that the Turkic component was, in fact, predominant (Savelyev and Jeong 2020: 4–6, 12).

Whether speakers of an earlier Turkic language were a predominant portion of the population of the Xiongnu or not, the leader of the Xiongnu was not a *qağan*, he bore instead the title *chányú* 單于 (see Pulleyblank 1991: 48, 381).⁵ Pulleyblank has suggested that the title *chanyu* (formerly read *shanyu* by Sinologists) may be reconstructed as **dān-ḥwāḥ*, suggesting that the Chinese pronunciation was originally an approximation for later Mongolian **darxan* (EDT, 539–540; Golden 2012). Since it forms its plural in *-t* in Old Turkic, it suggests that this word must have been a Mongolian or Para-Mongolic borrowing in Old Turkic (Vovin 2007: 182). Most recently, Beckwith has proposed that it reflects the Scythian title **Dānava* “the (great) river” (2023: 197–198), parallel to the other Eurasian titles based on a vast body of water. In other words, it is unlikely that the title *chanyu* is of Turkic origin etymologically. On the use of the title *chanyu* (see most recently Miller 2024: 220–232).

What about the title *qağan*, then? Scholars have argued variously that *qağan* was a term of Turkic, Mongolian, Iranian, or even Kettic origin used for the first time by the sovereign of the Hsien-pi (*Xianbei*) or **Serbi* (Golden 1992: 71–72, 146). According to Pulleyblank, the Rouran title goes back to the Xiongnu title *hùyú* 護于 reconstructed as Old Chinese **ḥwax-ḥwāḥ* representing an original **ḡ^waḡ^wā* or **GaGā* (Pulleyblank 1962: 261; Vovin 2007: 178, 180–181). This Xiongnu term was renamed from the Left Virtuous King 左賢王.⁶ Dybo suggests a possible Iranian etymology (Dybo 2007: 119–120; cf. Benveniste 1966: 33). Vovin (2007, 2010) argues the Xiongnu title *huyu* reflects an original word **qa-qan* “great-qan” (**qa-* “great, supreme”) which is not of Altaic origin, but which he derives rather

⁵ See Wiktionary: <https://en.wiktionary.org/wiki/%E5%96%AE%E4%BA%8E> . Accessed: 1 February 2024.

⁶ See Wiktionary: <https://en.wiktionary.org/wiki/%E8%AD%B7%E4%BA%8E> . Accessed: 1 February 2024.

from the reconstructed Yeniseian morpheme meaning “big, great”. He explains *qan* ~ *xan* (“qan”) as the same in Yeniseian but without that initial morpheme. He offers the same explanation for the titles of their wives, **qağatun* and **qatun*, respectively (TMEN 1963-1975, III: 136; Volin 2007: 177). For our purposes here, suffice it to say that apparently the title *huyu* did not mean “supreme ruler” among the Xiongnu, although once in the sources the *huyu* was said to be in line to succeed the *chanyu* (Pulleyblank 1962: 261).

Finally, against this backdrop, let us simply list some additional Old Turkic names representing titles or institutions: *qatun* (EDT 1972: 602–603), *yabğu* (EDT 1972: 873), *şad* (EDT 1972: 866), *tegin* (EDT 1972: 483), *eltebär* (EDT 1972: 134), *irkin* (EDT 1972: 225), *tarxan* (EDT 1972: 539–540), *ısbara* (EDT 1972: 257), *şadpıt* (EDT 1972: 867), *tudun* (EDT 1972: 457), *çor* (EDT 1972: 427–428), *totoq* (EDT 1972: 453), *beg* (EDT 1972: 322–323), *kül* (EDT 1972: 715). Some of these are appointees of the ruler, possibly even related to him (*yabğu*, *şad*), others appear to be leaders of tribes presumably not appointed by the ruler (*beg*) (see also He and Guo 2008: 59–60, 83–86, 89–91). Some appear to be ancient titles predating the First Türk Qağanate by many centuries (*yabğu*), a few may be explained etymologically on the basis of modern Turkic languages (for example *totoq*?; but cf. Hao 2021: 31, 61, 250). Without a more definitive description of the institutions and social organization of the First Türk Qağanate (Golden 1992: 146–149, Taşağıl 2022: 24, 120–138) and more detailed information about the prior states preceding the First Türk Qağanate from the time of the Xiongnu on, all we can do is note that some of these names are attested well before the time of the First Türk Qağanate and that most are not to be explained on the basis of the earliest attested Old Turkic or modern Turkic languages. This suggests that these names, and possibly the institutions they represent, also existed in earlier states and somehow became a basic part of the state tradition from which the First Türk Qağanate arose. For the most recent treatment of many of these titles and institutions, see de la Vaissière (2024: “Index thématique”).

How may we define a “Turkic state”?

As a medieval historian, I would suggest that in a nomadic polity in medieval Eurasia, the sovereign would have organized the people and governed them in that polity relying both on appointed subordinates ruling over subject peoples as well as independent heads of lineages ruling over units which we may call “tribes”. The sovereign, who ruled as a sacral king, safeguarded the welfare of his population, promoted increased economic activity (including commerce) and the generation

of income (including taxation), and used the income derived from such activity to maintain security and the loyalty of his followers. This may include the defense of that polity's lands and population (which was key to its livelihood) and expansion of that polity's lands and population through the conquest of new territories and by adding the loyalty of new subject peoples. Fixed urban centers served the projection of political and religious authority and the promotion of trade, along with income from the taxes collected from that trade and its transit through commercial hubs. Perhaps these features were common to all historical nomadic polities and may have even been universal, especially in those areas which were part of a larger network of transregional trade. This begs the question of whether this is enough to be called a "state". In my view, the answer is affirmative.

Many studies of medieval Turkic states emphasize the role of the "charismatic *qağan*" and/or the "sacral ruler". Is this, indeed, the defining characteristic of a "Turkic state", or just a characteristic of pre-modern (and even some modern) sovereigns? In Eurasia the Chinggisid tradition continues this aspect; but how do we relate this to the Middle Eastern tradition as in the case of the Ottoman sultan (whose titles also included *khan*, *sultan üs-selatin*, and *khaqan*), for example? Given the proximity of the southwestern end of the Golden Horde territories to northwestern Anatolia, might there even be a basis for investigating possible ties of the Ottoman dynasty to the Chinggisids, a tantalizing question the groundwork for which has been laid by Heywood (2000, 2012)?

What was the role of a "Turkic state"?

When it comes to the question of the "role" of a Turkic state (compared with the modern notions of state), one may have various approaches from organizing the people for some ideological purpose (in order to organize a state, as reflected in the Old Turkic inscriptions), perhaps even to bring religious order to the world. I would like to focus here on what I believe to be one of the bases of the nomadic state, and therefore of many (or all) premodern Turkic states, namely economic redistribution so the sovereign may maintain the loyalty of his followers (cf. Taşağıl 2022: 128). This universal principle would not be limited to Turkic states, of course.

According to the *Jiu Tangshu*'s description of the Tūrgeş ruler Su-lu (Suluk) (d. 738) in Transoxiana:

"Every time he campaigned, he distributed among his generals, officers and members of his hordes all the booty he had taken. His subjects loved him and were entirely at his service".

The *Jiu Tangshu* notes that when he began to keep more of the booty for himself, his popularity declined (Golden 1992: 140).

We know that Chinggis Khan also insisted on controlling the distribution of booty, I would argue for the same reason. According to Rashīd al-Dīn, Chinggis Khan entrusted Jochi with the conquest of Otrar. After capturing and destroying the fortress in 1219, he made his way to his father in Samarqand, subjugating the regions along the way. Once there, Chinggis Khan sent him and his brothers Čağatay and Ögödey to capture Ürgench (Gurganj) in Khorezm (Boyle 1971: 117–118; Thackston 1993, Vol. 1: 253–255). The *Secret History of the Mongols* informs us that their subsequent failure to share the booty from Ürgench with their father incurred the wrath of Chinggis Khan (Atwood 2023: paragraph 260).

I will cite only one additional example from the 17th century, namely from Evliya Çelebi's description of efforts of the new Crimean khan "Çoban Giray" (Adil Giray, r. 1666–1671) to collect the periodic tax on slaves:

"After the legal authority to collect 5 *kuruş* per slave was granted, they counted the slaves in 24 *kadı* districts and arrived at a figure of 400,000 Cossack slaves. The khan decided to distribute hundreds in alms-tax (*esir zekâtı*) to the *mirzas* and soldiers, 100,000 to the *karaçıs* and their people and the palace troops, and 100,000 to the religious class. Out of the 100,000 remaining to himself he also distributed funds to members of his retinue. Thus, he was able to convince the entire class of notables to agree to the tax" (Evliya Çelebi/Cevdet, 8: 33–38, Evliya Çelebi/Çevik, 8: 5–8; Evliya Çelebi/Dankoff et al., 8: 195b–197a; Schamiloglu 2020: 305–306).

Searching for such descriptions of economic redistribution from the 8th century to the early century 20th century might be an interesting project for a well-versed doctoral student, but it is beyond the scope of what I am trying to accomplish here. If collected, however, I believe that economic redistribution will emerge as a consistent principle underlying the maintenance by the sovereign of the loyalty of his followers. I am sure that this has relevance for how we understand the Khanate of Kazan (and its failure, due to internal politics), the Ottoman Empire, the Safavid Empire, and the Khanates of Khiva and Kokand as well, were we to approach it from that point of view. (I am sure that there are many studies regarding the Ottoman state which would be relevant here, but I will not try to cite any of the relevant literature here).

A Turkic state without a sovereign, or stateless formation?

Let us recall that Golden (2018) frames the article which I have cited in the preceding as the "stateless nomads of Central Eurasia". In Golden's view,

the Polovtsians/Qumans/Kipchaks constituted a case of “stateless adaptation” (1991). Of course, as noted earlier, this is also dependent on the definition of “state” which one follows. Various sources describe that there was no central authority among the Kipchaks, only leaders within each tribe (Golden 1992: 279–281). How can we characterize the relationship between the individual tribal formations (see Golden 1992: 278–279). Is the key to understanding whether they develop a state or not the economy (Golden 2018: 319)? Golden describes the report of Börjek the Elder howling like a wolf on the eve of a campaign as harking back to the wolf-myth of the A-shih-na Türk origins. Should this be understood as a widespread practice, or does it suggest some real (or possibly fictive) claim to that lineage (Golden 1992: 281)? I should also note that while we do not have enough conclusive information on whether the Kipchaks had a khan, one can see the Kipchak chieftain Kōten referred to sometimes by the title “khan”.

A contrasting approach is offered by Sneath (2007) who argues that aristocratic power and state-like processes of administration were the true organizers of life on the steppe. Since the colonial era, representations of Inner Asia have been dominated by images of nomads organized into clans and tribes, but Sneath argues that these representations have no basis in historical fact. Rather, he views them as the product of nineteenth-century evolutionist social theory, which saw kinship as the organizing principle in a nonstate society. This book has not been received well by some specialists in medieval Eurasian history, see for example Golden (2009) and other reviews, plus the rejoinder by Sneath (2010). As will be seen from what follows, I have a strong basis for disagreement with Sneath, too.

What was the role of individual units below the level of the state?

In addition to the importance of defining terms such as state and sovereign, yet another term which requires definition is the socio-political units which form a core part of a polity, as well as other socio-political units which fall outside of the polity (“subject” or “allied” peoples). One of the problems we face in the study of the history of polities in Eurasia is the failure to distinguish between sovereigns who headed a ruling lineage or dynasty, versus leaders of non-dynasty-forming units, versus allied or subject peoples. In my view, one of the characteristic features of polities in Eurasian history is regular internal subdivisions within the structure of the polity in which the leader heads the unit’s own internal ruling lineage. This is independent of the lineage of the sovereign. It is also different from the groups or peoples over whom the sovereign appoints his own representative to govern them. We absolutely need to distinguish these groups and their leaders from one another.

The earliest polity about which we have a written description is the Xiongnu. The relevant passage in Chapter 110 of the *Shiji* is as follows:

“Under the *Shanyu* are the Wise Kings of the Left and Right, the left and right Luli kings, left and right generals, left and right commandants, left and right household administrators, and left and right Gudu marquises. The Xiongnu word for “wise” is “*tuqi*”, so that the heir of the *Shanyu* is customarily called the “*Tuqi* King of the Left”. Among the other leaders, from the wise kings on down to the household administrators, the more important ones command 10,000 horsemen and the lesser ones several thousand, numbering twenty-four leaders in all, though all are known by the title of “Ten Thousand Horsemen”. The high ministerial offices are hereditary, being filled from generation to generation by the members of the Huyan and Lan families, and in more recent times by the Xubu family. These three families constitute the aristocracy of the nation... The Left and Right Wise Kings and Luli kings are the most powerful, while the Gudu marquises assist the *Shanyu* in the administration of the nation. Each of the twenty-four leaders in turn appoints his own “chiefs of a thousand”, “chiefs of a hundred”, and “chiefs of ten”, as well as his subordinate kings, prime ministers, chief commandants, household administrators, *juqu* officials, and so forth” (Sima Qian, Watson 1993: 136–137).

In a fundamental contribution to the study of this question, Pritsak (1954) examines this passage and other sources to analyze these 24 officials (or leaders of socio-political units) known as the 24 *Ta-ch'en* (Pinyin *Dachen*). There were male relatives of the *chanyu* and appointed by him to a number of ranks. They are divided into the highest-ranking category of 4 “horns”, below which was a second category of 6 “horns”. Below them were the lowest-ranking group of 14 officials. They served as a council of state which met 3 times per year. Pritsak also notes the families or lineages (Pritsak refers to them as *Schwagerstämme*) which maintained regular marriage ties with the *chanyu*, namely the left tribe *Hu-yen* (Pinyin *Huyan*), the right tribe *Lan* (Pinyin *Lan*), and later the right tribe *Hsü-pu* (Pinyin *Xubu*), as well as a fourth tribe, the *Ch'iu-lin* (Pinyin *Qiulin*) or according to another source *Ch'iao* (Pinyin *Qiao*) (see also Di Cosmo 2002: 178). This tableau requires further study and clarification so that we may be able distinguish more clearly socio-political units or subject peoples whose head is appointed by the *chanyu* from socio-political units with their own hereditary lineages.

He and Guo describe the division of Türk society into clans, tribes, and tribal confederations (2008: 40–55). They argue that by the mid-5th century the Türk

had formed a tribal confederation based on the Ten Tribe (*On oq*) with the Ashina clan as the core tribe (2008: 52). In this passage the authors do not draw a clear distinction between “clan” and “tribe”. They also claim that after the foundation of the Türk Qağanate, the tribal confederation was replaced by the polity of the qağanate. While many tribes remained in the western regime, the divisions within the Ten Tribes were gradually destroyed and replaced by the “enfeoffment” system of the Ashina clan (2008: 53).

Closer to the time of the First Türk Qağanate, there is information about “black” and “yellow” tribes among the Tūrgeş (Golden 1992: 140). In the First Türk Qağanate the core tribes were joined by numerous other peoples (Golden 1992: 141–146). There are also indications of a quadrapartite division of the Türk Qağanate (Sinor 1990: 298). The Eastern and Western Türk were divided into 2 tribal confederations, the Nu-shih-pi (Pinyin *Nushibi*) and the Tu-lu (Pinyin *Duolu*), each of which consisted of 5 tribes (Golden 1992: 135–141). In addition, later there were also the Toquz Oğuz and other formations which appeared to consist of multiple socio-political units.

How these divisions may be related to each other, if at all, and how they related to later peoples such as the Çigil cited by Mahmud al-Kaşgari also requires further elucidation. Of course, the ethnic map of the Turkic world changes radically in the Chinggisid period, which also begs the question of what kind of continuity in the composition and distribution of such socio-political units or tribes have existed from the pre-Chinggisid period to the Chinggisid period.

My own personal interest in this question goes back many years, beginning with my study of the role of tribes in the Golden Horde and the Later Golden Horde. I suggested that the basis of the socio-political organization Chinggisid states in the medieval period was an alliance between the Chinggisid khan and 4 high-status tribes which I termed “ruling tribes” (Schamiloglu 1984, 1986, 2019b). More recently I have discussed the marital ties strengthening the bonds between the Chinggisid khan and the “ruling tribes” in the Golden Horde in the 14th century (Schamiloglu 2020).

What insights does this offer on the role of discrete socio-political units within Turkic states in the pre-Chinggisid period? How far back in Eurasian history does this go, if it even predates the Xiongnu? How can the constituent socio-political units of the First and Second Türk Qağanates and later polities such as the Uyğur Qağanate, etc. be compared with what we see in the Chinggisid states of the Mongol World Empire and its successor khanates? How can we describe the differences between these states and those states which should not be considered successors of the Mongol World Empire such as the Selcuk, Ottoman, and Safavid

states? In this regard, is it useful to make a distinction between states forming in the northern Kipchak steppe zone versus states in the southern Oğuz zone? If so, are there geographic, environmental, economic, or other bases for such a distinction? These are all questions which should be explored further.

How did the Chinggisid states (d)evolve in the modern period?

Finally, a better understanding of the socio-political organization of the Chinggisid states in the medieval period allow us to contextualize better subsequent developments following the collapse of unity in the Mongol World Empire in the mid-14th century during the outbreak of pandemic caused by the bacterium *Yersinia pestis* (Schamiloglu 1993, 2004, 2017, 2021). In this regard we see that, after the collapse of the Chağatay Khanate into Mawarannahr and Moğolistan, these territories later were reunited by Timur (d. 1405), the son of the leader of the Barlas tribe. Timur did not pretend to be a Chinggisid khan, there was always a puppet Chinggisid khan in that role. He was the *küregen* “son-in-law”, since his father was a member of the tribal élite rather than a scion of the Chinggisid dynasty. This is an example of the move away, at least in terms of real authority in the state, from the Chinggisid sovereign being the most important authority in the state, in contrast to the first half of the 14th century in the Chağatay Khanate as well as the Golden Horde.

Later the Noğay Horde was dominated by the Mangit tribe and was ruled by a bey (*bi*) or tribal leader rather than a khan. The later Qazaq Khanate (established 1465) represents a departure (*qazaq çıqmaq*) from the established Chinggisid pattern of a khan ruling with the support of 4 high-status tribes, as continued to be the case with the Shibanids. The Shibanids later established themselves in the south in Central Asia beginning during a time of climatic downturn in the north (Schamiloglu 2019). In the Khanate of Bukhara the Shibanid (so Chinggisid) tradition continued from 1501 until 1785. After the death of Nader Shah in 1785, the Chinggisid dynasty ruling the state was replaced by the non-Chinggisid Mangit dynasty, who therefore now styled themselves *emir* rather than *khan*.

Thus, not only can we see a tableau of the emergence of the institution of *qağan* ~ *xan* and – arguably – its continuity in one form or another from Xiongnu times down to the 6th century, we can also arguably trace one form or another of continuity through the Chinggisid era down until the 18th-19th centuries. Over time we see the role of the Chinggisid dynasty decline and decay, ultimately giving way to tribal élites supplanting the Chinggisid dynasty. These were also Turkic states.

Conclusion

I have made an effort to try to identify some strands in the history of Turkic statehood going back in time to the First Türk Qağanate and then reaching back even further into the earliest historical polity in Eurasia, the Xiongnu. Turkic statehood has a deep history, and even deeper complex roots going back arguably to pre-Turkic times. It is hoped that this paper offers concrete proposals for bringing a certain order to our discussion of the genealogy of the Turkic states by (re)classifying them on the basis of certain aspects of their socio-political organization. I am aware that there are many other factors and state traditions which I have not even mentioned here, let alone addressed in depth.

Of course, I am approaching this as a scholar with a specialization in Turkology and history. When we think of modern historians in the Turkic world beginning with the great Tatar scholar Şihabeddin Märcani (1818–1889) and those historians who followed in his footsteps, we see the rise of a modern historiography reimagining the past from the perspective of new modern identities (usually under European influence, of course). I have not even mentioned ideologists such as Yusuf Akçura who contributed so much to our reconceptualization of Turkic identity and *Türklük ~ Türkçülük* at the turn of the 20th century. With the establishment of modern Turkic nations and political states, each has striven to create its own national history. Naturally each national history creates myths and invents linkages with the past. Even so, without taking a political or ideological standpoint, it is still possible, in my belief, to attempt a scholarly analysis which can prove productive in identifying shared elements in our common Turkic past.

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THE CONCEPT OF THE “TURKIC CITY”: AN INTRODUCTION TO THE PROBLEM

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Keywords: “Turkic city”, Turkic Khaganate, Karakhanid Khaganate, Central Asia, Mahmud Kashgari, O. G. Bol’shakov, “Dīwānu Lughāt al-Turk”, turkization, pre-islamic period.

Abstract: The concept of the “Turkic city” encompasses a unique blend of historical and cultural attributes that define the urban landscapes developed by Turkic peoples. In this study, the author revisits the perspective of the Soviet scholar O. G. Bol’shakov. In particular, the concept of “Turkic city” in the written sources of the Karakhanids and the earlier period is examined in a historical retrospective, and the genesis of the “Turkic city” is discussed. On this basis, we are looking for answers to questions such as when the concept of “Turkic city” spread in the region, which regions are understood by the “land of the Turks” or “Turkestan”, the processes of Turkization and some features of the “Turkic city”. In the 10th–11th centuries the concept of a “Turkic city” was widespread. However, it existed in this region much earlier, as evidenced by scattered information found in written sources, linguistic materials such as place names and terms associated with urbanism, as well as archaeological finds. To understand how the “Turkic city” came about, one must consider several key factors. Firstly, it is important to examine the early Turkic settlements, which served as the foundation for both nomadic and settled lifestyles. Secondly, we need to explore how these settlements developed into cities. Additionally, it is crucial to understand the evolution of these cities and their distinctive characteristics as Turkic cities. Furthermore, we must take into account the impact of other civilizations on the emergence and advancement of Turkic urban centers. A comprehensive synthesis of historical data allows us to better understand the historical and cultural significance of the “Turkic cities”. This analysis opens new perspectives for future research in this area. The results of the study show that “Turkic cities” have ancient origins dating back to the pre-Islamic period. In particular, the history and culture of the Western and Eastern Turkic Khaganates were very different. These cities developed under the influence of both local traditions and external factors, which made them unique.

Introduction

During the early and developed Middle Ages, the integration and consolidation of the various peoples of Eurasia intensified. This process is especially noticeable in the phenomenon of the “city”, where the mutual interests of sedentary and nomadic civilizations intersected. Urbanization processes, along with associated social relations and changes in urban structure, most fully reveal the characteristics of society and its general sociocultural capabilities.

In recent years, archaeological expeditions conducted by Japanese, German, and Mongolian scientists in the Orkhon Valley have been focused on finding the capital of the Mongol Empire, Karakorum, and the palace of Ogedei (Bemmann 2010: 14–18; Hüttel, Erdenebat 2009). Additionally, there have been several new studies by Russian archaeologists dedicated to the monuments of Uyghur, Khitan, and Mongolian cities (Panin, Arzhantseva 2010: 14–19; Kradin, Ivliev, Ochir, Vasyutin, Danilov, Nikitin, Erdenebold 2011). At the same time, in recent years, researchers have focused on the fenced tent camps of the Turkic and Mongolian peoples (referred to as “Turk ebi” – the author), the tent city or ordu, mobile or pastoral urbanism, and terms associated with the city (Andrews 1999; Osawa 2009; Golden 2013; Gharipour, Sobti 2015: 22–55). These studies have provided a clearer understanding of the presence of proto-urban settlements and cities in Mongolia over an extended period.

Some scholars believe that the cities in the steppes were not built gradually due to the development of agriculture or as trade and craft centres. They were constructed by order of the rulers as military and administrative centres, as well as places for tax collection (Fedorov-Davydov 1973: 16–17; Khazanov 2002: 367; Barfield 2009: 129). These nomadic cities appeared in the steppes for a short period, usually during the time when nomadic empires were at their peak. After the collapse of the empire, these cities were either abandoned or lost their importance. Therefore, the cities of the steppes differed from the cities of settled oases in the region as they were ephemeral and short-lived (Drobyshev 2005: 53). They did not emerge naturally, but were an adaptation to the nomadic lifestyle and cattle breeding.

In general, the cities of the steppe regions, which are also called “nomadic” or “steppe” cities, have been studied much less than the cities of the oases. J. Beman and S. Reichert attributed the scarcity of urban literature among nomads to two primary factors: firstly, the enduring scholarly focus on ancient civilizations rooted in the dichotomy between nomadic tribes and sedentary civilizations. Secondly, the geopolitics of the 20th century confined the Eurasian steppe regions within the Soviet Union, its allies, and partly within

China, restricting access for Western scientists until later in the century. This lack of access to literature and limited archaeological research opportunities deprived the scientific community of valuable comparative studies (Bemmann, Reichert 2020). Additionally, a significant challenge arises from foreign researchers' unfamiliarity with the Soviet-era and Russian-language literature, often relying solely on works translated into English. For example, in their 2020 article on Karakorum, J. Bemmann and S. Reichert (Bemmann, Reichert 2020) failed to mention the work by S. V. Danilov (Danilov 2004).

In any case, this issue requires further study in the future. The solution to this problem primarily depends on the results of archaeological excavations. It can be said that our understanding of the history of cities in Central Asia in the pre-Mongol period largely depends on how archaeological research develops (Komatsu 1994: 299).

In the Soviet Union during the 1950s, following the concepts proposed by V. V. Bartold and A. Yu. Yakubovsky, significant archaeological materials were obtained concerning the history of Central Asian cities. However, the theoretical understanding of urban development remained at the level of the 1950s (Belenitskij, Bentovich, Bol'shakov 1973: 136). Soviet scientists dedicated considerable attention in their urban studies to the quantification, expansion, classification, and typology of cities (Malikov 2017: 64). Their focus on the history and urban planning of Central Asian cities emphasized metrics such as city count and size. Notably, publications since the 1950s consistently underscore the predominant interest among authors in these metrics.

Undoubtedly, the ruins of cities identified with cities in written sources should also be included in the list of cities, or rather, only those cities that were considered cities in the opinion of people of that time were real cities (Belenitskij, Bentovich, Bol'shakov 1973: 165). However, this criterion, however, applies primarily to regions with a substantial inventory of documented cities. Distinguishing between urban and village settlements proves challenging due to the frequent overlap of "city" and "village" concepts. Typically, the differentiation hinges not on the advancement of crafts and trade, but rather on the presence or absence of administrative authority – a hallmark prevalent in the Muslim world from the 8th to 13th centuries (Belenitskij, Bentovich, Bol'shakov 1973: 165).

"Turkic city" in the context of Oleg G. Bol'shakov

In their 1973 book "The Medieval City of Central Asia", the authors meticulously examined earlier works by scholars such as V. V. Bartold, A. Yu. Yakubovsky, and S. P. Tolstov concerning Central Asian cities. The

second part of the book, authored by O. G. Bol'shakov – an orientalist, scholar of Islamic studies, archaeologist, expert on Urban studies and prominent Soviet-Russian scholar – focused on Central Asian urbanization in the aftermath of Arab conquest. Bol'shakov's work marked the first comprehensive synthesis of urban studies in Central Asia within Soviet academic circles until 1970, outlining future directions for urban research (Komatsu 1994: 288).

The author does not intend to analyze the entire book but will focus solely on the context provided by O. G. Bol'shakov:

“The Karakhanid conquest in 999 AD and the migration of the Seljuk Turkmen divided Central Asia into Khorasan and Transoxiana, marking the onset of Turkization that endured for centuries. At the same time, the sedentarization of the nomadic population took place with the emergence of originally Turkic cities in the northeast of Central Asia and the appearance of the Turkic element in the old Iranian and Tajik cities” (Belenitskij, Bentovich, Bol'shakov 1973: 133–134).

This context raises several questions for readers:

1. When did the process of Turkization begin in Central Asia? What does “Turkization” entail – the assimilation of other ethnic groups into Turkic culture, bilingualism, or a shift in ethnic identity due to the influx of Turkic tribes and their integration with the local population?
2. Who were the ethnic nomads in Central Asia, and how did they settle?
3. When did the emergence of originally Turkic cities in northeastern Central Asia commence? Which cities are considered genuinely Turkic, and what were their structural and cultural characteristics?
4. How did the Turkic influence manifest in ancient Iranian and Tajik cities? What are the distinct Turkic elements found in Central Asian urban environments?

Of course, it's impossible to provide comprehensive answers to all these questions within the confines of one article. Therefore, we will only briefly touch upon some of them.

Before delving into these issues, it is essential to examine the written sources upon which O. G. Bol'shakov relied for his research. Unlike his Russian-Soviet predecessors in urban studies, Bol'shakov extensively utilized Arabic and Persian written sources, alongside archaeological materials. He also demonstrated a comprehensive understanding of Western European scholarship on the “Islamic (Muslim) city”, enabling him to approach Central Asian cities from a broad intellectual perspective (Komatsu 1994: 288).

Regarding the coverage of Central Asian cities before the Mongol invasion in written sources, Bol'shakov categorized the sources into three groups:

1. Geographical works, including Ibn Khordadbakh, al-Yakubi, Ibn Rustah, Qudama ibn Jafar, Ibn al-Faqih, al-Istakhri, Ibn Hawkal, and Muqaddasi.

2. Works dedicated to city histories, such as “Kandiya” by an-Nasafi, the “History of Bukhara” by Narshahi, and the “Tarikhi Nishapur”.

3. Official documents (Belenitskij, Bentovich, Bol’shakov 1973: 137–140).

These sources formed the foundation of Bol’shakov’s comprehensive analysis of Central Asian cities during this period.

The objective of Bol’shakov’s study is to shed light on the cities of the post-Islamic period under the Karakhanids and Seljuks. Curiously, O. G. Bol’shakov did not categorize Mahmud Kashgari’s work “Dīwānu Lughāt al-Turk” within any of his three groups. Nevertheless, “Dīwānu Lughāt al-Turk” serves not only as a pioneering comparative grammar of Turkic languages but also provides crucial names of cities and villages, along with a world map that aids in reconstructing the geography, customs, and historical context of Turkic peoples based on reliable sources (Khatamova 2020). This information largely derives from the author’s firsthand observations and accounts.

Why are we discussing Mahmud Kashgari and his work “Dīwānu Lughāt al-Turk”? To answer the questions raised by O. G. Bol’shakov in the context provided, we need to delve into the studies of Mahmud Kashgari and other authors from earlier and later periods.

The “Turkic city” referred to by O. G. Bol’shakov can also be found in the “Dīwānu Lughāt al-Turk” of Mahmud Kashgari. However, it is crucial to consider the context of the time in which the encyclopedists lived and the environment in which they worked.

The concept of “Turkic cities” in the works of scholars from the 10th to 11th centuries

In the works of Arab and Persian scholars from the 9th to the 11th centuries, we can find a wealth of information about the Turkic peoples of the Early Middle Ages. Even during those times, dedicated works on the Turkic peoples were produced. Among the authors of these works were Abu Usman al-Jahiz, Ibn al-Faqih al-Hamadani, Abu-l-Ala ibn Hassul, Mahmud Kashgari, and Tahir al-Marwazi.

Mahmud Kashgari wrote:

“Some of them reckon all of Transoxania as part of the Turk lands, and in the first place: Yankant (Baykand). ... Now proof that all of Transoxania, from: Yankant (Baykand) eastward, is part of the Turk lands are the names: Samiz-kand for Samarqand, Tashkand for Shash, Uzkand, Tunkand – the names of all these cities are Turkic. Kand in Turkic is “city (*balda*)”. They

built these cities and gave them these names, and the names have remained as they were. But when the Persians began to multiply in them they became like Iranian cities (*bilad al-'Ajam*). At the present time the boundaries of the Turk lands are reckoned from: Uzskand to Sin and from Rum to Sin, with their extremities bounded by the sea which is called the Sea of Abisgun (the Caspian), which is five thousand farsakhs long by three thousand wide, making eight thousand farsakhs in all" (Koshg'arij 1960: 66; al-Kāshgari 1984: 225).

Based on this evidence, it is clear that the concept of a "Turkic city" or "Turkic cities" existed in the 11th century, during the time of Mahmud Kashgari. Additional written sources further support this conclusion. For example, in the "Book of Countries" ("Kitab akhbar al-buldan") by Ibn al-Faqih, which dates back to the 10th century, there are chapters titled "Turks" and "About Some Turkic Cities and Their Wonders"¹. In these chapters, the author lists a total of 16 Turkic cities:

"Among them are nomads who live in one place and then move on in search of rain and pasture. This is similar to how the Bedouins move around in the homeland of Islam. These people do not follow any king or authority, but only obey each other. ... They have many cities. The Tuguzguz city is the largest and most impregnable; it has thick stone walls and is surrounded by a moat with water. The inhabitants of the city are strong and brave in battle, and for the most part they are armed with swords" (Asadov 1993: 54–56). Ibn al-Faqih then listed the following names of Turkic cities: *Mabus*, *Rai*, *Sur*, *Khoreysam*, *Agras*, *Karshim*, *Dax*, *Keysakh*, *Dani*, and *Sukub* (Asadov 1993: 54–56).

Yaqut al-Hamawi also wrote in his work: "There are sixteen famous Turkic cities" (Asadov 1993: 45, note 30).

Abu Rayhan al-Biruni, in his work "Kanuni Masudi" (10th–11th centuries), describes various Turkic place names and their meanings. For instance, he notes that Mazduran is referred to as Marz-i Turan ("Turan border"), signifying the border of the Turks. He identifies Binket as the capital of Shash, known as Tashkent in Turkic. Similarly, Samarkand is interpreted in Turkic as Semizkend, meaning a "fat" or "fertile city" (Berunij 1973: 570, 576). In his work "India", Al-Biruni mentions regions in Kashmir belonging to Khotan and Tibetan Turks,

¹ It should also be noted that the chapter on Turkic cities in Ibn al-Faqih's work is available only in Mashhad manuscript.

including the Turks named Bhattavaryan, whose kings rule over cities like Gilgit, Asvira, and Shiltas, speaking the Turkic language (Boboyorov 2023: 132–133).

During Beruni's lifetime, Turks were widely spread across much of Kashmir, forming the majority in cities such as Gilgit, Asvira, and Shiltas. These Turks spoke their own language, and some were identified as "Bhattavarian Turks".

In particular, the Tanshu document indicates that the population of Zabulistan, adjacent to Kabul, consisted of Turks, Kapisan, and Tokhars (Ekrem 2003: 177). Arabic sources from the 7th–8th centuries also describe the region between the Kandahar and Balkh (Amu Darya) rivers and the Sind River as "The land of the Turks" and several other peoples. It is noteworthy that Beruni did not refer to the extensive territory between Tibet and Kabul as "at-Turk" in his writings (Kamoliddin 2006: 113).

So, since Beruni and Hamadani mentioned the names of Turkic lands and cities before Mahmud Kashgari, it is clear that the concept of a "Turkic city" existed in the 10th century or perhaps even earlier. However, questions about the origins of these Turkic cities and why Hamadani, Beruni, and Kashgari referred to them as "Turkic cities" remain unanswered to this day.

"Land of the Turks", "Country of the Turks" or "Turkestan"

Mahmud Kashgari recorded information about Turkic cities that stretched across a vast area from Rum to Machin. To pinpoint the locations of these cities during the Karakhanid period accurately, it is crucial to first establish the geographical boundaries. This involves defining terms such as "Land of the Turks", "Country of the Turks", or "Turkestan", as they are frequently mentioned in historical texts.

Following the statement of V. V. Bartold, who said that "Mawaraunnahr – the lands in the Amu Darya and Syr Darya basins – were not part of Turkestan. During Arab rule, all of Mawaraunnahr was politically united with the Middle East" (Bartold 1963: 114; al-Ja'kubi 2011: 186, note 299), Soviet and Russian scientists, as well as regional researchers who followed them, understood "Turkestan" as referring to the lands northeast of the Syr Darya. In other words, they believed that Mawaraunnahr was not part of Turkestan and that "Turkestan" actually meant Jettisu.

In many studies, "Land of the Turks" and "Turkestan" are considered synonymous and include the lands located between Muslim countries and China, as well as those inhabited by Turkic and Mongol peoples. Did this really happen?

The historical and geographical concept of "Turkestan" (translated from Persian as "Land of the Turks") has undergone various geographical descriptions

throughout history. Initially, the territory known as Turkestan encompassed the lands bordering the Persian region along the Amu Darya River. However, by the 9th – 10th centuries, Arab geographers began to view Turkestan as encompassing the lands north and east of Mawavaraunnahr – the cultural area located between the Amu Darya and Syr Darya rivers, as well as the steppes stretching as far as China in the north and east..

From the late 10th century onwards, the territory between the Amu Darya and Syr Darya once again became part of the Turkic state known as the Karakhanid state. Consequently, the Arab-controlled Mawavaraunnahr gradually transformed into Turkestan. The Amu Darya once again formed the border between Turkestan and Iran (Sultanov 2006).

There are studies that show the term “Turkestan” was used to refer to the lands between two rivers in Central Asia both before and after the Arab invasion (Ishoqov 1993; Mannonov 1998; Kamoliddin 2002; Boboyorov 2004; Sultanov 2006). For example, in Armenian sources from 630, the lands known as Dehistan (southeastern Caspian), the upper basin of the Amu Darya, and the lands southeast of the Volga were called “Turkestan”. In the Sogdian charter from 639, the Jetisu region was referred to as “Turkestan”. Pahlavi texts from the 8th – 9th centuries also used the term “Turkestan” (Sogdijskaya kupchaya iz Turfana 1992: 25–28; Boboyorov 2004: 40–43). In Tibetan sources from the 8th – 9th centuries, the term “Drug yul” (“Land of the Turks” / “Turkestan”) sometimes denoted the central lands of the Western Turkic Khaganate – Jetisu. At other times, it referred to the territories of Fergana, Tokharistan, or Kabulistan (Uray 1979: 281; Boboyorov 2004: 40–43).

“Turkization” of the region

So, is the process of Turkization in the region, which used to be called Turkestan in the early Middle Ages, connected with the establishment of the Turkic Khaganate? What exactly is meant by “Turkization”? Did it involve the transition of Iranian-speaking people to Turkish or bilingual (Iranian and Turkish) population? Or perhaps, a change in ethnic identity meant that the majority of the local population (consisting of Iranian peoples?) moved into the territory of Turkestan with the arrival of numerous Turkic tribes?

Mahmud Kashgari wrote:

“The people of Balasayun speak both Soghdian and Turkic. The same is true of the people of Tiraz (Talas) and the people of Madinat al-Bayda” (Isbijab). There is a slurring (*rikka*) in the speech of the people of the entire country

of Arγu, which is considered to extend from Isbijab to Balasaγun. Kashgar has villages in which Kančaki is spoken, but in the main city (they speak Khaqani Turkic” (Koshg’arij 1960: 66; al-Kāšγarī 1982: 84).

In the early Middle Ages, various ethnic groups living in the same geographical region assigned different names to specific locations. For instance, the Sogdians used the name *Shavgar*, while the Turks referred to the same area as *Karachuk*, meaning “Black Mountain”. Similarly, the Sogdians called a location Isfijab, whereas the Turks referred to it as Sayram or Saryam, meaning “White Water”. The Turks named another area Bin-yul, while the Chinese called it Qian-quan, and the Sogdians referred to it as Azar-khakh, meaning “Thousand Springs” (Baytanaev 2003: 5–7; Boboyorov 2010: 81). These diverse place names used in the Chach lands indicate a peaceful coexistence between Turkic-speaking and Sogdian-speaking populations. It is shown that the people who lived in Mingbulak and around it in the early Middle Ages spoke two languages: Turkic and Sogdian. This was especially true for the Sogdians, who were fluent in their native Sogdian language and also in the Turkic language spoken by their neighbors.

The opinions of Soviet scientists on the policies of the Turkic khagans in the oasis cities they conquered were very similar. They argued that the Turks formed a minority in the Western Khaganate, that the khagans did not interfere in the city’s life, contenting themselves with taking their share of trade profits, and generally did not introduce any changes to the local social, economic, or political system. Additionally, they claimed that the Turks did not assimilate with the settled population (Gumilev 1993: 44–45, 148, 149, 153; Vostochnyj Turkestan... 1992: 132; Klyashtornyj 2003: 435).

However, starting from the 1980s, researchers started paying attention to the relationship between urban civilizations and nomadic steppes. They explored how these two cultures could peacefully cooperate and engage in trade, which laid the foundation for their economies (Tolstov 1948: 275; Bajpakov 1989: 338–339; Bajpakov 2002: 9; Mukminova 2002: 51–52; Gyul’ 2003: 116–117).

However, these studies mainly focused on trade or military ties, the exchange of goods, and the cultural impact of cities on the steppes. The influence of the steppes on cities was often overlooked (Gyul’ 2003: 116–117).

Additionally, the practice of Turkic khagans appointing their deputies, known as *Tuduns*, in some oases and members of the Ashina clan in others (Boboyorov 2018: 257–301), undermines the assumption that the steppe had no cultural influence on cities. In particular, according to Golden, the nomadic leaders became the rulers of the ancient oasis cities that were founded by Iranian tribes.

In these cities, the nomadic elite and their followers acted as political masters (Golden 2013: 31).

In our view, it is essential to reconsider our approach to this issue. We should acknowledge that the Turks did not come solely from the east, such as the lands of Southern Siberia, Altai, and Mongolia. However, we should also remember that they originally inhabited Central Asian territories.

Therefore, instead of just looking for Turkic cities in the steppes, we should also consider the oases of Central Asia where settled Turks established their cities. To be more specific, even before the formation of the Khaganate on the territory of the Western Turkic Khanate, many Turkic people lived in cities and villages. These people made up the main part of the urban population in the region until the invasion by the Arabs (Frye, Sayılı 1946; Kamoliddin 2004; Kamoliddin 2006; Kamoliddin 2007).

The picture of Proto-Turkic dwellings that we now have, based on the addition of archaeological, ethnographic, and linguistic data, can be compared with the known stages of economic development in the steppe zone. Three main stages in the history of traditional Turkic culture are outlined: 1. Round clay houses with an open hearth in the center. These houses are associated with the sedentary early agricultural culture of the Neolithic and Bronze Ages; 2. Round or polygonal pillar houses made of wattle, backfill, or daub. These houses are linked to the increase in pastoral specialization at the end of the Bronze Age; 3. Round portable houses (yurts) and polygonal stationary pillar and log houses. These types of dwellings are associated with the development of nomadic cattle breeding in the early Iron Age (Kyzlasov 2005: 60; Kyzlasov 2011: 114–115). However, since the archaeological sites of the Turks in Central Asian regions have not been thoroughly investigated, and the focus has been on studying nomadic mounds located between the Amu Darya and Syr Darya rivers, the question of ancient Turkic cities in Central Asia remains an unsolved research issue.

Meanwhile, in the vocabulary of the ancient Turks, there were special terms such as *baliq*, *kerman*, *tura*, *toy / ton*, *qoriʻyan*, and *uluš*, which referred to the concepts of “city” and “settlement” (Khatamova 2018: 12–15; Khatamova 2020). These terms were native to the Turkic language and were used to describe cities, settlements, fortresses, and other similar structures.

The existence of these terms suggests that the ancient Turks had their own cities and settlements. Moreover, the fact that many of these terms are associated with “clay” and “earth” indicates that both permanent (stationary) and nomadic (mobile) settlements were present among the Turkic peoples (Khatamova 2018: 12–15).

Written sources contain information about two types of Turkic tribes: the nomadic tribes that wander in search of rain and pastures, and the settled tribes with their own cities. As a result, they were divided into “steppe” and “urban” peoples.

Ancient Turkic inscriptions contain the term *čölgi* or *čöllig*, which means “living in the steppe”, “steppe dweller” (Drevnetyurkskij slovar’ 1969: 155). In Turkic epitaphs, sentences like ... *yärči tilädim, čölgi Az äri bultum* – “I was looking for a guide, I found a man of the desert” (Malov 1951: 62, 67; User 2009: 155) indicate that during the Kaganate period, Turkic peoples inhabited vast territories with diverse geographical features. For instance, the *Shato Turks*, mentioned in Chinese sources, took their name from the place where they lived – the Shato steppe (Bichurin 1950, I: 357–358).

Similarly, the Ashina clan belonged to a group engaged in crafts adapted to mountain conditions, such as blacksmithing and mining, which, along with specialized cattle breeding, formed the foundation of the political power in the Turkic Kaganate (Sinor 1990: 313; Ganiev 2006). Additionally, since the Karluks were historically a mountain people (Abul’ozij 1992: 32) and the Oghuz originated in desert conditions, their economic activities were predominantly nomadic. Another significant group of Turkic tribes, later known as the Kipchak, was distinguished by their habitation in the steppe regions (Axinzhanov 1995: 4, 14–15).

This is why Mahmud Kashgari divided the Turkic tribes and peoples into two groups: “city dwellers” and “steppe dwellers”. For example, “The most elegant of the dialects belongs to those who know only one language, who do not mix with Persians, and who do not customarily settle in other lands. Those who have two languages and who mix with the populace of the cities have a certain slurring (*rikka*) in their utterances – for example, Soydaq, Kančak and Aryu. The second category are such as Khotan, Tübüt and some of Tangut – this class are settlers in the lands of the Turks. I shall now outline the language of each of their groups. The people of Mačin and of Sin have a language of their own, although the sedentary population know Turkic well and their correspondence with us is in the Turkic script. ... The Uighur have a pure Turkic language, and also another language which they speak among them selves. ... Those that I have named to this point are sedentary peoples.

Among the nomadic peoples are the Čomül – they have a gibberish (*ratana*) of their own, but also know Turkic; also Qay, Yabaqu, Tatar and Basmil – each of these groups has its own language, but they also know Turkic well. Then Qirqiz, Qifčaq, Oğuz, Tuxsi, Yayma, Čigil, Oğraq, and Čaruq – they speak pure Turkic, a

single language. ... Altun qan meaning “gold and blood” – and a great mountain that was there was given this name. It is a mountain surrounded by nomads, near Uighur. ... Qarluq a tribe of the Turks. They are nomads, not Oyuz, but they are also Turkman” (Koshg’arij 1960: 65–66, 117, 439; al-Kāšgarī 1982: 84, 125, 354).

Philologist R. Dankoff notes that when Kashgari said “The most elegant of the dialects belongs to those who know only one language, who do not mix with Persians, and who do not customarily settle in other lands. Those who have two languages and who mix with the populace of the cities have a certain slurring (*rikka*) in their utterances” he meant here the standard is provided not by the court, but by those Turkic tribes who have retained their nomadic ways in full vigor, uncorrupted by prolonged contact with the Iranian-speaking populace of the cities (al-Kāšgarī 1982: 46).

Here, you should pay attention to what Mahmud Kashgari said about the Turks: *türk tatiqti* – “The Turks acted like Persians (*taxallaqa ... bi-tatiq axlaq al-farisi*)” or *tatsiz türk bolmas, başsiz bürk bolmas* – “A Turk is never without a Persian (just as) a cap is never without a head” (al-Kāšgarī 1984: 22, 273). Although the social and ethnic aspects of this saying have not been fully explored (Lyushkevich 1971), the term “tat” here refers not only to a particular ethnic group but also to any foreigners. Sometimes it is used as a derogatory nickname for non-Muslim Uyghurs (Drevnetyurkskij slovar’ 1969: 541). Thus, the words “tat” and “tatikladi” should not have an ethnic meaning, but sometimes a way of life. More precisely, a Turk is a nomad, a non-Muslim; “tat” – Tajik – a Muslim living or settling in the city. Turkic-speaking and Persian-speaking people lived in the city. Later, this term was turned into an ethnic characteristic by the court poets of the last Samanids and the Ghaznavids². Thus, the word “tat”, initially alien to the ancient Turks, was used to designate other neighboring peoples, non-Turkic-speaking tribes and peoples, changed in time and space. For example, later it came to mean Persian-speaking peoples.

The ancient Turks had a custom of combing their hair or wearing it at shoulder length. This custom can be seen in pre-Islamic stone sculptures called *balbals* found in various regions of Central Asia. It is also depicted in Chach, Fergana, and Sogdian coins (Babayarov 2007: 14, 16, 30). The paintings in the palaces of Afrasiab, Penjikent, and Tavka-Kala (Surkhandarya) also show this style (Belenitskij 1953; Rakhmanov 2001; Arzhantseva, Inevatkina 2005; Arzhantseva, Inevatkina 2006; Mode 2006). In Northern China, this custom is expressed in tombstones with relief images of Kaganate officials (Yasenko 2009).

² I would like to give special thanks to Yale University researcher Dilrabo Toshova, who came up with this finding.

The Turkic Khagans probably demanded that their vassal rulers follow this custom as well (Skaff 2002: 101). This was a sign of their loyalty to the Khaganate. There is reason to believe this based on the chronicles. The ruler of Samarkand had his hair shaved, and the common people cut their hair. Additionally, according to the chronicle “Jiu Tang-shu”, the inhabitants of Xinjiang, known as Kucha (Gaochang), also cut their hair. However, the ruler himself never cut his hair (Bichurin 1950, II: 296; Ekrem 2003: 97, note 4).

In our opinion, the forcible imposition of Turkic hairstyles and clothing on vassal kingdoms was an attempt to spread Turkic identity and assimilate the Turkic people with the population of the region.

It is noteworthy that the rulers of three neighboring countries – Gaochang, the Turkic Khaganate, and China – paid great attention to seemingly insignificant aspects such as clothing and hairstyle. This issue was taken seriously.

The changes in appearance imposed by the khagans on the sedentary population under their control did not just indicate vassalage. Because they were already vassals. In fact, according to some researchers, this stage of subjugation should be seen as an attempt at Turkization of the peoples of Xinjiang and Central Asia.

Since the time of the Turkic Khaganate, and actually since the Huns, the steppe empires in Central Asia have implemented certain cultural policies to enhance their power and achieve other objectives. Does language qualify as a part of such cultural policies? Did the Turkic khagans, the Uyghur khagans, or the Karakhanids consciously pursue a strategy to spread the Turkic language? For instance, the Turkic language was used in the Turkic Khaganate, while the “Khaqaniya language” was employed among the Karakhanids. In fact, language is seen as a unique means of validating both nationhood and ethnicity. After all, the ruling dynasty gave its name to the main language of its state and empire. One can particularly refer to the words of Tonyukuk:

“The Turkic rulers assumed Turkic names (meaning ranks and titles) and, having agreed to the titles of the rulers of the Tabgach people, submitted to the kagan of the Tabgach people” (Malov 1951: 37).

Some features of ancient Turkic cities

Among the ancient Turks, the concept of the “city” was often inextricably linked with power and governance: *Ordu*, *Ordu-balyq*, *Khan-balyq*, *Jabğukat*, *Khatunkat*. The Khagan’s ordus differed from each other according to their status and functions: the chief, the Supreme ordu – “Golden Ordu” or the “Great Golden Ordu”, the seasonal ordu – “Northern Ordu” and “Southern Ordu” and “Camp

Ordu” and it is also proved that it is one of the specific features of the cities of the Turkic Khaganate and the steppe towns in general (Khatamova 2018: 24–25, 48–49).

Let’s briefly talk about the city of Khatun. The Turkic Khagans frequently stationed their wives and children in fortified locations within the valleys. These settlements were established to safeguard the ruler’s family during times of war. After experiencing a harsh winter between 723 and 724, when the Turks faced challenges, an uprising occurred among the Oghuz tribes. One of the Oghuz detachments launched an attack on the headquarters of Bilge Kagan while the main forces of the Turks were absent. However, the enemy forces were confronted by the kagan’s younger brother, Kul-tegin:

Oğuz yayı orduy basdı. Kül tegin ögsiz aqın binip toquz erän sançdı, orduy bermädi, ögüm qatun ulayu öglärim, äkälärim, kalingünim, kunçuylarım bunça yemä tirigi kün boltaçı erti, ölügi yurtta yolta yatu qaltaçı ertigiz! Kül tegin yoq ersär, qop öltäçi ertigiz! – “The Oghuz, hostile to us, attacked the headquarters. Kül-tegin, riding the white horse Ogsiz, stabbed nine husbands and did not give up the bets! My mother-katun, and with her my stepmothers, my aunts and daughters-in-law, my wives, all of you could, either remain alive, become slaves, or being killed, lie on the ground and on the road! If it weren’t for Kül-tegin, you would all have died!” (Malov 1951: 33, 42).

In our opinion, the aforementioned headquarters, Ordu, was actually the residence of the Khatun.

Other residences of the khatun, the princesses, were real cities, and some of their ruins have survived to this day. For example, in the “Tang-shu”, in connection with the events of 840, the following information is mentioned:

“(The Uyghur) commander Guylu Mohe led (the Kyrgyz Khagan) Ajo (22) to the Hoihu (i.e. e. Uyghur Ordu. The Khagan was killed in battle, and his Dele (Tegin) dispersed. Ajo, under his personal leadership, set fire to the Khagan’s camp (i.e. e. Ordu-balyk) and the Princess’s dwelling (i.e. e. Khatun-balyk). The Hoihu Khagan usually sat in a golden tent” (Bichurin 1950, I: 288; Chavannes 1903: 5823).

It’s worth noting that the city of the Uyghur princesses, Khatun-Balyk, was located not far from Ordu-Balyk (Karabalgasun). Archaeologists have conducted excavations on the ruins of this city. This means that the cities of the khatun were close to the ruler’s permanent headquarters or the capital of the state. This was

a reflection of the ancient Turkic tradition of statehood, where the khakan and khatun ruled the state together. The names of these cities included topoformants such as *baliq* or *-kaθ*, which meant “city”. This indicates that they were true cities. One of these cities was located in the Chach (Tashkent) region, and it was called Khatunkat (Khatamova 2020: 67–75).

The assertion that the cities and settlements of the Turks continued the traditions of the Huns, Usuns, Hephthalites and other pre-Turkic peoples needs additional confirmation by archaeological finds. Such features of the urban planning of the Turkic Kaganate, such as the *ordu*, “Summer” and “Winter”. Residences, as well as the “Khatun cities”, have their roots in the ancient ethnic groups of Central Asia, in particular, among the Huns. The Turks developed and enriched these traditions, passing them on to other peoples such as the Khazars in the west and the Uyghurs in the east.

Xuanzang noted that “The Turks usually live in the northern steppes in summer, where abundant grass creates excellent conditions for grazing livestock. In winter, they settle in the mountains to escape the extreme cold, thus maintaining a dual habitat” (Malyavkin 1989: 238). Usually the winter residence was a city or fortress, and the summer residence was fortified with palisades (*çit*), as evidenced by the inscriptions on the steles (Gabain, Çağatay 1944; Ōsawa 2011: 415).

The “Irk Bitik” also mentions summer and winter residences:

Talim qaraquš-men. Yaşıl qaya yaylağım, qızıl qaya qışlağım-ol. – “I am a wild black bird (eagle). The green rock is my pasture, the red rock is my village”. *Yarğun kiyik-men. Yaylığ tağima ağıpan yaylayur turur-men...* – “I am a doe. I’m going to climb my summer mountain and spend the summer...” (Malov 1951: 80–92). *Öğriñä qutluğ adğır-men. Yağaq iğaç yaylağım, quşluğ iğaç qışlağım, anda turupan, mähiläyür-men, – ter. ...* – “I am a happy stallion for Uyur (blesser of grace). The walnut grove is my pasture, the tree on which the bird lands is my winter ground. “I’ll be happy to stand there”, he says...”.

The word *iğaç* – “agach” – “tree”, “wood”, mentioned here, is also often found in the “Divan” of Kashgari. Such forests or woodlands are actually summer meadows, that is, the land covered with green trees and rich in grass is the summer meadow, whereas the sheltered places of the red rocky mountains are intended for winter settlements. In the “Divan”, the name of the winter meadow in the Kashgar Mountains is given as *Qizil ez* – “Kyzyl ez” (should be *Qizil tez* – “Red tez” – the author) In “Divan”, the terms *yazaq*, *yaylaq*, *qışlaq*, *çüşäk* were used to refer to seasonal camps (al-Kāşğarī 1985: 248).

Reconstructing the vocabulary of the early Turkic ethnos, linguists became convinced that their economy was dominated by pastoralism and that they were engaged in cattle breeding with two types of settlements: permanent winter settlements and nomadic summer settlements (SIGTYa 2006: 819).

It is typical for steppe cities that the khagans had both summer and winter residences (Kradin 2011: 348). Even after consolidating control over the oasis territories, the Khagans ruled from their seasonal residences. Thus, during long military campaigns, hunting or diplomatic missions, the Khagans used mobile residences called “ordu” (Xej-da shi-lyue 1960: 138), temporarily located near battlefields or hunting grounds (Majdar, Pyurveev 1989: 39). In addition to stationary capitals, the Khagan’s ordus differed from each other according to their status and functions: the chief, the Supreme ordu – “Golden Ordu” or the “Great Golden Ordu”, the seasonal ordu – “Northern Ordu” and “Southern Ordu” and “Camp Ordu” and it is also proved that it is one of the specific features of the cities of the Turkic Khaganate and the steppe towns in general.

In contrast to traditional oasis cities, this new urban type, associated with the Turks and Mongols, has been called “peri-urbanism” (N. Shiraishi), “pastoral-urban association” or “pastoral city” (M. Haneda) by scholars (Kradin, Skrynnikova 2006: 433; Durand-Guedy 2013: 2–3). Characteristics of a nomadic city include: 1) It must be located in the steppe or mountain zone, rather than in a settled area; 2) It should not evolve from a pre-existing settlement; instead, it should be constructed immediately, featuring an “instant architectural solution”; 3) The highest social stratum of the population should consist of military nomads, while the main population should comprise artisans, traders, or religious leaders from other ethnic groups engaged in professions other than agriculture.

In nomadic societies, the system of “mountain urban planning” was well developed, with its roots tracing back to the Huns. This form of urban planning is clearly observed among the ancient Turks and Uyghurs. Specifically, the northwestern border of the Uyghur Khaganate was the upper basin of the Yenisei River and the adjacent lands of present-day Western Mongolia. These areas held strategic importance for the Uyghurs due to their mineral wealth. Consequently, the Uyghur Khaganate needed to protect these territories from attacks by the Khakass (Kyrgyz), Altai Turks, and Karluks (Kyzlasov 1984: 50). Therefore, the Uyghur Khagans constructed separate military camps in Tuva to station troops dispatched from the center of the Khaganate during emergencies (Kyzlasov 1984: 50). L. R. Kizlasov conducted a study of 17 fortresses dating back to the Uyghur period in Tuva, all surrounded by square walls and featuring 2 bastions. These Uyghur fortress cities were strategically positioned in an arcuate line towards the Sayan ranges, designed to safeguard the central and relatively fertile lands of Tuva,

as well as the Uyghur Khanate as a whole, from neighboring threats to the north – the Kyrgyz (Kyzlasov 1984: 51).

Conclusion

Any changes in cities are closely connected to political and social transformations. The architecture, layout, size, and other features of a city reflect the political and social system of society. Therefore, news related to cities will always be connected to political and social events in the region.

How much did the Turkic states, which at different periods established their rule in this region, influence the urban development of Central Asia? We are talking about the Turkic and Turgesh Khaganates, the Karluk and Oghuz Jabgu states, as well as the Seljuk, Ghaznavid, and Karakhanid empires.

To understand how these political changes affected urbanization, it is important to study the cities of Central Asia before the advent of Islam and the Turkic invasion. This will help us understand the form and function of cities at that time.

By the 6th–8th centuries, cities and settlements were formed on many territories in Central Asia, as confirmed by archaeological materials. This period in history is rightfully considered the “Turkic period”. According to toponymic information (names of places), many names appeared during this time, indicating their Turkic or Turkic-Sogdian origins.

To understand how the “Turkic cities” came about, one must consider several key aspects. Firstly, we need to explore the early settlements of the Turkic people, which laid the groundwork for their nomadic and settled lifestyles. Secondly, it’s crucial to examine how these settlements evolved into cities. Additionally, we must delve into the process of urban development and identify the distinctive characteristics of Turkic cities. Furthermore, it’s important to consider the influence of other civilizations on the formation and growth of Turkic urban centers.

To fully understand the concept of a Turkic city, it is essential to study the history from the Karakhanid era to the Turkic Khaganate. Written sources from that time, as well as slightly earlier periods, contain references to “Turkic cities” that were widespread throughout Central Asia. It is important to note that Turkic cities existed not only in the 10th–11th centuries but also dated back to the pre-Islamic period, making them unique and intriguing subjects for exploration. To achieve a comprehensive understanding of the historical origins of the “Turkic city”, thorough research is necessary, encompassing archaeological findings, source studies, linguistic analysis, and ethnographic materials.

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THE SIBERIAN STATEHOOD OF THE SHIBANIDS IN THE POST-HORDE PERIOD: THE PERIODIZATION, TERRITORY, BASIC ELEMENTS

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Keywords: Western Siberia, Shibaniids, Tyumen Khanate, political anthropology, Khan's power

Abstract: The first state led by khans of the Shibaniid dynasty was established in the South of Western Siberia with the capital in Chimgi-Tur (Tyumen) in the first quarter of the XV century as a result of the struggle between Uzbek khans. Since that time it formed a local tradition of the post-Horde statehood here. One of its specific features was devolution of the Khan's throne alongside the representatives of the dynastic line of the Haji Muhammad descendants, except for the period of the reign of Abu al-Khair. Despite the particular name in the research literature of this khanate as Siberian, the analysis of sources with a high degree of probability indicates a need to determine the local political structures as part of the history of the Tyumen khanate. In light of this, the issues of political anthropology of this khanate are growing more urgent. The main attention in that respect should be paid to the problem of determining the chronological and geographical framework of the Siberian statehood of the Shibaniids. In addressing these questions, it is necessary to take into account the nomadic origins of the ruling dynasty and the surrounding aristocracy of Uzbek tribes, which inevitably affected territorial issues. In fact, it is necessary to talk not about boundaries of the territory, which were important for the settled statehood in the late medieval and early modern period, but about the boundaries of power over the people, recognizing the respective rulers.

Researches, conducted in the last 15 years on the basis of a significant complex of written sources, allowed retracing different trends of foreign policy of the Siberian states of the Shibaniids quite fully. Doubtless, there are certain problem points (for example, relations with Ugric princedoms, which could vary from the union to the vassalage), however, the deficiency of the available sources and dubious opportunity of discovering new ones in this direction do not allow discussing this topic in more detail.

At the same time to understand the essence of the considered states (in the broadest sense of this term) and their place in the Post-Horde space, it is necessary to appeal just to inner history more in detail, and not only in the context of the statehood institutions and power symbols themselves (Ishakov 2011: 190–196; Maslyuzhenko 2016a: 360–368; Tataurov 2016: 575–583). It is due to a detraction from the accepted tradition in the historiography to consider Siberian states as “non-centralized” or “divided into small uluses or princedoms”, that makes them to be the indicators of underdevelopment and the causes of the further defeat. Actually, the mechanism of most states outside the model of “absolute monarchy” of European pattern was such in a general way. Moreover, it was characteristic for nomadic political groupings in general and for the Post-Horde world in particular. Tribal aristocracy, owning uluses and yurts on the territory of khanates and hordes, had significant political freedom in their governance. Though not limited to this, Khan power, had monopoly on conducting foreign policy and acted as a supreme juridical body, which allowed it to unite quite heterogeneous groups around. In that respect, disunity and decentralization can be considered as a drawback only within the framework of European pattern of the statehood, notably for modernity but not for the medieval period or nomadic communities. Omsk archeologists A. V. Matveev and S. F. Tataurov hit the right fact that the system of management of the Siberian khanate was functional and efficient at the time of Kuchum khan (Matveev, Tataurov 2012: 137). However, their conclusion can be addressed to the government of the prior khans, though it is clear that the stability of this power depended either on the ability to get on with local aristocracy well or on the success of foreign policy and distribution of the profit received within the systems of prestigious economics.

To understand the peculiarities of the Siberian statehood of the Shibanids, it is necessary, in the first place, to determine its chronology and periodization as well as occupied territory, but not in the context of real borders which did not simply exist and considering the possibility of seasonal migrating of the population both from the north to the south and from the west to the east. It should still be noted that reliance on the population was principal both for the leaders of the Post-Horde world as well as for the nomadic world on the whole, as the control over population instead of territory was of a prime importance. At the same time, at different stages of the establishment of the Siberian statehood, these territories and borders could vary considerably. For example, Russian chroniclers, describing the crusade east of the Urals of 1483, made a clear distinction between the Tyumen and Siberian lands, pointing that the latter was outside the governing power of khan Ibrahim (Ibak) (Maslyuzhenko, Ryabinina 2014a: 121).

In the history of the study of the Siberian statehood of the Shibanids there have been two attempts to define its chronology and periodization. The first attempt

was made by A. G. Nesterov in his Ph.D. dissertation in 1988. He supposed that the territory of the Siberian yurt, as he called the Shibanid possession in general, successively embraced Uzbek khanate (1428–1469), the state of the Siberian Shibanids (the Shaybanids in the version of the considered author) with the capital in Chimgi-Tura (about 1448 – about 1505), Taibuga state with the capital in Isker (Sibir) (about 15 – about 1563). The defeat of the latter in the struggle with Uzbek Shibanids led to inclusion of the Siberian yurt into the Shibanid state as the Siberian khanate (Nesterov 1988: 7).

The second periodization was proposed in 2006 by D. M. Iskhakov: 1) the Shibanid state (Uzbek khanate), 2) He considered the formation of the Siberian Taibuga principdom in the beginning of the 16th century as a transition from the Tyumen to Siberian khanate (Iskhakov 2006: 129–135). In his later work he proposed another inheritance line from Ulus of Shiban to the state of nomadic Uzbeks / the Tyumen khanate, and then to the Siberian yurt / the Siberian khanate (Iskhakov 2011: 52–58).

Both periodizations show the gradual evolution of historical conceptions of the Siberian statehood and has its pluses and minuses. So, A. G. Nesterov's idea of the common Shibanid state was absolutely logical, which is proved by the presence of the title "Shiban khan" among many leaders of this dynasty (Maslyuzhenko 2016b: 798). However, the argumentation by "the Siberian yurt" as a common name remained unclear and such name is not found in authentic sources. At the same time Siberia itself in the understanding of the authors of that time stayed out of bounds of the direct power of the Shibanids. The term "yurt" itself may mean not only the state in general but its integral part, which still confuses a reader more. D. M. Iskhakov in the end had to give up the idea of the existence of the separate Siberian (Isker) khanate, which was popularized by A. G. Nesterov, though he did not give a clear idea of the chronology.

It is interesting that in the same year (2008) Sh. M. Mukhamedyarov tried to justify another approach to this question, not mentioned by researchers. This approach showed practically continuous existence of the inherited Tyumen vilayet as a part of "the state of nomadic Uzbeks" the Tyumen khanate from the middle of 15th up to the end of 16th century (Mukhamedyarov 2008: 132–136).

We suggest combining all these approaches into one model. At the same time we consider that Sh. M. Mukhamedyarov rightfully chose the name Siberian khanate as a generic designation for the Siberian statehood. From the point of view of Oriental sources, cartography and other documents of 15th–16th century, it is necessary to speak about unique line of inheritance of the Shibanids in the Tyumen (named Turanian by oriental authors) khanate (Maslyuzhenko 2016b: 798–800). Just in its capital Chimgi-Tura there was a throne place of the

local Shibanids named “Tyumen and Siberian” tsar in Nogai correspondence (*Materialy po istorii kazakhskikh khanstv* 1969: 143–144), which remained important at the time of Kuchum (*Prodolzhenie* 1801: 268–269). From the point of view of khans’ legal consciousness it would be interesting to know what they really thought of themselves when they were called Nogai, Kazan, Tyumen or Siberian rulers? Did they feel as tsars of these territories or of the population, living in the corresponding polities? Unfortunately, the sources, we have, allow us to reconstruct only the externally visual side of this question.

Quite an important question is why in the Russian chronicles and ambassadorial documents of the second half of the 16th century the state designation, fixed as “Great Tyumen” and “Tyumen land”, disappears and instead the Siberian khanate/tsardom takes the first place that has become more commonly-used in the scientific literature. It seems that in 1555 after the Siberian khan Ediger took the Russian side, it was just the Russian diplomats and chroniclers who could be interested in the further promotion of the concept “The Siberian khanate” (Ostrowski 2016; Akishin 2015: 48). According to their concept after the campaign of 1483, i. e. in the period of Ibrahim’s rule in Tyumen, and moreover as a result of the correspondence of 1555–1563, Siberian khans of different dynasties recognized their dependence on Moscow khans. Consequently, Moscow diplomatic officials could require the same dependence from Tyumen Shibanids Ahmed-Geray and Kuchum, who borrowed the same Siberian throne in 1563 to justify the further process of joining of Western Siberia to the Russian state.

Taking into account all these ideas, the following periodization of the history a more generic name “The Tyumen khanate” for the Shibanids Siberian statehood may be proposed.

1. Uzbek khanate of the Shibanids from the time of the strife of 1420-ies to the unity at the time of Abu-l-Khair (1429–1468). The arguments for the necessity to include this period into the history of the Tyumen khanate are three factors: the beginning of the strives is connected just with the enthronement of Khadzhi-Muhammad Shibanid, a founder of the whole line of the succeeding Tyumen khans, with the support of Mangyt beck Edigey on the khan throne; the location of the capital of Abu-l-Khair in Chimgi-Tura between 1430–1447, as well as the beginning of the activity of Khadzhi-Muhammad’s sons as the owners of the Tyumen yurt at the end of Abu-l-Khair’s rule.

2. The Tyumen khanate of the period of “independence” of Abu-l-Khair’s dynasty (the end of 1450-ies – 1505/6), which coincides with the separatism of Khadzhi-Muhammad’s sons Siyidek and Muhmudek from the ruling line of the Uzbek khan, as well as with the ruling of Khadzhi-Muhammad’s grandsons Ibrahim, Mamuk and Agalak and the son of the first of them Kutluk, was at the

peak of its outer political influence in fact bringing under the control most part of lands that were under Abu-l-Khair khan.

3. The Siberian khanate (1505–1660-ies) as an integral part of the history of the Tyumen khanate, in which Ibrahim's sons Kutluk and Murtaza as well as Murtaza's children Ahmed-Geray and Kuchum and then his descendants ruled. During the first decades of this period the Isker principedom/Taibuga yurt existed, which were just a yurt inside the Tyumen khanate. In 1555–1563 Siberian begs Ediger and Bekbulat tried to conduct separate policy from khans, which led to the direct dependence of their lands from the khans' power and the northernmost khan capital Isker (Sibir). The principal point is a significant enlargement of the chronology of this stage. The incursion of Ermak of 1582, of the Russian voivodes of 1586–1587, the crushing defeat of Kuchum in 1598 could not be the dates of the end of the history of the local statehood. These were, most likely, the factors of its population and leaders' move to more southerly lands of the same khanate. At the same time it is absolutely unimportant that after Kuchum and his sons Ali and perhaps, Ishim, other Kuchum descendants were not recognized as khans by the Russian diplomatic officials. As Chingisids they had the right for the power, which should be supported by certain groups of the local population and be realized in the sphere of foreign policy, which is observed up until the defeat of rebellions of 1660-ies and subsequent final withdrawal of Kuchum's descendants to Central Asia in 1670-ies.

The periodization proposed by us takes into account the fact that the Siberian statehood of the Shibaniids is shown in the process of its historical development but not as a historical phenomenon formed once-for-all-time. At the same time due to the common origin from the Mongolian and the Horde time and the unique ruling dynasty, the Tyumen khanate had tight political and cultural ties with the Kazan khanate, the Nogai Horde and the Shibaniid khanate in Central Asia. It seems that the absence of new research on the history of Bukhara and Urgench (Khiva) khanates of the 16th century in the Russian as well as Asian oriental studies does not allow us to completely understand the general structure of the Shibaniid statehood. Let me clarify the thought: during Abu-l-Khair's rule quite a curious title was noted – Khan-i Buzurg (*Materialy po istorii...* 1969: 95), i.e. Great or Elder khan which meant the presence of other khans on the territory of the Uzbek khanate. It could be that Ibrahim and Mamuk claimed the same as they were called "Shiban khans" in the chronicles (*Polnoe sobranie russkikh...* 1901: 203, 242–243). The similar situation was with two or three khans in the Bukhara khanate, where the descendants of Abu-l-Khair ruled. At the same time the question was not about the system of their vassalage in relation to each other, neither the institute of coregency, typical for the Shibaniids, did always work. It

appears that great sizes of the Shibanid lands allowed khans of different branches of this dynasty to co-exist there, which did not always lead to war conflicts, as was the case between Bukhara and Khiva rulers.

On the basis of this periodization, it is necessary to define the criteria of boundary drawing. If we go on trying to find out precise border outlines of the considered khanate at different stages, it is essential to ask some questions: to what extent political legal notion “border” can be applied to the history of the local khanates, in the view of preserving of nomadic or half-nomadic way of life by their aristocracy? If it is worthwhile to include all the territories where summer and winter nomad camps of the khan family and Turko-Tatar aristocracy were into the notion of boundaries? Is it possible to define the khanate territory not thanks to precise borders but to the presence of groups of the population, which associated themselves directly with the corresponding khans, in particular by paying the tribute? At the same time, let me emphasize that, without doubt, nomadic lifestyle was prestigious and corresponded to the status of the aristocrats of different levels, that is why we cannot place on record all those small towns which the authors of the Siberian chronicles wrote about. However, for the representatives of common groups due to economic and political reasons, and particularly because of a significant climate change of Little ice age, this way of life was becoming unobtainable, the population settled, which is recorded later by the Russian administrators of the end of the 16th century in the process of coming of different groups of the Siberian Tatars and Turks under the Russian rule. Therewith in the first half of the XVII century separate Turkic tribes from Western Siberia migrated across the Urals for summer months which coincides with the mention of “The Shiban Tatars” here a century before (Maslyuzhenko, Samigulov 2017: 372–373).

It is quite difficult to define the borders of the power of the Tyumen khans more precisely for the first two stages of the local statehood. It is obvious that the greatest territorial expansion took place during the period of Abu-l-Khair’s rule, when ex-vilajet Chimgi-Tura in the south of Western Siberia and central Asian towns along the Syr Darya were under his control. It is clear that he controlled significant territories of the steppes of modern Kazakhstan. It is possible that while defining the borders of the Tyumen khanate we are partly influenced by modern political geographical concepts, precisely the Kazakhstan territory, which is viewed as direct heritage of the preceding local nomadic civilization on the level of ideology. However, it is necessary to raise the question when exactly Kazakh tribes appeared in the west and the north of their modern territory. So, for example, khan Ibrahim, having got the power in Tyumen at the end of 1460-ies and being one of the opponents of Abu-l-Khair’s dynasty, got the control not

only of Chimgi-Tura, which was his farthest northern land and according to the chronicles went as far as Tavda, but also the Uzbek tribes at the mouth of the Syr Darya were under his power (Materialy po istorii.... 1969: 26). Most likely, quite a stable situation of the allied Shibani and Nogai khans allowed them to control migrations along the whole territory between Western Siberia and the Syr Darya region up to 1550-ies. Only Kazakh khan Hak-Nazar managed to enlarge the previous Kazakh khanate borders to the west and to the north but after his death his relatives entered into alliance with Bukhara khan Abdullah II, which allowed returning to steady routes of migration between Siberia and Central Asia (Isin 2002: 90–105). So, for the first two stages it is possible to outline the borders under the power of the Tyumen khans approximately spreading from the Western Siberian forest-steppe to the Aral and the Syr Darya regions.

For 15th–16th centuries all the khans of Chimgi-Tura had winter nomad camps on the Syr Darya and the Aral, where the groups connected with them were. In 1590-ies those lands became a stumbling block between Kuchum and the leader of Nogai Altyul (Shihmamiy) Auliya. In all likelihood, Kuchum's territorial concessions led to the fact that Auliya entered triple Bukhara-Siberia-Nogai alliance, the activity of which could be quite dangerous for the Russian authority in Siberia (Belyakov, Maslyuzhenko 2016: 236–237). Such significant territories allowed Kuchum and especially Kuchum's descendants to fall back to the south from the Russian borders in Western Siberia while holding their own territory at the same time.

Moreover, in the last quarter of the 15th century the Burkuts from Chimgi-Tura annexed the territory of the Siberian land to the Tyumen khanate, which expanded the Shibani lands to the Irtysh. This was the basis for the further territorial expansion in the period of Kuchum rule in 1570-ies. In the north the borders of the Siberian khanate extended as far as the mouth of the Irtysh to the Ob, the middle reaches of the Tura and the Tavda, in the east – to the downstream of the Tom, the Ob feeder, in the south – up to Lake Chany in the Barabinsk forest-steppe, the downstream of the Irtysh, the Ishym-Irtysh and the Ishim-Tobolsk interstream areas, in the west – up to the Iset upstream (Matveev, Tataurov 2011: 74–76). The determination of these approximate borders was conducted by the researchers based on the expanses of the spread ceramic utensils discoveries typical for the material culture of the Siberian Tatars of that time. Just for this time according to later Russian sources, groups of Siberian population can be specified who paid tribute to Kuchum. Thus, in 1570-ies khanate territory reached its prosperity peak. At the same time the specific element of the power of khanate in the west was the fact that separate local groups paid yasak to the Nogais (Samigulov 2012: 126–130), with whom Kuchum had numerous akin and consort relations.

A reverse situation was unfolding on the territory of the Bashkir nomad camps, most part of which was under the control of the Nogai khans (Trepavlov 2011: 95). However, the memory of the former power of the Siberian khans Ahmed-Geray and Kuchum over Bashkiria survived within Bashkir of Ufimian County even at the beginning of the 18th century. Therewith the Bashkir of the Nogai road mentioned yurt “Garay” in Ufa. In 1709 the Bashkir of some volosts of the Kazan, Siberian and Osinsk roads referred to the fact that “grandfathers and fathers of the present sovereign promised to preserve the yasak and the Bashkir’s belief as it was at the time of Tobolsk tsar Kuchum ...” (Materialy po istorii Bashkirskoy ASSR 1936: 259, 265).

For the latest years the specialists, studying the history of the Shibanid states in the south of Western Siberia, try to focus on the inner history more than on the investigation of foreign-policy concepts. In the conditions of the Post-Horde statehood war and diplomatic activity of the khan had a direct impact on his position and relations with aristocracy and vice a versa dissatisfaction of the results of the khan power outside his state straightly undermined the power stability itself.

In spite of the accepted traditions of the study of the history of Siberia, the foundation of which was laid by G. F. Miller in the imperial time and S. V. Bakhrushin in the Soviet years, only the system of power organization and management has been studied from the points of inner history of the Shibanid states. Here, the researchers have come a long way from the ascertainment of only some factual nuances to applying the feudal theory to the Siberian realities and recently formed understanding, that analogies should be searched in the Mongol and Horde heritage. At the same time, it has turned out that most proposed schemes in the historiography disregard the local specifics, discernable due to the deficiency of the source base. In fact, at this moment governance apparatus has been reconstructed with a certain degree of conditionality (khan and in some cases his co-ruler, prime minister (bek), qarachi or qarachi union, divan, levels of war power), different schemes of relations of central and local power of the khan and aristocracy have been defined, the work on the definition of the composition of the courts of some Shibanids has been started (Trepavlov, Belyakov 2018: 338).

At the same time the structure and functions of the power elite of the Tyumen and Siberian khanates, including secular and Muslim highest ranks, were very similar to other Tatar states of 15th–16th centuries (Maslyuzhenko 2017: 122–131). This is especially evident in the functions of sayyids and abyzes, atalyks and kukeltashes, in the preverance of the traditions of the document management, as well as through the divan and scribe-bitikchi, being on regular duty. To a great extent among unique peculiarities in these khanate there is a transfer of power

among the representatives of one Shibanid family, akin to Tyumen khan Ibrahim, whose grandfather Khadzhi-Muhammad was one of the contenders for power on the considered territory as far back as the beginning of 1420-ies. Taking this into account, it is possible to speak of duration of their power in the south of Western Siberia for 250 years. The specific element was to name the local leaders not only khans but also sultans in the spirit of Islamic political culture. At the same time the dynastys' tendency is noticeable to rely on the closest relatives, who acted as co-rulers or principals of troops. Looking at the position of Mamuk under khan Ibrahim, quite a complicated scheme is seen of consecutive ruling of Murtaza and his sons Ahmed-Geray and Kuchum, the role of Mametkul in the command of troops under the last of the khans and after his capture in the further recommendation of Kuchum's elder son Ali. In war campaigns of khan Agalak and his nephew Kutluk, a son of Ibrahim, their brothers and children also took part (Polnoe sobranie russkikh... 1982: 99; Razryadnaya kniga 1966: 57).

Though we see the structure and origin of prime ministers (-beks) of the Tyumen and Siberian khanate, their functionality inside the state is not always clear taking into consideration the fact that Edigey dynasty, taking this position, was often located on the territory of the neighbouring Nogai Horde. It is possible that in this case they limited themselves only to the participation in the joint war campaigns. However, prime ministers of Kyiats, Burkuts and other local Turk tribes could have the authority in other spheres, which is especially seen according to the policy of the Taibuga family in Isker in the first half of the 16th century.

In our opinion, an increasing dependence of khans on the tribe aristocracy was no less important as it influenced various aspects of the state politics through the meetings of the best people (Kurultais) and through the enlarged council of Karachi-beks. Scarcely sources, we have, do not give ground to separate the council of Karachi-beks for the Shibanid khanate just out of the representatives of four clans, as was typical for the Crimea and Qasim khanates. Taking into consideration the strengthening role of nomadic aristocracy and the necessity of the balance between their interests such councils could include the representatives of a far greater number of clans.

It is the loyalty of the population especially the elite representatives that made this or that territory a part of the Shibanid khanates. In this connection the example of Kuchum's grandson Kuchuk is extremely meaningful, he was announced khan by the surrounding Tatars, Bashkir and Kalmyk tribes (Trepavlov 2012: 119). It is interesting that he was not only the last khan of the Siberian Shibanids but also titled himself "Kuchuk Baatyr tsar", i.e. similarly to his grandfather (Sobranie gosudarstvennykh gramot... 1819: 63). A year earlier Kuchuk's lands in Pritobol'ie were documented on the drawings by voivode P. I. Godunov. This small example

shows the connection between the groups of population, khan power and territories. Without the first element the rest two in the nomadic society are becoming meaningless. Kuchuk's example illustrates an astonishing stability of some political mechanisms, which may indirectly prove the presence of the representatives of the clan aristocracy or the Islam representatives at his court. It was they who could draft "Kuchuk tsar's list written in Tatar letter", in Tobolsk (Trepavlov 2012: 214), taking due account of the accepted norms of making up such a foreign policy document.

In these conditions the craving for the relatives' support was a part of political changes, which were, on the whole, typical for the Post-Horde statehood. In the resource-scarce context the leaders of the Shibanid khanates in the south of Western Siberia became "hostages" of the will of the nomadic aristocracy. Its strengthening is especially noticeable during Abu-l-Khair's ruling. However, almost one hundred years later in 1563 the grandson of Tyumen khan Ibrahim Ahmed-Geray arrived in Isker to rule just at the invitation: "Siberian people ... took tsarevich to themselves to Siberia" (Polnoe sobranie russkikh... 1906: 370; RGADA: 118–118). One of the ways to strengthen the connection of khans and aristocracy was matrimonial policy, which allowed relying on the leading clans and tribes of the Tyumen and Siberian khanates (Trepavlov, Belyakov 2018: 178, 368–373; Belyakov 2019: 372–391).

The presence of certain symbols of khan power was important for presentation of the khan power. Their possession was as significant as the possession of the power of authority itself. Written sources allow speaking of the throne, yurt and caftan owned by Tyumen khan Abu-l-Khair, which acted as his power symbols (Materialy po istorii... 1969: 141, 143, 145, 163). The last two objects are obviously connected with common Mongol or Horde traditions of power, typical for many steppe regions. Unlike them the throne in Chimgi-Tura was a relatively new attribute of the local leaders, which was probably used by Abu-l-Khair for the first time. That is why for the Tyumen Dynasts the throne of Ulus of Jochi was of a special importance, in the sources it is named as "The throne of Sain Khan", i. e. Batu. Apparently, this refers to a light portable seat, which could really be connected with the Horde rulers. At different times it was seized by khans Abu'l-Khayr and Ibrahim together with nomadic placing (Horde-Bazar) Great Horde of Ahmed (Materialy po istorii 1969: 145; Posol'skie knigi 1995: 46). The possession of this object played a significant role in the political games and claims of the Shibanids of the 15th century. For the Siberian khanate of the time of Murtaza and his sons Ahmed-Geray and Kuchum state stamps of different forms have been revealed as such objects, in particular probably so called "biysy" and so called "Siberian crown" (combat helmet of khan Kuchum of the eastern

production). Perhaps, in the court rituals a drum was used. Moreover, there was a brandiron of the khan family, which could be used as the analogue of stamps, especially at the time of Kuchum family's ruling term (Maslyuzhenko 2016-a: 360–368). It is evident as the latest work of A. V. Belyakov has shown that the the list of symbols was not limited to those objects. For example, he suggests including flasks (suleya or amagyl) into this list (Trepavlov, Belyakov 2018: 210–211). At the same time such things as “Kuchum's helmet” could get the status of power symbol just thanks to the Russian administrators, interested in visualization of power over the joined lands of the Siberian khanate (Pchelov 2009: 14).

It was important that khan used these objects not only as personal attributes but he could also give them out, emphasizing achievements, status and position of this or that aristocrat. Khan presents were valued not only in 15th century at Abu-l-Khair's ruling but later as well. For example, in 1599 Tobolsk clerk I. N. Rzhavskiy took away Kuchum's bow, sword, carpet and cushion from yurt serving Tatars, which was made specific mention of in the correspondence (Trepavlov, Belyakov 2018: 212).

One more presentation of the khan power of no less interest was the use of the corresponding titular. The difficulty of its study is in the fact that it has not been preserved in the original documents and we got it from literary texts of Central Asia or the translations of different documents, done in Moscow. By the way, this makes it difficult to detect territorial component of the title, which played a great role in the anthropology of power of settled rulers. This component is more often restricted to the reference to “Shibanskiy”, “Nogaitskiy”, less often “Tyumenskiy” or only in XVI century “Sibirskiy” (Polnoe sobranie russkikh ... 1901: 203; Polnoe sobranie russkikh... 1982: 95; Polnoe sobranie russkikh ... 1987: 32; Sbornik Mukhanova 1866: 29). The title of the ruler more often sounded as “khan” (tsar in the Russian translation), though sometimes words “sultan” or “batyr-bogaty” were applied. For the moment it is possible to say that the first one appealed just to the steppe tradition of the Chingisids, the second, may be, referred to the Islamic tradition, but the origin of the last one is not quite clear though it was used at the time of Kuchum and his grandson Kuchuk. In the second half of the 16th century this element can be met in Kuchum's ally Bukhara khan Abdallah II, which may mean some common Central Asian or Uzbek political idea that required to stress the warrior status of the khan (Maslyuzhenko, Ryabinina 2017: 97–103).

At the same time let's turn our attention to the fact that famous fortifications of Isker could partly be overabundant especially if we look at this city not simply as the capital but as the centre of power representation, aimed at showing the greatness of the khans and their representatives, including the time of yasak collection from Khanty and Mansi tributaries and alliance partners (Maslyuzhenko, Ryabinina

2014-6: 139–144; Maslyuzhenko, Tataurov 2015: 135–150). Taking into account the statehood peculiarities, the real centre of the Shibaniid political power could not be tied to one place, it was obviously in nomadic placing.

So, the study of the peculiarities of the inner history of the Tyumen khanate of the Shibaniids in the context of the specificity of the post-Horde world can cover the issues of the periodization and territory extents of this state as well as the peculiarity of organization and symbols of the khan power.

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REGARDING THE ETHNICITY OF UGECHI KHASHIGA AND HIS SON ESEKHU WHO RULED THE NORTHERN YUAN IN THE FIRST QUARTER OF THE 15TH CENTURY

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Abstract: In the article, the author attempted to analyze information from written sources concerning the history of Mongolia in the 15th century and consider the issue of the ethnicity Oirat union leader *Ugechi Khashiga* and his son *Esekhu*. *Ugechi* is mentioned in Mongolian sources as one of the leaders of the Oirats, and in one of those it is even mentioned that he belongs to the people of *Kergud* from the Oirat union. Several professional historians agree that the Mongol chroniclers understood the Kyrgyz as the *Kerguds*. If we accept the word “*Khashiga*” as the title of *Ugechi*, then it is known in the history that only the Kyrgyzs called their beks “*Kashka*”. And Chinese sources convey the name *Ugechi* in the form of *Guilichi*, who usurped power in Northern Yuan in 1402. *Ugechi*’s son *Esekhu* was also a famous representative of the Oirat Kyrgyz. He is also known for raiding Mogolistan and fighting with Weiss Khan until the mid-1520s. This contributed to the beginning of the movement of some Kyrgyz tribes towards the Tien Shan, as stated in the genealogical legends of the contemporary Kyrgyz people.

Introduction

After the loss of power in China by the Yuan dynasty in 1368 the state of Northern Yuan was formed on the territory of Mongolia and the first rulers of this were *Biligtu Khan*, son of *Togon-Temur* (reigned: 1370–1378), *Uskhal Khan* (1378–1388), *Engkhe-Dzorigtu Khan* (1388–1391) and *Elbeg-Nigulesegchi Khan* (1394–1399) (Mongolian... 1986: 49) from the Genghisids. But at the end of the 14th century, during the reign of *Elbeg Khan* the Oirat leaders from Western

Mongolia became the main force in the political life of the Mongols and even began to threaten the power. All Mongolian written sources such as “*Altan Tobchi*”, “*Erdeniyin Tobchi*” and “*Shara Tudzhi*” that narrate about this era and were compiled in the 17th century reported about the strengthening of the *Oirats* to such an extent that they eventually seized power in Mongolia. *Hutkhai Tafu* (*Hutkhi Taju*) and his son *Batula-chingsang*, as well as a certain *Ugechi Khashiga*, are mentioned in those sources as active leaders of the *Oirats*. Once known about the first two that they were representatives of the *Oirat* clan of *Choros*, then the question of which ethnic group *Ugechi Khashiga* and his son *Esekhu* belong remains open to researchers.

Materials and methods

The Mongolians sources such as “*Altan Tobchi*”, “*Erdeniyin tobchi*” and “*Shara Tudzhi*” are important in studying the history of the Kyrgyz of the Mongol period, particularly in the 15th century. The chronicle “*Altan Tobchi*” (“Golden Legend”) found in 1926 was written in 1651–1655 by the *Daladian* “*lkhazun*” *Lubzan Danzan* (Lubsan Danzan 1973). The chronicle “*Erdeniyin Tobchi*” (“Precious button”) was compiled by the *Ordos* prince *Sagan Setsen* in 1662 (Schmidt 1829). In the second half of the 17th century the *Khalka* prince *Tsoktu Akhai* compiled the chronicle “*Shara Tudzhi*” (“Yellow History”) which was found in 1891 (*Shara-Tudzhi...* 1957). In these chronicles one can find the most important information about the Kyrgyz rulers of that time such as *Ugechi-Khashiga*, *Esekhu Khan* and others. By comparing information from these sources with Chinese and Muslim written sources we can derive a general picture about the Kyrgyz rulers of that time.

Research results

Ugechi Khashiga in written sources

The first of the *Oirat* leaders to be mentioned was *Khutkhi Tadzhu*, in connection with the murder of *Khargatsug*, the younger brother of *Elbeg Khan*. This is reported by the following lines from “*Shara Tudzhi*”: “*Elbeg Khan ordered Khutkhi Tadzhu from the Oirat clan of Choros to kill his younger brother and took his daughter-in-law as his wife. Following this, he ordered Durban to be in charge of the Oirats of Khutkhi Tadzhu*” (*Shara-Tudzhi* 1957: 159). Soon after *Elbeg Khan* married his daughter-in-law the beautiful *Ulzeita Goa*, she made sure that *Elbeg Khan* killed the *Oirat Khutkhi Tadzhu*, the murderer of her husband, and thereby she managed to avenge her husband. The name *Khutkhi Tadzhu* from “*Shara-Tudzhi*” is narrated in “*Altan Tobchi*” as *Khuukhay Tayu* (Lubsan Danzan 1973: 257–258). Further, it is reported in “*Altan Tobchi*” that *Elbeg Khan* “ordered *Batul-chingsang* and

Ugechi Khashiga, two sons of Taiu, to be in charge of four tumens" (Lubsan Danzan 1973: 258). But it seems plausible to us the message of the authors of "Erdeniyin tobchi" and "Shara Tudzhi" where they say that only "gave Batul the title of chinsan and gave his daughter Samor-gunji and ordered Durban to be in charge of the Oirats" (Shara-Tudzhi 1957: 143–144). According to several historians, the real reason for the murder of Khargatsug, the Khan's younger brother, was not the woman, but the Khan's throne, which Khargatsug wanted to take away from Elbeg Khan. In this struggle Khargatsuga supported Ugechi Khashiga opposing him to Elbeg Khan. But the Choros Hutkhai Tafu (Hutji Tajū) succeeded in getting closer to Elbeg Khan and took possession of *Durben Oirat*. And after his death the power over the *Oirats* was inherited by his son *Batula* (Petrov 1961: 154–155; Kukeyev 2013: 95–99).

According to historians, Ugechi Khashiga killed Elbeg Khan and seized power in Mongolia in 1399 (Translation... 1958: 15). The *Altan Tobchi* reports that the *Oirat Ugechi Khashiga* and *Batula-chingsang* acted together in this event (Lubsan Danzan 1973: 258). But the author of "Shara Tudzhi" points out the primary role of Ugechi in this event: "After that the Oirat Ugechi Hashiga killed the *Khagan*" (Shara-Tudzhi 1957: 143–144). According to the *Erdeniyin Tobchi*, *Kergudi Ugechi Khaskhaga* was dissatisfied with the fact that Elbeg Khan killed his brother and made his wife widow and then, at her instigation, killed his Minister *Shushai (Khutkhaya)* without trial. It is also reported that Ugechi became angry and said the following words: "he handed over the leadership of the *Durben Oirats* to *Batula*, my subject, while myself was still alive." After this, Elbeg Khan advised his son-in-law *Batul Chingsang* to kill Ugechi. However, the latter has been warned of the danger by the Khan's senior wife, Ugechi, without wasting any time, went against the Khan and killed him, thereby subjugating majority of the Mongol people (Translation... 1958: 17–18). As we can see, the hegemony of the *Oirats* in Mongolia begins with the assassination of Elbeg Khan and the seizure of power by the *Oirat* leader, whose name is preserved in the form of Ugechi Khashiga. All three Mongolian sources refer *Batul-chingsang*, son of *Khutkhi*, to the *Oirats*, or more precisely to the *Choros* clan. However, the opinions of the authors of the sources differ on the issue of the ethnicity of Ugechi Khashiga, which puts historians in a difficult position. So, if in "Altan Tobchi" Ugechi and *Batula* are presented as siblings, then the author of "Shara Tudzhi" says about Ugechi-khaskha only that he was from the *Oirats* (Zheltaya istoriya... 2017: 85). Compared to the *Altan Tobchi*, *Shara Tudzhi* contains more detailed information about the *Oirats*, for example, it provides the genealogies of all Mongol and *Oirat* rulers, including the descendants of *Khutkhi Tadzu* from the *Choros* clan (Shara Tudzhi 1957: 161). However, the Mongol chroniclers, who were jealous

of the genealogies of their own and the Oirat-Mongol ancestors, do not provide information about the ancestors and descendants of Ugechi Khashiga and his son Esekhu. But Sagan Setsen, the author of “Erdeniyin Tobchi” makes it known that Ugechi was from the Kergud clan which was one of the main ones among the Oirats (Petrov 1961: 154–157).

However, there is debate among historians about who the Kerguds were and what people they belonged to. According to the legend recorded in the Mongolian source “Erdeniyin tobchi” by Sagan Setsen, the Oirat union included such peoples as *Olot*, *Batut*, *Khoyt*, and *Kergud*. The translator and publisher of this source Schmidt, mongolist Banzarov, Grumm-Grzhimailo, academician B. Vladimirtsov, and other researchers believed that the word “Kergud” is the plural form of the ethnonym “Kyrgyz” in the Mongolian language (Western... 1926: 562; Vladimirtsov 1934: 131; Petrov 1961: 152). But the European historian H. Howorth, and also the researchers of the history of the Oirats following him, had identified “Kergud” with the Kereits and Torgouts (Kukevich 2008: 231–232). In the preface to the translation of Howorth’s article the Soviet historian K. Petrov notes that he could have been mistaken due to ignorance of the Mongolian language. In fact, the differences in the spelling of the peoples of Kergud, Kereyit and Torgout are so clear in the “Erdeniyin Tobchi” chronicle that confusing them for missing the language knowledge is completely impossible (Petrov 1958). As K. Petrov noted, the term “Oirat” should not be understood in an ethnic sense, since this term refers to associations of the 13th–15th centuries of the conglomerate of Mongol-Turkic tribes that were called the *Vala* by the Chinese and *Kalmaks* by the Muslims (Petrov 1961: 150). According to academician B. Vladimirtsov, the word “*Dorben Oirat*” in the 13th century meant “four *tyumens*”, but over time the numerical designation ceased to correspond to reality. By the following centuries, the Oirats were a conglomerate of various tribes, and the Oirats did not have a single leader (Vladimirtsov 1934: 157). Modern historians agree with the assertion that, unlike the Chingizid uluses, the 15th century Oirats were largely composed of non-Mongol peoples from the western part of modern Mongolia. Although the Oirats were considered a Mongol-speaking people, yet the Mongol chroniclers made a distinction between the Mongols and the Oirats, and Muslim authors of that time called not only the Oirats, but also non-Muslim Turkic-speaking peoples as “Kalmaks” (Joo-Yup Lee 2016). As K. Petrov noted, therefore, the Kyrgyz were temporarily accepted as one of the branches of the Oirats only in the state sense, but in reality they represented a different people (Petrov 1961: 157). In the Persian treatise “Shahid-i Sadiq” written in the 17th century by Muhammad Sadiq Isfakhani it is narrated about two different groups of Kyrgyz one of which lived near Karakorum (The geographical... 1828: 39). Chinese historians called

the Kyrgyz of this era and this region “*weilato kalagute*” i.e. “*Oirat Kyrgyz*” since they lived among the Oirats (Mokeyev 2010: 94).

There is an opinion that the word “*khashiga*” added to the name Ugechi by Mongolian chroniclers is his title. According to the reports of the Ottoman historian Seyfi Çelebi, the author of “*Tavarikh*”, written in the 16th century, the Kyrgyz called their beys “*kashka*” (Izvestia 2005: 260). V. Romodin, commenting on V. Bartold’s essay, makes a note that the title “*kashka*” is not of Mongolian, but of Turkic origin, and in the epic “*Manas*” this word was used in the meaning of “military leader” (Bartol’d 1963: 517–518). In the Kyrgyz language, the word “*kashka*” has several meanings: 1) bald head, a white mark on the forehead of animals; 2) clean, clear water (for example, “*kok kashka suu*”); 3) head of the tribe, leader, etc. (Yudakhin 1940). Thus, we can come to the conclusion that Ugechi was the leader of the Altai Kyrgyz and therefore he had the title “*Kashka*”. The word “*Ugechi*” itself could also come from the title “*Oge*” of the Yenisei Kyrgyz. It is known that in the Yenisei Kyrgyz of the Middle Ages there was a highest state title “*Oge*” which is often mentioned in the epitaph monuments of the Kyrgyz (Karatayev 2022: 26–33). After the Mongol period some titles fell out of use but may have remained in names. In our opinion, the name of the Kyrgyz ruler preserved in Mongolian sources in the form “*Ugechi*” sounded like “*Ogochu*” in Kyrgyz.

Information about the activities of *Ogochu kashka* can be found in both Muslim and Chinese sources. *Ugechi Kashka* who defeated the large army of Elbeg Khan and, at the same time had rivals among the Oirats, could achieve success only if he received help from the outside. He could have asked for help from the rulers of the Ming Empire, Mogolistan, the Golden Horde, or maybe Timur. The source “*Zafar-name*” written in 1402–1404 by Nizam ad-Din Shami narrates that Timur received ambassadors from the Khan of the Golden Horde Timur-Kutlug-oglan, the Golden Horde emir Idigu (Edigei) and the Khan of Mogolistan Khizr-Khodzha-oglan in August 1398 (Translation... 2002: 123–124). Author of another “*Zafar-name*”, written in the first quarter 15th century, mentions a certain *Taizi-oglan*, who arrived from Mongolia, when Timur, on his way to India in 800 AH (1397–98), stopped for two days in an area near Kabul. Sharafaddin Ali Yazdi writes the following about this:

“*Taizi-oglan*, having shown disobedience to the Khan in Large Dome and fleeing from the Kalmaks, arrived at the foot of the highest throne in the same area. Timur nestled him to his chest, questioned him respectfully and courteously, distinguished him with many royal favors and bounties and granted him a robe woven with gold, a belt strewn with stones, fleet-footed

horses, caravan mules, many camels with tents and marquees and everything that was (necessary) in terms of the Sultan's pomp. And the victorious Taizi-oglan became the warrior of the most honorable trip..." (Translation... 2002: 161).

In our opinion, this Taizi-oglan can be identified with Ugechi-kashka, since only he in 1398 before his uprising could ask for help from Amir Timur and other Muslim rulers and with their help carry out a take-over in Mongolia the following year.

At that time Ugechi-Kashka not only seized power but also took the princess as his wife and adopted her son from Khargatsug, whom he had once supported. Author of "Shara Tudzhi" reports this as follows:

"When Elbeg Khan took Princess Ulzeita Goa, then she was in her third month of pregnancy, and when Ugechi Khashiga took (her), then the seventh month of pregnancy was passing. The born son was given the nickname Achai" (Shara-Tudzhi 1957: 143–144).

But he did not immediately declare himself Khan; he first placed the crown prince on the throne. Information about Ugechi can also be found in Chinese sources, since the events of the 15th century are well recorded in them. Chinese sources indicate that in 1400, the eldest son of Elbeg Khan, Gun Temur, ascended the throne. But two years later he was removed by a certain Guilichi. As D. Pokotilova noted, having seized power and called himself khagan, Guilichi abolished the former dynastic name "Yuan" and gave his people the name "Da-Dan" (Pokotilova 1893: 31–32). It is not surprising that H. Khowors and K. Petrov identify the usurper Guilichi Khan with Ugechi Hashiga (Translation 1958: 18–19; Petrov 1961: 161–165). The fact that Guilichi wanted to call his state "Tatar" testifies to the Turkic hegemony under the leadership of the Kyrgyz in Mongolia. As an enemy of the Yuan, the emperor of the Ming dynasty, Yong-Lo, immediately recognized Guilichi's power and sent an envoy to him with generous gifts. Chinese historians mention that Guilichi tried to capture Hami and had frequent clashes with the Oirats. His close associates were Alutai and Maerrhazza. But Guilichi Khan was killed in 1408 by his close associate Alutai (Argutai) from the Eastern Mongols, and Benyashili (Ulchzhey-Temur Khan) was declared khan (Pokotilova 1893: 31–46). Chinese sources indicate that both the Oirats and the Khalkha Mongols took Guilichi Khan for an enemy. And the Mongol chroniclers are silent and thereby ignore the reign of Guilichi due to the fact that he was not a Mongol.

Table No. 1.

Information about Ugechi-Kashka from various sources

Sources	Information about the source	Transcription of the name “Ugechi” in sources	Clan affiliation	Events related to him
“Zafar-name”	Finished in 1425 by the stylist Sharaf ad-Din Ali Yazdi	Taizi-oglan	Unknown	Having fled from the Mongols and Kalmyks, in 1398 he met with Amir Timur
“Erdeni-yin tobchi”	was compiled by the Ordos prince Sagan Setcen in 1662.	Ugechi-Khaskhaga, Ogchi-Khashig	Kergud from the Oirats	Killed Elbeg Khan and seized power in Mongolia
“Shara Tudzhi”	compiled by the Khalka prince Tsoktu Akhai in the 17 th century	Ugechi Hashiga, Ugechi-khaskha	Oirat	Killed Elbeg Khan and seized power in Mongolia
“Altan Tobchi”	written in 1651–1655 by the Daladian lkhazun Lubzan Danzan	Ugechi Hashiga	Oirat	Killed Elbeg Khan and seized power in Mongolia
“Ming shi”	Zhang Tingyu	Guilici	Dadan (Tatar)	Ruled in Mongolia in 1404–1408

Sources about Esekhu, son of Ugechi-Kashka

After the death of Guilichi (Ugechi) Khan, who ruled from 1402 to 1408 the Northern Yuan, Benyashili ascended the Khan's throne, i.e. Ulchzhey-Temur Khan, who restored the direct descendants of the Yuan dynasty. Since he did not want to make peace with the Chinese, the Emperor Yun-Lo secured the friendship of the Oirats. The Oirat Makhamu showed especial courage in this matter

so having killed the Khan in 1412 he proclaimed Dalib Khan, i.e. Dalbeg Khan. Unwilling to strengthen the Oirats, Yun-Lo allied with Alutai from the Eastern Mongols, as a result of which in 1414 a battle took place between the Oirats and the Chinese (Pokotilova 1893: 34–39). Several historians identify Makhamu with Batula-chingsang. According to H. Khowors, soon after Makhamu (Batula) and Khalutai (Adai) overthrew the usurper Guilichi (Ugechi), he, while in escape, continued to rule the Kherguds until 1418, when he killed Makhamu (Batulu) (Translation... 1958: 24). In “Shara Tudzhi” there is information indicating that “*Oirat Ugechi Khashig killed Batula-chinsan, son of Kutkhi*”. The following lines from “Shara-tudzha” narrate about the events of 1415 when Delbeg Khan died: “*Son of Ugechi Hashiga Esekhu took (as his wife) Samor-gundzhi, the wife of Batul-chinsan*” (Shara-Tudzhi 1957: 144). In our opinion, the Oirat Batulu (Makhamu) could have been killed not by Ugechi Kashka (Guilichi Khan), who was no longer mentioned after 1408, but by his son Esekhu. Apparently, after the battle of 1414, when the Oirats suffered a crushing defeat from the Chinese, Makhamu (Batula) also died and his people were annexed by Esekhu, the son of Ugechi.

During this period, we do not find information about the Oirats in Chinese sources, unless we take into account the fact that in 1418 the Emperor granted his father’s title to Makhamu’s son Togon (Pokotilova 1893: 39–40). According to some sources, after the death of Dalbeg Khan in 1416, the Mongols remained without a monarch for more than 10 years (Men-gu-yu-mu-ji... 1895: 162). Chinese historians do not report any information about events in Mongolia before 1422 (Pokotilova 1893: 39–40). The author of “Altan Tobchi” mentions a certain Khan of the Oirats, who seized power from the Mongols after the death of Delbek Khan: “*In the same year of Sheep (1415), Oiraday Khan ascended the throne. Eleven years later, in the year of the Snake (1425), he died*” (Golden... 2005: 43). In other translations of “Altan Tobchi”, instead of Oiraday Khan, the word “Khagan of the Oirats” is written (Lubsan Danzan 1973: 259). K. Petrov identifies Oyraday Khan with Esekhu, referring to Sagan Setsen, the author of “Erdeniyin tobchi” (Petrov 1961: 156–167). In the “Erdeniyin Tobchi” it is narrated that Ugechi-kashiga had a son named Essekhu born in 1387. After his father’s death in 1415 Esseku ascended the throne, married the wife of Batula-chingsang and became known as Essekhu-kagan (Schmidt 1829: 147).

This Esekhu Khan, son of Ugechi (Guilichi Khan) turned his attention to the west and raided the White Horde, Khami and Mogolistan. According to the reports of Mahmud ibn Vali, in 1417 clashes occurred between the troops of the Ak-Orda Khan and the Kyrgyz (Mokeyev 2010: 102). It is known that in 1422 the Oirats attacked and plundered Khami (Commented... 2008: 26–27). In these

texts Muhammad Haidar, the author of “*Tarikh-i Rashidi*” narrates about Esekhu’s campaigns against Mogolistan the following:

“Despite the fact that for the most part he (Weiss Khan) suffered defeats from them, he did not stop waging a holy war against them (jihad). Twice he fell into the hands of those infidels. The first time he was captured during a battle that took place in the Ming Lak area. When the khan was captured, he was brought to Issan-taichi.... (Issan-taichi) gained confidence in the khan, showed him great honors and released him.... Another time he (Weiss Khan) gave battle to the same Issan-taichi in (the area) Bish-Kaba that is located on the outskirts of Mogolistan. The Khan was also defeated here.... Sultan Weiss Khan also had a battle with Issan-taichi in the vicinity of Turfan.... Although according to rumors it is known that the khan fought with the Kalmaks sixty-one times, but only once he won, in other cases he fled” (Mirza Muhammad Haidar 1969: 193–195).

According to K. I. Petrov, even in the year of Weiss Khan’s death in 1428, the Choros Essen-taichi was only 11 years old and he could not fight with Weiss Khan. Therefore, Weiss Khan’s opponent should have been not Essen-taichi, but the Kyrgyz Khan Essekhu (Petrov 1961: 168–169). Muhammad Haidar did not pay attention to his mistake even when he wrote about Issan-taichi as having fought with Akhmad Khan at the end of the 15th century (Mirza Muhammad Haidar 1969: 210–211). Battles between Weiss Khan and Esekhu Khan could certainly have taken place in history.

In 1422–1424, several battles took place between the Mongols, led by Alutai, and the Chinese. In 1426, Alutai declared Atai as Khan, i.e. Adai Khan (Pokotilova 1893: 46–47). Some historians mistakenly identify Alutai either with Adai Khan or with Oirodai Khan. This Alutai from Chinese sources is none other than Arugtai-taichi from Mongolian sources. The “*Erdeniyin Tobchi*” reports that Esseku Kagan died in 1425 at the age of 39. Before this, Esekhu Khan forced Oldzheita Goa and her son Achai-taichi as well as Aroktai-taichi to perform slave labor in his house (Schmidt 1829: 147). It is mentioned in the chronicle “*Shara Tudzhi*” that when:

“Esekhu died. And then Samur-(gun)dzhi secretly from Arugtai sent both Ulzeitu-go-a-beidzhi and Adzhai-taichi to relatives in Mongolia with the following news: “Esekhu has died. The Oirat began to be in turmoil. Bow down to your father-sovereign and come immediately!” At that time the remaining Mongols were ruled by Adai-taichi, a descendant of the Lord. Adai-taichi married Goa beidzhi and sat on the Khan’s throne at the age

of 35. He gave the title of Taichi to Arugtai. Adai Khan, Adzhai Taichi and Arugtai Taichi, the three of them, went on a military campaign to (the area) Dzhilaman Khan, attacked the Four Oirats and, having captured them, returned” (Zheltaya istoriya... 2017: 85).

Thus, after the death of Esekhu Khan, the Oirats and Kyrgyz were defeated by the Khalkha Mongols. But despite this, the son of the Choros Batul-chingsang Togon-taichi soon entered the arena, who also began to threaten the power in Mongolia (Shara-Tudzhi... 1957: 145).

Table No. 2.

Information about Esekhu Khan from various sources

Sources	Information about the source	Transcription of the name “Esekhu” in the sources	Events related to him
“Erdeniyin tobchi”	was compiled by the Ordos prince Sagan Setcen in 1662.	Esseku-kagan, son of Ugechi-kashiga	Became khan and ruled in Mongolia in 1415–1425
“Shara Tudzhi”	compiled by the Khalka prince Tsoktu Akhai in the 17 th century	Esekhu, son of Ugechi	After the death of Batul-chinsan married his wife Samur-gundzhi
“Altan Tobchi”	written in 1651–1655 by the Daladian lkhazun Lubzan Danzan	Oiradai Khan, Khan of the Oirats	Ruled in Northern Yuan in 1415–1425.
“Tarikh-i Rashidi”	Muhammad Haidar	Issan-taichi	Fought with the Khan of Mogolistan Weiss Khan who ruled until 1428

Discussion

Since the reign of Guilichi Khan (Ugechi) the Chinese have become acquainted with the Oirats whom they call “vala”. Chinese sources report that the Oirats, after the death of Meng-ke-Temur, were divided into three parts, the leaders of which were Makhamu, Taiping and Batubolo (Pokotilova 1893:

32). Researcher of the history of the Oirats D. Kukeyev mistakenly assumes that Guilichi and Mengke-Temur are the names of the same person (Kukeyev 2013: 95–99). But the Chinese historians themselves considered them to be different people: Guilichi came from the Dadan (Tatars), while Mengke-Temur belonged to the Vala (Oirats). Therefore, Mengke Temur can be identified with Khuukhai Tafu who ruled the Oirats during the reign of Elbeg Khan. Curiously, Chinese sources quote dividing the Oirats not into four, but only into three groups. Apparently, Ming historians knew that the fourth group of Oirats was a Turkic-speaking group and therefore they mentioned them as Dadan, separately from the Oirats. As noted above, the Oirats then included Olot (Ogeled), Batut (Bagatut), Khoid and Kergud (Kyrgyz). The Choros clan, to which Huukhai Taifu and his son Batula-chinsang belonged, belonged to the eleots, i.e. olots (Kitinov 2018: 16–17). Thus, the Kyrgyzs of the Oirat union, mentioned in Mongolian sources as Kerguds, and in Chinese as Dadan, competed with all three groups of Oirats, especially with the Olots, who were dominated by the Choros clan.

The Kyrgyzs led by Ugechi-Kashka (Guilichi Khan) and his son Esekhu Khan spread their hegemony in Mongolia in the first quarter of 15th century. The memory of Esekhu was also preserved in the genealogical traditions of the Kyrgyz people. Thus, according to the story of a Kyrgyz genealogist Useyin azhy from the Kyzylsuu-Kyrgyz Autonomous Region of the XUAR of the People's Republic of China Kyrgyzs came to the territory of modern Kyrgyzstan under the leadership of Essenkul when they lost the war with the Mongols (Usoyun azhy 1994: 111). Names such as Essenkul or Essengul can often be found among modern Kyrgyz people. The same could be the name of the leader of the Kyrgyz, mentioned in Mongolian sources as “Esekhu”. Perhaps the resettlement of a significant part of the Kyrgyz from the Mongolian Altai to the mountains of the Eastern Tien Shan began during the reign of Essekhu when he pushed Weiss Khan to the west and captured some lands of Mogolistan.

The Kyrgyzs who remained among the Oirats after the death of Essekhu, were unable to maintain their former power and joined them. As reported in the Altan Tobchi, during the reign of Togon-taichi, the Oirats included Oirats, Ogelets, Bagatuts and Khoits (Lubsan Danzan 1973: 261). Probably, the remnants of the Kerguds (Kyrgyz) fell under the rule of Togon and were annexed to the Eleots (Ogelets). Because during the time of Togon-taichi and his son Esen-taichi, the composition of the Oirat union was replenished with new tribes and a new “Dorben Oirad” was formed: 1) elyets; 2) khoits and batouts; 3) bargu and buraats; 4) four angas. Also during the reign of Togon-taichi the Torguts and Khoshuts

were annexed to the Oirats (Kukeyev 2008: 231–232). Despite this, in our opinion, in the second half of the 15th century the Kyrgyzs under the leadership of Begarstan-taicha, Ismail-taicha and Ibrahim-taicha played an important role in the political life of the Mongols and Oirats. Over the entire period of the 15th century, the Kyrgyzs tried to find a common language with both the Oirats and the Mongols. But due to the fact that the Kyrgyzs were Turkic-speaking and Muslim by religious beliefs, they could not remain among them for long and were forced at the beginning of the 16th century to move to Mogolistan – the territory of modern Kyrgyzstan. In Kalmyk sources there is a story about how the Elyets moved away from the Oirats and dissolved among the Qizilbash around 1502 (Sanchirov 2003: 10–11). In our opinion, we are talking about the departure of the Kyrgyz who remained among the Elyet, since it was after the above year that the active actions of the rebellious Kyrgyz began to intensify in Mogolistan.

Conclusions

Referring to Mongolian sources such as “Erdeniyin Tobchi”, “Shara Tudzhi” and “Altan Tobchi” we can agree that the hegemony of the Oirats in Mongolia at the end of the 14th and beginning of the 15th centuries begins with the murder of Elbek Khan and the seizure of power by the Oirat leader Ugechi Khashiga. All three Mongolian sources classify Ugechi as an Oirat, but historians differ on the question of which clan of Oirats he belonged to. Compared to “Altan Tobchi” and “Shara Tudzhi”, “Erdeniyin Tobchi” contains more detailed information about Ugechi which states that he was from the Kergud people, who are one of the main ones among the Oirats. Such famous historians as Schmidt, Banzarov, Grumm-Grzhimailo, B. Vladimirtsov, K. Petrov and others believed that the word “Kergud” is a distorted version of the name of the people “Kyrgyz”. Since until the 16th century the Kyrgyz called their beks “Kashka”, it can be assumed that Ugechi also had this title, but it was preserved in the form of “Khashiga”. At the end of the 14th century, the ruler of the Northern Yuan Elbeg Khan with the help of the Oirat leader Khutkhai Tafu (Khutshi Tadzhü) kills his younger brother Khargatsug who was supported by the Kyrgyz Ugechi-Kashka. Ugechi is mentioned in Muslim sources as Taizi-oglan who fled from the Mongols and Kalmyks to the west and met the Muslim rulers in 1398. After this he, having received outside support and replenished his troops, was able to carry out a take-over in Mongolia and kill Elbeg Khan. He also married to Princess Ulzeita-goa who was first the wife of Khargatsug, and after his death – Elbeg Khan, and adopted her son Achai. Ugechi-Kashka is mentioned in Chinese sources under the name Guilichi, who usurped power in 1402 and ruled until 1408.

Mongolian sources report that Esekhu, the son of Ugechi-kashka (Guilichi Khan) after the death of Batul-chinsang married his wife Samur-gunji. Some historians identify Esekhu with Oiradai Khan or Khagan of the Oirats from Mongol sources who declared himself Khan in 1415 and died in 1425. Esekhu is also known for having raided Mogolistan and fought with Weiss Khan until the mid-1520s but he is mistaken for Essen-taichi as historians and commentators have repeatedly warned about. Essekhu's campaigns to the west contributed to the beginning of the movement of some Kyrgyz tribes from the Mongolian Altai towards the Tien Shan. The fact that under the leadership of Essenkul the Kyrgyz came to the current territory is also stated in the genealogical traditions of modern Kyrgyzs. Thus, by comparing and analyzing information from Mongolian, Chinese and other written sources, it is possible to enrich the history of the Kyrgyz of the 15th century with the most valuable conclusions.

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PROJECTS and EVENTS

MAIN ACTIVITIES OF THE TURKIC ACADEMY (JANUARY-JUNE 2024)

8-Volume “Encyclopedia of Turkic Humanities” was Presented

Astana, 13 February 2024

The 8-volume “Encyclopedia of Turkic Humanities” explores the Turkic Belt, covering Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Türkiye, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Tatarstan, Bashkortostan, Altai, Khakassia, Tuva, Sakha (RF), and Xinjiang (China). It spans all humanitarian sciences, including linguistics, literature, history, art, geography, folklore, and religious beliefs. Written in Korean, it contains 4,500 pages and defines over 2,000 key concepts.



Developed from 2018 to 2023, the encyclopedia was a fundamental research project funded by the National Research Foundation of Korea, with 21 international experts contributing under the leadership of Professor Eunkyung Oh.

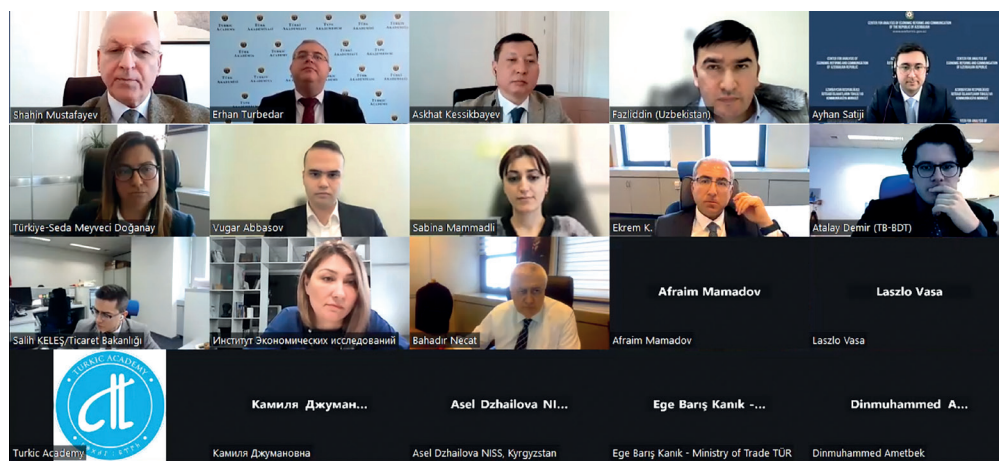
A presentation event, organized by the Turkic Academy and Lev Gumilyov Eurasian National University, featured notable figures such as Askhat Kessikbayev (Turkic Academy), Serik Makysh (ENU), Eunkyung Oh (Dongduk Women's University), Uli Schamiloglu (Nazarbayev University), Karzhaubai Sartkozhauli (ENU), and Ku Bom Chol (Korean Cultural Center), alongside renowned Turkologists and young scholars.

Participants discussed Korean-Turkic ties and expressed gratitude to the encyclopedia's authors.

Online Meeting of the Turkic Network of Official Economic Policy Research Centers

28 February 2024

Turkic Academy serves as the Secretariat of the Turkic Network of Official Economic Policy Research Centers (ERCNET), a vital platform for fostering collaboration among economic institutions across Turkic countries. The main objectives of the ERCNET include promoting economic relations, enhancing economic integration, and strengthening partnerships between Turkic countries. Additionally, ERCNET aims to identify and promote long-term growth drivers that support smart, inclusive, and sustainable growth within the Turkic economies.



The online meeting held on 28 February 2024 allowed member institutions to reflect on past achievements while strategizing for future endeavors. During the meeting, participants highlighted significant milestones reached by member institutions in their respective research agendas. Discussions also included the successful completion and dissemination of the “Report on Turkic Economies 2023: Digital Trade and Investment,” recognized as a significant publication in providing insights into digital trade trends and investment opportunities that are shaping the economic landscape among Turkic countries. A consensus emerged regarding sharing knowledge and best practices and the necessity for effective dissemination and implementation strategies concerning findings from the reports.

Another significant discussion topic was identifying the special theme for the Report on Turkic Economies for 2024. Participants reached a consensus on the theme “Strengthening Transport and Energy Connectivity between Turkic States,” which aims to explore both opportunities and challenges related to enhancing transport and energy connectivity within the region.

Study and Preservation of the Historical and Cultural Heritage of the Turkic World from the Perspective of UNESCO

Baku, 14-15 March 2024

The Turkic world encompasses significant cultures, languages, and histories that contribute significantly to global heritage. Recognizing this cultural richness, a conference was convened to explore strategies for preserving this rich cultural tapestry through the lens of UNESCO’s frameworks. The Turkic Academy, the Turkic Culture and Heritage Foundation, the National Commission of the Republic of Azerbaijan for UNESCO, and the Turkish National Commission for UNESCO jointly organized the conference. Additional support came from the Secretariat of the Organization of Turkic States, the Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TİKA), and ADA University’s Institute for Development and Diplomacy.

The conference served as a platform of discussion for representatives from various Turkic Cooperation Organizations, national commissions for UNESCO from Turkic countries, cultural heritage departments within ministries of culture, as well as other national institutions and experts in cultural preservation. The



Study and Preservation of the Historical and Cultural Heritage of the Turkic World from the Perspective of UNESCO

conference focused on the intricate study and preservation of Turkic cultural heritage, addressing many challenges and opportunities in this field. Participants engaged in discussions surrounding various case studies that exemplify successful preservation efforts and the methodologies used by UNESCO to safeguard these cultural assets.

Further, the conference underscored the importance of collaborative partnerships to nominate new Turkic sites for inclusion on UNESCO's World Heritage List. This initiative not only seeks to recognize the historical and cultural value of these sites but also aims to enhance their visibility and accessibility to a



broader audience. A significant highlight of the event was commemorating the 950th Anniversary of Dīwānu Lughāt al-Turk, an essential compendium of Turkic dialects that serves as a vital resource for understanding the linguistic richness within Turkic cultures.

The field expedition “Historical Heritage of Mangystau: Monuments of the Oguz-Kipchak Era”

Mangystau, 5 April 2024

The Turkic Academy, with the support of the Mangystau Regional administration, commenced a field expedition titled “Historical Heritage of Mangystau: Monuments of the Oguz-Kipchak Era.”

The goal of the ten-day field research is to explore and revive the historical and cultural monuments of the Oguz-Kipchak era in the Mangystau region, which is one of the important nodes of the ancient Great Silk Road in the history of Central Asia.

The scientific expedition is led by President of the Turkic Academy Shahin Mustafayev and includes an Associate Professor at the West Kazakhstan Innovation and Technological University Murat Kalmenov, a senior researcher at the Yahyo Gulomov Samarkand Institute of Archaeology of the Agency of Cultural Heritage of the Republic of Uzbekistan Aysulu Iskanderova along with scientific experts from the Turkic Academy Nurbolat Bogenbayev and Nurdin Useev.



According to the expedition participants, the historical region, spanning from ancient Huns to the ancient Turkic era, is linked with the history of the Khazar Khaganate and the Khorezm region. It encompasses a vast valley inhabited by Oguz and Kipchak tribes and boasts a rich archaeological heritage. Thousands of historical and archaeological monuments have been preserved in this region, including ancient cemeteries, mounds, indigenous settlements, cities and fortresses, caravan palaces, underground mosques, tombs, tombstones and burial monuments from the 8th to 13th centuries.

Presentation of the Book by the President of Turkmenistan

Astana, 5 April 2024

The Turkic Academy continues its cooperation with the embassies of the member states in Astana. In this regard, the Academy hosted a presentation of the book “Anau: Culture originated from the Millennia” authored by President of Turkmenistan Serdar Berdimuhamedov.



The event was attended by Vice-President of the Turkic Academy Askhat Kesikbaev, Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Representative Ambassador of Turkmenistan Batyr Rejepov, senior Expert at the Kazakhstan Institute for Strategic Studies (KazISS) under the President of Kazakhstan Mukhit Asanbaev and senior Researcher at the Academy of Public Administration under the President of Kazakhstan Zhanat Momyunkulov.

The city of Anau was awarded the status of this year's cultural capital of the Turkic world by the International Organization of Turkic Culture (TURKSOY).

Simultaneously, this year also celebrates the 300th anniversary of the birth of Makymkula Fragi, the national poet of Turkmenistan.

During the ceremony, Ambassador of Turkmenistan Batyr Rejepow gifted the new book, highlighting the cultural heritage of Anau, to the library fund of the Turkic Academy. The book, published in Turkmen, English and Russian, encompasses three chapters: “Ancient Anau’s Uniqueness,” “Historical Events Linking Eras,” and “Continuation of Ancient Anau’s Glorious Path on Ahal Land.”

A commemorative event honoring Zhusup Abdrakhmanov

Astana, 17 April 2024

The Turkic Academy has close cooperation with the embassies of brotherly nations in Astana. In this scope, a round table was convened at the Turkic Academy, focusing on the eminent statesman of Kyrgyzstan, Zhusup Abdrakhmanov, under the theme “Zhusup Abdrakhmanov: Statesmanship and the Bonds of Brotherhood.”



The event was attended by the President of the Turkic Academy Shahin Mustafayev, Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Representative Ambassador of the Kyrgyz Republic Dastan Dyushekeev, Advisor to the President of the Kyrgyz Republic Arslan Koychiev, Professor of Nazarbayev University Uli Schamiloglu,

as well as professors of the Eurasian National University Amantay Sharip and Zhanat Aimukhambet.

The participants of the round table delved into the life and accomplishments of the renowned statesman and public figure of the last century, acknowledging his profound impact on the advancement of the Turkic world. Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Representative Ambassador of the Kyrgyz Republic Dastan Dyushekeev extended his gratitude to the Turkic Academy and all participating scholars for their invaluable efforts in bolstering the friendly relations between Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan through such meaningful events.

Turkic Week in Geneva (Switzerland)

22-26 April 2024, Geneva



The Turkic Week in Geneva was co-organized by the OTS, Turkic Academy, Turkic Culture and Heritage Foundation, TURKPA, TURKSOY, and the Permanent Missions of Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Türkiye, and Uzbekistan to the UN Geneva Office. Hosted by the UN Geneva Office, WIPO, and the Geneva Conservatory of Music, the event highlighted Turkic culture and heritage.

On April 22, 2024, the opening ceremony at the UN Office featured an exhibition showcasing Turkic art, handicrafts, paintings, and photographs, organized in collaboration with TURKSOY and the Turkic Academy.

The event brought together key figures, including OTS Secretary General Kubanychbek Omuraliev, TURKSOY Secretary General Sultan Raev, Turkic Culture and Heritage Foundation President Aktoty Raiymkulova, Ambassadors, Permanent Representatives, and Turkish Grand National Assembly members.

On April 23, 2024, Turkic Academy President Shahin Mustafayev participated in the conference “Turkic Cooperation Organizations: United in Heritage, Forward in Action.” Led by Kyrgyzstan’s Permanent Representative to the UN Omar Sultanov, the panel included Kubanychbek Omuraliev, Sultan Raev, Aktoty Raiymkulova, Omer Kocaman, and Kadir Yaman.

Discussions emphasized strengthening cultural and academic cooperation to address global challenges, preserve cultural heritage, and promote sustainable development.

The Stele from the Nomgon-2 Complex Was Presented

26 April 2024, Ulaanbaatar

The Turkic Academy continues its archaeological excavations in Nomgon Valley, Mongolia. Between 2019 and 2023, archaeologists unearthed a stone statue of a seated kagan, fragments of two lion statues with cubs, and several broken stone pieces.



A significant discovery at the site was an ancient Chinese inscription at the base of a stele, suggesting a link between the Nomgon-2 ritual complex and Elteris Kutlyk-Kagan, ruler of the Turkic Khaganate. Located in Khashaat Sum, Arkhangai region, Nomgon-2 is considered the seat of the Khaganate rulers.

On April 26, 2024, the Turkic Academy and the Archaeological Institute of the Mongolian Academy of Sciences held a presentation in Ulaanbaatar, unveiling the lower section of the Nomgon-2 stele. The event, hosted at the Chinggis Khan Museum, was attended by Turkic Academy President Shahin Mustafayev, Academy of Sciences of Mongolia President Dugeriin Regdel, Kazakh Ambassador Gabit Koishibaev, Turkish Chargé d'Affaires Ali Said Serdengeçti, and other diplomats, institute heads, and scholars.

The Turkic Academy and the Mongolian Academy of Sciences plan to continue excavations at the Nomgon-2 complex, deepening research on the Khaganate's history.

Second Meeting of the Turkic World Common Alphabet Commission

Baku, 6 May 2024

The Turkic World Common Alphabet Commission (hereinafter “the Commission”) was established to harmonize the alphabets of the languages spoken in Turkic countries and to support those countries intending to transition to the Latin alphabet. The Commission operates within the framework of the Turkic Academy under coordination with the Secretariat of the Organization of Turkic States.

The Second Meeting of the Commission was jointly organized by the Turkic Academy and the Turkish Language Association under the Atatürk Supreme Council for Culture, Language and History, in cooperation with the Nesimi Institute of Linguistics of the National Academy of Sciences of Azerbaijan.

A significant portion of the meeting's agenda was dedicated to evaluating the efforts conducted over the past year regarding the Common Turkic Alphabet. Participants engaged in brainstorming potential solutions for this issue and formulated an Action Plan based on the suggestions put forth during the meeting. The plan outlines concrete steps that stakeholders can take to promote awareness and adoption of the common alphabet among Turkic countries.



The Commission also assessed the efforts to establish a common terminology among Turkic nations. Various projects focusing on terminology across different fields were introduced during this meeting. Further, participants engaged in discussions regarding the necessary steps to advance initiatives aimed at developing a unified terminology.

Exhibition “Tatars and Karaims of Lithuania”

Astana, 13 May 2024

The Museum of the Turkic Academy hosted an exhibition dedicated to the cultural heritage of the Tatar and Karaim communities residing in Lithuania. By highlighting their historical significance and showcasing their artistic expressions, this event contributed to a broader understanding of multiculturalism within Europe. It underscored the importance of preserving such heritage for future generations while fostering dialogue among diverse communities.

The exhibition was attended by the President of the Turkic Academy Shahin Mustafayev, the Ambassador of Lithuania to Kazakhstan Egidius Navikas, the director of the Turkish Cultural Center named after Yunus Emre Almagul Isina, the professor of the Eurasian National University named after L. N. Gumilev Miras Kosybaev, professor of Nazarbayev University Meiramgul Kussainova, professor



of the Kazakh National Pedagogical University named after Abai Marlen Adilov, professor of the Eurasian Humanitarian Institute named after A. Kusainov Aslan Alimbaev, as well as other representatives of diplomatic missions.

Seminar titled “Effective Integration of Artificial Intelligence and EdTech Digital Technologies in Education, Language Teaching, and Scientific Research”

20-29 May 2024

In 2024, the Turkic Academy is supporting several scientific projects selected through a project competition announced in late 2023. Among these initiatives, one focuses on issues related to artificial intelligence. In this context, a 72-hour scientific-methodological seminar titled “Effective Integration of Artificial Intelligence and EdTech Digital Technologies in Education, Language Teaching, and Scientific Research” was held from May 20-29, 2024, as part of the Turkic Academy project, with support from Nazarbayev University.

The seminar featured 35 speakers from five countries, including distinguished scholars from Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, the USA, and Türkiye, as well as representatives from Nazarbayev University’s ISSAI (Institute of Intelligent Systems and Artificial Intelligence) and the Center for Innovations in Education and Training, Scientific Committee of the Ministry of Science and Higher Education of the Republic of Kazakhstan, Sh. Shayakhmetov “Til-Kazyna”



National Educational Institution, Abay Institute, scientists of other scientific and methodological centers. The experts shared their knowledge on the effective application of artificial intelligence and EdTech digital technologies in education, language teaching, and scientific research. Presentations also covered the scientific and methodological foundations of qualitative research and innovative teaching methods.

The seminar was attended by 60 participants, including professors and educators from higher educational institutions across Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Uzbekistan, researchers from scientific institutes, language center instructors, young scientists, and master and doctoral students. Letters of appreciation and certificates were awarded to the speakers and participants in recognition of their contributions.

7th General Assembly Meeting of the Union of National Academies of Sciences of the Turkic World

Ankara, 27 May 2024

The Turkic Academy serves as the Secretariat of the Union of National Academies of Sciences of the Turkic World (UNASTW), which was established in 2015. The main purpose of the Union is to promote comprehensive cooperation in the field of science and education among the societies of Turkish states.



The 7th General Assembly Meeting of the UNASTW convened to foster project-based collaborative initiatives. Participants engaged in an extensive exchange of views regarding potential areas for enhanced cooperation. The discussions were anchored around two key documents: “Recommendations for Cooperation,” prepared by the Turkic Academy, and the “Strategic Research Cooperation Agenda Among Turkic States,” prepared by TÜBİTAK of Türkiye. These documents outlined various strategic initiatives aimed at fostering interdisciplinary collaboration among member academies.

The assembly resulted in adopting several key decisions that will guide future activities and collaborations under UNASTW’s framework. By adopting a more systematic and project-based approach, UNASTW is expected to advance its collective achievements and better serve the interests of its scientific community.

During the meeting, the Presidency of the National Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Tatarstan (Russian Federation) was transferred to the Turkish Academy of Sciences.

7th Meeting of the Scientific Council of the Turkic Academy

Shusha, 1 June 2024

The Scientific Council of the Turkic Academy meets once a year at the level of Ministers of Education and is co-chaired by the President of the Turkic Academy and the Minister of Education of the Member State holding the Chairmanship. The Scientific Council provides operational guidance and supervision for the activities of the Turkic Academy in between the annual meetings.

The 7th meeting of the Scientific Council of the Turkic Academy was organized with significant support from the Ministry of Education and Science of the Republic of Azerbaijan, holding the Chairmanship. During this meeting, participants had the opportunity to review the Progress Report on the Activities of the Turkic Academy for 2023, deliberate on Priority Directions for Scientific and Research Projects, and adopt the Annual Activity Plan that will guide the Turkic Academy's endeavors in the upcoming period.



A notable outcome of this year's meeting was the support provided to 36 specific research projects to be implemented by the Turkic Academy in close collaboration with relevant stakeholders. These projects are expected to enhance collaboration between academic institutions within Turkic countries, thereby strengthening the Academy's influence in regional scientific discourse.

Digitalization and Convergence in the Legal Enforcement Activities of the Turkic States

Baku, 4 June 2024.

The Turkic Academy is supporting the scientific dimension of the cooperation among Turkic states in the field of judiciary. In this regard it is worth to remind that in 2021, the structure of the Turkic legal training community was established with the goal of enhancing cooperation in the field of law and justice, while upholding common legal values and principles. In 2022, a memorandum of understanding was signed among the organizations involved in judicial training in Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Türkiye, Uzbekistan, and Hungary within the Turkic

judicial training community. Since the launch of this training platform, the conditions for close cooperation among institutions in the participating countries involved in training personnel for the judicial system have markedly improved.

On June 4, 2024, the Turkic Academy, in cooperation with Azerbaijan's Ministry of Justice and Prosecutor General's Office, organized an international conference in Baku titled "Digitalization and Convergence in the Legal Enforcement Activities of the Turkic States." The Academy also led the third panel session on "Analysis and Convergence of Civil Law in Turkic States."



This two-day event featured high-level attendees, including Azerbaijan's Minister of Justice, Farid Akhmadov; Prosecutor General, Kamran Aliyev; Chairman of the Supreme Court, Inam Kerimov; Deputy Secretary General of the Organization of Turkic States, Sadi Jafarov; as well as representatives from judicial institutions, judges, prosecutors, and training institutions involved in the judicial system.

The Turkic Academy extended the agreement to collaborate on a joint research study on the archaeological site of Zhankent settlement

Kyzylorda, 16 June 2024

In 2023, the Turkic Academy and Korkyt Ata Kyzylorda State University entered into an agreement to collaborate on a joint scientific project and formalized it through a signed protocol. This collaboration aims to conduct a joint research study on the archaeological site of Zhankent settlement in the Kyzylorda region

and to incorporate the materials obtained during the research into scientific discourse.

The ancient city of Zhankent holds significant historical and archaeological importance in Central Asia's early medieval era. Situated in the Kazaly district of the Kyzylorda region, it served as a pivotal hub during the formation of the Oghuz Yabgu state from the 7th to the 10th centuries AD, within the ancient Syr Darya delta territory. This period witnessed a flourishing urban culture in Zhankent, extensively documented in various written sources.



During the excavations at the Zhankent site, materials were unearthed that bear resemblance to archaeological discoveries from Zhetysay and the Chu River valley. These findings are dated to the early 8th to 9th centuries, shedding light on the historical context of the region during that period. The “Swamp settlements” culture stands out as unique in Central Asia, lacking analogues in the region. The findings from this research could provide a foundation for examining the ethnic makeup of the populace in early medieval cities within the Southeastern Aral Sea region.

On 16 June 2024, the President of the Turkic Academy Shahin Mustafayev and rector of Korkyt Ata Kyzylorda State University Beibitkul Karimova held

a productive meeting in Kyzylorda dedicated to cooperation in the fields of archaeology and science. The President of the Academy expressed sincere gratitude to rector Beybitkul Karimova for her active support and organizational assistance, which plays an important role in achieving common scientific goals. Both sides emphasized their readiness to further deepen cooperation and mutual support, which contributes to the development of scientific research and the preservation of the region's cultural heritage.

***Dīwānu Lughāt al-Turk* on the 950th Anniversary of its Writing: A Common Asset of the Turkic World**

Bishkek, 24-25 June 2024

The “*Dīwānu Lughāt al-Turk*,” authored by Mahmud al-Kashgari in the 11th century, stands as one of the earliest comprehensive dictionaries of Turkic languages. This monumental work not only cataloged vocabulary but also provided insights into Turkic peoples’ cultural and social contexts during that era.

The conference “*Dīwānu Lughāt al-Turk* on the 950th Anniversary of its Writing: A Common Asset of the Turkic World” was jointly organized by the



Turkic Academy and the Turkish Language Association of the Atatürk Supreme Council for Culture, Language and History, in cooperation with the Ch. Aitmatov Institute of Language and Literature of the National Academy of Sciences of the Kyrgyz Republic, to commemorate the 950th anniversary of this seminal work that has significantly influenced both Turkology and broader linguistic studies. The inclusion of the 950th anniversary of “Dīwānu Lughāt al-Turk” in UNESCO’s Commemoration and Celebration Anniversaries Program for 2024 reflects its global significance.

The conference facilitated an in-depth scholarly dialogue that enhanced understanding of this important work. The presentations and discussions highlighted its literal meaning, purpose, the life story of its author, and the historical background surrounding the creation of this masterpiece and included exemplary excerpts from within the text.

Online Meeting of the Working Groups for Scientific and Technological Collaboration in the Turkic World

28 June 2024

The 10th Summit of the Council of Heads of State of the Organization of Turkic States held on 3 November 2023 in Astana approved adding natural and applied sciences to the working agenda of the Turkic Academy. Consequently, the Turkic Academy has begun developing partnerships in this area.

Online Meeting of the Working Groups for Scientific and Technological Collaboration in the Turkic World was a result of the collaborative effort between the Turkic Academy and the Technological Research Council of the Republic of Türkiye (TÜBİTAK) aimed to foster scientific and technological cooperation among Turkic states.

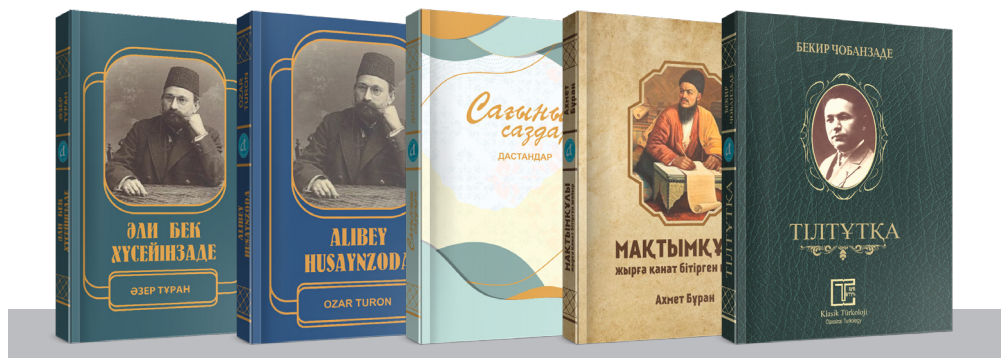
The meeting was organized as a follow-up to the decisions made at the “Science-Based Multilateral Collaboration and Co-Creation among Turkic States for Addressing Regional and Global Challenges” held on 26 December 2023 in Ankara. During this meeting, the Ministries of Education and Science, National Academies of Science, and other national scientific institutions from Turkic countries convened and agreed on four thematic priority areas for cooperation (1. Advanced digital technologies; 2. Green energy technologies for climate action; 3. Environment and water and 4. Aeronautics and space). Consequently, the Turkic Academy has established four Working Groups to

coordinate collaboration in these thematic priority areas, working closely with TÜBİTAK.

To further specify the main areas of cooperation, TÜBİTAK has developed the “Strategic Research Cooperation Agenda Among Turkic States” document, which is acknowledged by the 7th General Assembly Meeting of the Union of National Academies of Science of the Turkic World (27 May 2024 in Ankara). Accordingly, this online meeting of the Working Groups was organized to evaluate the suggestions of this document and determine which ones are most urgent, important, or feasible to implement first.

Members of the relevant Working Groups shared their thoughts, insights, and suggestions that will help shape the direction and success of project-based scientific collaboration in the natural sciences within the Turkic World.

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