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Islamic Culture in the Khanate of Kazan: A Report Sent from Kazan in 1550 during the Reign of <Süleyman> the Lawgiver

A.Zeki Velidi Togan (1890–1970)

Annotated translation and edition from Turkish and Chaghatay by

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Introduction by the Editor and Translator

Zeki Velidi Togan (1890–1970) published “Islamic Culture in the Khanate of Kazan: A Report Sent from Kazan in 1550 during the Reign of <Süleyman> the Lawgiver” in *İslâm Tetkikleri Enstitüsü Dergisi* (*Review of the Institute of Islamic Studies*) in 1966.¹ The main title of the article in its Turkish original is slightly different: *Kazan Hanlığında İslâm Türk Kültürü*, which would translate as “Turkish-Islamic Culture in the Kazan Khanate.” However, the English summary appended to the article includes the English title that I use here for my translation, and I have taken Togan’s subtitle in the English summary of his article as his indirect wish for the title of an English translation of his article.²

1 Zeki Velidi Togan, “Kazan Hanlığında İslâm Türk Kültürü (Kanunî zamanında 1550 de Kazandan gönderilen bir rapor),” *İslâm Tetkikleri Enstitüsü Dergisi* 3(1966).3–4: 181–204. The article is now available online: <https://dergipark.org.tr/en/pub/iuislamtd/issue/1191/13997> (accessed on 09.12.2021).

2 Togan, “Kazan Hanlığında”: 202.

Togan's article introduces a manuscript titled *Ẓafarnāma-i Vilāyat-i Qazān* by Sharīf Ḥājjī-Tarkhānī on Ivan IV's unsuccessful siege of the city of Kazan in 1549–1550.³ The article is divided into five sections: 1. an untitled introduction; 2. the edition of Sharīf Ḥājjī-Tarkhānī's *Ẓafarnāma-i Vilāyat-i Qazān* in Arabic script; 3. an untitled commentary; 4. a postscript with the title "P.S."; 5. an English summary of the article. Togan did not provide any transliteration or translation of the Turkic text, and for the sake of non-Turcophone readers as well as interested specialists, I have translated the Turkic text into English as well. The long English summary at the end of the article is not just an overview, but is rather an independent section, as some ideas and concepts mentioned in the English summary cannot be found in the Turkish original of the article. Therefore, even though it may seem redundant, I have decided to include it in this version of the article.

Togan appears to have designed his article with two aims in mind. The first is to make a newly discovered manuscript on the history of Kazan available to scholarly circles, and the second is to provide an analysis of this new source to make an argument about the significance of "frontiers" as well as "holy war" in history. In this introduction, I will first discuss the manuscript in question, the *Ẓafarnāma-i Vilāyat-i Qazān*, the circumstances of its discovery, and then I will situate Togan's article in the context of his overall oeuvre and of the history of post-WWII Turkey.

Ẓafarnāma-i Vilāyat-i Qazān and Its Discovery

A.Zeki Velidi Togan discovered the *Ẓafarnāma-i Vilāyat-i Qazān* in the Zeytinoğlu Library in Tavşanlı, a small town in western Turkey, which is more famous as a mining settlement with rich lignite deposits than as a town with a rich manuscript collection. Given the curious presence of manuscripts pertaining to the history of Central Asia and the Volga-Ural Region in this library, it is worth considering the origins of this collection. The Zeytinoğlu Library was founded before 1890 by a wealthy local merchant called Zeytünzâde Hacı İbrahim Ağa (1821–1904), who belonged to a family of tax farmers (*mültezim*) in the region. Later he also founded a madrasa next to the library. When Togan visited Tavşanlı in the early 1960s, the custodian of the library and the collection was Mesut Zeytinoğlu (1903–1978), the founder of the Eskişehir-based

3 Sharīf Ḥājjī-Tarkhānī, *Ẓafarnāma-i Vilāyat-i Qazān*. In *Majmū'ā*, Tavşanlı Zeytinoğlu İlçe Halk Kütüphanesi Ms. 43 Ze 375, ff. 60a–64b.

Zeytinoğlu Corporation, one of the most successful business conglomerations of Turkey from the 1930s until the late 1990s.⁴

Zafarnāma-i Vilāyat-i Qazān is part of a collection (*majmū'a*), which includes the following works:⁵

1. *Şerh-i Dībāçe-i Gülistān*. A commentary on the introduction of Sa'dī's *Gulistān* by Lāmi'ī Çelebi (d. 1532). It was composed in January 1505 (ff. 1b–59b).⁶
2. *Zafarnāma-i Vilāyat-i Qazān*. Sharīf Hājji-Tarkhānī's treatise written in Muḥarram 957/20 January 1550–18 February 1550 (ff. 60a–64b).
3. *Maṭlab-ı ünvāndan şoñra vākı' olan du'āları beyān eder*. A short and undated text on various prayers (f. 65a).
4. *Kalimāt al-Fārsī*. A glossary of various Persian words and expressions. It was copied on 17 Jumāda II 970/11 February 1563 (ff. 65b–68a).
5. Selection of poems from Jāmī's *Fātiḥat al-shabāb* (f. 68b).⁷
6. Two *muşammat* ghazals by the Ottoman poet Derzizāde 'Ulvī (d. 993/1585) (ff. 69a–69b).⁸
7. Blank folios (ff. 70a–71a).
8. A short “coursebook” on Persian tenses (ff. 71b–76b).
9. Blank folio (f. 77a).
10. A treatise on Persian grammar in Arabic (ff. 77b–85b).
11. *Al-Risālat al-sharīfa fi 'ulūm al-ḥaqā'iq* (ff. 86a–87b).
12. An Arabic poem in the *müstezād* genre by the famous Ottoman poet Bursalı Aḥmed Paşa (d. 902/1496–97) (f. 88a).⁹

The *majmū'a* was copied by at least three hands. Of the items listed above, treatises 1, 4, 8, and 10 were copied by one hand, and treatises 3, 5, and 6 by another. Only the second and the fourth treatises are dated, hence the *terminus*

4 M. Şinasi Acar, *Tavşanlı Zeytinoğlu Halk Kütüphanesi* (Eskişehir: Zeytinoğlu Eğitim, Bilim ve Kültür Vakfı Yayını, 2007): 21–25.

5 *Majmū'a*, Tavşanlı Zeytinoğlu İlçe Halk Kütüphanesi Ms. 43 Ze 375.

6 Günay Kut, “Lāmi'ī Çelebi.” *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslām Ansiklopedisi* 27 (2007): 96–97.

7 Jāmī, *Dīvān-i Jāmī*. Vol. 1 *Fātiḥat al-shabāb*, ed. A'lā Khān Afşarşād (Tehran: Mīrāş-i Maktüb, 1999): 1/630–631, 791–792.

8 Derzi-zāde 'Ulvī, *Dīvān*, ed. Büşra Çelik and Muzaffer Kılıç (Istanbul: Dün Bugün Yarın Yayınları, 2018): 282–283, 293–295. I am tremendously grateful to Hatice Aynur for identifying Derzizāde 'Ulvī's poem for me.

9 Ali Nihad Tarlan, *Aḥmed Paşa Divanı* (Istanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1966): 357. This poem was quite well-known in the 16th century. Taşköprüzāde Aḥmed (d. 968/1561) cites the same Arabic poem in his biography of Aḥmed Beg. It is an imitation (*naẓīra*) of a poem by Hızır Beg Rūmī (d. 863/1459). See Taşköprüzāde Aḥmed, *al-Shaqā'iq al-nu'māniyya fi 'ulamā' al-dawlat al-Uthmāniyya*, ed. Sayyid Muḥammad Ṭabātabā'ī Biḥbihānī (Tehran: Kitābkhāna-i Mūza wa Markaz-i Asnād-i Majlis-i Shūrā-i Islāmī, 2010): 85–86, 182–183; Günay Kut, “Aḥmed Paşa, Bursalı.” *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslām Ansiklopedisi* 2 (1989): 111–112.

post quem for the composition of the manuscript is 11 February 1563, the date when the fourth treatise was completed. Togan suggests in his article that the *majmū'a* was prepared by someone from the Ottoman Empire, though he does not propose any specific location where it might have been copied. However, the calligraphic style of the *Zafarnāma-i Vilāyat-i Qazān* suggests that it may have been copied by someone who was from Central Asia or the Volga-Ural region, as the orthography resembles typical Chaghatay orthography. This may suggest either that a draft, unfinished compendium came to the Ottoman lands from Central Asia and the Ottoman texts were added later, or that someone from Central Asia added one or two treatises to the compendium. Whichever is the truth, the *Majmū'a* under discussion seems to be a hybrid text reflecting both Chaghatay Turkic and Ottoman Turkish characteristics.

It is not very easy to determine when Togan came across this manuscript in the Zeytinoğlu Library. The extant archival record suggests that he visited Tavşanlı on several occasions in the 1960s and in the Zeki Velidi Togan Papers, a collection which is kept at the Tek-Esin Foundation in Istanbul, the first reference to the *majmū'a* appears in a folder titled "Studies in the Zeytinoğlu Library in the Kütahya Province 25–27 May 1961."¹⁰ The second reference to the *Majmū'a* is from July 1966.¹¹ These references demonstrate that Togan knew about the *Zafarnāma-i Vilāyat-i Qazān* in as early as May 1961, if not earlier. Unfortunately, Togan's notes on this manuscript are limited to short references and transcriptions. No complete transcription of the text, nor a photographic reproduction could be located among his papers. Whatever Togan brought back from Tavşanlı, either a complete transcription or a photographic reproduction of the manuscript, it was used and lost during the publication process of his article.

Togan's discoveries in the Zeytinoğlu collection were not limited to the *Zafarnāma-i Vilāyat-i Qazān*. In fact, his other discovery in the same library, a copy of the *Manāqib-i Amīr Kulāl*, has attracted more scholarly attention since the 1960s. The *Manāqib-i Amīr Kulāl* is a hagiographical text on Amīr Kulāl (d. 1370), a teacher of Bahā al-Dīn Naqshband.¹² Togan himself edited an extract from this manuscript relating to Qazan Khan Khalīl b. Yasa'ur (d. 747/1346),

10 "Kütahya Vilayeti Mesud Zeytinoğlu Kütüphanesi'nde Çalışmalar 25–27 Mayıs 1961." Istanbul Tek-Esin Vakfı Zeki Velidi Togan Papers X-390 (Anadolu Kütüphaneleri) – 6/7.

11 "Afyon – Kütahya – Tavşanlı Defteri." Istanbul Tek-Esin Vakfı Zeki Velidi Togan Papers X-390 (Anadolu Kütüphaneleri) – 1.

12 Shahāb al-Dīn b. Amīr Ḥamza, *Maqāmāt-i Amīr Kulāl*. Tavşanlı Zeytinoğlu İlçe Halk Kütüphanesi Ms. 43 Ze 1099/1. This manuscript was copied on 2 Dhu al-Ḥijja 1034/5 September 1625. This very important work has yet to be properly edited. There is a recent Russian translation, albeit based on a twentieth-century lithograph. See O.M. Yastrebova, "Shikhab ad-din b. bint-i amir Khamza. Zhitie Amira Kulala. Makamat-i amir Kulal," in *Mudrost' Sufiev* (St. Petersburg: Azbuka/Peterburgskoe vostokovedenie, 2001): 29–270.

the last effective Chaghatayid ruler of Transoxiana, and published it with commentary.¹³ His discoveries in Tavşanlı must have excited Togan enough to open a separate folder in his collection of library notes, titled “Records on the History of Kazan and Bashkirs in Turkish Libraries.”¹⁴ This folder includes transcriptions, notes, and references to the *Ẓafarnāma-i Vilāyat-i Qazān* and the *Manāqib-i Amīr Kulāl*. The same folder includes more specific notes on the *Ẓafarnāma*, including a short reference to Sayyid Ata and Zangī Ata, notes on various personal names like Yūsuf Mīrzā and Ötemish Girey, and references to the city gates of Kazan, all of which material he used in writing his commentary on the *Ẓafarnāma-i Vilāyat-i Qazān*.¹⁵ The folder also includes the transcription of the account of Kātib Çelebi on the Ottoman campaign to Astrakhan in 1568.¹⁶

It would be safe to say that the author of the *Ẓafarnāma-i Vilāyat-i Qazān* has attracted more scholarly attention than the text itself. The colophon of the *Ẓafarnāma-i Vilāyat-i Qazān* clearly states that the treatise was written by a certain Sharīf Ḥājjī-Tarkhānī after the siege of Kazan, which took place in Muḥarram 957/20 January–18 February 1550. This statement does not reveal much about the precise identity of the author, hence the ongoing debate as to his identity with no satisfactory conclusions. Togan discusses the issue briefly in his article, but, judging from his observations on the text’s language, he seems to be more interested in who Ḥājjī-Tarkhānī was not. According to him, what we know about the author of the *Ẓafarnāma-i Vilāyat-i Qazān* is that his name was Sharīf Ḥājjī-Tarkhānī, he was from Astrakhan—as the demonym Ḥājjī-Tarkhānī > Astrakhānī would suggest—and lived in Kazan, and he was a poet who wrote poems with the penname “Sharīfī.” However, Togan continues, the author cannot be Muḥammad Sharīf Bukhārī, the author of the famous Yasawī treatise *Hujjat al-dhākīrīn*, who lived in Bukhara and died in 1109 AH/1697. Togan also proposes the unlikely argument that Muḥammad Sharīf

13 Togan’s original Persian article was first published in Pakistan. See Togan, “Ghāzān Khān Khalīl wa Khwāja Bahā’ al-Dīn Naqshband.” *Oriental College Magazine* (May 1964): 191–199. Later, Togan published the same article in Turkey, with the edition in Persian and the translation of his interpretation in Turkish. See Togan, “Gazan-Han Halil ve Hoca Bahaeddin Nakşebend.” In *Necati Lugal Armağanı* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1968): 775–784. On Qazan Khan, see P.N. Petrov, “Khrologiia pravleniia khanov v Chagataiskom gosudarstve v 1271–1368 gg.” *Tiurkologicheskii Sbornik 2007–2008. Istoriia i kultura Tiurkskikh narodov Rossii i copredel’nykh stran* (Moscow: Vostochnaia Literatura, 2009): 310–313.

14 “Türkiye Kütüphanleri’nde Kazan, Başkurdistan Kazan Tarihine Dair Kayıtlar.” Istanbul Tek-Esin Vakfı Zeki Velidi Togan Papers x-390ek (Anadolu Kütüphaneleri) – 1.

15 Istanbul Tek-Esin Vakfı Zeki Velidi Togan Papers x-390ek (Anadolu Kütüphaneleri) – 2–4, 7.

16 Istanbul Tek-Esin Vakfı Zeki Velidi Togan Papers x-390ek (Anadolu Kütüphaneleri) – 5. See below fn. 73 for further discussion on this report.

Bukhārī, that is the author of the *Hujjat al-dhākirīn*, was the author of a number of poems written in a “simple” style that are found in the *Bāqirghān Kitābī*.¹⁷ In these texts Bukhārī used the pennames Sharīf or Qul Sharīf. According to Togan, Sharīf Ḥājji-Tarkhānī’s language reflects the characteristics of the Turkic language used in Kazan with Ottoman Turkish influences.¹⁸ Therefore, the author of the *Zafarnāma-i Vilāyat-i Qazān* cannot be Muḥammad Sharīf Bukhārī. Togan’s evidence for the author’s penname as Sharīfī must be two poems in the text by a certain Sharīfī (see pp. 998–1000 below), but this is clearly a circumstantial piece of evidence. Ḥājji-Tarkhānī may have been citing another poet with the penname Sharīfī. Togan also does not explain why he thinks that the author’s name was “Muḥammad,” as the name mentioned in the colophon does not include this name.

In recent scholarship it has been suggested that Sharīf Ḥājji-Tarkhānī was Qul Muḥammad Sharīf, a *sayyid* from Kazan, who was a son of Sayyid Maṣṣūr and played a certain role in the negotiations between the Kazan Khanate and the Muscovites and their allies in the 1540s and died during the final siege of Kazan by Ivan IV in 1552. A Sufi treatise titled *Qiṣṣa-i Ir Ḥubbī* is also attributed to the same figure.¹⁹ However, the argument that Qul Sharīf authored the *Zafarnāma-i Vilāyat-i Qazān* has recently been challenged. Il’ia Zaitsev argued that the author of the text must be Sharīf al-Dīn Ḥusayn Sharīfī, the son of the famous Kubravī shaykh Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥusayn b. Shihāb al-Dīn Khwārazmī (d. 958/1551), and an author who is better known for his hagiographical treatise on his father titled *Jāddat al-‘āshiqīn* (wr. 966/1573).²⁰ This view was later criticized by Ilyas Mustakimov on the grounds that Sharīf al-Dīn Ḥusayn Sharīfī

17 Muḥammad Sharīf’s life is well-documented, and we have an extensive inventory of his works, thanks to the meticulous scholarship of Devin DeWeese. See Devin DeWeese, “Sufis as the Ulama in Seventeenth-Century Asia: ‘Ālim Shaykh of ‘Alīyābād and Mawlānā Sharīf of Bukhārā.” In *Sufis and Their Opponents in the Persianate World*, ed. Reza Tabandeh and Leonard Lewisohn (Irvine, CA: Jordan Center for Persian Studies, 2020): 112–138.

18 See below pp. 1028–1030 for references.

19 For a summary of this argument, see Damir Iskhakov, *Institut Seyyidov v Uluse Dzhuchi i pozdnezolotoordynskikh Tūrko-Tatarskikh Gosudarstvakh* (Kazan: Fèn, 2011): 90–94; idem, “Nekotorye aspekty biografi poslednego verkhnego seida Kazanskogo Khanstva Kol-Sherifa.” In *Proceedings of the Second International Symposium on Islamic Civilisation in Volga-Ural Region. Kazan, 24–26 June 2005*, ed. Halit Eren (Istanbul: Research Centre for Islamic History, Art and Culture, 2008): 129–136; Önal Kaya, “Doğu Türk Yazı Dili ve Edebiyatı Araştırmaları 11. Qul Şerif’in İr Ḥubbī Destān.” *KÖK Araştırmalar* 2 (2000): 135–185.

20 Il’ia Zaitsev, *Astrakhanskoe Khanstvo* (Moscow: Vostochnaia Literatura, 2006): 180. On *Jāddat al-‘āshiqīn* and its contents, see Devin DeWeese, “The Eclipse of Kubravīyah in Central Asia.” *Iranian Studies* 21 (1988): 69–78.

could not have witnessed the siege of Kazan in 1549–1550, because he was travelling to Mecca and Istanbul with his father during the siege.²¹

It is clear that the evidence on the exact identity of the author is very thin, and all suggestions on this topic need to be taken with a grain of salt. We should admit the fact that we know nothing about the author's identity, except his name mentioned in the colophon of the treatise. However, I would also like to argue that this unfounded obsession with the author's identity has distracted scholars from developing more fruitful ways of using Sharīf Ḥājjī-Tarkhānī's treatise. For instance, on several occasions Togan highlights the close affinity between the treatise and the epic narratives of the Volga-Ural Region, an idea which, if investigated in further detail, might contribute to a better understanding of the intellectual history of the region. Furthermore, Sharīf Ḥājjī-Tarkhānī gives a very interesting passage on the development of firearms and the related terminology—a discussion that is arguably unique in any Islamic language in this period, but to the best of my knowledge, this passage has not been utilized by those who work on the history of firearms in the Islamicate context. I will leave these issues to the care of other scholars who will hopefully develop an interest in the *Ẓafarnāma-i Vilāyat-i Qazān*. For the moment I should like to move my attention away from the author of the treatise, that is to say Sharīf Ḥājjī-Tarkhānī, and turn it to the author of the article, which is translated here, which is to say A.Zeki Velidi Togan.

The Question of Frontiers and Holy War

Togan's work on Sharīf Ḥājjī-Tarkhānī's *Ẓafarnāma-i Vilāyat-i Qazān* goes beyond his specific interest in the history of Volga-Ural region in general and in the history of the city of Kazan in particular—he also makes a broader argument about the significance of frontiers in history. His arguments can be summarized as follows: Although the religion of Islam had been spreading among the Volga Bulgars since the 10th century, the reception of Islamic culture by the local Bulghar population was rather superficial and rudimentary. Islamic high culture penetrated into the region only after the foundation of the Mongol Empire in Eurasia and the formation of the Jöchid ulus in the Dasht-i Qipchaq in the early 13th century. As the various branches of

21 Ilias Mustakimov, «Zafar-name-i vilayet-i Kazan» Sharifa Khadzhi-Tarkhani: Nekotorye itogi i perspektivy izucheniia." *Iz istorii i kul'tury narodov Srednego Povolzh'ia* 5(2015): 158; DeWeese, "The Eclipse": 74. Mustakimov's view was echoed in Iskhakov's work as well, see fn. 19 above.

the Chinggisid dynasty gradually converted to Islam, Bulghar as a frontier region began attracting holy warriors. Of particular importance here was the Ilkhanid Ghazan Khan, who himself converted to Islam in 1295, and sent holy warriors to the Bulghar region so that they could spread Islam. Togan implies that the name of the city of Kazan might be a local rendering of the name of Ghazan Khan. He recounts how the newcomers, Islamized Mongol ruling elites, Sufi saints, and holy warriors introduced Islamic high culture to the Volga-Ural region. From the 13th to the 14th century, the region shifted demographically from a Bulghar-dominated Turkic zone to a Tatar-dominated Turco-Mongol zone. While the Bulgars and the Chuvashes, the original Turkic inhabitants of the region, were rather passive in the holy war against the Christian Russians, the Tatars were active zealots and they were keen defenders of their independence.

Togan adds one crucial detail to this overall narrative in the English summary of the article. This detail is mentioned in passing in the Turkish original of the article but it is stressed in the English summary:

The Bulgars and Chuvashes played a passive role in the fights against the Russians. The “Kazan-Tatars” appear on the contrary as a political element, as religious soldiers (*ghāzīs*), who assumed the Islamic traditions of the combat against the infidels, like the *ghāzīs* on the Byzantine frontiers (*thughūr*) of Islam.²²

This statement invites further discussion, as it is not very easy to explain it in the light of Togan’s overall oeuvre. First of all, we are very familiar with the main outlines of this statement, not just through Togan’s article, but before that through Paul Wittek’s work. In a slim but extremely influential book titled *The Rise of the Ottoman Empire* published in 1938, Wittek argued that the Ottoman Empire was founded by holy warriors, who flocked to Anatolia and the Balkans, the frontiers of the then Islamic world, in order to fight against “infidels” in the name of Islam.²³ Togan certainly knew about Paul Wittek’s theory of the holy war and the frontier in explaining the formation of the Ottoman Empire, but he cites Wittek’s book in his publications only occasionally, and always without any reference to Wittek’s core thesis involving holy war.²⁴ More importantly, he

22 For the reference in the Turkish section, see pp. 1030–1031 below, and for the English section, see p. 1037. I slightly revised Togan’s English.

23 Paul Wittek, *The Rise of the Ottoman Empire. Studies in the history of Turkey, thirteenth-fifteenth centuries*, ed. Colin Heywood (Abingdon: Routledge, 2021 [1938]): 31–69.

24 The first time Togan refers to Wittek’s book is in the *Umumi Türk Tarihine Giriş*. In two references in this book, Togan first refers to Wittek’s suspicion on the Oghuz genealogy

does not cite Wittek in the article under discussion here at all, even though the way that he approaches the subject clearly merits his doing so. This is particularly striking since Togan owned a copy of the 1947 translation of Wittek's book by Fahriye Arık.²⁵ Furthermore, Wittek was also Togan's friend, with whom he had corresponded since at least the early 1930s.²⁶ Therefore, given the absence of any clear reference to Wittek's thesis in Togan's oeuvre, it is safe to say that he appears to have not been impressed by Wittek's famous *ghazā*-thesis. This is of course not surprising, as Togan had his own theory for how the nascent Ottoman polity was formed in the early 14th century. Instead of the holy war idea, he highlighted the importance of Mongol institutional and political influence in his explanation of the formation of the Ottoman Empire. In fact, as

of the Ottoman sultans. The second reference appears when Togan says that the foundation of the Ottoman Empire requires further research and lists the available literature without any explanation. Togan mentions Wittek together with Herbert Adam Gibbons (1880–1934) and Fuad Köprülü (1890–1966). See A.Zeki Velidi Togan, *Umumi Türk Tarihine Giriş. En Eski Devirlerden 16. Asra Kadar* [Corrected edition by İsenbike Togan (uncredited)] (Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2019): 1/453–454, 11/770, 773. This is in fact curious, because three years after the publication of Wittek's book, Togan published an article on the early history of the Ottomans and in this article he does not refer to Wittek at all. See Zeki Velidi Togan, "Die Vorfahren der Osmanen in Mittelasien." *ZDMG* 95(1941).3: 367–373.

- 25 Özgür Akpınar, Ahmet Mazlum, Murat Keklik, and Mücahit Bilgili, *Dr. Emel Esin Kütüphanesi Prof. Dr. Zeki Velidi Togan Koleksiyonu Kataloğu (Kitaplar)* (Istanbul: Tek-Esin Vakfı, 2019): 264. For the translation of Wittek's book, see Paul Wittek, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Doğuşu*, trans. with additions Fahriye Arık (Istanbul: Şirketi Mürettibiye Basımevi, 1947).
- 26 It is difficult to know when Togan's friendship with Wittek started. When Togan lost his position at Istanbul University following his opposition to the official history thesis at the First Turkish Historical Congress on 12–11 July 1932, Wittek organized, with the support of the Deutches archäologisches Institut in Istanbul, a group of twelve German scholars in 1933 and requested their financial support to help Togan to move to Vienna. Wittek also recommended Togan to the influential German scholar and politician Ch. Becker, who was then the *Staatsminister* in Berlin, in a letter dated to 15 January 1933. See "Letter from Paul Wittek to Ahmet Zeki Walidi. 12 January 1933; letter from Paul Wittek to C.H. Becker. 15 January 1933; Bericht über die Ahmed Zeki Walidi-Hilfe." "Colin Heywood. Private Collection (copies of document from DAI Istanbul)." I am very grateful to Colin Heywood for allowing me to cite these documents. At the time of the publication of this article, it was not possible for me to determine their original call numbers. The classic study on the debates at the First Turkish Historical Congress is Büşra Ersanlı [Behar], *İktidar ve Tarih. Türkiye'de "Resmî Tarih" Tezinin Oluşumu (1929–1937)* (Istanbul: Afa Yayınları, 1992): 119–160. For Togan's move to Vienna and his first days there, see Ryosuke Ono, "Zeki Velidi Togan'ın Viyana'daki İlk Günleri (1932–1933). Aurel Stein Papers'a Göre Togan'ın 1. Türk Tarih Kongresi'ne Bakışı ve Sonraki İlmî Çalışma Planları." In *Türk Tarih Kurumu Kırk Ambar 2013*, ed. Kâzım Yaşar Koprıman (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 2016): 297–331.

opposed to Wittek's holy warriors, Togan emphasized the lack of religious zeal among the early Ottomans.²⁷

When we discuss Togan's interest in the idea of the holy war, we need to look somewhere else other than Paul Wittek to establish where Togan was deriving his ideas from. Before presenting my own hypothesis on this issue, however, I should say that Togan is consistent in his point on the decisive role that the Mongol legacy played both in the Ottoman case in the early 14th century and the case of Kazan in the 16th century. In both instances, he considers the Mongols as a factor that transformed the local political institutions and provided an intellectual climate in which the original Turco-Mongol political traditions were revived and merged with Iranian intellectual traditions.

It is my contention that, as the quotation above suggests, the idea of the holy war was not central to Togan's thinking, but the frontier (*thaghr*, pl. *thughūr*)—the locus of the holy war—was.²⁸ Togan was well aware of the distinction between a *hudūd*, that is any borderland, and the *thughūr*, the frontiers between the abode of peace (*Dār al-Islām*) and the abode of war (*Dār al-ḥarb*), and he knew that the term *thughūr* historically denoted the borderlands between the Islamic Empire and the Roman Empire in Syria and Anatolia, and between the Islamic and Catholic kingdoms in al-Andalus. It is not very easy to determine when exactly he started to consider the concept of the *thughūr* as an important concept for historical analysis. As a scholar who edited Ibn Faḍlān's *Rihla*, a 10th-century travelogue, which is one of our most important sources on the early history of the Volga Bulgars, Togan was very well aware of the fact that the history of the Turkic peoples and their Islamization had a long history in the Volga-Ural region. But there is no discussion of the concept of the frontier in his work on Ibn Faḍlān's *Rihla* published in 1939.²⁹

Rather than Paul Wittek, the American scholar Owen Lattimore (1900–1989), an important scholar of Inner Asian studies and a proponent of the idea of using the concept of frontier as an analytical category in historical studies, appears to be the main influence on the development of Togan's ideas on

27 Togan, *Umumi*: 1/495–520. See also Cemal Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995): 44–45. Togan's views on the formation of the Ottoman Empire were further developed by Ümit Hassan. See Ümit Hassan, *Osmanlı Örgüt-İnanç-Davranış'tan Hukuk-İdeoloji'ye* (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2001): 44–54, 71–94.

28 For the concept of the *thughūr*, see Clifford E. Bosworth and Josef van Ess, “*Thughūr*.” *EI*² 10(2000): 446–449.

29 On Togan's work on Ibn Faḍlān, see Marsil N. Farkhshatov, “Ahmet-Zaki Velidi Togan and the Travel Accounts of Ahmad ibn Fadlan.” *St.Petersburg Annual of Asian and African Studies* 1(2012): 15–39.

frontiers. Lattimore was influential in developing the frontier thesis, which suggested that new forms of culture and politics emerged in the cultural and political frontier zones. The fluid nature of frontiers allowed experimentation and innovation, and the frontier dwellers were able to mobilize their innovative capacities in these liminal zones.³⁰ Lattimore worked hard to take this concept out of its Eurocentric—or even American-centric—focus and globalized it by applying it to the history of Inner Asia. While trying to distance himself from the racist and ecological determinisms of the 30s, Lattimore found the idea of frontier useful, as it could be applied to anywhere, including the frontiers of Inner Asia.³¹ What appealed to Togan was Lattimore's analysis of feudalism. According to Lattimore, and *pace* Karl Marx, feudalism was not a mode of production, but a method of governance that follows a period of warfare. A realm expands exponentially so fast that the central administration cannot possibly control its frontiers and has to delegate the authority to hereditary feudal lords. When it finally consolidates its authority and tries to impose its will over the frontier lords, then the realm stops expanding, because its authority is restricted by the autonomy of feudal lords.³² Lattimore's concept of feudalism was also not strictly an affair related to land ownership, but it also integrated into analysis the “four-footed” property, that is livestock and other animals owned by pastoral nomadic tribes.³³ In his general history of

30 First proposed by Frederic Jackson Turner (1861–1932), the frontier thesis gained popularity by the famous statement that American democracy emerged mainly because American society was a frontier society. See William Cronon, “Revisiting the Vanishing Frontier: The Legacy of Frederic Jackson Turner.” *Western Historical Quarterly* 18(1987): 157–176.

31 William T. Rowe, “Owen Lattimore, Asia, and Comparative History.” *The Journal of Asian Studies* 66(2007): 777–778. For Lattimore's view, see Owen Lattimore, “The Frontier in History.” In *Studies in Frontier History. Collected Papers 1928–1958* (London: Oxford University Press, 1962): 469–491.

32 Owen Lattimore, *Inner Asian Frontiers of China* (New York: American Geographical Society, 1951 [1940]): 369–406; Owen Lattimore, “Frontier Feudalism.” In *Studies in Frontier History. Collected Papers 1928–1958* (London: Oxford University Press, 1962): 528.

33 Lattimore, *Inner Asian Frontiers*: 379–381; Owen Lattimore, “Feudalism in History.” In *Studies in Frontier History. Collected Papers 1928–1958* (London: Oxford University Press, 1962): 550. In fact, this point clarifies a bibliographical conundrum that Jürgen Paul expressed in his remarks on Petrushevskii's famous 1949 article on *soyurghal*. As Paul discussed in much greater detail, Togan's book *Umumi Türk Tarihine Giriş* was published in 1946, three years before the publication of Petrushevskii's article. So, Togan would not know about Petrushevskii's work, but the recent facsimile publication of Togan's personal copy of the *Umumi Türk Tarihine Giriş* (in digital format as an appendix to the 2019 edition of the book) demonstrates that he did know about Petrushevskii's work, as he put a note in the margin of his personal copy, but he chose not to adjust his analysis in the second edition of his book, which appeared in 1970. I believe the reason why Togan

the Turkic peoples titled *Umumî Türk Tarihine Giriş*, first published in 1946, Togan refers to Lattimore's 1940 book titled *Inner Asian Frontiers of China* in his discussion on steppe feudalism. In a long note at the very end of the famous section on the redistributive political economy and the appanage system (*ülüş sistemi*) among the steppe nomads Togan praises Lattimore's meticulous scholarship, but also find his analysis limited due to its exclusive focus on just one marginal zone, that is the frontiers of China. In his view, any discussion on steppe feudalism should involve references to other marginal zones of Iran and Eastern Europe as well.³⁴

Four years later, in 1950, Togan devoted a special section to the concept of the *thughūr* in his book on historical methodology titled *Tarihde Usul*. Togan's use of the concept of the *thughūr* in this book may point at the intellectual, as well as the political, framework in which we can locate his study on Ḥājji-Tarkhānī's *Zafarnāma-i Vilāyat-i Qazān*.

Like Togan's other major books, *Tarihde Usul* is an extremely ambitious work. Not only does he aim at discussing historical philosophy and different approaches to history from positivist historiography to Marxist historiography, he also gives a survey of historical sources available for researchers mainly in Turkic, Persian, and Arabic. The book includes chapters on the historian's craft, such as critical reading, interpretation, and synthesis as well. Togan dedicated the long introduction of his book to one of the most popular debates of his time, namely about the difference between East and West. After briefly criticizing those scholars who attribute distinctive and essentialist qualities to the West, he gives an almost word-for-word translation of a chapter from Karl Jaspers' book titled *Vom Ursprung und Ziel der Geschichte*, the book that gave us the concept of *Achsenzeit* (Axial Age). What appealed to Togan in Jaspers' book is that it divides the world into three cultural zones, China, India, and the West, after the Axial Age (ca. between 800 BCE and 200 BCE), when major philosophical developments took place, and it places the Middle East and Central Asia in the Western zone. In a chapter titled "*Das Spezifische des Abendlandes*

ignored Petrushevskii's work is the same reason why he embraced Lattimore's analysis. Unlike Lattimore, who includes the nomadic element in his discussion on the concept of feudalism, Petrushevskii treats the issue of *soyurghal* and the broader issue of feudalism as a purely land tenure matter. See Zeki Velidi Togan, *Umumî Türk Tarihine Giriş. En Eski Devirlerden 16. Asra Kadar* (Istanbul: İsmail Akgün Matbaası, 1946): 287 (facsimile of Togan's personal copy); Jürgen Paul, "Remarks on Petrushevskii's Article *K istorii instituta soiurgala*." *JESHO* 64 (2021): 1091.

34 Togan, *Umumi*: 11/756–757. He refers to the concept once more when he discusses how the Turkman populations of Iran were pushed to Anatolia by Iran Seljuqs for political reasons. See Togan, *Umumi*: 1/270.

(The Specific Quality of the West),” Jaspers lists nine qualities that distinguish the West from the two other cultural zones, and this was the chapter that Togan translated and included in his book. According to Jaspers, the West 1) is geographically open, 2) knows political liberty, 3) embraces rationality, 4) has a conscious inwardness of personal selfhood that can also be observed in Jewish prophets, Greek philosophers, and Roman statesmen, 5) is free from superstition, and it confronts the world in its reality, 6) has a non-dogmatic notion of universality, 7) has developed the idea of claiming exclusive truth by the various Biblical religions, including Islam, 8) has an internal tension between the ideas of non-dogmatic universality and exclusive claim to truth, and 9) these tensions create autonomous personalities best represented in the Jewish prophets and Greek philosophers as well as the great minds of the 16th to 18th centuries.³⁵ Following this long quotation, Togan goes on to provide evidence from the sources that he knows, such as al-Bīrūnī, and turns his introduction into a form of political treatise. Although Turkish culture is part of Western culture, according to Togan, the problem of its backwardness still needs to be resolved. The Turks, he wrote, have come a long way and achieved a lot, including the fact that they have separated the religion from state and maintained their militaristic spirit, and now they are “democratizing and civilizing the state administration.”³⁶ The remaining major tasks for the Turks are the following: rejecting “race theory,” making the task of learning creative methodologies a national obligation, and using scientific progress for healing the nation’s “spiritual illnesses,”³⁷ such as the inferiority complex vis-à-vis the West.

35 Karl Jaspers, *Vom Ursprung und Ziel der Geschichte* (Munich: R. Piper & Co. Verlag, 1949): 87–92; Zeki Velidi Togan, *Tarihde Usul* (Istanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları, 1950): xii–xvi. I have used Michael Bullock’s translation in my quotations from Jaspers. See Karl Jaspers, *The Origin and Goal of History*, trans. Michael Bullock (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953): 62–65. Togan’s text follows Jaspers’ book so closely, it even maintains the italics of the original.

36 Togan, *Tarihde Usul*: xxiv–xxv.

37 Togan, *Tarihde Usul*: xxviii–xxx. It is curious that Togan criticizes “racial determinism” in his introduction, but he ignores the “environmental determinism” which underpinned the official history thesis in the First Turkish History Congress in 1932. Togan’s well publicized criticism of the official thesis at the congress caused him to resign from his position at Istanbul University and go to Vienna to receive his PhD degree, the absence of which was the official reason for his resignation. As I will discuss below, Togan was closely involved in the publication activities of the Turkish nationalist, racist, and Turanist circles in the early 1940s, and his criticism of the race theory here can be read as an attempt to distance himself from those intellectual circles.

Apparently, Togan's liberal nationalist proposal was not well received by one of his unnamed friends and readers, and Togan appended a small addendum after the index and corrections at the very end of his book.³⁸ Togan says that his friend asked him to explain especially the fourth and ninth points in his (and Jaspers') schema. In his explanation of the fourth point, Togan rephrases Jaspers: the Westerners understood their own selfhood so successfully that, especially after the Sophists, they adopted a creative spirit and realized that anthropocentric imagination was bestowed on them.³⁹ In other words, they realized that they could be as creative as God. As for the ninth point, Togan clarifies that, according to Jaspers, the West developed contradictory personalities and therefore no single individual could claim to be "everything" and the "whole," as a result of which there was scope for autonomous and free individuals. In order to support his argument on this point he quotes Jaspers in German and then translates the quotation into Turkish. Jaspers says:

And then there is the ultimate and pre-eminent factor in the formation of the West: personal love and the power of boundless self-irradiation in never completed movement. Here a measure of openness (*Aufgeschlossenheit*—EB), of infinite reflection, of inwardness came into being which first caused the full meaning of communication between men, and the horizon of reason proper, to light up.⁴⁰

Togan further elaborates on Jaspers' ideas and deplores the fact that, as opposed to the free individuals that the West created, the East created two types of individuals, namely masters (*âmir*) and clients (*memur*), especially in the frontier zones (*thughūr*), and due to the inferiority complex that this dichotomy generated, intellectual life has not flourished in those regions.⁴¹ He says that the word "openheartedness" (Togan here translating Jaspers' *Aufgeschlossenheit*, or "open mindedness" as *açıkkaıplılık*, or "candor") means sincerity in being ready for every inquiry and willingness to be ready to accept every viewpoint.

38 Togan, *Tarihde Usul*: 371–373. We do not know who this anonymous friend was, but we know that he or she was not alone in finding Togan's introduction very confusing. The renowned historian of science Adnan Adıvar (1882–1955) found Togan's language in the introduction very opaque and marred with mistranslations from German. See Adnan Adıvar, "Görüşler – Düşünceler. Tarihte Usul." *Cumhuriyet* 05 August 1950. Togan signed his introduction on 16 May 1950, so Adıvar's review was published less than three months after the publication of the book.

39 Togan, *Tarihde Usul*: 371.

40 Togan, *Tarihde Usul*: 371, compare with Jaspers, *Vom Ursprung*: 92; *The Origin*: 65.

41 Togan, *Tarihde Usul*: 371.

He finally ties the issue to the problems of his own time, first implicitly in the introduction and then more explicitly in the addendum to his book. Let me first quote what he says in the introduction:

Until recently, one of our major social problems was that those who occupied higher echelons of scholarly hierarchies could tolerate their inferiors, but showed impatience (*feragat*) and jealousy towards their peers. Those who do not collaborate with an open heart cannot create a scientific environment and intellectuals (*ârifler*) cannot emerge around them. This is the worst manifestation of the inferiority complex that scholars might encounter.⁴²

For Togan, the adverb “recently” refers not to an indeterminate time, but rather to a specific moment in recent history. We need to switch back to the addendum of the book in order to understand what he is referring to:

In order to recognize the significance for intellectual life of the May 14th revolution <in 1950—EB>, which freed the Turks from the age of the “military-bureaucratic overseers (*vesayet devri*) <of the 1930s>,” it is necessary to distinguish the <following> two groups:

The first group consists of free and autonomous individuals who are fully committed to the ideas which elevate them above other groups of people. They keep these ideas alive through journals which are published for generations, through intellectuals whose oeuvres are read for generations, and through scholarly associations which retain their institutional integrity for posterity. The free and independent individuals discuss and criticize the issues that are relevant to their lives, ideas, and religion for hours, days, years, and generations, they would accept the reasonable ideas, and reject the unreasonable ones. The connection between individuals relies on the principles of openheartedness and personal love and sincerity. Their culture always flourishes in their communities through intellectual engagements (*fikrî takip*).

The second group consists of those who are united under the tutelage of a single master, and since the people in this group are subservient to a higher authority, the ties among the members of the group are weak and superficial. Since they think that every problem is solved by a higher authority, they are content with small talk even on the most important problems of our time and they would read just a few sentences about

⁴² Togan, *Tarihde Usul*: 371.

these problems from the newspapers and then forget them immediately. In previous centuries as well nobody felt heartfelt love and reflective commitment to the systematic ideas related to their lives, and these kinds of ideas were not central to the perpetuity of societies. The deepest love and the most in-depth thinking were restricted to the realm of metaphysics.⁴³

After citing a satire by ‘Ubayd-i Zākānī on how Ibn ‘Arabī, the great mind of Islamic mystical philosophy, was ungrateful towards his deceased companion and forgot him right after his death, he says that this situation, that is the lack of cohesion among the members of society, is common in the Islamic world and in its frontiers (*thughūr*) in Eastern Europe. However, according to Togan, historical records demonstrate that the lack of group cohesion and the abundance of social rituals are alien to Central Asia. The reference to Central Asia suggests that, according to Togan, the Turks are very capable of developing strong group cohesion and when the conditions are right, they will also achieve individual and intellectual freedom and subsequently great intellectual developments.⁴⁴

Mention of the revolution of May 14th is a reference to the first free general elections, which took place on 14 May 1950 and ended the single party system in Turkey. In these elections, the Democrat Party of Celal Bayar (1883–1986) unseated the People’s Republican Party of İsmet İnönü (1884–1973), thus marking what has long been considered as the true beginning of the multi-party system in Turkey.⁴⁵ It is not surprising to see that Togan shares the euphoria about the victory of the Democrat Party. To many observers of Turkish politics of the time, the 1950 elections were a liberal transformation, if not a revolution, as Togan would like to see it. The elections ended single party rule under the leadership of İnönü and initiated a multi-party system sustained by free elections. However, there was probably a personal dimension for him as well. He appears to have been involved in 1941 and 1942 in the negotiations between the Nazi Germany and certain Turkish nationalists (such as Nuri Killigil [1889–1949], half brother of Enver Pasha) and community leaders of various Turkic groups (such as Müstecip Ülküsal [1899–1996], a prominent Tatar intellectual from Dobruja living in Turkey), who ostensibly acted upon the tacit approval of the Turkish government, in the project of creating Turkic brigades as part of

43 Togan, *Tarihde Usul*: 372.

44 Togan, *Tarihde Usul*: 372–373. The story on Ibn ‘Arabī is from ‘Ubayd-i Zākānī’s *Akhlāq al-Ashrāf*. See ‘Ubayd-i Zākānī, *Akhlāq al-ashraf*, ed. ‘Ali Aşghar Hālabī (Tehran: Asāṭīr, 1374 Hsh/1954): 195–196.

45 Eric J. Zürcher, *Turkey. A Modern History* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2004): 217–218.

the Wehrmacht. The ultimate aim of these negotiations was to liberate Turkic peoples from the Soviet Union after an eventual German victory at the end of the war.⁴⁶ The project did not yield any results, but two years later, in 1944, Togan, together with many others from a wide spectrum of nationalist and Turanist intellectuals, ex-officers, and bureaucrats, was accused of founding a secret organization to overthrow the government in Turkey.⁴⁷ Therefore, after

- 46 Lothar Kreckler, *Deutschland und die Türkei im zweiten Weltkrieg* (Frankfurt am Main: Vittorio Klostermann, 1964): 209–222; Cemil Koçak, *Türkiye’de Milli Şef Dönemi (1938–1945)* (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2007 [1986]): 1/660–695; Günay Göksu Özdoğan, “*Turan’dan “Bozkurt” a Tek Parti Döneminde Türkçülük (1931–1946)* (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2001): 125–177; David Motadel, *Islam and Nazi Germany’s War* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 2014): 217–282. For a first-hand account of the negotiations, see Müstecib Ülküsal, *İkinci Dünya Savaşında 1941–1942 Berlin Hâtraları ve Kırım’ın Kurtuluş Dâvası* (Istanbul: Emel Yayın, 1976): esp. 85. Müstecib Ülküsal (1899–1996) was a Crimean Tatar from Dobruja. He was one of the community leaders of Crimean Tatars both in Romania and in Turkey and he was also involved in negotiations with the Nazis.
- 47 Jacob Landau, *Pan-Turkism. From Irredentism to Cooperation* (London: Hurst & Co., 1981): 113–115; Koçak, *Türkiye’de Milli Şef*: 11/215–230; Özdoğan, “*Turan’dan “Bozkurt” a*”: 89–124; Tanıl Bora, *Cereyanlar. Türkiye’de Siyasi İdeolojiler* (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları 2017): 284–286. For the debates and disagreements among those who were arrested, see Gün Soysal, “Rusya Kökenli Aydınların Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türk Milliyetçiliğinin İnşasına Katkısı.” In *Modern Türkiye’de Siyasi Düşünce*. Vol. 4 *Milliyetçilik* (Istanbul: İletişim, 2002): 483–504. The written testimony that Togan submitted to the court was recently discovered and published in Istanbul. See Yavuz Bülent Bâkiler, *1944–1945 Irkçılık-Turanlılık Davasında Sorgulamalar Savunmalar* (Istanbul: Türk Edebiyatı Vakfı, 2010): 345–444. Togan was arrested in May 1944, but the sessions of the trial took place between 7 September 1944 and 29 March 1945, and at the end of the trial Togan was sentenced to ten years in jail and four years in exile in Adapazarı. However, his sentences were later overturned by the Military Court of Appeals on 25 October 1945. Togan was retried between 26 August 1946 and 31 March 1947, and was found innocent due to lack of sufficient evidence. To the best of my knowledge, the term witch hunt, or *cadı kazanı* in Turkish, was coined by the late journalist Uğur Mumcu to describe the extensive purges of both “left-wing” and “right-wing” intellectuals in the 1940s as part of the government’s diplomatic realignment efforts at the end of the Second World War in Turkey. See Uğur Mumcu, *40’ların Cadı Kazanı* (Istanbul: Tekin Yayınevi, 1990): 75–91. Mumcu’s book popularized the idea, which had already been proposed by Koçak and Özdoğan, that the İnönü government targeted intellectuals of all stripes as a political strategy in order to reposition Turkey’s foreign diplomacy as well as its internal politics in the impending post-war political environment. Özdoğan further argues that the Turkish government used nationalist intellectuals, including Togan, to fend off German pressure on Turkey when German armies were pushing into the Soviet Union in 1941 and 1942. İlker Aytürk proposed a more structural transformation in Turkish politics and suggested that the 1944 trial marked “the end of Kemalist fraternizing with radical forms of Turkish nationalism.” See İlker Aytürk, “The Racist Critics of Atatürk and Kemalism, from the 1930s to the 1960s.” *Journal of Contemporary History* 46(2011): 318. For the trial of the “left-wing” intellectuals in 1948, see Mete Çetink, *Üniversitede Cadı Kazanı. 1948 DTCF Taşfiyesi ve Pertev Naili Boratav’ın Müdafası* (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları,

suffering through the *cadı kazanı*, or “witch hunt” of the 1940s—a popular term which was used to describe the extensive purges of both left-wing and right-wing intellectuals in Turkey—Togan seems to be suggesting that the autocratic single-party rule of the 1920s to 1940s was the main impediment to intellectual and scientific developments in Turkey, because under an authoritarian ruler, the love between group members cannot flourish and the ties between the members of the group weaken.⁴⁸ From this perspective, the Democrat Party’s promise of liberalism would give hope for the further germination of love between group members and subsequently for intellectual developments.

This is the point where the question of frontiers in Togan’s thinking should be addressed. Unlike many practitioners of frontier studies of the time, Togan did not see frontier zones as liminal spaces where multiple, often competing, religious and political ideas could flourish side by side. He also seems to be far away from endorsing Paul Wittek’s sympathies to Messianic ideas inherent in his *ghāzī*-thesis.⁴⁹ To him, the fluid religious, social, and political nature of frontier zones was a detriment to unity and coherent political action. His negative view towards frontier life underpins his reading of Sharīf Ḥājji-Tarkhānī’s *Zafarnāma-i Vilāyat-i Qazān*. Before the arrival of the Mongols, the original inhabitants of the frontier zone in the Dasht-i Qipchaq, the Bulgars and Chuvashes, developed neither strong political institutions nor a profound intellectual and literary life. The outsiders, however, be it the Mongols or the

1998): 1–43. It is curious that some of the figures who stood in different trials were either friends or close colleagues before the 1940s. For instance, Sabahattin Ali and Pertev Naili Boratav, who were accused of being communist, were close friends of Nihal Atsız, who was a notorious racist. Boratav and Atsız were both assistants of Togan. The list and its sub-permutations can be multiplied here. Sabahattin Ali satirized this intellectual circle in a long poem titled “*Vasf-ı Yârân: “Terkīb-i Bend,”* which was written in the style of Ottoman *dīvān* poetry. See Sabahattin Ali, *Bütün Şiirleri* (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2020): 121–144. The 1940s appear to be a watershed moment in Turkish intellectual life. For an overview, see Kurtuluş Kayalı, *Türk Düşünce Dünyasında Yol İzleri* (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2001): 87–100.

48 At the very beginning of the *Tarihde Usul* Togan says that the printing of the book commenced in 1941, but the printing had to be stopped after three fascicules due to the “certain events that took place in [his] work life.” Here he was probably referring to his troubles during the war. See Togan, *Tarihde Usul*: xi.

49 Kafadar, *Between*: 61–62; Colin Heywood, “Introduction: A Critical Essay.” In *The Rise of the Ottoman Empire. Studies in the history of Turkey, thirteenth-fifteenth centuries* by Paul Wittek, ed. C. Heywood (Abingdon: Routledge, 2012): 23–26; Heywood, “Spectrality, ‘Presence’ and the Ottoman Past: Paul Wittek’s *Rumtürkische Studien* and other Ghosts in the Machine.” In *Osmanlı’nın İzinde. Prof. Dr. Mehmet İpşirli Armağanı*, ed. Feridun Emecen, İshak Keskin, Ali Ahmetbeyoğlu (Istanbul: Timaş, 2013): 11/63.

Sufis who went to the frontier zone to conduct holy war, brought both political organization and high culture. In brief, Wittek's frontier warriors could develop political institutions and achieve original cultural accomplishments as long as they were away from the older and more established political and cultural centers, and Togan's frontier warriors could do the same as long as they remained an extension of the same established political and cultural centers.

There is certainly a methodological affinity between Togan's *Tarihde Usul* and his analysis of the *Zafarnāma-i Vilāyat-i Qazān*. However, the question why Togan developed an interest in the issue of frontiers is one that needs to be answered in the future after further studies on Togan's oeuvre. To strengthen my argument about the affinity between the two texts, I would like to introduce another piece of evidence from Togan's magisterial work on the history of early modern Central Asia titled *Bugünkü Türkistan ve Yakın Mazisi* ("Türkistan Today and its Recent History"), which was first published in Cairo in Arabic script between 1929 and 1939, but which, due to war-time conditions, never entered proper circulation.⁵⁰ In this book, whose publication started more than a decade before *Tarihde Usul* and about forty years before the publication of the 1966 article on Sharif Ḥājji-Tarkhānī's treatise, Togan puts very little emphasis on the military conquest of Kazan by the Russian forces and completely ignores the "differences" between "local" Bulgars and "outsider" Tatars. In fact, what Togan describes in this book is not a military conquest, but a slow annexation of the Volga-Ural Region, including Kazan, by the Russians. According to the Togan of 1929, the Russian expansion into the Volga-Ural region was a result of the changes in global trade patterns in the early modern period. As the southern naval trade routes around the Cape of Good Hope opened in the late 15th century and the Portuguese established domination over the Indian Ocean, Central Asia lost its primacy as the cross-road of trade routes in Eurasia. According to Togan, this is very well known, but it is just one half of the story. The second half was the encroachment of the Western European, especially London-based, traders into the Kazan Khanate and Siberia. While the western traders had their own trade infrastructure for the Southern trade route, they relied on the Russian trading companies and families to control the northern Eurasian trade. They established contractual

50 Ahmedzeki Velidi (Togan), *Bugünkü Türkistan ve Yakın Mazisi* (Cairo: n.p., 1929–1939). This book was reprinted in Latin script with slight stylistic changes and a revised title in 1947. See A.Zeki Velidi Togan, *Bugünkü Türkili (Türkistan) ve Yakın Tarihi*. Vol. 1 *Batu ve Kuzey Türkistan*. 2nd ed. (Istanbul: Enderun Kitabevi, 1981). The planned second volume of this work was never published.

relationships with these families, most prominently the Stroganov family, and established trade posts in Siberia and in the northern borders of the Kazan Khanate. By 1517, the Stroganov family, which was connected to London rather than Muscovite authorities, was already in control of the region and had established itself in the Kama basin. They founded the city of Perm in 1556 and Tobolsk in 1586. According to Togan, by the mid-16th century, Kazan was already part of the northern European trade zone through the Stroganov trade network, rather than part of the Central Asian trade zone that passed through Khwārazm. While the military-bureaucratic aristocracy of Kazan was still connected to Crimea, the local merchant classes had no connection to Crimea, nor to Khwārazm, but instead were integrated into a northern trade network that spanned from London to Siberia. These traders were already under the control of the traders in Arkhangelsk and Nizhnii Novgorod. In brief, the conquest of Kazan and the fall of the Kazan Khanate in 1552 was almost a mere formality. The Volga-Ural Region had already been cut from its cultural, military, and political roots in Khwārazm and Transoxiana.⁵¹ What is different in Togan's earlier analysis as summarized here from his later views on the Russian conquest of Kazan is that he emphasizes the status and class background of those who opposed the Russian conquest and those who did not, rather than emphasizing their ethnic or linguistic backgrounds.

Togan continued to emphasize the importance of trade routes in the history of Central Asia throughout his career, but curiously in the 1960s he appears to have dropped the idea that the formation of the northern trade zone was the main factor behind the expansion of the Muscovite rule to the Volga-Ural region. In his lectures titled "The History of Asia in the Colonial Period since the 16th Century," which he delivered in the winter semester of the 1965–1966 academic year, he argues that the change in the direction of world trade was the main reason behind the decline of Islamic countries and Central Asia after the 15th century. When the southern sea route opened by the Portuguese in the late 15th century, the trade route between the Mediterranean and Beijing lost its importance as a major trade route. In his analysis here, Togan does not refer to the northern trade route at all. In fact, he specifically refers to the relevant pages in his *Bugünkü Türkili Türkistan ve Yakın Tarihi*, but he excludes the section where he discusses the northern trade route. Therefore, for the time being until we find further evidence, it is safe to suggest that Togan changed his

51 Togan, *Bugünkü Türkistan*: 90–99; Togan, *Bugünkü Türkili*: 112–117.

mind on the question of how Russia conquered the Volga-Ural region and how local populations reacted to the Muscovite expansion.⁵²

The publication of Jaspers' book in 1949, while Togan was working on the *Tarihde Usul*, appears to have been purely coincidental. It goes without saying that his experience in the 1930s and 1940s must have had a role to play in the switch in his thinking, but I believe it is difficult to propose anything coherent that encompasses both his scholarly and political activities at this point. In this introduction I have merely pointed to certain parallels, interconnections, and contrasts in his works published in the 1930s and 1960s.⁵³

However, I can propose one definite conclusion regarding the scholarship on Togan's oeuvre. Togan's education and scholarly activities in Russia have attracted widespread scholarly attention, but his years in Turkey have often been treated as a mere appendix to his earlier formative years.⁵⁴ Most scholarship on Togan's oeuvre presents him as a Bashkir intellectual and activist from

52 Togan, *xvi. Asırdan Günümüze*: 8–15. Togan delivered a series of lectures between 1961 and 1970 at Istanbul University. His lectures were written down by his students and then later Togan controlled them before they were mimeographed and circulated among his students. The topics of the lectures were very diverse: from the ethnography of Inner Asia before the Mongol Empire to the history of Asia in the early modern and modern history; from the history of the Karakhanid dynasty to the histories of the Chinggisid and Timurid dynasties. So far only one of his lectures has been published in book format. See A.Zeki Velidi Togan, *Asya Tarihi. 1968–1969 Yılları Dersleri* (Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2021). Until it is published, the specific lecture that I quoted above can be consulted in the Beyazıt State Library in Istanbul at the call number 950.407. In one of his latest lectures in 1970, Togan returned to the issue of trade routes and discussed the east-west and north-south trade in separate chapters. However, his lectures in 1970 were on the history of Chinggis Khan and his discussion on trade routes was limited to the period before the foundation of the Mongol Empire. See A.Zeki Velidi Togan, *Çengiz Han (1155–1227). Lecture Notes, 1969–1970 Winter Semester* (Istanbul University, Department of History, 1970): 6–12. These lecture notes are currently being prepared for publication by İsenbike Togan.

53 Here I should emphasize an obvious point to avoid any misunderstanding. In this short introduction, I merely tried to understand the changes in Togan's historical thinking on how Russia conquered the Volga-Ural region. Needless to say, a proper discussion on this very important subject, supported by the most recent scholarship with references to primary sources, is beyond the scope of this article. For further information, I refer the readers to the relevant chapters of *The Cambridge History of Russia*. See Denis J.B. Shaw, "Towns and Commerce." In *The Cambridge History of Russia Vol. 1 From Early Rus' to 1689*, ed. Maureen Perrie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006): 298–316; Michael Khodarkovsky, "The Non-Christian Peoples on the Muscovite Frontiers." In *The Cambridge History of Russia Vol. 1 From Early Rus' to 1689*, ed. Maureen Perrie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006): 317–337.

54 A.G. Salikhov, *Nauchnaia deiatel'nost' A. Validova v Rossii* (Ufa: Gilem, 2001): esp. 40–61.

the late Russian Empire, who was trained in Russia and published in Turkey and in Europe. In these studies, Togan appears as a mature and fully-fledged scholar when he first arrived at Turkey in 1925.⁵⁵ His doctoral study in Vienna between 1933 and 1935 is seen as a mere bureaucratic necessity, which he undertook in order to keep his position at Istanbul University, and his interactions with other Turkish intellectuals and scholars in Turkey are always treated as “controversies,” the clashes of a Bashkir scholar who did not feel comfortable with the latent Ottoman- and Turkey-centrism of his adopted country. His clash with political authorities after the First Turkish Historical Congress in 1932, his well-publicized debate on the Qayı tribe with Fuad Köprülü, and the controversy that he stirred on the ethnicity of Chinggis Khan are among those debates in which he participated.⁵⁶ Togan himself certainly contributed to the cultivation of this somewhat skewed, and one might even say caricatured, view of his own scholarship, because this is how he depicted himself in his memoirs, which give his own perspective on his life until his arrival in Turkey but do not include much on his life there after 1925.⁵⁷ His study of the *Ẓafarnāma-i Vilāyat-i Qazān* demonstrates that he continued to mature as a scholar and develop his ideas after 1925. As a scholar he owes much to the time he spent in Turkey as well.

Notes on the Edition and Translation

After Togan published his article, the text of the *Ẓafarnāma-i Vilāyat-i Qazān* was republished twice in Turkey. In 1972 Akdes Nimet Kurat (1903–1971) published selections from the text in Arabic script as an appendix in his survey on the history of the Turkic peoples north of the Black Sea. Kurat also translated his selections into Turkish.⁵⁸ Melek Özyetgin provided a much more compre-

55 See, for instance, Ahmet Kanlıdere, “Zeki Velidî Togan’ın Fikrî İnkişafı.” In *Zeki Velidî Togan. İlmî Hayatı Eserleri Siyasî Faaliyetleri Hatıralar*, ed. Serkan Acar (Ankara: Akçağ Yayınları, 2017): 23–48. Kanlıdere emphasizes that Togan’s intellectual activities in Turkey is a subject for further study.

56 For the debate on Chinggis Khan, see Osman Karatay, “Moğolların Türklüğü Meselesi.” In *Zeki Velidî Togan. İlmî Hayatı Eserleri Siyasî Faaliyetleri Hatıralar*, ed. Serkan Acar (Ankara: Akçağ Yayınları, 2017): 59–68.

57 Zeki Velidî Togan, *Hâtıralar. Türkistan ve Diğer Müslüman Doğu Türklerinin Millî Varlık ve Kültür Mücadeleleri*. Revised 2nd ed. by İsenbike Togan (uncredited) (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, 1999): 1–113.

58 Akdes Nimet Kurat, *IV.-XVIII. Yüzyıllarda Karadeniz Kuzeyindeki Türk Kavimleri ve Devletleri* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1972): 361–372.

hensive study of the text in 1993. She transliterated Hājji-Tarkhānī's text into the Latin script and translated it into Turkish. She also added a commentary and an index, both of which were very helpful when I was drawing up my own edition and translation of the text.⁵⁹ In order to make the text available in English, I have compared Togan's edition with the original manuscript as well as with the editions of Kurat and Özyetgin, and I have prepared a new edition of the *Zafarnāma-i Vilāyat-i Qazān*. I have also compared my translation with the translations of Kurat and Özyetgin but have marked only significant divergences in my edition and translation, as highlighting minor differences would render the text and the translation too cumbersome.

Togan refers to the author of the *Zafarnāma-i Vilāyat-i Qazān* as Sharīfī throughout his article. Based on two poems by a certain Sharīfī in the treatise, he assumes that the author Sharīf Hājji-Tarkhānī's penname was Sharīfī. However, as discussed above, the association of the two names is rather conjectural. Therefore, in my notes and commentaries I have referred to the author as "Hājji-Tarkhānī," but in Togan's article, I have marked the name as "Sharīfī^{SHT}," wherever the name refers to Sharīf Hājji-Tarkhānī.

As usual in Persian, Turkic, and Turkish manuscripts, the scribe did not distinguish the Persian-*gāf* (گ) from the Arabic-*kāf* (ك). In my edition of the text, I have used the letter Persian-*gāf* only for Persian words, and used the Arabic-*kāf* in Turkic words. In the manuscript the voiced velar nasal sound in final position is always written as a single Arabic-*kāf*, but Togan replaced them with "n + Arabic-*kāf* (نك)." I have maintained Togan's orthography in my edition.

Togan's papers in the Archives of the Tek-Esin Foundation in Istanbul include two earlier printed drafts of the article. The first and shorter draft includes the article up to page 1025 below (p. 195, the end of the third paragraph, in the original article). The second and complete draft includes the full article.⁶⁰ I have used these drafts, correcting a few stylistic infelicities caused in the final editing stages of the article. Togan referred to his sources both in the main text and in footnotes; I have moved all his references to footnotes. Togan's footnotes and references in the article are extremely sketchy and inconsistent,

59 Melek Özyetgin, "Astrahanlı Şerifi'nin 1550 Tarihli Zafernamesi." *Türkoloji Dergisi* 11(1993): 321–413. Özyetgin's work was the basis for later Tatar and Russian scholarship on Hājji-Tarkhānī and his work. See Alfrid Bustanov's article in this volume for further details. Alfrid Bustanov, "Qul Sharif and the Narratives of *Ghaza(n)*." *JESHO* 65 (2022): 1059–1080.

60 Istanbul Tek-Esin Vakfı Zeki Velidi Togan Papers T(279)—I and II.

and they often include the wrong page numbers. I have tried to repair the footnotes and references as much as I can, but preparing a fully annotated edition of Togan's comments is a massive task, and one which would entail rewriting the entire article from scratch. If any arguments have remained unreferenced in the article, I ask for the understanding of the readers and future scholars, who will hopefully develop the contents of this article with further studies on Ḥājji-Tarkhānī's treatise.

Unless otherwise indicated, all translations are mine. When a text is available both in edited format and in English translation, I have referred to the original text in the edition and the translation in my translation. For the citations from the Qur'ān I have used *The Study Quran* in my translation.⁶¹

Except for minor stylistic corrections, I have marked all my additions with angle brackets "< >" in Togan's article. (I have not used these signs in the translation of Ḥājji-Tarkhānī's text, because Togan's original article does not include a translation.) I also use angle brackets in the bibliography for the sources that were not used by Togan in his article.

Abbreviations

- Ms. The manuscript of the *Zafarnāma-i Vilāyat-i Qazān* in Tavşanlı (see Bibliography)
- T. Togan's edition of the *Zafarnāma-i Vilāyat-i Qazān* in his article
- () Revisions to the text of the *Zafarnāma-i Vilāyat-i Qazān* by A.Zeki Velidi Togan
- < > Additions and corrections by the translator and editor (not used for the translation of the *Zafarnāma*)

61 *The Study Quran. A New Translation and Commentary*, trans. Seyyed Hossein Nasr et al. (New York: HarperOne, 2015).

Islamic Culture in the Khanate of Kazan (A Report Sent from Kazan in 1550 at the Time of <Süleyman> the Lawgiver)

Zeki Velidi Togan

Although the Islamic religion began spreading among the Volga Bulgars in the 10th century, it remained exclusive to a limited area in the Bulghar region until Khwārazmian culture strongly spread in the Golden Horde under the rule of the Chinggisids.⁶² Now we understand from the corpus of tombstone inscriptions published by G. Iusupov that the Muslims at that time used the Chuvash dialect, the language of the old Bulgars.⁶³ Abu Ḥāmid al-Andalūsī mentions some scholars who were trained in Khorasan.⁶⁴ Although Arabic and Persian works by a person called Sulaymān b. Dāvūd Saqsīnī or Suwārī <fl. 550–1155> have come down to us, an extensive literature that would demonstrate that Islamic culture was firmly established in the Bulghar <region> did not exist.⁶⁵

In the Golden Horde, especially after 1300 CE, a center for the dissemination of Islam emerged in Bulghar and to its north in Kazan, and in this period “literary Chuvash Turkic” continued to be used by the non-Muslim Bulgars, and as can be seen from tombstone inscriptions, Central Asian literary Turkic spread there as well. The “sayyids” who introduced themselves as the descendants of the Prophet Muḥammad came to Bulghar, and the *khānqāhs*, that is the derish lodges, and *imarats* <public soup kitchens> that were managed by those sayyids emerged, and schools and madrasas developed. As was the case in the city of Saray, the mosques and madrasas as well as the public bath culture that developed in Bulghar and Kazan were under the influence of Khwārazmian Islamic culture, but there was also the influence of the Ottoman culture via

62 A paper presented at the Turkish Oriental Society on 08 October 1964.

63 Garun Valeevich Iusupov, *Vvedenie v bulgaro-tatarskuiu èpigrafiku* (Moscow: Izd-vo Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1960).

64 <Togan's reference is to Qāḍī Ya'qūb b. Nu'mān, the author of the lost *Tārīkh Bulghār*, who was a student of Imām al-Ḥaramayn al-Juwaynī. See Abū Ḥāmid al-Gharnatī, *Tuḥfat al-albāb wa nuḥbat al-a'jāb*. Ed. Ismā'īl al-'Ibrī (Maghrib: Manshūrāt Dār al-Āfāq al-Jadīda, 1993): 153, 178; Gabriel Ferrand, “Le *Tuḥfat al-Albāb* de Abū Ḥāmid al-Andalusī al-Ġarnatī.” *Journal Asiatique* 207 (1925): 132 fn. 1.>

65 <GAL S I, 776; G.M. Meredith-Owens, “Qāsim Efendi.” *JRAS* (1961).1/2: 37. Sulaymān b. Dāvūd al-Saqsīnī wrote *Zahrat al-riyāḍ wa nuzhat al-qulūb al-mirāḍ* originally in Persian and later expanded and translated it into Arabic.>

Crimea after the descendants of the Chinggisid Ichkili Hasan settled in Crimea and Kazan. But a question, then, always arises: ‘Where did the Islamic propaganda in Kazan come from, which had formerly not existed in Bulghar’? And was it the case that perhaps the groups which worked for Islamic culture comprised only those who took refuge there after the dissolution of the city of Saray due to internal struggles <in their own lands>?

Recently new sources that would partially answer this question have been discovered. The references collected by the Russian scholar S. Shpilevskii in his book titled “Old cities in Kazan province and other Bulghar-Tatar Monuments” suggest that the places where today’s Kazan is located were the places where Russians settled to a large extent in the 13th century, and that in 1298 CE a ruler called Kazan established a city a bit to the north of today’s Kazan in a place known as “Old Kazan” in order to immortalize his name and fame, and that one hundred and four years later, in 1402 CE (804 AH), this city was moved to where today’s Kazan is located.⁶⁶ Although the relevant sources, usually titled *Bayān-i Dāstān-i Tārikh*, one of which Professor <Karl> Fuks, a German scholar by origin, mentioned in his work published in 1817, have come down to us and I have even studied them, they are yet to be published.⁶⁷ In these works the name of the first khan of Kazan is written as “Sayin.” The word *sayin* is not a name, but a Turkic word used for prominent Chinggisids as an honorific (*aziz*) after their death. In the Golden Horde, the khan who was called Sayin was Batu Khan. The places which are later called Kazan were his personal appanage (*has yurt*) and they are called “the appanage (*yurt*) of Sayin Khan.”⁶⁸

66 Sergei M. Shpilevskii, *Drevnie goroda i drugie bulgarsko-tatarskie pamiatniki v Kazanskoii gubernii* (Kazan: Universitetskaia Tipografiia, 1877): 70–77.

67 <Togan is probably referring to the following translation by Fuks. See K.F. Fuks, *Kratkaia istoriia goroda Kazani* (Kazan: Obshchestvo arkheologii, istorii i etnografii, 1905 [Kazan: Universitetskaia Tipografiia, 1817]): 40–43. Togan may also be confusing two separate publications here, one by Christian Fraehn published in 1817 (*De numorum Bulgharicorum forte antiquissimo libri duo*) and the other one by Karl Fedorovich Fuks published in 1844 (*Kazanskie Tatary*). Fraehn published a text titled *Farhangnāma* in 1817 and Fuks provided the translation of a very similar text. *Farhangnāma* was one of the sources of Tāj al-Dīn Yalchīgūl’s *Tārikhnāma-i Bulghār*. For further references and a detailed discussion on this topic, see Allen Frank, *Islamic Historiography and ‘Bulghar’ Identity among the Tatars and Bashkirs of Russia* (Leiden: Brill, 1998): 105–106. It is more likely that Togan was referring to Fuks’ 1817 book, as the book was translated into Turkic in 1908 and it must have been easily available to Togan after its publication. See K.F. Fuks, *Qazān Tārikhi* (Kazan: Tipo-Litografiia Imperatorskago Universiteta, 1908): 29–30.>

68 <For Togan’s understanding of “*has yurt*,” see Togan, *Umumi*: 1/405–406. See also Vadim Trepavlov, “The Politics of the Ulus of Jochi.” In *The Golden Horde in World History*, ed. Rafael Khakimov and Marie Faverau (Kazan: Sh. Marjani Institute of History of the the Tatarstan Academy of Sciences, 2017): 151.>

The Russian scholar V. Semenov had already written the following in 1836 in his studies on the early history of Kazan: “The city of Kazan is mentioned by Russian chroniclers for the first time in 1370. Initially they called it Sayin’s *yurt* (*Sayinov Yurt*), this was [in reference to] Batu Khan (at that time it was not a city, but a *yurt*, that is a summer pasture). The name Kazan here is related to the foundation of a city here. It could be a reference to one of the Chaghatayid khans Kazan Khan (1334–1346) mentioned by Abū al-Ghāzī Bahādūr Khan.”⁶⁹

The name “Kazan” or “Ghazan” is not found among the names of the old Bulghar cities. Although there was a city or town called Kāshān, it was in a completely different direction, on the west of the Volga bend around today’s Tatishchevo. The city is mentioned as “Ghāzānī” in the Timurid period sources. Timur writes in his letter to Yalmān, one of his supporters in Anatolia and the ruler of Çemişgezek, on his second campaign against Toqtamish that Toqtamish escaped to the Russian territories after he chased him until the Volga River and fought with him near the Bulghar city and he, together with his army, moved towards “Ghazni (غزنی)” or “Ghazanī.” After abandoning the pursuit of his opponent who had fled to the Russian lands, he went to the Üzi (Dnieper) basin in today’s Ukraine. This information is found in the *Majmū‘a-i Munsha‘āt*, which is in the private library of the late Mükrimin Halil <Yinanç>, and it is repeated in the *Munsha‘āt* preserved in the Aşir Efendi Library (3rd section) in the following manner: “We pursued Toqtamish until the borders of Bulghar and captured his tribes <(tamāmī-i ordu va il va aḥshām-i ü rā ba dast āwarda)>. Then we went to Ghazanī and subsequently moved to the direction of the Üzi River.”⁷⁰ There is an excellent copy of Ibn ‘Arabshāh’s *Aja‘ib*

69 V. Semenov (ed.), *Biblioteka inostrannykh pisatelei o Rossii*. Vol. 1 (Barbaro) (St. Petersburg: Tip. III otdeleniia sobstvennoi E.I.V. Kantseliarii, 1836): 153–155. <This is not a full quotation, rather Togan is paraphrasing Semenov’s text. For Abū al-Ghāzī’s reference to Qazan Sultān Khān in his *Shajara-i Turk*, see Abū al-Ghāzī Bahādūr Khān, *Histoire des Mogols et des Tatares*. Ed. and trans. Baron Desmaisons (Saint Petersburg: Imprimerie de l’Académie Impériale des Sciences, 1871–1874): 151–152 (text), 160–161 (trans.). Qazan Khan was the subject of Togan’s second article based on his research in the Zeytinoğlu Library in Tavşanlı. For details, see pp. 964–965 above.>

70 <The “Aşir Efendi Library 3rd section” is the Hafid Efendi Collection, which used to be in the Aşir Efendi Library when Togan wrote the article before 1964, but since then it has become part of the Süleymaniye Library. See *Munsha‘āt*. Istanbul Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi Ms. Hafid Efendi 326, f. 93b. The letter of Timur is titled: *Maktüb-i Tīmūr Khān ba-Yalmān Beg navashta az jānib-i Dasht-i Qipchāq*. The whereabouts of the first manuscript that used to be part of Yinanç’s private collection is unknown to me. Amīr Yalmān was one of those numerous local rulers who ruled over local principalities in Eastern Anatolia in the early 15th century. When Timur invaded Anatolia, he sided with Timur, but we do not know much beyond this. Besides the sources mentioned above, our main source on Amīr Yalmān is Aziz b. Ardashir Astarābādī’s *Bazm u Razm*, which was

al-maqdūr in the Haraççioğlu Library in Bursa. This manuscript was copied by a person called ‘Alī b. Mūsā al-Ghāzānī in 1437 (841 AH).⁷¹ Such beautiful calligraphy could not be executed in the old Bulghar <region>. In the edicts (*yarlık*) of the Crimean Khan Hājī Girey <d. 1466> and the khan of Kazan Şāḥib Girey <d. 1551>, the notable sayyids (*sādāt-i ‘izām*) are mentioned after the names of the amirs and governors of this region. Abdullah Battal <Taymas>, who studied this edict, has stated that the sayyids are not even mentioned in the same line with the beys in other edicts written in the Golden Horde.⁷² Additionally, the terms used in Azerbaijan and Khorasan were also used in Kazan, such as the word *bistè* instead of *rabaḍ* in the meaning of suburb. Other cities in the Volga basin do not have *bistès* (*bestes*). This points at the influence of Ilkhanid culture in Kazan. Such influence did indeed exist. In a text in a collected volume in the Hacı Mahmud Efendi Library, there is the following note about the “Astrakhan Campaign” that was planned but not brought to completion in 1568 during the reign of Selim II.

This campaign took place for the following intentions. During the reign of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Ghāzān from the Chinggisid family, a group from the Tatar tribe converted to Islam and waged Holy War and settled in those regions, they were called the Tatar of Kazan (*Kazan Tatarı*). After the fall of the Ilkhanids <(devlet-i Gazaniye)>, they came under pressure from the infidels of Moscow, and sent letters to the sultan in Istanbul <(lit. *dergah-penah*)>, requesting the invasion of the region between the Two Rivers (Volga and Don <rivers>).⁷³

written in 800/1397–1398. See Azīz b. Ardashīr Astarābādī, *Bazm u Razm*. Ed. Kilisli Rufat Bilge (Istanbul: Evkāf Matba’ası, 1928): 456.>

- 71 Ibn ‘Arabshāh, *Ajā’ib al-maqdūr fi nawā’ib al-Tīmūr*. Bursa İnebey Bölge Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi Ms. Haraççioğlu 1051, <f. 168a. The Bursa manuscript was copied on 19 Rabī II 841/20 October 1437 at the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus. In the colophon of the manuscript the full name of the copyist is given as ‘Alī b. Mūsā b. Muḥammad al-shahīr bi-Ibn al-Qābūnī thumma al-Qāzānī. There is another manuscript copied by the same person in Diyarbakır. ‘Alī al-Qāzānī copied *al-Targhib al-tarhib*, a work on hadith by Abū Muḥammad Zakī al-Dīn al-Mundhirī (d. 1258), on 16 Sha’bān 839/5 March 1436. See al-Mundhirī, *al-Targhib al-tarhib*. Diyarbakır İl Halk Kütüphanesi Ms. 1474, f. 228b. His name suggests that the copyist in question was originally from al-Qābūn in Syria, but later settled in Kazan.>
- 72 Abdullah Battal <Taymas>, “Sahib Giray Han Yarlıḡı.” *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 2 (1928): 82, 87. <A. Melek Özyetgin, *Altın Ordu, Kırım ve Kazan Sahasına Ait Yarlık ve Bitiklerin Dil ve Üslup İncelemesi* Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları 1996): 130–132 (text), 161–162 (trans.)>
- 73 *Majmū’a*. Istanbul Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi Ms. Hacı Mahmud Efendi 3394, f. 62a. <This is actually not a report per se, but an extract from Kātib Çelebi’s *Tuhfetü’l-kibār fi esfāri’l-bihār*. This section from the *Tuhfet* was edited and published by Akdes Nimet

<The name> “Maḥmūd” here is probably confused with Maḥmūd or Maḥmūdak Khan <(d. 1466)>, son of Ulugh Muḥammad, of Kazan and written as the Ilkhanid ruler “Sulṭān Maḥmūd Ghāzān” <(d. 1304)>.74 But in the Hacı Mahmud Efendi manuscript there are details on “Muslim Tatar holy warriors who came and settled there in order to wage holy war.” Such an account would not be appropriate for the time of Maḥmūdak Khan, son of Ulugh Muḥammad Khan. It is possible that Ghazan Khan, as part of his wider efforts of spreading Islam, also sent the “Tatar ghazis” together with the sayyids, whom he closely supported in his own lands, to the region whither, as Shpilevskii noted, Christian Russians (Rus’) increasingly penetrated the north of the Golden Horde in the 13th century. These Tatar ghazis and sayyids built fortified castles and suburbs (*beste*) around castles in the style of Ghazan Khan’s own territories. In like fashion the same Ghazan Khan tried to spread Islam after his conversion in Gansu, a region which was part of the domains of the Great Khanate in Khanbaliq (Beijing). This is reported by Rashīd al-Dīn.75 We also understand from the letters of Rashīd al-Dīn that even the city of Balchemen (*Balçman*) near today’s Vladikavkaz in northern Caucasus in the territory of the Golden Horde khans was under the Ilkhanid zone of influence. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa also mentions a Rufā’ī dervish and his disciples, who came from ‘Irāq, in al-Māchar <(“*Macar*” or Burgomadzhary)> in this region.76 We learn from the

Kurat in 1966, in the same year that Togan published his article. See Akdes Nimet Kurat, *Türkiye ve İdil Boyu (1569 Astarhan Seferi, Ten-İdil Kanalı ve XVI–XVII. Yüzyıl Osmanlı-Rus Münasebetleri)* (Ankara: Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Yayınları, 1966): Appendix XIV (pp. 64–65 in separate pagination). See also Kâtip Çelebi, *Deniz Savaşları Hakkında Büyüklere Armağan (Tuhfetü'l-Kibâr fî Esfârî'l-Bihâr)*, ed. Orhan Şaik Gökyay (Istanbul: Kabcacı, 2007 [1973]): 107–108. In this section Kâtip Çelebi reports about İki Ali Paşa’s campaign to Astrakhan in 975–976.1567–1569 and the failed attempt to open a canal between the Don and Volga rivers. The reason why Togan considers the Tatars of Kazan politically “active Muslims” is that they sent a petition to the Ottoman sultan in Istanbul.>

74 <Togan’s Turkish is very vague here. He means that the author of the report, that is Kâtip Çelebi, confused Maḥmūd or Maḥmūdak Khan of Kazan with Ghazan Maḥmūd Khan of the Ilkhanate, even though neither ruler was alive when the campaign took place in 1568.>

75 Rashid-ad-Din, *Sbornik Letopisei*, trans. Iu.P. Verkhovski and V.I. Pankratov (Moscow: Izd-vo Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1960): 11/209; Rashid ed-Din, *Djami El-Tévarikh. Histoire general du Monde*, ed. E. Blochet (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1911): 601; <Rashīd al-Dīn Faḏl Allāh, *Jāmi’ al-Tawārīkh*, 4 vols., ed. Muḥammad Rawshan and Muṣṭafā Mūsawī (Tehran: Nashr-i Albruz, 1373 Hsh/1995): 11/952.>

76 <Rashīd al-Dīn, *Mukātabāt-i Rashīdī*, ed. Muḥammad Shafī’ (Lahore: The University of Panjab Press, 1947): 17; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *The Travels of Ibn Battuta*, trans. H.A.R. Gibb (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1959): 11/479. For more discussion by Togan on the exact location of Balchemen, see Togan, “Timurs Osteuropapolitik,” *ZDMG* 108(1958): 291. In another article published in the same year, Togan located Balchemen close to Pyatigorsk in Stavropol

extant manuscripts of Rashīd al-Dīn's theological works in our libraries that the copies written in Tabriz in his own time first went to Saray in the Golden Horde and then came to the capital cities of the Ottoman Empire.⁷⁷ According to the hagiographical works on the life of Shaykh Şafī al-Dīn Ardabīlī, holy warriors (*gaziler*) were sent to the borders of the Golden Horde from Azerbaijan and at some point Şafī al-Dīn Ardabīlī himself, who was a contemporary of Ghazan Khan, was also present in the Qipchaq steppes together with these holy warriors.⁷⁸ At the same time, popular trade centers emerged in Kazan and Balchemen at the time of Ghazan Khan.

The study of the extant written sources demonstrates that the practice of the *dīwān* (*defterdarlık*) and "*hazīne* (*qazna*)" institutions that developed in places like Kazan and Crimea at the time of the Ilkhanids as well as the art of calligraphy were imports in these places, they did not evolve and emerge among indigenous population. The letter of Ulugh Muḥammad Khan, who later became the ruler of Kazan, to Murād II in 1428 and the Crimean Khan Hājji Girey's <sic> letter to Sultan Mehmed the Conqueror in 1453 <sic> were

Krai in North Caucasus. See Togan "Timur's Campaign of 1395 in the Ukraine and North Caucasus." *Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in USA* 6(1958): 1364–1365.>

77 <Zeki Velidi Togan, "The Composition of the History of Mongols by Rashīd al-Dīn." *Central Asiatic Journal* 7(1962): 61.>

78 <Togan also makes the same claim on Shaykh Şafī al-Dīn's activities in the Qipchaq steppes in his *Umumî Türk Tarihine Giriş*, published in 1946. See Togan, *Umumî*: 255; idem, *Umumî*: 1/369. Neither in 1946 nor in 1966 in the present article does Togan provide a specific reference for this argument. So far I have been unable to determine which source he might be referring to. The most likely source is Ibn Bazzāz's *Şafwat al-Şafā*, on which Togan had published a separate article in 1957, but this claim does not exist in the 1957 article, and I could not locate the reference to Ardabīlī's activities in the Dasht-i Qipchaq in the most recent published version of the *Şafwat al-Şafā*. See Zeki Velidi Togan, "Sur l'origine des Safavides." In *Mélanges Louis Massignon* (Damascus: Institut Français de Damas, 1957): 345–357. Curiously, this claim is found only in Turkish-language secondary literature. See, for instance, Reşat Öngören, "Safiyüddin-i Erdebili." *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* 35(2008): 478. It seems to me that Togan's *Umumî Türk Tarihine Giriş* was the origin of this claim. In fact, just a few years after Togan published his book, he was criticized by Yusuf Ziya Yörükân, a fellow historian at Istanbul University. Yörükân wrote the following: "We should draw attention to the fact that some *oral narratives* on the activities of the figures like Shaykh Şafī al-Dīn Ardabīlī and Şan Saltuq in places like the Dasht-i Qipchaq, Crimea, and the Balkans were considered as endeavors "to spread Islam." Unfortunately, Yörükân also avoids including specific references, but based on his article, we can surmise that Togan relied on an oral or hagiographic source. See Yusuf Ziya Yörükân, "Bir Fetva Münasebetiyle Fetva Müessesesi, Ebussuud Efendi ve San Saltuk." *Ankara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 2–3(1952): 154.>

written in the *dīwānī* script, which had reached its zenith in Tabriz and Herat. And their language is elegant Eastern Turkic. Professor Akdes Nimet <Kurat> published these documents, which are preserved in the Topkapı Palace Library, in 1940.⁷⁹ However, the 1522 *farmān* of Şāhib Girāy Khan, who ruled in Kazan, is written so poorly and the language is so ignorant that the fact that it was written in Kazan where the aforementioned Ulugh Muḥammad Khan ruled demonstrates that the civilization coming from the south (from Tabriz and Herat) came to this city only intermittently. <For instance,> the words مبارک، موبارک، الماک، were written as، موبارک، الماک، خراجات، عن الآفات، مقيمات، سادات قراجات، عن يلافات، مقان، سادات⁸⁰

It is known that musicians and singers were brought to Kazan from Herat and Muḥammad Amīn Khan, the khan of Kazan, wrote poems in Herat style.⁸¹ An excellent work written in Eastern Turkic by Muḥammad Sharīf, a poet from Kazan with the penname Sharīfī<SHT> who was originally from Astrakhan, titled *Ẓafarnāma-i Vilāyat-i Qāzān* is to be added to this list now. This ten-page-long work is included in a collected volume (*majmū'a*), Ms. 2348, in the library of the Zeytinoğulları in Tavşanlı, near Kütahya.⁸² This work, which narrates the events of how the residents of Kazan fought devotedly against the Russian tsar Ivan IV (the Terrible) during his siege of the city in the winter of 1550 and how they forced him to retreat, is dated to Muḥarram 957 AH (that is, it was written in January or February of 1550). This document demonstrates that the literary Chaghatay, especially the style of such an eminent personality as 'Alī-Shīr Nawā'ī, that was widely used in Central Asia, was in use in Kazan and it

79 <Togan's sentence "Ḥājji Girāy's letter to Sultan Meḥmed the Conqueror in 1453" is misleading here. We do have a 1453 *yarlıq* and *soyurghal* in *dīwānī* script by Ḥājji Girāy issued for Maḥmūd b. Ḥakīm Yaḥyā from Ankara, but it is not a letter to Meḥmed II. There is a letter to Meḥmed II by Mengli Girāy in *dīwānī* script, but it was written in 1469, not in 1453, and certainly not by Ḥājji Girāy. I believe Togan's evidence stands here, as both documents were written in *dīwānī* script, but his evidence base is muddled. See Akdes Nimet Kurat, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivindeki Altın Ordu, Kırım ve Türkistan Hanlarına Ait Yarlık ve Bitikler* (Istanbul: Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Yayınları, 1940): 6–36, 62–80, 81–86; Özzyetgin, *Altın Ordu*, 108–109 (text), 112–115 (text), 116–117 (text), 138–139 (trans.), 142–145 (trans.), 146–148 (trans.).>

80 <Taymas>, "Şahib Giray Han Yarlığı," :<82–83>. <Özzyetgin, *Altın Ordu*: 130–132 (text), 161–162 (trans.).>

81 Zeki Velidi Togan, "Türkistan ve İdil Havzasının Medenî Münasebetleri Tarihinden," *Yeni Türkistan* (1927).2–3: 27–28.

82 <Sharīf Ḥājji-Tarkhānī, *Ẓafarnāma-i Vilāyat-i Qazān*. In *Majmū'a*. Tavşanlı Zeytinoğlu İlçe Halk Kütüphanesi Ms. 43 Ze 375, ff. 60a–64b. Togan cites the old call number in his article.>

was written in order to draw the “attention” of an Ottoman grandee addressed as “*şāhib-i devletleri*” (“master of fortune”) to these events <in Kazan>. We can surmise that this *şāhib-i devlet* was Süleyman the Lawgiver. I transcribe the work in its entirety below.

<Text>

60a/ ظفرنامه ولایت قرآن

ضمایر صافیة ارباب اولوالابصار و خواطر زاکیه اصحاب ذوی الاعتباره آفتاب
عالمتاب تیکین⁸³ واضح و روشن ولایح و مُبرهن تورور⁸⁴ کیم ولایت بلغار اقالیم سبعة
(دین) یتینچی اقلیم تورور، قمرغه منسوب ایرور یعنی قمر پرورشیدا تورور علی ما هو
المذکور فی الکتب الریاضی. وتقی بو ولایت بلغار، قطب شمالیغه کمال قریدین اواخر
جوزا و اوایل سرطان دا صلوات خمسہ نینک بیرسی نینک یعنی صلوة عشا نینک
وقتی تبولماس زیرا کیم شفق امامین⁸⁵ قشیدا عبارتدر حمرة دین، آنینک غیبوتیندین⁸⁶
بورون راق. بو اوقات معلومه دا وقت صلوة فجر یعنی صبح صادق ظاهر بولور،
اول سبب دین اول قوم غه صلوة عشا واجب بولماس علی ما هو المذکور فی کتب
الفتاوی سیمّا فی الکنز⁸⁷ و الوافی⁸⁸ و الکافی⁸⁹

83 <Ms.: تیکین>

84 Ms.: <تور>

85 That is Imām Muḥammad and Imām Yūsuf. <Abū Yūsuf (d. 798) and Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-Shaybānī (d. 805), two students of Abū Ḥanīfa (d. 767) and founders of the Hanafī school of law.>

86 <T: غیبوتیندین>

87 *Kanz al-daqa'iq* by Ḥāfiẓ al-Dīn Abū al-Barakāt al-Nasafī (d. 710/1310). See Kātib Çelebi, *Kashf al-zunūn*, ed. Şerefettin Yaltkaya and Kilisli Rıfat Bilge, (Istanbul: Maarif Matbaası, 1941): II, <cols. 1015–1017>; GAL, S II, 265.

88 The same author's <that is, Ḥāfiẓ al-Dīn Abū al-Barakāt al-Nasafī> work titled *al-Wāfi fi al-furū'*. See Kātib Çelebi, *Kashf al-zunūn*, II, <col.> 1997; GAL, S II, 265.

89 The commentary of the same author on the abovementioned work titled *al-Wāfi*. See Kātib Çelebi, *Kashf al-zunūn*, II, <cols.> 1378, 1997. Although Muḥammad al-Ḥakīm al-Marwazī has a work on *fiqh* with the same title (GAL, S I, 288, 638), it is not the one that Sharīfī<SHT> refers to <here>, because in this work, which was commented upon by Shams al-A'imma al-Sarakhsī, there is no section on the problem of the night prayer in northern countries. What Sharīfī<SHT> is referring to is al-Nasafī's work, which includes the topic. See Shihāb al-Dīn Marjānī, *Nāzūrat al-ḥaqq fi fardīyyat al-‘ishā wa in lam yaḡhib al-shafaq* (Kazan: Maṭba'a-i Khizāna, 1287 AH/1870): 120, 147. <Marjānī, *Nāzūrat al-ḥaqq fi*

وتقی بو ولایت بلغارینک پای تختی بلده طیبه محروسه دار الاسلام قران حمیت
عن حوادث الزمان اسلام ولایت لارندین⁹⁰ یراق توشوب کفار سر حدیغه متصل
تورور.

مصراع

همسایه بد مباد کس را

هیچ طرفدین انکا مدد و معاونت یتشاس مگر عنایت رب العالمین قرین و
ملایکه لار ناصر و معین بولغای لار اول سبب دین بلده محروسه قران شهرینک
پادشاه لاری کفار برلا زمانه مقتضاسنجه⁹¹ مملکت رفاهیتی وگشایشی رعیت
فراغتی و اسایشی اوچون مدارا برله آرادا ایلچی بویلا⁹² یوروشوب کیلش بارش
قیلور ایردی لار

شعر

اسایش دوگیتی تفسیر این دو حرفست
با دوستان مروت با دشمنان مدارا.

ثانیا صاحب السیف و القلم منبع الجود والکرم مرحوم و مغفور ابو الغازی صفا
کرای بهادر خان قران ولایتیغه پادشاه بولدی /60b/ ایرسا کفار برله دنیادا دینی و
آخرتدا ایوی⁹³ باشقالیقیدین إِنَّ الْأَبْرَارَ لَنِي نَعِيمٍ وَإِنَّ الْفُجَّارَ لَنِي جَحِيمٍ يَصْلُونَهَا يَوْمَ

farḍiyyat al-‘ishā wa in lam yaḡhib al-shafa, ed. Ūrkhān b. Idrīs Anjaqār and ‘Abd al-Qādir b. Saljūq Yīlimāz (Orhan Ençakar and Abdülkadir Yılmaz) (Istanbul: Dār al-Ḥikma, 2012): 389–418.>

90 Ms.: لار دین

91 <T: مقتضاسنجه>

92 Bulius <?>, from the Ottoman <Turkish *balyos* – *balyoz*>, which comes from Italian *balio*, and Latin *baiulus*. <The etymology of the term *boyla* was later clarified. *Boyla* is an Old Turkic title in the meaning of “commander and ambassador,” not a Latin word in Turkic, as Togan suggested. See Gerard Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth Century Turkish* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972): 385. For further references see Özyetgin, “Astrahanlı Şerifi”: 352. Özyetgin suggests that the phrase *ilchi boyla* is a hendiadyes here.>

93 That is Heaven and Hell.

الدِّينِ 94 آية كريمة وَقَاتِلُوا الْمُشْرِكِينَ كَافَّةً 95 امريناً 96 مأمور بولوب يُجَاهِدُونَ فِي سَبِيلِ
الله بِأَمْوَالِهِمْ وَأَنْفُسِهِمْ 97 مقتضى سنجه بو حديث نبوى وفي الغزوة إِحْدَى
الْحُسَيْنَيْنِ 98 إِمَّا الظفر والغنيمة وإمَّا الشهادة والجنة مفهومين 99 فوحنك

بيت

غزاة اهليغه عالمدا بو بر حسن لطافت بار

ظفر تاپسا 100 غنيمت گر شهادت تاپسا 101 جنت بار

و بو خبر مصطفوى مَنْ رَمَى فِي سَبِيلِ الله تعالى سهما عُدِلَ لَهُ مَحْرَرًا وَ الْمُنْبَلُ بِهِ
كلارامي 102 مضمونين نشانك بولوب

94 Qur'ān 82: <13-15>.

95 Qur'ān 9: 36.

96 <T: أمريناً>

97 Qur'ān 9: 20: <وَجَاهِدُوا فِي سَبِيلِ الله بِأَمْوَالِهِمْ وَأَنْفُسِهِمْ>. The original verse is slightly different from what Ḥājjī-Tarkhānī cites. It is obvious that he changed the verb of the sentence from past tense to present tense in order to harmonize the syntax of the Qur'ānic verse with the syntax of the Turkish sentence.>

98 Qur'ān 9: 52. <Parts of this sentence> before and after <the phrase> الْحُسَيْنَيْنِ are additions either by the author or by the source that the author peruses. <Ḥājjī-Tarkhānī states that what he is quoting is a hadith, but I could not locate this sentence in standard hadith collections. It is possible that the author combines a Qur'ānic phrase, i.e. "one of the two best things" with various Prophetic traditions. See, for instance, Muḥammad al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī. The Translation of the Meanings of Saḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, ed. and trans. Muhammad Muhsin Khan (Riyadh: Darussalam Publishers, 1997): IV/47 (*Kitāb al-jihād* No. 2787), IV/337-38, 340-341 (*Kitāb al-tawḥīd* Nos. 7457 and 7463).>

99 <T: مضمونين>

100 <T: تاپسا>

101 <T: تاپسا>

102 <The first part of this hadith can be found in the canonical collections. See, for instance, Aḥmad b. Shu'ayb al-Nasā'ī, *Sunan al-Nasā'ī*, ed. Rā'id b. Ṣabrī b. Abī Alafa (Riyadh: Dār al-Ḥaḍāra li-l-Nashr wa al-Tawzī', 1436/2010): 422 (*Kitāb al-jihād* No. 3143). The second part of the sentence is an interpolation from another hadith: إِنْ اللهُ يُدْخِلُ ثَلَاثَةَ نَفَرٍ الْجَنَّةَ: نَفَرًا صَانِعُهُ، that is "God the almighty and sublime will admit three people into the paradise for one arrow: the one who makes it..., the one who shoots it, and the one who passes it to him." See *Sunan al-Nasā'ī*: 423 (*Kitāb al-jihād* No. 3146).>

قطعه

کیمکه بر اوق آتسا مُشرک لار یوزیکا دین اوچون
 گویا حق یولیدا بر بنده آزاد ایلاکای
 بوأجردا برکا دور¹⁰³ هرکیم غزاة امیدیدا
 بر اوق اتیلغای¹⁰⁴ ویا شمشیر بنیاد ایلاکای

ودخی بو حدیث نبوی¹⁰⁵ کیم رِبَاطُ یَوْمٍ وَ لَیْلَةٍ خَیْرٌ مِنْ صِیَامِ شَهْرِ وَ قِیَامِهِ، وَإِنْ
 جَرَى عَلَیْهِ عَمَلُهُ الَّذِي < كَانَ یَعْمَلُهُ >، وَأُجْرِي عَلَیْهِ رِزْقُهُ وَأَمِنْ¹⁰⁶ الْفَتَانِ¹⁰⁷ معنی سن
 ملاحظه¹⁰⁸ قیلوب

قطعه

برکیچه کوندوز¹⁰⁹ غزاة امیدیلله آط بغلاماق¹¹⁰
 یخشی دور بر آی توتوش صوم و کیچه اعمال دین
 اولساگر رزق و ثوابی تیکوسی دور قبریدا¹¹¹
 اولسا امن اولغوسی دور فتنه دجال دین

103 Ms.: برکادوز

104 Ms.: <ایشلاکای>.

105 Ms.: قوی

106 <Ms.: منْ وَأَمِنْ>

107 <This hadith is attributed to Salmān al-Fārisī. See al-Imām Abī al-Ḥusayn Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, ed. Muḥammad Fu'ād 'Abd al-Bāqī (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1991): 111/1520 (Kitāb al-imāra No. 163).>

108 <T: ملاحظه>

109 <T: کوندوز>

110 <T: باغلاماق>

111 <Ms.: قبریدا>. Probably قبریدا. These types of errors are by the Turkish copyist who included the treatise in his collection.

الله تعالى حضرتیدین اجر جمیل و ثواب جزیل اومونوب عداوت بناسی نینک اساسنی توزوب آراداغی اتحاد و داد رشته سینی اوزوب مخالفت ابوابنی¹¹² مفتوح و مراسلت ایشکنی¹¹³ مسدود قلیب أنا ظالم إن لم انتقم من الظالم تیو غزات و جهاد اطارلیغه اطلانیب¹¹⁴ شمشیر قُتال و آبدار و کافر کُش نی مبارک بیلینه بغلاب

شعر

مُرغ آیان جوهر¹¹⁵ دریای تیغ او/61a/

هر یک بروز معرکه صیاد صد نهنک¹¹⁶

جَاهِدُوا¹¹⁷ فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ بِأَمْوَالِكُمْ وَأَنْفُسِكُمْ¹¹⁸ تَزْكُونِي¹¹⁹ قَوْلُونَا أَلِيبَ أَيَاغِي سَعَى وَ
 طَلَبِ أَوْزَانِكُوسِينَا سَوْقُوبِ فَضَّلِ اللَّهُ الْمُجَاهِدِينَ عَلَى الْقَاعِدِينَ¹²⁰ دَرَجَةَ سَيِّدِينَ
 أَمِيدَنَاكِ بُولُوبِ وَلَا تَحْسَبَنَّ الَّذِينَ قُتِلُوا فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ أَمْوَاتًا بَلْ أَحْيَاءٌ عِنْدَ رَبِّهِمْ¹²¹
 الْآيَةُ مَضْمُونِ شَرِيفِيدِينَ أَنْوَاعِ بَهْجَتِ وَ سُرُورِ وَ اجْناسِ مَكْرَمَتِ وَ حَضُورِ دَسْتِ
 بَرِيبِ تُوتِي الْمَلِكِ مَنْ تَشَاءُ وَ تَنْزِعُ الْمَلِكِ مَنْ تَشَاءُ¹²² مِيدَانِيدِهِ إِنْ اللَّهُ يُؤَيِّدُ بِنَصْرِهِ
 مَنْ يَشَاءُ¹²³ عَاهِنِي كُوتُروبِ اِيَةِ كَرِيمَةٍ كَمْ مِنْ فِتْنَةٍ قَلِيلَةٍ غَلَبَتْ فِتْنَةً كَبِيرَةً بِإِذْنِ اللَّهِ¹²⁴ تِيو

112 <ابوابینی: T>

113 <ایشکنی: T>

114 <اطلاریغه اطلانیب: T>

115 <جوهر: Ms.>

116 <This poem is from a *qaşıda* by the Timurid poet Kâtibi-i Turshizi (d. 838–39/1434–35). See Ersin Selçuk, *Kâtibi'nin Hayatı ve Kasidelerinin Tahkikli Metni*. Unpublished MA Thesis (Diyarbakır: Dicle University, 2002): 60. Hâjji-Tarkhâni changed the last word of the first line from second person singular (تو) to third person singular (او).>

117 <جاهدو: Ms.>

118 Qur'an 9: 41 <: فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ: وَأَنْفُسِكُمْ وَأَمْوَالِكُمْ وَجَاهِدُوا>

119 Ms.: تيز کوسنی

120 Qur'an 4: 95.

121 Qur'an 3: 169.

122 Qur'an 3: 26.

123 Qur'an 3: 13: وَاللَّهُ يُؤَيِّدُ بِنَصْرِهِ مَنْ يَشَاءُ

124 Qur'an 2: 249.

جنود مسعود اسلامنی آلیب اول کفار بدگیش و ضلالة اُنْدیش کیم اُولئک فی ضلالِ
 مُسین¹²⁵ دورلار الار¹²⁶ اوستونا یوروب الارنی قتل ایلیب چاپپ¹²⁷ سانسیز اسیرلار
 و صاغش سز¹²⁸ غنیمت لار یکتورور¹²⁹ ایردی لار

مدت مدید¹³⁰ و عهد بعید بو منوال اوزارنه کچار ایردی. اتفاقا قضا و قدر منادی
 سی نینک اینما تْکُونُوا یُدْرِكُکُمُ الْمَوْتُ وَلَوْ کُنْتُمْ فِی بُرُوجٍ مُّشِیْدَةٍ دیکان¹³¹ نداسی
 حضرت خان نینک مسامع شریف لاریغه یتشیب قُلْ اِنَّ الْمَوْتَ الَّذِی تَقْرُونَ مِنْهُ
 فَاتَهُ مُلَاقِیْکُمْ¹³² صداسنی اشتیب خان حضرتلری همان رضا بوینی قضا قولونا سونوب
 حق تعالی دین رحمت و مغفرت اومونوب اِنَّا لِلّٰهِ وَاِنَّا اِلَيْهِ رَاجِعُونَ¹³³ تیو فَاِذَا جَاءَ
 اَجْلَهُمْ لَا یَسْتَاخِرُونَ سَاعَةً وَلَا یَسْتَقْدِمُونَ¹³⁴ مقتضی سینجه تیریک لیک طور دین
 امید کسب حیات لیق تمنا سیدین انسا چکیب¹³⁵ کُلُّ نَفْسٍ ذَائِقَةُ الْمَوْتِ¹³⁶ شربتی

125 Qur'an 39: 22.

126 <T: آار >

127 <T: چاپپ >

128 <T: ساغش سز >

129 <T: کتورور >

130 <T: مدیده. Togan's intervention fixes the grammatical inconsistency in the sentence, but since the word *madid* alliterates with the word *ba'īd*, I decided to keep Hājjī-Tarkhānī's or the copyist's preference in this edition.>

131 Qur'an 4: 78.

132 Qur'an 62: 8: الْمَوْتُ الَّذِی تَقْرُونَ مِنْهُ.

133 Qur'an 2: 156.

134 Qur'an 7: 34.

135 Ms.: انسا کیچیب. See W. Radloff, *Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Türk-Dialecte* (St. Petersburg: Prodaetsia u Komisionerov Imperatorskoi Akademii Nauk, 1893): 1/1, col. 748: *añsä*; 1/2, col. 1434: (Kazan <Tatar>) *iñsä* = <omuz> (shoulder). <See also Özyetgin, "Astrahanlı Şerifi," 353. Radloff translates the word as neck (*der Nacken*) in both instances. It is not clear to me why Togan prefers the word *omuz* "shoulder." Radloff defined the word *omuz* "die Schulter" separately in his dictionary. See Radloff, *Versuch*: 1/2, col. 1169.>

136 Qur'an 3: 185, etc.

كُلُّ مَنْ عَلَيْهَا فَانٍ¹³⁷ بزميدا وَسَقَاهُمْ رَبُّهُمْ¹³⁸ ساقى سى قولوندين ايجيب دار غرور دين
سراى سرورغه رحلت قىلدى ايرسا ذَلِكَ تَقْدِيرُ الْعَزِيزِ الْعَلِيمِ¹³⁹

غزل

آه واويلا اولوم دين تنداكى جان تترايور
/6ib/ جان دين ايرلهماق بلا دور تيو ابدان تترايور
بو اولوم دور بارجاني¹⁴⁰ مغموم (و)¹⁴¹ محزون ايلانگان
بو اولوم نينك خوفيدن چشمه حيوان تترايور
پير يوزيداكى اولوم نينك ضربتيدن خلق ارا
كوكداكى يولدوزلار و شمس درخشان تترايور
گه يوزين يرتيب قرارتيب گه قرارتيب سارغاريب¹⁴²
گه قاجيب پنهان بولوب هم ماه تابات تترايور
دفع ايتب¹⁴³ بولماس اولوم نى مال بيريب لشكر بيغيب
بو سبدين وهم ايتب¹⁴⁴ خان بلکه سلطان¹⁴⁵ تترايور
كونكلونا توشكان دين اوترو مرگ وهمى ناگهان
زلزله ايلاب بسى كوه و بيابان تترايور
اى شريفى مستعد بولماق كراك اولماس بورون
يوقسه ديماكدين نه سود اين تترايور آن تترايور

137 Qur'an 55: 26.

138 Qur'an 76: 21.

139 Qur'an 6: 96.

140 Ms.: بارجان

141 <Ms.: —.>

142 <T: سارغاريب>

143 <T: ايتيب>

144 <T: ايتيب>

145 That is the Ottoman sultan.

کفار بو حادثه گردون دین خوش حال بولوب بو واقعه دنیای دون دین سویونوب اول کافر بی دین و اول مشرک با کبر و کین و اول مفسد روزگار و مفتن فلک زرنکار¹⁴⁶ و ثانی اثین شیاطین و پیشوای لشکر ملاعین ایبان¹⁴⁷ بی ایمان فرعون صفت و نمرود هیئت برله اوزی بشلاب لشکر انبوه گران سنگ بسیار و عسکر مکروه با توب و تفنگ بی شمار تخمیناً سکن یوز مینک¹⁴⁸ لشکر برله الذین یَقْطَعُونَ مَا أَمَرَ اللَّهُ بِهِ أَنْ يُوصَلَ وَيُفْسِدُونَ فِي الْأَرْضِ أُولَئِكَ هُمُ الْخَاسِرُونَ¹⁴⁹ دورلار کیلیب بلده محروسه قران شهری نینک گرداگردینی احاطه ایلاب محاصره قیلب قوندیلر

لشکر کفار از مور و ملخ کم نیستند
نسل یا جوح اند ما جوج اند¹⁵⁰ و آدم نیستند

غزل

عجب بر جای عشرت دور جهانده بو قران شهری
مونینک تیک بولماغای عالم دا بر دار الامان شهری
قران تیک شهر معموری تبولماس دنیا دا هرگز
قران دین آس ایچادورلار نچاقلی¹⁵¹ بو جهان شهری
بو بیر¹⁵² ملکی ایرور قالمیش ابا¹⁵³ عن جد خانلاردین

146 <T: . رزنکار .>

147 That is Ivan IV "the Terrible."

148 <Ms. . بیک .>

149 Qur'an <2: 27. Togan gives the verse number as 13: 25, which only partially corresponds to the verse quoted by Hājji-Tarkhānī.>

150 <T: —.>

151 *Ni çaqlı* is in Kazan Turkish.

152 <Ms.: بر; T: . بر .>

153 <Ms.: ابا; T: ابا. It is rather difficult to transcribe this sentence in a coherent manner, mainly because the initial phrase is unclear: The manuscript as well as Togan's transcription reads *بو بر ملکی ایرور*. Togan merely transcribed what he saw in the manuscript and Kurat repeated Togan's reading, but he glossed over the initial phrase in his translation: "*Burası ecdad hanlardan kalan bir yerdir.*" Özyetgin, following Kurat's lead, transliterated

ایرور بو بیر همیشه دنیادا خان ابن خان شهری
 بیرین یورتین ساتیب¹⁵⁴ برماس آتاسی نینک یساقینی¹⁵⁵
 نچوک¹⁵⁶ یکلکای اوشول ملعون ایماس در¹⁵⁷ بو ایپان شهری¹⁵⁸
 /62a/ شریفی کیتا بو بیردین غزاة امیددی گر بولسا
 بو کوندین سونک دیکای لار کیم بودور¹⁵⁹ صاحب قزان شهری
 بر دروازه ده بو مملکت نینک ستونی بو خلاق نینک ره نمونی مرحوم پولاد بیک
 نینک اوغلی ممای بیک برله نور علی میرزا زید قدرهما مردان جنک آزمایی و مرد
 افکن وجوانان دارا¹⁶⁰ (و) اسکندر شکن لارنی بیغیب قاشیدا آلیب تورور ایردی
 شعر

مبارزلر تورور صف صف قاشیدا¹⁶¹
 قویوبن تاج نصرت نی باشیدا
 ایرور میدان آرا هر بری بر شیر
 اورورلار هر زمان دشمن غه شم شیر

the phrase as “*bir mülkî*” and translated the sentence as “*Ecdad hanlardan kalmuş bizim mülktür.*” I think Özyetgin’s transcription omits a significant aspect of the sentence and does not identify the noun that the adjective *mulkî* qualifies. There are two alternative readings of this sentence: “*Bu barr-i mulkî irür*” or “*Bu yir mulki irür.*” Here I preferred the second reading, because it is the version that fits to the meter of the poem. The meter of the poem also dictated the deletion of the nunation in the word **اَبَا**, even though the copyist of the manuscript clearly marked it. I am indebted to Neslihan Demirkol for deciphering the meter of this poem for me.>

154 Ms.: سالیب. It probably means “by giving as security.”

155 That is “Ivan IV <does not pay> the *yasaq* tax that they have have been paying to the khans of the Golden Horde since <the time of> his ancestors.”

156 *Nichük*, that is “how.”

157 <T: ایماس دور>

158 That is “... this city of Kazan is not Ivan’s city (a Russian city).”

159 <T: بودور>

160 <Ms.: دارای>

161 <Ms.: قشید>

تقی خان مورچالیداک¹⁶² دروازه ده¹⁶³ بهادرلیق میدانی نینک صفدری دلاورلیک
پیشه سی نینک غضنفری قوزیجاق اوغلان زید اقداره

شعر

کورسا کفار ایله هرکیم حرب ضرب ایامیدا
دایما اسلام شمشیرین قولیدا استوار
دیماکای اول کیشی هرگیز عمریدا برکز تقی
لافتی آلا علی لاسیف آلا ذو الفقار¹⁶⁴

اول هم بولسا جوانان هنر پیشه و دلاوران صواب اندیشه لارنی قشیدا آلیب تورور
ایردی
تقی بر دروازه ده دلاورلار اهلی نینک سروری بهادرلیق معرکه سی نینک
سکندری آق مجد اوغلان زید عمره

بیت

ایرور بزم ایچره جم رزم ایچره رستم
بو یردین بولماسون هیچ سایه سی کم

شعر

ای زنگ گردن فرسش چرخ نیل رنگ
خورشید مهره که¹⁶⁵ بود درمیان زنگ

162 Ms.: موحالیدا که

163 <Ms.: دروازه>. That is the gate under whose tower the Queen Süyünbike and his son Ötemish Girey were based.

164 That is, Quzıjaq Oghlan never said in his life that "there is no hero, but 'Alı, there is no sharp sword, but Dhü al-Fiqār." In other words, he was a hero who could say "I am a greater paladin than 'Alı, my sword is sharper than Dhü al-Fiqār," just like it is said in the epic story of Qulunchaq/Quzıjaq. <I could not locate the reference for this information in the epic narratives that were available to me.>

165 <T: مهر>

هر اوق کیم¹⁶⁶ اتسا لشکر کفار یوزیکا
دیماسن آنی اوق تیو بل¹⁶⁷ کیم ایرور¹⁶⁸ تفنگ

تقی بر دروازه ده نسل سید المرسلین قطب الاقطاب سید انا نبیره سی مرحوم
و مغفور سید نینک اوغلی قول محمد سید دام فضله باشلاب جوانان درویش
شعار و صوفیان ریاضت آثارلارنی بیغیب آیه کریمه قُلْ إِنِّي هَدَانِي رَبِّي إِلَى صِرَاطٍ
مُسْتَقِيمٍ دِينًا قَبِيمًا مِلَّةَ إِبْرَاهِيمَ حَنِيفًا¹⁶⁹ مفهومیدین فرحناک و آیه شریفه إِنَّ الدِّينَ
/62b/ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ الْإِسْلَامُ¹⁷⁰ معنی سی برله نشاناک بولوب حق سبحانه و تعالی
درگاهیهغه سغینیب¹⁷¹ حضرت رسالت پناهی روحی باشلیغ جمیع انبیاء (و)¹⁷² رسل
ارواح لاریدین استغائه قلیب باباسی سید انا قُدس سِرُّه روحی دین هم إذا تحیرتم
فی الأمور فاستعینوا من أهل القبور¹⁷³ مقتضی سنجه مدد و معاونت استاب غزات
آطیغه آطلانیب جنگ اسبابنی مهیا قلیب کفار ساری یوزلانیب حاضر و ناظر
بولوب تورور ایردی

تقی بر دروازه ده دارا رایت (و)¹⁷⁴ اسکندر درایت رستم مثال و بهرام امثال بار
بولسون اتالیق

شعر

الهی دنیادا اول بار بولسون
همیشه فتح و نصرت یار بولسون

166 <هر کیم اوق: T>

167 <T: —>

168 <ایرور: T>

169 Qur'ān 6: 161.

170 Qur'ān 3: 19.

171 <سیغینیب: T>

172 <Ms.: —>

173 This is a *mawḍūʿ*, or fabricated, hadith. <See 'Alī al-Qārī (d. 1605), *Sharḥ Musnad Abī Ḥanīfa*, ed. Khalīl Muḥyī al-Dīn Almis (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 1985): 227.>

174 <Ms.: —>

بهادرلیق دا هم بولسا کھی¹⁷⁵ یوق
 بوکون تاپسا شهادت هم غمی یوق
 اوز توابع و لواحق لاری برله تورور ایردی
 تقی بر دروازه ده شهر بیکی بلغار ولایتی نینک حاکمی قره عیون السلاطین دره
 صدف العزّ و التمكن مدبر¹⁷⁶ امور الممالک السلطانیّه مفتاح ابواب الخزائن الخانیه
 سلاله الامرا بی بارص بیگ زید قدره نینک بهادرلیق غیرتی حرکت کا کلیب
 دلاورلیک یوراکی تبرانیب هر زمان دیر ایردی کیم
 قطعه

من نه آن باشم که روز¹⁷⁷ جنگ بینی پشت من
 آن منم کاندیر میان خاک و خون بینی سری
 هر که جنک آرد بخون خویش بازی میکند
 روز میدان آنکه بگریزد بخون لشکری¹⁷⁸

بعض دلاوران نامدار و بهادران¹⁷⁹ کام کار نارینی¹⁸⁰ بیگ و آی کلدی¹⁸¹ بیگ
 و آق متای بیگ و جماعه حاجی لر نصرهم الله هر یرده کفار تبه کار هجوم قیلسالار
 الار¹⁸² اول یرکا اوزلارین یتکوروب جان و دل برله مدد و معاونت بیریب کفار

175 That is "his failure and fault."

176 <T: مدیر>

177 <Ms.: روزی>

178 <This is a poem from Sa'di's *Gulistān*. Ḥājji-Tarkhāni's quotation reflects a manuscript variant of the text. See Sa'di, *Gulistān*, ed. Ghulām Ḥusayn Yūsufi (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Khwārazmī, 1368 Hsh/1989): 60, 566.>

179 <T: بهادران>

180 Ms.: without dot. He must be Narik Beg, the father of the epic hero Chora Batır. <Muhammedefendi Osmanov, *Nogaiskie i kumyjskie teksty. Khrestomatiia* (St. Petersburg: Tipografiia Imperatorskoi Akademii Nauk, 1883): 22.>

181 <T: کلدی>

182 <T: —>

سیه کارلار¹⁸³ برله محاربه و مقاتله قیلیب کافرلرنی ییغیب¹⁸⁴ سونکولارین¹⁸⁵ سندریب
غازلیق/63a/ تشریفاتی برله مشرف ایردی لار

القصه ایکی لشکر بری بریکا محاربه و مجادله و مقاتله غه قرشو توردیله

مثنوی

دو رویه¹⁸⁶ صفدران صف برکشیدند

زماهی تابه لشکر کشیدند

سپاه کوه پیکر فوج بر فوج

چنان در روی دریا موج بر موج

سراسر با سنانها زره سم¹⁸⁷

زسر تا پای در آهن شده گم

گرفته هر طرف شیران جنگی

کمان چاچی و تیر خدنگی¹⁸⁸

بو خبر¹⁸⁹ بر سییل تواتر ثابت و محقق بولوب ایردی کیم کفارننک لشکریدا اون
بر اوتلوغ توب بار ایردی بر یخشی توچی هم قاجیب کلیب ایکن ایردی اول توب
لارننک هر بر اوتلوغ جادره سی¹⁹⁰ تخمیناً قران تاشیغه بتان¹⁹¹ بار ایردی اولوغ

183 <T: >سیه کار

184 <T: >یقیب

185 Ms.: سونکولارین.

186 <Ms.: >درویه; T: >درون

187 <T: >زره رستم

188 <T: >خدنگی. This poem is from 'Aṭṭār-i Nishābūrī's *Khusrawnāma*, although Ḥājji-Tarkhānī's text appears to be a selection of verses from 'Aṭṭār's work, rather than being a quotation of a single section. See 'Aṭṭār-i Nishābūrī, *Khusrawnāma*, ed. Aḥmad Suhaylī Khwānsārī (Tehran: Kitābforūshī-i Zuvvār, 2535 Shāhī/1975): 39, 134.>

189 <T: >

190 Radloff explained the word جادره or یادره as the pronunciation of the Russian word *yadro* (kernel) in Kazan. See Radloff, *Versuch*, III/1, col. 376.

191 That is 32 kg in Kazan measure.

لیغی آط طوبره سی¹⁹² چاقلی ایردی اول یادره ایچیدا انواع طلسمات¹⁹³ و اجناس تصرفات لار قیلیب ایردی لار کیم عقل افلاطون حیران قالب¹⁹⁴ فهم ارسطو متحیر و سرگردان بولغای ایردی اول یادره لار تیشیدین¹⁹⁵ تمورلر برله قورشاب یزلار¹⁹⁶ برله توقوب ایچیده نفت سپید قیوب کوکردلار سالیب کیچک توفالچه لار راست قیلیب ایچیندا تورت بش قورغاشیندین یادره لار سالیب مضبوط و مربوط و محکم و مستحکم قیلیب قرانگوقیچه لاردا کیم اتار ایردی لار دیکای ایردینکیز کیم کھیبب مِّنَ السَّمَاءِ فِيهِ ظُلُمَاتٌ وَرَعْدٌ وَبَرْقٌ¹⁹⁷ تیو

تقی اول اولوغ یادره لار دین کیچه لار(دا)¹⁹⁸ سالیب چیقغان هواداغی اوچقون لارنی خیال قیلغای ایردینکیز¹⁹⁹ کیم کوک لارداکی کوکب ثابتات و سیارات لارنی بارچاسینی²⁰⁰ یرکا توشتی تیو

اول اولوغ یادره لار کیچه لار شهر ایچیدا هر یرکا کیم توشار ایردی هیچ کیم ایرسانینک عُرْصَه سی²⁰¹ یوق ایردی کیم ایننک یاویغینه²⁰² باریب²⁰³ سوندرگای

192 That is *torba* <(bag)>.

193 <Ms.: طلسمات لر

194 <T: قالب>

195 That is "from outside," Ms.: تاشیدین.

196 یر that is "copper" in Kazan dialect.

197 Qur'ān 2: 19.

198 <Ms.: کیچه لار

199 <Ms.: ایردی نیکر>

200 <Togan's edition reads پارچاسینی which is obviously a typo for بارچاسینی. The manuscript clearly reads بارچاسینی. Özyetgin corrected the typo in her edition of the text. See Özyetgin, "Astrahanlı Şerifi": 338.>

201 <Ms.: عرصه; T: عرصه. The manuscript clearly reads عرصه and both Togan and Özyetgin adopted this reading without paying much attention to the meaning of the sentence. The word *arşa* does not make any sense, but the word *urşa* in the meaning of "strength" or "ability" completes the meaning of the sentence. See Özyetgin, "Astrahanlı Şerifi": 339; Muḥammad Mu'īn, *Farhang-i Mu'īn* (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Amīr Kabīr, 1966): 11/2290.>

202 That is یاویغینه "to its near." <Ms.: یویغینه. See Özyetgin, "Astrahanlı Şerifi": 339, 408.>

203 <T: باروب>

بیت /63b/

گرچه هر اوتنی یکیب سوندورسا²⁰⁴ بولغای سوقیوببوپلا لیغ اوتنی²⁰⁵ هم سو برله بولماس سوندروب

اما بعض جوانان باجرات²⁰⁶ و دلاوران باهمت المرأ²⁰⁷ یطیر بهمته دکان تیک²⁰⁸
 اوزلارین²⁰⁹ اول اوتغه سمندر تیکین²¹⁰ سالیب باستعانت ملک متعال و استشارت
 عقل فعّال برله اول اوتی انداغ سوندورر²¹¹ ایردی لار کیم آثار و علامت لری
 قالماس ایردی

شعر

سوغه بالیق اوتغه سمندر کراک

ایش کونیدا مرد دلاور کراک

ایرکشی²¹² کا همت اگر بولسا یار

عاقبت الامر مرادین تبار

تقی دورت بیش هوایی توب لاری هم بار ایردی هر بر یادره تاشی برکوه پاره
 ایردی هر وقت کیم اول توب لار آتیلور ایردی اول یادره تاشی قوه قسریه²¹³ محرکه

204 <Ms.: سوندورسا; T: سوندورسا>

205 <T: اوتنی کی>

206 <Ms.: جزءت>

207 <T: المرء>

208 That is saying like *digen tik* <"saying like.">

209 <Ms.: اوزلار دین>

210 <Ms.: بیکین>

211 <T: سوندورر>

212 <T: کیشی>

213 <Ms.: قسیره. Togan's intervention fixes the meaning of the sentence.>

برله قوش تیکین²¹⁴ اوچون²¹⁵ کالطیر یطیر بجناحه²¹⁶ هواغه کیم چیقار ایردی وتری
 الْجِبَالِ تَحْسَبُهَا جَامِدَةً وَهِيَ تَمُرُّ مَرَّ السَّحَابِ²¹⁷ دایره افلاکده بر نقطه تیکین²¹⁸ بولوب
 هوادا یعنی جو السامادا یوروب قوه قسریه سی توکان کان سونکرا میل طبعی سی برله
 کیم توبان اینار ایردی باد صرصر دین تندراق قضا و قدر اوقیدین تیزراق اینیب

شعر

قضا چون زگردون فرو هیشت پر
 همه زیرگان کور کشتند و کر

هر بیرکا توشسا ویرسل الصواعق فیصیب بها من یشاء²¹⁹ منطوقه سنجه²²⁰ اول بیرنی
 بوزوب بیقیب²²¹ هفت طبقه زمین دین اوتار ایردی

شعر

زبالا چوسنگی بزیر آمدی
 زکاو زمین²²² بانگ شیر آمدی

بیت

گویا²²³ آتی سماک و ایندی تا فرق²²⁴ سمک

214 <Ms.: بیکن>

215 <Ms.: اوچوب>

216 <Ms.: بجناحیه>

217 Qur'ān <27>: 88.

218 <Ms.: بیکن>

219 Qur'ān 13: 13.

220 <T: منطوقه سینجه>

221 <Ms.: بیغیب>

222 The bull that carries Earth on its horns <Kujata>.

223 <T: کویا>

224 <T: فرق>

ممکن ایرماس دور بو ایش نینک مینکدا برو صفن دیمک

وسایر ضرب زن لارکا و توفنگ لارکا حساب سان یوق ایردی بو توبلار نینک
صاعقه آسانی نینک سهمناک²²⁵ آواز لاریغه خلاق وهمناک بولوب و تری الناس
سُكَارَى وَمَا هُمْ بِسُكَارَى وَلَكِنَّ عَذَابَ اللَّهِ شَدِيدٌ²²⁶ /64a/ بربرینی تانیاس تیک
بولوب ایردی لار لکل امری²²⁷ مَنَّهُمْ يَوْمَئِذٍ شَأْنٌ يُغْنِيهِ²²⁸ بیزلار حیران و متحیر
بولور ایردک کیم حق سبحانه و تعالی بو کافر بی دین و مشرک با کبر و کین کا بو
اساس ددبه و بولشکر و عسکر بو حشمت و سلطنت بریب بنده نوازیلق قیلغاننا

شعر

سبحان من تحیر فی ذاته سواه
فهم خرد بکنه کمالش نبرده راه²²⁹

شعر

ای کریمی که از خزانه غیب
گبر و ترسا وظیفه خور داری²³⁰
دوستانرا کجا کنی محروم
توکه با دشمنان نظر داری²³¹

القصه ایکی لشکر غرق آهین بولوب بربریکا قرشو توروب محاربه و مجادله کا مشغول
بولدی لار

225 <T: لهمناک>

226 Qur'ān 22: 2.

227 <Ms.: امرأ؛ T: امرء>

228 Qur'ān 80: 37.

229 <Jāmī, Dīwān-i Jāmī: 1/178.>

230 <T: خود داری>

231 From Sa'dī. <Sa'dī, Gulistān: 49.>

بیت

میان دو دیوار آهن بنا
یکی کوچه آموز شهر فنا

شعر

در آمد دولشکر بجنبش چوکوه
کز آن جنبش آمد جهان را ستوه
ز غریدن ناله کرتای²³²

در افتاد تب لرزه بر دست و پای²³³

اون کون انداغ اوروشلار بولدی (کیم)²³⁴ گویا حشرو نشر ایردی

مصراع

آن²³⁵ تیکین غوغا ایردی²³⁶ گویا محشر

232 <Ms.: ز غریده ناله کرتای; T: ز غریده ناله کرتای>

233 From Firdawsī. <Ms.: پای در افتاد تب لرزه بر دست و پای; T: پای در افتاد تب لرزه بر دست و پای>. Togan mistakenly attributes this poem to Firdawsī, but it is from Nizāmī's *Sharafnāma*. The first couplet is a direct quotation from the *Sharafnāma*, but the second couplet is slightly different in the published edition:

ز شوریدن ناله کرتای
بر افتاد تب لرزه بر دست و پای

The first two words of this couplet are also found in the same section of the *Sharafnām ā*:

ز غریدن کوس خالی د ماغ
زمین لرزه افتاد در کوه و راغ

See Nizāmī-i Ganjavī, *Sharafnāma*. In *Kulliyāt-i Ḥakīm Nizāmī-i Ganjavī*, ed. Wahīd Dastgirdī (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Rād, 1374 Hs/1995): 11/1004.

234 <Ms.: —>

235 Just like page 998 (f. 61b) above, the Persian <personal pronoun> *ān* is used instead of the Turkish personal pronoun *o*. <Togan mistakenly refers to line 11 here, but what he means is line 79, where the last line of Ḥājji-Tarkhānī's poem includes the sentence آن تترایور, but since I have not included line numbers in my edition, I refer to the page number of the edition and the folio number of the manuscript.>

236 <Ms.: ایدی>

> شعر < 237

چکاچاک خنجر بگردون رسید
ز شهر قرآن خون بجیحون رسید

بمحمد الله والمئة وعلى نبيه الصلوة والتحية توفيق الهى رفيق²³⁸ وتأيد²³⁹ نامتناهى
همطريق و عناية رب العالمين قرين و ملائك ناصر و معين بولوب آية كريمة وهو
يعلم اينما كنتم²⁴⁰ صدای²⁴¹ روح افزاسى مسلمان لارينك مسامع لاريغه يتشيب آية
شريفه²⁴² إِنْ يَنْصُرْكُمْ اللَّهُ فَلَا غَالِبَ لَكُمْ²⁴³ مقتضى سينجه²⁴⁴ لَقَدْ نَصَرَكُمْ اللَّهُ فِي
مَوَاطِنَ كَثِيرَةٍ²⁴⁶ معنى سى صورت پذير²⁴⁷ بولوندى كفار بد كيش و خطا انديش لارنى
انداغ²⁴⁸ قيردى لار كيم آثار و علامت لرى صحيفه رورگاردين محكوك و مفكوك
بولدى فَقُطِعَ دَابِرُ الْقَوْمِ الَّذِينَ ظَلَمُوا وَالْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ²⁴⁹ قلعه نينك ايكي
يازي سيدا كفار سيه كار انداغ اولوب²⁵⁰ طعمه سگان و لقمه گرك و خرسان بولوب

237 <T: —>

238 <T: —>

239 <T: تأيد>

240 <Ms.: thus. Here there is either a scribal error or the author misquotes the Qur'anic verse. The reference must be to Qur'an: 57: 4, that is **وَهُوَ مَعَكُمْ أَيْنَ مَا كُنْتُمْ** "He is with you wherever you are." Özyetgin mistakenly cites the next Qur'anic verse in her translation of the text. See Özyetgin, "Astrahanlı Şerifi": 350.>

241 <Ms.: صداسى>

242 <T: كريمة>

243 Qur'an 3: 160.

244 <T: مقتضى سينجه>

245 <Ms. ولقد>

246 Qur'an 9: 25.

247 <Ms.: پزير>

248 <T: انداغ>

249 Qur'an 6: 45.

250 Ms.: ادوب

ياتور ايرديلار كيم / 64b/ اياق²⁵¹ بسارغه بر چولا²⁵² ير تبولماس²⁵³ ايردى قترى القوم
 فيها صرعى كانهم اعجاز نخل حاوية فهل ترى لهم من باقية²⁵⁴

شعر

فتاده در آن بهن دشت درشت
 سر ناتراشیده چون خار بیشت

القصه مونونک²⁵⁵ تیک اوروش لار اون آتی شبانه روز متصل لاینقطع بولدی اون
 یتنجی²⁵⁶ کون لشکر کفار تبه کار مخدول و معزول و مردود و مقهور بولوب قایتتی
 الحمد لله الذی نصر عبده واعز جنده وهزم الاحزاب²⁵⁷ وحده

بیت

بخت²⁵⁸ و دولت بکاردانی نیست
 جز بتأیید آسمانی نیست

قطعه

ساقلاسه هر کینی دوشمندن خدای لم یزل
 حاجت ایرماس دور انکا کیماک زره عالی حصار

251 <T: آباق>

252 This is a Kazan and Tümen Turkish word. It means big ladle, a ladle woven from willow branches. See Radloff, *Wörterbuch*, III/2, col. 2023; Schöpflöffel. In Kashgar <Turkic> *çuyile*, that is "there was not a space as big as even a loeffel to step on."

253 <T: تابولماس>

254 Qur'an 69: 7-8.

255 <Ms.: مونونک>

256 <T: بشنجی>

257 <T: الاحزاب هزم و>

258 <T: بخت>

ساقلاماس بولسا تقى يوق²⁵⁹ بو ايكاودين منفعت
سقلاسا ممكن ايماس بر قيلنى كسماك²⁶⁰ ذو الفقار

رجاء كرم²⁶¹ ارباب تحقيق لاردين و اميد الطاف اصحاب توفيق لاردين اول تور
كيم هر محل بو «ظفرنامه» بو صاحب دولت لارينك²⁶² منظور نظر لارى بولونسا
بو فقير كيم معترف دور عجز و قصورى متصف و منصف دور نگاه و عصيانى برله
آينك مراد يغه فاتحه با اخلاص دريغ قيلهاغاي لار رحمه²⁶³ الله عبد²⁶⁴ قال آمنا²⁶⁵
وقعت هذه الواقعة في شهر محرم الحرام سنة سبع و خمسين و تسعمائة منشى هذا
الانشاء الغراء و مسود هذه الصحيفة البيضاء افقر العباد شريف حاجى ترخانى

Translation

The Book of Victory of the Province of Kazan

It is proved by evidence plainly, clearly, openly, visibly, and demonstrably, like the Sun shining above the Earth, to the pure hearts of the discerning ones and the spotless minds of the respected ones that the province of Bulghar is in the seventh of the Seven Climes. It is connected to the Moon, in other words it is under the Moon's protection. As it is mentioned in the books of mathematics, due to the close proximity of this province of Bulghar to the North Pole, the time of one of the five prayer times, that is the night prayer, does not exist at the end of Gemini and the beginning of Cancer,²⁶⁶ because, according to the

259 <T: (يوق). It is not clear to me why Togan put this word in parentheses. The manuscript includes the word and the word itself poses no grammatical or syntactical difficulty in the sentence.>

260 This should read كسون . <The published text is distorted in this footnote. I corrected the sentence based on the second draft (*Yeni tashih*) of the article. See Istanbul Tek-Esin Vakfi Emel Esin Kütiphanesi Zeki Velidi Togan Papers T(279).>

261 <T: كرم رجا و >

262 <Ms.: دولت لارينك >

263 <Ms. رحم >

264 <T: عبد >

265 <T: آمينا >

266 The Sun enters Gemini at the end of May and Cancer in June, so the author basically means at the end of May and the beginning June here. See Özyetgin, "Astrahanlı Şerifi": 342.

Two Imams (i.e. Abū Yūsuf and al-Shaybānī) the dawn is just an afterglow and as it is mentioned in the books titled *al-Kanz*, *al-Wāfi*, and *al-Kāfi*, just before the afterglow's disappearance the time of the morning prayer, that is the dawn, appears. For this reason, the night prayer is not obligatory for those people <living in the province of Bulghar>.

The capital of this Bulghar province, the beautiful city of Kazan, well protected abode of Islam, may she be protected from the accidents of time, is distant from from the Islamic provinces and adjacent to the border with the <lands of> the infidels.

Hemistich:

May no one be a neighbor to Evil

No aid and help comes to it, except that God's assistance is nigh and the angels are protective and supportive. For this reason, as is required by <the customs of> the time, the kings of the well protected city of Kazan cautiously established, as required by the circumstances, mutual relationships with the infidels through the exchange of embassies (*ilchi boyla*) to ensure the prosperity and comfort of their country (*mamlakat*) and the peace and security of their subjects.

Poem:

Security of the two worlds is in the commentary of these two phrases
(*harf*)
Generosity with friends, and caution with enemies

Secondly, when the possessor of the sword and pen, the source of munificence and magnanimity, the late and forgiven Abū al-Ghāzī Šafā Girey Bahadur Khān became the king of the Kazan province, he took upon himself the task that is prescribed in the Qur'ānic verse "Truly the pious shall be in bliss; and truly the profligate shall be in Hellfire, burning therein on the Day of Judgment"²⁶⁷ and in the command of "And fight the idolaters all together,"²⁶⁸ because of the difference of his religion with the infidels in this world and the difference of his abode in the other. In accordance with the Qur'ānic verse "striving in the way

267 Qur'ān 82: 13–14.

268 Qur'ān 9: 36.

of God with their wealth and their selves,”²⁶⁹ he felt content about the meaning of the Prophetic tradition “In the holy war, one of the two best things are either victory and spoils, or martyrdom and Heaven.”²⁷⁰

Verse:

There is such a beauty and elegance for the holy warriors in this world
There is plunder, if they are victorious, and Heaven, if they are martyred

And having been happy with the meaning of the Prophetic tradition “the one who shoots an arrow in the path of God most exalted will be rewarded equal to freeing a slave, so will be the one who hands the arrow, just like the arrow shooter,”

Distich:

Whoever shoots an arrow at the face of the infidels in the name of religion
It is as if he frees a slave for the sake of God
For the ones who hope to attain good deeds through holy war, it is equal
To shoot an arrow or to make a sword

And he considered the meaning of the following Prophetic tradition “Observing a frontier station a day and night is better than fasting and standing for prayer for a whole month, he will be rewarded for the deeds he has performed, he will be given his provision, and he will be safe from the Seducer (*al-fattān*).”

Distich:

Tacking up a horse for a day and night in the hope of holy war is
Better than fasting for a month and praying for a night of good deeds.
If one has God’s provisions and rewards for good deeds, they are their
tombstones on their graves
If not, it is where he will take refuge from the seduction of the Antichrist
(*Dajjāl*).

He hoped for the graceful recompense and abundant rewards from God the most exalted, built the foundation of the building of hostility, severed the

²⁶⁹ Qur’ān 9: 20. See also fn. 97 above.

²⁷⁰ See fn. 98 above.

tie of the unity of friendship, opened the gates of opposition and closed the doors of communication, and by saying “I am an oppressor, if I didn’t take revenge on the oppressor,” he mounted the horse of holy war, and he buckled his well-watered infidel-slaying sword of battle to his blessed belly.

Poem:

The sea birds are the essence of the ocean of his sword
Each one kills a hundred crocodiles on the day of battle

Holding the rein of “Strive with your wealth and yourselves in the way of God”²⁷¹ he put his foot in the stirrup of endeavor and desire and became hopeful inasmuch as “God favors those who strive with their goods and their lives a degree above those who stay behind.”²⁷² He took the opportunity of getting various joys and delights, and types of peace and nobility from the illustrious meaning of the verse “And deem not those slain in the way of God to be dead. Rather, they are alive with their Lord.”²⁷³ In the field of “Thou givest Sovereignty to whomsoever Thou wilt, and wrestest sovereignty from whomsoever Thou wilt”²⁷⁴ he upheld the banner of “(Surely) God strengthens by His help whomsoever He will,”²⁷⁵ and by saying that “How many a small company have overcome a large company by God’s leave!”²⁷⁶ he marched the glorious armies of Islam to those infidels with bad faith and aberrant thoughts, as “They are in manifest error.”²⁷⁷ He used to attack them, massacre them, smash them, and bring innumerable slaves and uncountable plunder.

A very long time passed in this manner. Incidentally the voice of the proclaimer of fate saying “Wheresoever you may be, death will overtake you, though you should be in towers raised high”²⁷⁸ reached the blessed ears of the Khan, and upon hearing the sound of “Say, ‘Truly the death from which you flee will surely meet you,’” the khan (i.e. Şāḥib Girey Khan) immediately presented his neck of acquiescence to the arm of destiny, hoped for mercy and forgiveness from God the most exalted and said “Truly we are God’s, and unto Him

271 Qur’ān 9: 41.

272 Qur’ān 4: 95.

273 Qur’ān 3: 169.

274 Qur’ān 3: 26.

275 Qur’ān 3: 13.

276 Qur’ān 2: 249.

277 Qur’ān 39: 22.

278 Qur’ān 4: 78.

we return,”²⁷⁹ and let go of his hope of being alive and gave up his lust for life by saying “When their term comes, they shall not delay it by a single hour, nor shall day advance it.”²⁸⁰ He drank the sherbet of “Every soul shall taste death”²⁸¹ at the banquet of “All that is upon it passes away”²⁸² from the hands of the cupbearer of “Lord shall give them to drink”²⁸³ and emigrated from the abode of pride to the palace of joy “Such is the decree of the Mighty, the Knowing.”²⁸⁴

Ode:

Alas! In fear of death, the soul under the skin shivers
 Since leaving the soul is a calamity, bodies shiver
 It is the death that makes its weight melancholic and sad
 In fear of death, the fountain of life shivers
 Due to the impact of death among the people in this world
 The stars in the sky and the shining Sun shivers
 Sometimes tearful and upset, sometimes ashamed and fearful
 Sometimes on the loose in hiding, the resplendent Moon shivers
 One cannot defeat death with bribery or war
 That is why, in fear, the khan <and> even the sultan shivers
 Since the fear of death suddenly strikes them in their heart
 In tremors many mountains and deserts shiver
 O Sharīfī! You should be ready before death
 Otherwise, what is the point of saying here this shivers and there that shivers

The infidels were happy with this turn of events and joyful because of the incidents of this inferior world. The Pharaoh-mannered and the Nimrod-figured Ivan the Faithless, that infidel without religion, that haughty and spiteful polytheist, that malefactor of the time, and that gilded celestial mischief-maker, one of two Satans and the leader of a cursed army, approximately eight hundred thousand in number, came with countless heavy soldiers and an abominable army armed with numerous cannons and muskets, “Those who sever what God

279 Qurʾān 2: 156.

280 Qurʾān 7: 34.

281 Qurʾān 3: 185.

282 Qurʾān 55: 26.

283 Qurʾān 76: 21.

284 Qurʾān 6: 96. This long and convoluted paragraph merely reports that Şafâ Girey Khan died in 1549.

has commanded be joined, and work corruption upon the earth, it is they who are losers,"²⁸⁵ and they surrounded the borders of the well-protected province of Kazan and camped around the city and put a siege on it.

The infidel army was no less than a swarm of ants and crickets
They were the descendants of Gog and Magog, not Adam

Ode:

This city of Kazan is a wonderful place of enjoyment in this world
There is no such abode of security in this world
A prosperous city like Kazan cannot always be found in this world
They get their provisions from Kazan, what a city in this world
This place is his dominion (*mulk*) inherited from forefathers, the khans
This place has always been the city of khans, son of khans
He would not sell his land and home to pay his ancestral taxes (*yasaq*)
Why did this cursed one come here, this is not Ivan's city
Sharifi! Do not go from this place, if there is hope for holy war
From now on they should say this is the Lord of the city of Kazan

At one of the gates <of the city> was Mamāy Beg, the son of this country's pillar and this people's guide the late Pulād Beg, and Nūr 'Alī Mīrzā—May God increase the two's merit—who gathered their battle-hardened, men-throwing, and Darius- and Alexander-defeating soldiers by themselves.

Poem:

Warriors line up in front of him
Putting the crown of victory on their head
Each one is a lion in the battlefield
They always strike the enemy with their swords

And at the gate of the Khan Tower (*Khān Mürchāli*) was the hero of the field of gallantry and the lion of the craft of bravery Quzījaq Oghlan—May his authority increase

²⁸⁵ Qur'an 2: 27. See also fn. 149 above.

Poem:

Whoever sees, on the day of battle with infidels,
 The sword of Islam in his hands steadfast
 May they say not even once in their lives:
 There is no hero but 'Alī, there is no sword but Dhū al-Fiḡār

He gathered the talented youth and righteous paladins, when he found them.
 And at another gate was the leader of the paladins and the Alexander of the
 battlefield of bravery, Aq Muḡammad Oghlan—May his life be long

Verse:

He is a Jam in the assembly, and a Rustam in war
 May his shadow never be absent in this place

Poem:

Oh the blue-colored round bell of his horse's neck
 There is the Sun-like bead in the middle of the bell
 Each arrow that the soldiers shoot at the face of the infidels
 Should not be called an arrow, perhaps it is a musket

And at another <citadel> gate was Qul Muḡammad Sayyid, a descendant of the Prophet Muḡammad and the descendant of the Pole of Poles Sayyid Ata and the son of the late and forgiven Sayyid—May his virtue be everlasting. He, himself being in the first place, gathered the youth with dervish-like manners and the ascetic Sufis, and being content with the meanings of the illustrious verses “Say, ‘Truly my Lord has guided me unto a straight path, an upright religion, the creed of Abraham, a *ḡanīf*’”²⁸⁶ and “Truly the religion in sight of God is submission,” they took refuge in the presence of God, and under the leadership of the Prophet Muḡammad they sought the help of the souls of all the apostles and prophets (*anbīyā' va rusul*), and according to “If you are confused about a matter, seek assistance from the people in graves,” he asked for the assistance and help of his father Sayyid Ata—May His Secret be sanctified—he sat upon the horse of holy war, prepared his battle outfit, turned towards the infidels, and waited and watched.

²⁸⁶ Qur'an 6: 161.

At another gate was the one with Darius' flag and Alexander's intelligence, Rustam-like and Behram-resembling, Barbolsin Atalik, who stood by his own subjects and followers.

Poem:

May he live long in this divine world
 May conquest and victory always be his companion
 In heroism he does not lack anything
 If he finds martyrdom today, he does not care

At another gate was the beg of the city and the governor (*ḥākīm*) of the Bulghar province “lustre of the eyes of the sultans, pearl of the mother of pearl of the magnificence and dignity of power, master of the affairs of the sultans' countries, gatekeeper of the treasures of the khans, a descendant of emirs,” Biy Bārş Beg—May his power increase—whose zeal for heroism stirred up and his heart for bravery trembled. He always used to say that

Distich:

I am not one whose back you will see on the day of battle
 you see a head in the midst of the dust and gore, it is mine!
 He who wages war gambles with his own blood, on the day of battle,
 while he who flees plays with the blood of the soldiers.²⁸⁷

Some <other> famous paladins and prosperous champions were Narik Beg, Ay Kildi Beg, Aq Matāy Beg, and the Community of Pilgrims (*jamā'at-i ḥājjīlar*)—May God help them. They would go to wherever the aggressor infidels attack to help and assist <the defenders> with their lives and souls, and they would fight with and slaughter the wicked infidels. They would defeat them, break their spearheads, and would be honoured by the customs of holy war.

In brief, two armies confronted each other to fight with, struggle with, and to massacre each other.

287 Sa'di. *The Gulistan of Sa'di*, ed. and trans. Wheeler Thackston (Bethesda: IBEX, 2008): 14.

Mathnawi:

The two-armies of valiants faced each other
 They deployed armies from fish²⁸⁸ to the Moon
 Mountain-like regiments one after another
 Like wave after wave on the face of the ocean
 Clad all over with spears and Rustam's coat of mail
 From head to toe they disappeared in iron
 Brave lions held every direction
 With their bows from Chach²⁸⁹ and arrows made of poplar

This news is determined and proved through repetitive historical tradition (*tawātur*) that there were eleven fire cannons (*otluğ tob*) in the infidel army. A good cannon maker had also rushed to join them. The fiery cannonball (*otluğ jadrä*) of each one of these cannons weighed approximately one *batman* (32 kg)²⁹⁰ in Kazan stone. They were as big as a horse's feedbag. They filled these cannonballs with such abstruse things and various other stuff (*taşarrufāt*) that Plato's mind would be amazed, and Aristotle's understanding would be astonished and bewildered. They covered the outside of these cannonballs with iron and pounded them with copper, filled them with kerosene (*neft-i sepīd*) and sulfur. They prepared small muskets (*tufangchä*), filled them with four or five lead balls (*qurgash yadrä*), and set up and installed them firmly. They used to fire them even in dark nights and you would say "(like) a cloudburst from the sky, in which there is darkness, thunder, and lighting."²⁹¹

You would think that the sparks that come out of these fire cannonballs in the night sky were as if all the stars and planets in the sky fell to the earth.

Wherever these fire cannonballs fell in the city in the night, nobody was able²⁹² to go nearby and extinguish it.

Verse:

It is possible to extinguish any fire with water
 But such a fire cannot be extinguished by water

288 The fish here must be a reference to Bahamūt, the primordial fish created by God, on which Kujata, the cosmic bull, stands.

289 Chach is the old name of Tashkent.

290 See fn. 191 above.

291 Qur'ān 2: 19. I slightly revised the translation of this verse by replacing "or" with "like" in order to make it more harmonious with the syntax of the preceding English sentence.

292 See fn. 201 above for this word.

But some of the brave youths and spirited warriors, saying that “a person flies by his or her own effort,” threw themselves into that fire like a salamander and extinguished it with the help of the supplication of the exalted king (*malik*) and the deliberation of the active intellect (*‘aql-i fa‘āl*) in such a way that they would not leave behind any sign or mark.

Poem:

Water needs fish, fire needs salamander²⁹³
 A spirited warrior is needed on the day of action
 If <divine> grace helps a man
 He attains what he desires in the end

They also had four or five mortars (*hawāyī tob*), each one of whose bombs (*yādrā tashī*) was a piece of mountain. Whenever they fired these mortars, their bombs flew like a bird by the force of their own velocity (*quvva-i qasriyya-i muḥarrika*), and they would rise in the air <as the saying goes> “a bird flies with its wings” and “And thou seest the mountains that thou dost suppose are solid pass away like clouds”²⁹⁴ and would appear like a dot in the sky (*dā‘ira-i aflāk*). They would fly in the air (*javn al-samā*) and when they exhausted the force of their velocity (*quvva-i qasriyya*) they would come down with their natural trajectory (*mayl-i tabī‘ī*) stronger than a gale and faster than the arrow of the fate and divine decree.

Poem:

When fate is let loose from the vault of heaven like a feather
 All the sagacious ones become blind and deaf

Wherever they fell, as expressed in the statement “He sends forth the thunderbolts and strikes therewith whomsoever He will,”²⁹⁵ they would ruin and destroy, and pass through the seven layers of the earth.

Poem:

When a rock came down from above
 A lion’s roar came from Kujata

293 The salamander was believed to be protected against fire in pre-modern mythologies.

294 Qur’ān 27: 88.

295 Qur’ān 13: 13.

Verse:

As if the fishmonger threw it to the head (*farq*) of the Behemoth
It is not possible to tell the description of the one thousandth of this
affair

There were countless other bombards (*zarb-zan*) and muskets (*tufang*). The people were frightened by the terrifying sound of these cannons' heavenly thunderbolts, "and you will see mankind drunk, though drunk they will not be. Rather, the Punishment of God is severe,"²⁹⁶ and they did not recognize each other, "for every man that Day his affair shall suffice him."²⁹⁷ We were amazed and perplexed that God most exalted—glory be to him—would give such pomp, such army and soldiers, magnanimity, and power to these irreligious infidels and haughty and spiteful polytheists, and that he would flatter his slaves.

Poem:

Praise to Him whose essence amazes those other than him
There is no path of understanding to grasp the true nature of his
perfection.

Poem:

O bountiful one from whose unseen treasure house both Zoroastrian and
Christian are fed
How could you, who gaze with favor upon your enemies, deprive your
friends?²⁹⁸

In brief, the two armies donned with iron shields and weapons, confronted each other, and started fighting and waging war.

Verse:

Between the two iron-built walls
Know that there is a road that leads to perdition

296 Qur'ān 22: 2.

297 Qur'ān 80: 37.

298 Sa'di, *The Gulistan*, 1.

Poem:

The two armies, mountain-like, came into motion,
 From which motion the world became distressed.
 From the screaming of the tube of the trumpet
 Fever-trembling fell upon the hand and the foot.²⁹⁹

The battle in this way continued for ten days and it was like the Day of Resurrection.

Hemistich:

It was a battle (*ghawghā*) like a Day of Resurrection

Poem:³⁰⁰

The clanging of daggers reached the Heavens
 Blood reached from the city of Kazan to the Oxus River

God be praised and grace be upon his Prophet. The prayer and salutation of divine guidance was the companion, infinite assistance was the partner, the providence of the Lord of the Two Universes was nigh, and the Angels were the assistants and supporters. The soul-invigorating sound of the holy verse "He knows you wheresoever you are"³⁰¹ reached the ears of the Muslims and according to the holy verse "If God helps, none shall overcome you"³⁰² the meaning <of the verse> "God indeed granted you victory on many a field"³⁰³ was found to be achievable. They destroyed those impious and sinful infidels so thoroughly that their signs and marks were scattered and obliterated from the pages of the time. "Thus was cut off the last remnant of the people who did wrong. Praise be to God, Lord of the worlds!"³⁰⁴ In the two plains around the city the wicked infidels died in such a way that they lay to be food for dogs and a morsel for wolves and bears and that there was no space as big as a ladle

299 Nizāmī-i Ganjavī, *The Sikandar Nāma, e Barā, or Book of Alexander the Great*. Trans. H. Wilberforce Clarke (London: W.H. Allen & Co., 1881): 335, 337. I have slightly revised Clarke's translation.

300 T: —.

301 See fn. 240 above.

302 Qur'ān 3: 160.

303 Qur'ān 9: 25.

304 Qur'ān 6: 45.

to step on, “thou might see the people felled as if they were hollowed palm trunks. So dost thou see any remnant of them?”³⁰⁵

Poem:

Fell on the joyfulness of that rugged steppe
Unshaven heads like thorns at the back

In a word, the battles continued nonstop in this manner for sixteen days. On the seventeenth day, the wicked infidel army withdrew disappointed, disgraced, repulsed, and vanquished. Praise be to God who alone helps his servant, strengthens his army, and defeats the factions (in the community).

Verse:

Heavenly fortune and prosperity are not a skill
Except that they are none other than the divine endorsement

Distich:

The eternal God protects everyone from the enemy
They do not need a high castle or to wear a shield
If he does not protect them, neither of the two is of any use
If he does protect them, Dhū al-Fiqār can cut not even a hair

The hope for generosity held by inquisitive people, and the expectation for favors held by the possessors of divine guidance, is that wherever this possessor of divine fortune's gaze falls on this *Book of Victory*, may he not deny a Fatiha together with an Ikhlāş for the desire of this poor one, a confessor, whose helplessness and fault are apparent and equitable together with his sins and transgressions. May God praise him as a servant. He said verily we believe!

This event took place in the holy month of Muḥarram in the year nine hundred and fifty seven.³⁰⁶ The scribe of this eloquent composition and the one who blackens these white pages is the poorest of the servants Sharīf Ḥājji-Tarkhānī.

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³⁰⁵ Qur'ān 69: 7–8.

³⁰⁶ Muḥarram 957 = 20 January 1550–18 February 1550.

Since the event narrated here, that is Ivan IV's siege of Kazan and his return after his failure <to conquer the city> in 1550, is not a proud moment for the Russians, Russian historians pass over the episode briefly, noting that "the tsar turned back before the snows started to melt, for concern lest the roads be cut off."³⁰⁷ Hadi Atlasi <1876–1938> and I were not aware of Sharifi's<SHT> account of the very difficult and heroic defense of the city; therefore, we relied entirely on Russian chroniclers and historians on this issue.³⁰⁸ Ivan IV laid siege to Kazan on 13 February and after fighting for eleven days, he abandoned the city together with his army on 25 February. However, Sharifi<SHT> records that Ivan IV lifted the siege on the seventeenth day after surrounding the city for sixteen days. A significant portion of the Russian army had already started the siege at the beginning of the February. Sharifi<SHT> merely states that this event took place in Muḥarram 957, that is between 20 January and 18 February in 1550. Şafâ Girey Khan died in March 1549, his three-year old son Ötemish Girey succeeded him, and his mother Süyünbike ruled as his vicegerent, but actual power remained in the hands of Quzijaq Oghlan. The reason for Ivan IV's desire to invade Kazan was that he thought the death of Şafâ Girey had weakened the khanate. This view was expressed by Sharifi<SHT> as well as Russian sources.

The number of the gates in the city walls of Kazan is given as six; other sources name these gates as Khan Gate, Ataliq Gate, Tümen Gate, Qabaq Gate, Murali Gate, and Qırım Gate. Izboli and Alabuga gates, which may not be public gates, are also mentioned.

Sharifi<SHT> says that the defense of the city was organized in these gates and introduces the commanders of their defense forces.

The first gate mentioned is the one defended by the then deceased Pulād Beg's son Mamāy Beg and Nūr 'Alī Mirzā. The same Pulād Beg is mentioned together with the "sons of Rasov" in Russian sources.³⁰⁹ Among the children of Rasov, that is among the children of a beg called Ras or Rast, Yolbārş Beg is known.³¹⁰ Nūr 'Alī Mirzā must be one of the Noghay mirzas; his name was written as Murali in Russian sources.³¹¹ Murali Gate must be connected to him.

307 Nikolai Karamzin, *Istoriia gosudarstva Rossiiskago*, 8 vols. in 4 tomes (St. Petersburg: Izdanie Evg. Evdokimova, 1892): <VIII>/75; Sergei M. Solov'ev, *Istoriia Rossii c drevnaiskhkh vremen* (St. Petersburg: Obshchestvennaia. Pol'za, 1851–1879): VI/65–66.

308 Ahmadzaki Validi <Togan>, *Türk va Tatar Tārikhī* (Kazan: Millat Kutubkhānasi, 1912): <230>–231; Hadi Atlasi, *Qazān Khānlighī* (Kazan: Ma'ārif, 1914): 224–236; idem. *Süyünbike* (Kazan: Umid', 1914): 20–25; <Hadi Atlasi, *Seber Tarikhy. Söenbikè. Kazan Khanlygy* (Kazan: Tatarstan Kitap Nəshriiaty, 1993): 152–156, 345–355.>

309 Atlasi, *Qazān Khānlighī*: 222; <Atlasi, *Seber Tarikhy*: 344>.

310 Atlasi, *Qazān Qazān Khānlighī*: 212; <Atlasi, *Seber Tarikhy*: 337 (149)>.

311 Atlasi, *Qazān Qazān Khānlighī*: 226; <Atlasi, *Seber Tarikhy*: 347>.

What Sharīfī<SHT> calls “Khan Mürçeli” must be the Khan Gate of the Russian sources. Quzijaq Oghlan was the commander of the forces in this gate, where Süyünbike Khan and her son Ötemish Girey were also positioned together. Russian sources call him Koshchaq’-Oglan.³¹² The word *ulan*, that is *oghlán*, refers to those princes who descended from the lineage of <the Chinggisid> khans. Most of these were the princes who had come from Crimea. Although the defense of Kazan was successful, the real victory belonged to the pro-Russian camp (Bulghars and Chuvashes) among the people of Kazan. The princes and mirzas, who had come from Crimea and Noghay, and their followers (Tatars) were fiercely anti-Russian. Consequently, Crimeans and Noghays had to leave Kazan. However, two princes called Quzijaq Oghlan and Barbolsin Oghlan were defeated in their battle against the pro-Russian Chuvashes; they were imprisoned and taken to Moscow where they were executed.

These battles were very heroic and Quzijaq, just like Narik’s son Chora Batir, became an epic hero. Epic tradition mentions this prince (*oghlán*) as “Qulunchaq Batir,” and the famous poems of this epic narrate his ebullient departure from Crimea together with Chora <Batir> in order to save Kazan, their poetical contests, Qulunchaq’s marriage to Chora’s sister Ay Sulu, how Chora dispatched Qulunchaq back to Crimea while he himself was in Kazan, how Chora’s wife and Ay Sulu contrived a successful trick to bring Qulunchaq briefly back from Crimea, how Qara Duvan, the finance officer (*maliyeci defterdar*), rejoiced when spoils and wealth entered the khan’s treasury, and how Qulunchaq and Chora Batir were happy when the enemy came to the city gates, because they thought they would fight until they were covered in gore.³¹³ Sharīfī<SHT> rates Quzijaq Oghlan in the same rank as ‘Alī b. Abī Tālib.

Aq Muḥammad Oghlan, the defender of the third gate, was also mentioned in Russian sources together with Quzijaq Oghlan and with their children.³¹⁴ When the Kazanians handed over the queen Süyünbike to Moscow, these children were sent with her as hostages.

312 <*Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisei*. Vol. XIX. *Istoriia o Kazanskom Tsarstve* (St. Petersburg: Tipografiia I.N. Skorokhodova, 1903): 511–512 (index).>

313 Osmanov, *Nogaikie*: 24, 28; Berezin, *Turetskaia Khrestomatia* (Kazan: Tipografiia Universiteta, 1862): 11/56; etc. <Although Togan refers to the Chora Batir Epic, what we have is multiple narratives on Chora Batir. I have not attempted to track the themes that Togan mentions here to the available print copies of the narratives of Chora Batir. For a survey of the epic’s variants, see István Seres, “A Crimean Tatar Variant of the *Čora Batir* Epic.” *Acta Orientalia Scientiarum Hung.* 63(2010): 133–138.>

314 Atlasi, *Qazán Qazán Khānlighi*: 239; <Atlasi, *Seber Tarikhy*: 357>.

The defender of the fourth gate, Qul Muḥammad Sayyid, is also mentioned in Russian sources.³¹⁵ His ancestor, Sayyid Ata, was a relative of Aḥmad Yasawī and died in Khwārazm in 1310.³¹⁶ Sharīfī<SHT> presents this sayyid as someone who fought with the zeal of the holy war against infidels as “the leader of a group of young dervishes.” What is important for us is that the Yasawī shaykhs and their disciples as holy warriors (*gazi*) from Khwārazm and Syr Darya basin participated in the defense of Kazan. Defending Kazan as an “Islamic frontier (*Islām thughuru*)” must have been a tradition continuing since the time of Ghazan Khan.

Barbolsin Ataliq, the defender of the fifth gate, appears in Russian sources as Barbolsin Oghlan.³¹⁷ This person was probably the tutor (*dadt*) of the young khan Ötemish Girey. Sharīfī<SHT> depicts him as someone who does not value worldly affairs, fame, and rank, and as a great hero like Darius, Alexander <the Great>, Rustam, and Bahrām Gūr.

The defense of the sixth gate was held by an eminent person called Biy Bārş Beg. He is named as Biy Bārş Rastov in Russian sources.³¹⁸ His father was probably a *beg* called “Rast,” and also the old Azov Castle was called “Rostov” by Russians. Russian sources record that Biy Bārş Beg, together with Qul Sharīf Mulla, was sent to Moscow as an ambassador in 1551. We understand from Sharīfī’s<SHT> account that this person was Kazan’s city *beg* (that is “*şehir emini*”), the governor (*vālī*) of the Bulghar province, and the treasurer of the khan of Kazan.

Sharīfī<SHT> also mentions a reserve force that was in charge of the defense of Kazan under the command of Narik Beg, Ay Kildi Beg, and Aq Matāy Beg. They gave their support to holy warriors (*ghazis*) wherever it was necessary. The Ottoman (*Türkiyeli*) copyist who copied Sharīfī’s<SHT> work into his or her collected volume misread certain names and words. The name ناریج for تاریج must

315 Atlasi, *Qazān Qazān Khānlighi*: 245; <Atlasi, *Seber Tarikhy*: 359>.

316 Fuad Köprülü, *Türk Edebiyatında İlk Mutasavvıflar* (Istanbul: Maḥba’a-i ‘Āmiri, 1918): 105–107 <Fuad Köprülü, *Early Mystics in Turkish Literature*, trans. Gary Leiser and Robert Dankoff (Abingdon: Routledge, 2006): 93–94.>; Ahmedzeki Velidi <Togan>, “Harezmd’e Yazılmış Türkçe Eserler.” *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 2 (1928): 324. <D.M. Iskhakov, *Institut Seyyidov*: 88–89; Devin DeWeese, “Atā’iya Order.” *Elr*, 11, pp. 904–905; idem, “The Descendants of Sayyid Ata and the Rank of *Naqib* in Central Asia.” *JAOs* 115 (1995): 612–634. Sayyid Ata’s relationship with Aḥmad Yasawī is a later invention, attested for the first time in ‘Alī-Shir Nawā’ī’s *Nasā’im al-maḥabba*. Therefore, Qul Muḥammad Sayyid cannot be considered a direct descendant of Aḥmad Yasawī. See ‘Alī-Shir Nawā’ī’s *Nasā’im al-muḥabbat min Shamāyim al-Futuwwat*. Ed. Hamidkhan Islomiy (Tashent: Movarounnahr, 2011): 331.>

317 Atlasi, *Qazān Khānlighi*: 235; <Atlasi, *Seber Tarikhy*: 354>.

318 Atlasi, *Süyünbıke*: <26–27>; <Atlasi, *Seber Tarikhy*: 157–158>.

be the copyist's error. In Russian sources Narik appears as "Chura Narykovich" as the father of the epic hero Chora Batır.³¹⁹ Chora <Batır> is not mentioned in these battles. He is mentioned for his escape to the Noghay Horde due to his conflict with Şafâ Girey and subsequently for his killing by Şafâ Girey.³²⁰ Ay Kildi Beg, whom Sharîfî<SHT> mentions, must be Ay Kildi Abiz, who is mentioned in Russian sources as a member of the embassy that the Kazanians sent to Moscow in 1551 under the command of Khudâyqul Oghlan.³²¹

Sharîfî<SHT> thought that the independence of Kazan was secured once and for all after the victory of February 1550. However, the Crimean commanders like Quzîjaq Oghlan and Barbolsîn Oghlan were not deceived by this temporary success and emphasized the necessity of preparing for serious battles. However, the Kazanians did not join the holy war brigade of twenty thousand soldiers that Quzîjaq Oghlan and Barbolsîn Oghlan gathered, and the Chuvashes, which were outside of the city, were openly pro-Russian and fought against the Crimeans and Noghays, hence disrupting their defensive measures. Even after Quzîjaq Oghlan and Barbolsîn Oghlan left Kazan with five thousand men, the Tatars and other holy warriors who came from Crimea, Noghay, and other places remained collectively in charge of the defense of the city. But the city had lost its strength that forced Ivan IV to retreat in shame in 1550. Consequently, Russians were able to invade the city on 2 October 1552 by launching a new campaign with more German cannons and fifty thousand "servile Tatars (*hademe Tatar*)."

Sharîfî<SHT> language reflects occasionally Kazan's Tümen Tatar dialect (*birge, tutush, tizgün, ash iche, chaqlı, ni chaqlı, yitküriüb, yüz, yadrä, <uçup>, tüşti, su quyup sündürse,*³²² *tükengen, töben, öter, qırdı, ayaq basargha bir chola yir tapılmas*). This <demonstrates> that already at the beginning of the 14th century the language of the Tatars must have become the common spoken language among the Bulghar-speaking local Kazanians after the increase in the population of the "Muslim Tatars (*Müslüman kavm-i Tatar*)."³²³ In other words, today's "Kazan Tatar language" had already become a sufficiently common language as to make an impact on the literary language of the poets at the time of Sharîfî<SHT>. On the other hand, there is also an Ottoman influence, mediated certainly through the Crimeans, on the language of Sharîfî<SHT>.

319 <*Polnoe sobranie*: 524 (index).>

320 *Atlası, Qazân Khânlighi*: 201; <*Atlası, Seber Tarikhy*: 331>.

321 *Atlası, Süyünbike*: <28, where the name is written as آيکيلدی آبيز>; <*Atlası, Seber Tarikhy*: 158>.

322 <This is a reference to the poem on p. 1006 (f. 63b) above, but the text reads as cited above. Togan's transliteration here reads "su quyub sündüriv.">

323 <The syntax of this sentence is inconsistent in its different components. I have tried to repair it by adding the verb "to demonstrate.">

For the most part Sharīf's <SHT> language is the elaborate literary Chaghatay in the style of 'Alī-Shīr Nawā'ī. It is obvious that the simple Yasawī style Turkic poems written by poets with the penname Qul Sharīf or just Sharīf cannot be the poems of Sharīf. <SHT> There are about thirty-six odes (*qaṣīda*) in the manuscript and printed copies of the *Bāqirgān Kitābī* written by poets with these pennames.³²⁴ In fact, we know about the identity of Muḥammad Qul Sharīf or Sharīf. He introduces himself as "if you ask my origin, I am an Uzbek of the Japhetic line."³²⁵ He was a Yasawī shaykh called Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī, who lived at the time of 'Abd al-'Azīz Khān, an Ashtarkhanid in Bukhara, and died in 1109 AH/1697. His treatise titled *Hujjat al-dhākīrīn*, a mixed Turkic and Persian work, as well as his Turkic and Persian *dīwān* titled *Dīwān-i Sharīf*³²⁶ is in the Ali Emiri Library, Reşit Efendi 372.³²⁷ However, among simple Sufi poems in Turkic included in Aḥmad Yasawī's *Dīwān-i Hikmat* there is a poem (lit. *hikmat*) of eighteen hemistiches by a poet bearing the pen name Sharīfī.³²⁸ As well as being written in a more eloquent language than that of the other Qul Sharīf, it also carries the marks of the Kazan Tatar dialect (for example, *tuygan, siygen, ütkerdiñ, çürür, tilmirir*). This poem may be a work of our "Muḥammad Sharīf Ḥājjī-Tarkhānī." Sharīf <SHT> could write poems in Persian, he was well informed about the classical Persian poetry, including Firdawsī and had a good command of Arabic, and his Qur'ānic quotations are apposite. He is informed about the theory of physics, as he uses the term *ḥarakat-i qasriyya* (dynamic motion), which is a physics terminology.³²⁹ The text demonstrates

324 <See, for instance, Pseudo-Sulaymān Ḥakīm Ata, *Bāqirgān Kitābī* (Kazan: Tipolitografiya Naslednikov' M.A. Chirkovoi, 1907): 28–29. See also Zeki Velidi Togan, "Yeseviliğe Dair Bazı Yeni Malūmat." In *Fuad Köprülü Armağanı*. 60. *Doğum Yılı Münasebetiyle* (Ankara: Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Yayınları, 1953): 525–526. H.F. Hofman refers to this poet as Sharafī and Qul Sharafī. See H.F. Hofman, *Turkish Literature. A Bio-Bibliographical Survey* (Utrecht: The Library of the University of Utrecht, 1969): v/245.>

325 <This poem is found in the *Dīwān-i Hikmat* and published by Önal Kaya. See Kaya, "Kul Şerif": 136.>

326 <T: *Dīvan-ı Şerifi*. Togan had already clarified this point in his 1928 article on the Turkic works written in Khwārazm. See Togan, "Harezmi'de Yazılmış": 329.>

327 <Ali Emiri's collection is in the Millet Library in Istanbul today. See Sharīf, *Dīwān-i Sharīf*. Istanbul Millet Kütüphanesi Ms. Reşit Efendi 372, ff. 247b–316b. As far as I can see, this *dīwān* includes just one Turkic poem on f. 307a. This manuscript includes Mawlānā Muḥammad Sharīf al-Bukhārī al-'Alawī's other works including the famous *Hujjat al-zākīrīn* (ff. 1b–246b). For this work, see Devin DeWeese, "The Yasawī Order and Persian Hagiography in Seventeenth-Century Central Asia." In *The Heritage of Sufism* Vol. III *Late Classical Persianate Sufisms*, ed. Leonard Lewisohn and David Morgan (Oxford: Oneworld, 2007): 392–393.>

328 <Pseudo-Aḥmad Yasawī, > *Dīwān-i Hikmat* <*Kitāb-i Dīwān-i Balāghat*>. (Istanbul: Maṭba'a-i Maḥşūsa-i 'Osmāniyye, 1299/1882):> 255, and again 264.

329 <Actually, Ḥājjī-Tarkhānī uses the term *qurva-i qasriyya*. Togan must be quoting from *Resimli Kāmūs-i 'Osmānī* here. See, Özyetgin, "Astrahanlı Şerifi": 358.>

that the debate that was rekindled in the 19th century about the time of the dawn prayer and its invalidity in northern countries and longitudes due to the white nights had also been discussed according to the theory of Ḥāfiẓ al-Dīn Nasafī at the time of Sharīfī<SHT>.

When I summarized my research on the Bulgars in my work on Turkish history published in 1912, I mentioned that the Bulgars were far from being warriors, but they were merchants and acted according to the principle that “a sword does not cut a bowed neck.”³³⁰ They fought with the Russians only to defend themselves, not to spread Islam. However, the poet Sharīfī<SHT> describes the Kazanians as a warrior people (see ff. 60b–61a; pp. 993–996 [text] and pp. 1013–1015 [trans.]), who have been launching razzias against the Russians, bringing spoils and slaves, and enjoying war for the sake of holy war (*cihad*) since olden times, especially during the reign of Şafā Girey Khan. The Italian <historian> Paolo Giovio <1483–1552> in his account of the year 1526 describes the Kazanians as a very peace-loving people who wanted to be on good terms with Russia, but at around the same time, in the writings of the German ambassador <Sigismund von> Herberstein on the Kazan Khanate it is mentioned that the Chuvashes were called to the Tatar army as archers, and the Tatars were a developed political and military entity, they were warriors, and that they were more civilized and settled in comparison to the other Tatars of the Golden Horde.³³¹ In the Ottoman report <sic> on the Astrakhan Campaign found in a collected volume (*Majmū'a* No. 3394) in the Hacı Mahmud Efendi

330 Togan, *Türk va Tatar Tārīkhi*: 198.

331 <Sigismund von Herberstein [Baron Gerbershtein], *Zapiski o Moskovii* (*Rerum Moscoviticarum Commentarii*), anonymous translation (St. Petersburg: Tipografia v Bezobrazova i Komp. 1866): 139; *Notes upon Russia* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1852): 11/58. Togan does not provide a specific reference for Paolo Giovio, but his reference must be to *Libellus de legatione Basili Magni Principis Moschoviae*, a short treatise comparing the political systems of the Muscovite Rus', the Kazan Khanate, and the Noghays with the oligarchic political system of the Republic of Venice. Giovio's text is based on his conversations with Dimitri Gerasimov, the ambassador of the Grand Duke of Moscow to the Papal palace in Rome in 1525. The information that Togan refers to can be found in the following reference, though we cannot be sure if Togan did indeed use this source. Paolo Giovio, *Libellus de legatione Basili Magni Principis Moschoviae* (Rome: Franciscus Minitius Calvus, 1525): f. 7r: “But those Tatars, who inhabit the broad plains between the Tanais and Volga rivers in Asia, obey Basilius of the Muscovites, and sometimes choose their emperor by his judgement (*It vero Tartari qui inter Tanaim & Volgam amnem in Asia latos campos inhabitant, Basilio Moschovitarum regi parent, & Imperatorem aliquando eius iudicio deligunt.*)” This passage was published in the following article: Giampiero Bellingeri, “Scorci veneziani sulla regione del Mar Nero (secoli xv–xix).” In *La Crimea tra Russia, Italia e Impero ottoman*, ed. Aldo Ferrari and Elena Pupulin (Venice: Università Ca' Foscari Venezia, 2017): 108. On Giovio and his treatise, see T.C. Price Zimmermann, *Paolo Giovio. The Historian and the Crisis of Sixteenth-Century Italy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995): 66–67; Stéphane Mund, *Orbis Russiarum. Genèse et développement*

Library, the “Kazan Tatars” were described as very “political and active Muslims,” and they encouraged the Ottomans to pursue a grand strategy against Russia, and for this purpose to connect the Don and Volga rivers in order to put the Gilan and Tabaristan coasts, that is the Caspian Sea, under the Ottoman sphere of influence, and they were able to convince (*kandırabildikleri*) the Ottomans.³³² These reports, which are seemingly in contradiction, are both true. The “peace-loving” ones were those who were the original residents of the country, and the ones who are described as “belligerent holy warriors” were those “Tatars” who converted to Islam at the time of the Chinggisids and founded the city of Kazan. Now the collected publication of tombstone inscriptions provides written evidence for the dual strata of the Muslim peoples in the Kazan and Bulghar regions. Some of those <tombstones> can be dated to the mid-14th century or earlier and they were written in simple kufic calligraphy.³³³ Even the tombstones of those “Tatar” or “Turkmen” women who married Bulghar men are similar to this <format>.³³⁴ Other tombstones are in the style of the elegant and exquisite Ilkhanid and Timurid tombstones of Khorasan and Azerbaijan, and they were written in *thuluth* script in Eastern Turkic or Arabic. These are the works of the “Tatars.” Therefore, the word “Tatar” did not mean “Mongol,” as in the case of early Ottoman Anatolia.³³⁵ It meant Eastern Turks who came from the East with the Qarakhitays and the Chinggisids. Like the <tombstone> inscriptions, Sharifī’s<SHT> poems have brought down to us the terms and words that reflect the originality of this dialect. One of these <tombstone> inscriptions in the “Old Kazan” cemeteries, dated to 900/1494, has come down to us.³³⁶ In my earlier published works I surmised that the Kazanians were called Tatars due to the Russian influence.³³⁷ Like many of my other mistakes, Ottoman sources have allowed me to correct this mistake of mine as well. Since they <i.e. the Tatars> were the most active element in the Kazan’s fight against the Russians, the name “Kazan Tatar” replaced the old name “Bulghar” among the Ottomans even in the mid-16th century.

The collected volume No. 2348 <in the Zeytinoğlu Library> that includes Sharifī’s<SHT> work also includes works like Lāmi‘ī’s commentary on the

de la représentation du monde «russe» en Occident à la Renaissance (Genoa: Librairie Droz S.A., 2003): 201–203.>

332 *Majmū‘a*. Istanbul Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi Ms. Hacı Mahmud Efendi 3394, f. 62a. <See also fn. 73 above.>

333 The latest extant tombstone with a date on it is from 756 AH/1355–<1356>.

334 Iusupov, *Vvedenie*: pl. 7 and 41.

335 <See fn. 352 and 353 below.>

336 Iusupov, *Vvedenie*: pl. 54.

337 <Togan>, *Türk va Tatar Tārihi*: 181; Togan, *Umumî*: 64 =< *Umumi*: 1/93–94.>

Gulistān <by Sa'dī> and a Persian-Turkish dictionary.³³⁸ In various places of the manuscript, there are references suggesting that the treatise was written in Jumāda I and Jumāda II 970, that is the beginning of 1563.³³⁹ In other words, Sharīfī's <SHT> work was included in this manuscript just thirteen years after its composition at the beginning of 1550. Besides being an important example of the Eastern Turkic literature that developed in the middle-Volga region, the significance of the treatise comes from the fact that it clearly shows that the defense of the city of Kazan was not just a locally organized event, but it involved the holy warriors (*gaziler*) of Crimea, Astrakhan, Nogay Horde (*Nogayistan*), and the Syr Darya basin, and that this event was the continuation of collective measures that had been taken against the growing power of the Christians in the Western Golden Horde since the early 14th century. It also caused the spread of Muslim Turkic culture, which had been developed by the Chinggisids and Timurids in Tabriz and Herat, to the Middle Volga region. This ideal of "ghaza" is described in the epic of Chora Batır as "destroying the monasteries of the advancing infidels, building white mosques (*ak mescitler*) in their place, and from them reciting call to prayer in the name of God."³⁴⁰ Therefore, as Herberstein noted, not only the Chuvashes, "the rowers of the Volga," but also the inhabitants of a wide region from Vyatka to Nizhnii Novgorod, namely the "archer Cheremises <i.e., Maris>," had completely converted to Islam; hence if the Ottomans wished to rescue Kazan after the Russians invaded the city, they would help the Ottomans (*Turkey*) with 66,000 soldiers. Kazan Tatars made the proposal of building the Volga-Don Canal project to the Ottomans before the khans of Khiva and Bukhara made a similar proposal <to the Ottomans> because of the invasion of Astrakhan <by the Russians> and the closure of the roads.³⁴¹ The holy warriors of Kazan (*Kazan gazileri*) reemerged due to <Süleyman> the Lawgiver's active anti-Russian politics after 1535, but they were either destroyed by the Russians or escaped to Crimea and the Urals after the invasion of the city <by the Russians> in 1552 and the revolt in 1555. After the 1563 Volga-Don enterprise and the failure of the Astrakhan campaign <of the Ottomans>, and after the death of Şafâ Girey Khan in 1572, the group of "servile Tatars (*sluzhylie Tatory*)," whom the Russians conscripted into the Qasim <Khanate>, stood by the Russians actively and this significant change showed its full impact during the Bashqort revolts in the 17th and 18th centuries. The holy war tradition (*ghaza ananesi*) in Kazan started in 1298 with

338 <See the translator's introduction above for the contents of this manuscript.>

339 <*Majmū'a*. Tavşanlı Zeytinoğlu İlçe Halk Kütüphanesi Ms. 43 Ze 375, f. 68a.>

340 <Osmanov, *Nogaiskie*: 29–30.>

341 Halil İnalçık, "Osmanlı Rus-Rekabetinin Menşei ve Don-Volga Kanal Teşebbüsü (1569)." *Bellekten* 12 (1948): 369–373; <Togan, *Bugünkü Türkîli*: 128–130. Togan also published a popular article on the subject, see idem, "Edil-Ten Kanalı Meselesi." *Çınaraltı* (1942).61: 10.>

the foundation of the city and continued in full swing for one and a half centuries <sic> until 1550.

Postscript

The fact that the name of the city and the province of Kazan is written as “Ghāzānī” in Timur’s letters and as “Ghāzāniyya” with the Arabic *nisba* suffix in Ottoman Turkish demonstrates that the name was derived from someone called Ghazan. Although the fact that Ghazan Khan sent holy warriors (*ghazis*) to Bulghar is not clearly stated in Hacı Mahmud Efendi 3394 <i.e. the extract from Kātib Çelebi’s *Tuhfet* on the Astrakhan campaign>, there is clear mention of the fact that a “group (*cemaat*)” from the Tatar tribe who converted to Islam during “the reign of Maḥmūd Ghazan Khan” came for the purpose of “holy war (*gazā*)” to the place that took the name of Kazan at that time, and made it their “homeland (*vatan*),” and they were known as the “Tatars of Kazan (*Kazan Tatarı*).” They and other holy warriors (*ghazis*) who came from abroad brought the Iranian culture and idioms which had already been accepted by the Turkic peoples who lived in Azerbaijan and Khorasan. The idioms and traditions that can be found among the Kazanians, but not among the neighboring Tatars, Noghays, Bashkirs, and Kazakhs would prove this point. In addition to the word “bistè” on urban life, which I discussed above, the words and terms, which are mentioned as the Kazan Tatar words in Russian sources, such as kitchen terminology, for example “bèlesh <pastry>” from the Persian word “bālīsh” for pillow, social terminology, “molzad” from the word “mullā,” “sheizgad” from “shah <sic>,”³⁴² and “seit” from “sayyid” are noteworthy.³⁴³ The German ambassador Baron Herberstein, who reported some information about Kazan in 1526 <writes as follows> about the great respect people showed towards sayyids: “Khans welcome them (the sayyids), they kiss their hands when they arrive on horse, other begs kiss their horses’ stirrup, the remaining notables kiss their feet, and common people kiss only their skirts or their horses.”³⁴⁴ This

342 <Togan connects the word “shehzāda” with the word “sheykh,” but this must be a typo, because the word “shehzāda” comes from “shah > sheh.”>

343 *Polnoe sobranie*: <392. Togan’s prose is rather confusing here. He translates Russian terms into Turkish, and then gives their Persian origins. In his description, the terms “molzade” comes from “mulla,” “şehzade” from “şeyh,” and “seyyidzade” from “seyyid.” In my translation I have quoted from the Russian original.>

344 <Sigismund von Herberstein, *Rerum Moscoviticarum Commentarii*.> <1866> Russian edition, p. 146 <Baron Gerbershtein, *Zapiski o Moskovii* (*Rerum Moscoviticarum Commentarii*), anonymous translation (St. Petersburg: Tipografia v Bezobrazova i Komp. 1866): 146; *Notes upon Russia*: 11/68.>

is exactly the kind of respect that had started during the reigns of the khans Ghazan and Öljeitü under the influence of Shi'ism, and then become common in Azerbaijan.

In the 13th century the Bulgars constituted the majority of the population in the Bulghar region, but this situation changed in the 14th century. It seems that the Tatars settled en masse after the northern Bulghar region became Batu (Sayin) Khan's appanage (*öz yurt*). For, according to Rashīd al-Dīn, the senior wife (*büyük hatun*) of this khan, Buraqchin Khatun, was from the large Alchi Tatar tribe, which had about seventy subdivisions.³⁴⁵ The Tatars who were in the retinue of this khatun and khan provided the actual support <for Batu's dispensation.>³⁴⁶ It seems that the Muslim Bulgars did not neglect the task of spreading Islam among the grandchildren of Batu. Although Toqtagu Khan, the grandson of Batu, was loyal to Shamanic traditions, he was a Muslim like his mother Öljeitü Khatun, who came from the family of Muslim Qongrat begs.³⁴⁷ His son and successor Ilbasar was a genuine and devout Muslim.³⁴⁸ Toghrilcha, the nephew of Toqtagu and the father of the great Özbek Khan, was also a genuine Muslim.³⁴⁹ The Qongrat begs Salchiday Küregen and Qutlugh Temür Küregen, who were the viziers of first Toqtagu and then Özbek, were also Muslims. They certainly welcomed the *ghazis* and proselytizers who were sent by Ghazan Khan to help the spread of Islam in their own appanages (*yurt*) in the northern Bulghar region. The Tatars who came from abroad merged with tribes such as the Alchi Tatar, who had settled earlier in the "appanage of Sayin Khan (*Sayin Khan yurdu*)," and the notables of the Muslim Bulgars gradually accepted their language.

The Kazan <Tatar> language and the "Tümen Tatar" language of Western Siberia seem to be similar to each other in the 16th century as well. The village life and agriculture among those Tatars living in northern regions were more or less advanced. Ötemiş Hâjji calls the ones on the side of the Ural <Mountains> as "Manghit villages."³⁵⁰ It seems that Kazanians were inspired

345 <Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh*: 1/89.>

346 <Togan seems to be suggesting that the Alchi Tatar tribe constituted the bulk of Batu's military power.>

347 Murād Ramzī, *Talfīq al-akhbār wa talqīh al-athār fī waqā'i Qazān wa Bulghār wa Mulūk al-Tatār*, 2 vols. (Orenburg: Tipo-Litografiya Karimov, Khusainov, 1908): 1/500–501.

348 Ramzī, *Talfīq al-akhbār*: 1/502, 509.

349 Mu'īn al-Dīn Naṭanzī, *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh-i Mu'īnī*, ed. Jean Aubin (Tehran: Chāpkhāna-yi Haydarī, 1336 Hsh/1957–58): 82.

350 <Ötemiş Hâjji, *Kara Tavarikh* (sic), ed. and trans. I.M. Mirgaleev (Kazan: Sh. Marjani Institute of History, 2017): 83 (trans.), 158 (text). Mirgaleev misnumbered the folio numbers of the text. The reference should be to folio 74b, not to 75a. I made the correction based on the microfilm of the Istanbul manuscript in the Süleymaniye Library. See Istanbul Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi Microfilm Archive 106, f. 74b. Togan's wording is rather

by the Bulghar culture and the Tümen <Tatars> from the Nayman culture.³⁵¹ Hāfız-i Abrū calls the Tatars in Anatolia as “Qara Tatar Turkmens.”³⁵² They were definitely Eastern Turkic-speakers, not Mongolian-speakers.³⁵³ There

vague in this sentence, as he does not really specify where these “Manghit villages” are. Ötemiş Hājjī says that the Manghit villages are known as the city of Tura city (*Shahr-i Tura*), which was most probably the Chimgi-Tura, the erstwhile base of the Shibanid Abū al-Khayr and later the center of the Tura Shibanids. Therefore, Togan seems to be referring to the east of the Volga River, the area towards Tyumen. See Togan, *Bugünkü Türki: 138*; Denis Maslyuzhenko, “Tyumen and the Siberian Yurts.” In *The Golden Horde in World History*, ed. Rafael Khakimov and Marie Favereau (Kazan: Sh. Marjani Institute of History, 2017): 794. Vadim Trepavlov states that gradually Noghays settled on the eastern bank of the Volga River as well. Therefore, Togan’s statement here means basically the Manghit yurt on the east of the Volga River. See Vadim Trepavlov, “The Manghit Yurt (the Nogai Horde.” In *The Golden Horde in World History*, ed. Rafael Khakimov and Marie Favereau (Kazan: Sh. Marjani Institute of History, 2017): 829.>

351 The “appanage of Taybuga (*Taybugha yurdu*)” is mentioned by Ötemiş Hājjī as well as by the Russian sources. <Ötemiş Hājjī, *Kara Tavarikh* (sic): 84 (trans.), 158 (text); Istanbul Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi Microfilm Archive 106, f. 75a.> There is evidence for the fact that this Taybugha was the eponymous khan of the Naymans, who were expelled to the north by Chinggis Khan. See V.V. Veliaminov-Zernov, *Issledovanie o Kasimovskikh tsariakh i tsarevichakh* (St. Petersburg: Tipografiya Imperatorskoi Akademii Nauk, 1864): 11/386–392, the information collected for the Stroganovs). This place was already mentioned as “Nayman lands” in the 17th-century maps. See Sven Hedin, *Southern Tibet* (Stockholm: Lithographic Institute of the General Staff of the Swedish Army, 1917–1922): I, plate 26, VII, plate 17.

352 <*Jamā’at-i Turkmanān-i Qara Tatar.*> Hāfız-i Abrū, *Jūghrāfiyā*. London British Library Ms. Or. 1577, f. 326a.

353 Togan, *Umumi*: 258, <263, 452–453 (= *Umumi*: 1/374, 380–81, 11/735.> I believe this issue will be better understood after more research on “Tatar tombstones” in Uzun Yayla. For the question of the language of the Alaqchin Tatars, see Zeki Velidi Togan, “The Composition of the History of Mongols by Rashīd al-Dīn.” *Central Asiatic Journal* 7 (1962): 66. <Togan’s reference to Uzun Yayla demands an explanation here. From the context it is obvious that he is referring to a place in Anatolia. It is very likely that the Uzun Yayla that he is referring to is Uzunyayla, a high central Anatolian plateau on the east of Kayseri and south of Sivas divided by the Zamantı River. The Mongols in Anatolia used this place as their summer pasture in the 13th century. The famous interregional marketplace called Yabanlu Pazarı was located on the southern edge of this plateau, in a place close to today’s Pazarören. In the 19th century, Uzunyayla was one of the major locations where Circassians were settled after the Circassian Genocide of 1864. The region continued to attract refugees from Russia throughout the 19th century, and after the 1877–78 Russo-Turkish war, Crimean Tatars and Noghays were also settled in the region. It is not clear to me whether Togan is referring to the Mongol tombstones of the 13th century or Noghay or Crimean Tatar tombstones of the 19th century. I have been unable to locate Togan’s reference to Tatar tombstones in Uzunyayla. He may be relying on his own field trips for this information. The Uzunyayla Circassians had very distinctive tombstones, and either Tatars and Noghays of the region had a similar tradition, or Togan confused Circassian tombstones with Tatar/Noghay tombstones. This point requires further field research in the future. For Yabanlu Pazarı and further references, see Faruk Sümer, *Yabanlu Pazarı. Selçuklular*

were the “silver-covered (*gümüř örtülü*) Alaqchin Tatars in the [...] basin.³⁵⁴ While Eastern Turkic literature flourished among the Kazan Tatars, there is also evidence for mutual interactions between the Tümen Tatars and the Timurids in the fields of painting and art.³⁵⁵ The interactions of the Tümen Tatars with Bukhara continued even after the 16th century, and they became a center of Islamic proselytism. There were groups <among the Tümen Tatars> who met every week to read Mawlānā’s *Mathnawī*.³⁵⁶

<Summary:> Islamic Culture in the Khanate of Kazan

In the *Majmū’a* of Hacı Mahmud Efend Library (Süleymaniye) is preserved a one-page record about the “Astrakhan Campaign” of Selim II in the year 1568.³⁵⁷ This record informs us that a group of Tatars <who had> converted to Islam at the time of the Ilkhanid Sultan Maḥmūd Ghāzān Khan proceeded to the country (on the Volga) to combat the infidels (*ghazā*). They were also active after the fall of the “Kingdom of Ghāzānī (*dawlat-i Ghāzāniyya*),” corresponded with the Ottoman rulers and caused them to establish a canal between the Ten (Don) and Atil (Volga). It was said that such an undertaking would <be> very useful for the supply of the (Ottoman) troops in Demir-Kapı (Derbend) and Shirwan and to increase the Ottoman power on the shores of the Sea of Gilan and Tabaristan. The town Kazan was, according to the later reports, <founded> in 1298 (thus during the reign time <sic> of Ghazan Khan) by a khan named Ghazan on the place of “Eski Kazan” and after 104 years (i.e. <in> 1402) was removed (*sic*) to Kazan, the capital of the khanate. According to Tatar and Russian sources the basin of the Kazan River was the “Summer”

Devrinde Milletlerarası Büyük Bir Fuar (Istanbul: Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları Vakfı, 1985): 21–23; for the Circassians of Uzunyayla, see Eiji Miyazawa, “Memory Politics: Circassians of Uzun Yayla, Turkey.” Unpublished PhD diss. SOAS, University of London, 2004; Vladimir Hamed-Troyansky, “Imperial Refuge: Resettlement of Muslims from Russia in the Ottoman Empire, 1860–1914.” Unpublished PhD diss. Stanford University, 2018): 198–258. For an inventory of Tatar and Noghay settlements in Uzunyayla today, see Hakan Kırmırlı, *Türkiye’deki Kırım Tatar ve Nogay Köy Yerleşmeleri* (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2011): 431–435, 575–578; and for the Circassian tombstones, see Ömer Karataş, “Çerkeslerin Sivas-Uzunyayla’ya İskânları ve Karşılaştıkları Sorunlar (H.1277–1287/M.1860–1870).” Unpublished Ph.d. Dissertation (İzmir: Ege University, 2012): 275–276, 382–383.>

354 <There is something missing in this sentence and I have been unable to repair it according to the earlier drafts of the article.>

355 Zeki Velidi Togan, “Topkapı Sarayındaki Dört Cönk.” *İslâm Tetkikleri Enstitüsü Dergisi* 1(1954): 84.

356 Ramzî, *Talfîq al-akhbâr*: 11/433.

357 *Majmū’a*. Istanbul Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi Ms. Hacı Mahmud Efendi 3394, f. 62a.

residence (*yurt*) of Batu (Sayin) Khan. The grandsons of Batu, Toqtagu, the son of this Ilbasar, and the brother Toghrolcha were Muslims. Ghazan Khan obviously was interested in the strengthening of the preaching of Islam in this country as he was in <the> north-western provinces of China in Kansu and Tangut, the prince of the land of Ananda, the Muslim grandson of Khubilai. The main strength of Batu were the Alchi Tatars, the tribe of his grand khatun Buraqchin. The “Muslim Tatars” of Ghazan Khan had perhaps joined with these Alchi Tatars, the court guards of the grandsons of Buraqchin Khatun.

The *Majmū'a* No. 2548 in the Zeytinoğlu Library in Tavşanlı (near Kütahya) contains a <10-page-long> report of the Kazanian poet <Sharīfī'sHT> (Ḥājjī Muḥammad Sharīf Ḥājjī Tarkhanī) to Ottoman rulers about the successful defense of Kazan in February 1550 against the Tsar Ivan IV. The language of this *Zafarnāma* is an excellent Chaghatay, namely in the style of 'Alishir Navā'i, but contains dispersed words, idioms, and phrases in the local “Kazan Tatar” dialect, which was like the language of “Tümen Tatars” of western Siberia and the Qara and Aqtatars of Asia Minor of the 14th century eastern Turkish <sic, Turkey>.

Together with the Tatars in the Khanate and in the town of Kazan itself lived the Muslim Bulghar-Chuvashes, in the 13th century, being certainly the majority of the population. <Until the middle of the>³⁵⁸ 14th century the inscriptions of the unpolished “Bulghar tombstones” were in Bulgharian Chuvash language written in Arabic, <and in> kufi <script>. After the year 756 AH/1355 we see the Muslim tombstones written exclusively in Eastern Turkic. These “Tatar tombstones” are well polished in <the> Iraq or Khorasan Muslim tombstone style and carefully written in *naskh* or *thuluth* <scripts>, sometimes only in Arabic language. The Bulghar and Chuvash played <a> passive role in the fights against the Russians. The “Kazan-Tatars” appear on the contrary as a political element, as religious soldiers (*ghāzīs*), who assumed the Islamic traditions of the combat against the infidels, like the *ghāzīs* on the Byzantine frontiers (*thughūr*) of Islam. Contrary to other Tatars, the Kazan Tatars had more words borrowed from Persian in the field of urbanism (*bista* for Arabic *rabḍ*, “suburb”), culinary art (*belish*, Persian *bālish*, biggest rice cake), agriculture and administration. They had more respect for the sayyids, the descendants of the Prophet as described by Baron Herberstein in the year 1526. Such elements of Persian culture were brought to the northern regions of Bulghar certainly by the Muslim *ghāzīs* and other propagandists of Islam. The sayyids mentioned by Sharīfī'sHT were originally from Khwārazm. Sharīfī'sHT literary language is the most important witness of the cultural influence of Herat in Kazan, the country which was in <the> 13th century, as related by <S.M.>

358 <T: Till the midst of.>

Shpilevskii,³⁵⁹ exposed to the great danger of being occupied by the Russian pioneer colonists.

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Appendix 1: References

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359 <T: A. Shpilevsky.>

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Appendix II: Facsimile of *Zafarnāma-i Vilāyat-i Qazān*. Tavşanlı Zeytinolu İlçe Halk Kütüphanesi Ms. 43 Ze 375, ff. 60a–64b.
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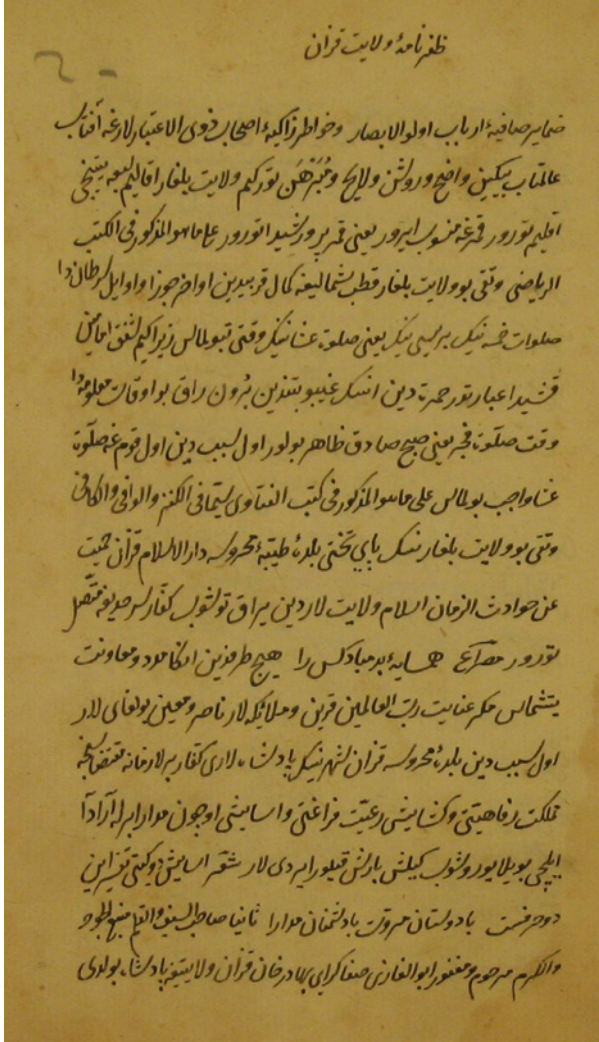


FIGURE 1 60a

ايرسا بوقار بر ل دنياد ادينى واقترنا اوى بالقائليتين ان الابرار لى نعم
 وان الفجار لى عظيم يصلونها يوم الدين اية كريمة وقالتوا المنكرين كافة ايرسا نامور
 بولور بجا هدون فى ليل الله باموالهم وانفسهم مقتصى لى بوقويت بوجون والى
 اصل الطنين انا الطفر والفتنة واما الشهادة والجنة فهو من وجنال
 بيت غزاة اهليلج عالمه ابوجرس لطافت بار ظفر تابس اغنيت كرشاد
 تابس جنت بار وبوجر مصطوفى من رضى فى ليل الله تعالى سما عدل له محررا
 والمنبل لى كالراى مضمونين نش نال بولور قطعه كيمك براوق انتا
 فخر كل لار بوزيكادين او چون كويماحق بوليد ابر بنده آزاد ايلالكاى
 بواجر داير كادور هركم غزاة اعيد يرا اوق ايشلاكان ويا شمشير ميناد ايلالكاى
 ودى بوقويت قولى كم زباط يوم وليلا خير من صيام او قيامه وان جبرى على الله
 يعمله واجرى عليه رزقه وامن من الفتن مغلغلن ملاحظه قيلوب قطعه بويك كونوز
 غزاة اعيد يرا اطل بلاماق بخشى دور بر اى توتوش صوم ويك اعمل دين
 اولسا كرزق وثوابى نيگوسى دور قردا اولسا امن اولغوسى دورفته وديان دين
 الله تعالى حضرتين ابرجيل وثور جريل او مونور عداون ساى نيكر اسالى نوروز
 اراد اى اى اوداد رسته لى اوزول مخالفت ابوانى عفتور وعر اسلف ايرنكلى
 قليب انا ظالم ان لم انتقم من الظالم تيو غزوات و جهاد اطار بظ اطلاب تيو غزوات
 و ابرار وكافر كش ني مبارك بيلينه بخلاب شمر مرغ آسان بوجم درياى تيو او

FIGURE 2 6ob

هر کس بر روز محرم صیاد صد نهنگ و جاسد و فی سبیل الله با هو اکرم و انوار کبریائی
 قولوا الیب ایغینی لعی و طلع اوز انکو لیسنا کو قوب فضل الله الجی هدی نیا ان الله
 درجه سیدین اعدنا مال بولوب و لاشحین الذین قتلوا فی سبیل الله اموالنا بل اصابه
 عند ربهم الایه مضمون لشرفیندن انواع بایجت و لرور و اجناس حکم من حضور
 دست بریب توتقی المکلل عن نشاء و نزع الملال من نشاء و عدو انرا ان الله اولاد
 بضره من نشاء علمین کو تروپ آیه کریمه لم من فیتیم قلیله غلبت فیه کثیره
 باذن الله یتو جنود سعود اسلامفی الیب اول کفار بیکیش و ضلاله انوش کیم
 او کیکل فی ضلال مبین دور لار الار او متونایوروب الار فی قلب الطیرت جاب سانسیر
 الیر لار و صاغش لر غنیمت لار کینتور و ر ایردی لار عدوت مدید و عهدی بعدی بنوعال
 اوز ار نه کچی ایردی اتفاقا و قضا و قدر خدای می نیل انما لکونوا یدر کل الموت و کونتم
 فی بروج شتیبه دیکان نوالی هم حضرت خان نیلک سامه لشریف لاریعنه یشیب
 قل ان کنتم تعرون الموت فانه ملا فیکم صدایع الشتیبه فلان هضر لم جان رضا یغینی
 قضا قولونا و نوب حق تعالی دین رحمت و مغفرت او مونوا ان الله وانا الیه الرجول
 یتو فاذا جاء اجلهم لایستأخرون ساعه و لایستعجلون مقتضی سبیت تیکل کل طود دین
 امیند کسب حیات لیق فنا سیدین اشیا کجیب کل نفس ذایقه الموت لر یشقی کل کان
 علیها فان بزحید او قاهم برهم ساقی می قولونوزین اچیب دارغور دین لر ای کور غنه
 رحلت قیلدر ایسرا دکل تقویر العزیز العظیم غنار آه و او یلا اولوم دین تنوا جان تنم اوز

FIGURE 3 61a

جان دین ابرطاق بلاد و تپو ایوان تتر ایور بود اولوم دور بار جان معلوم مخزون ایامکان
 بود اولوم نیک خدیوین چشمه حیوان تتر ایور بیرون یواکی اولوم نیک خدیوین نظر
 کوراککی بولدوز لاروشمش دروشان تتر ایور که یوزن بر شیب قرار تیب که قرار تیب
 که خجیب پنهان بولور هم ماه تپان تتر ایور دنیا ایست بولماس اولوم فی حال بر شکم بیغیب
 بولیب برین و هم ایست خان بلکه سلطان تتر ایور کونکلو ناتوشکان دین اوسترومک و هم ناکیان
 زلزله ایلاب سی کوه و سیابان تتر ایور ای شیخ شرف بولان کمال اولما سورهون بوقه دیبا کین
 کتاب بوجاده کزدون دین خوش حال بولوب بواقعا دنیای دون دین لوبونوب اول کافر
 بی دین و اول کزک باکروکی و اول مندر روزگار و عشق فکل زنگار و ثانی اشق زناطین
 وینوای لشکر لایعین ایبان بی ایمان و غون صفت و لرود صمیمت برله اوزن شلاب
 لشکر انبوه کران لشکر بسیار و عسکر مکر و ه باتوب و فتنک بی شمار تخمیا لشکر نوز سیک
 لشکر بر کیم اللیزین بولطعون ما امر الله به ان یوصل وینسدون فی الارض اولیکم الظالمین
 دور لار کیلیب بلده محمود قران شهری نیک کزداکر دین احاطه ایلاب محاصره قلیب قران
 لشکر کفار از مورچک کم نیستند مثل یا جوج انوا جوجند و آدم نیستند عترک
 عجب بر جای عشرت دو جهانند بوقرآن کین جو نیک بولغان عالم دایم دار الامان شهر
 قران نیک شهر محمودی تپو مالی دنیا داکلم قران دین آنز ایجاد و رلا ریخا قلی بوجان کین
 بوسر کلکی ایرور فالین ایامن جودان لار دین ایرور بوسر همیشه دنیا دافان ایامن کین
 برین بورتین لایب بر حال انامی نیک ساقینی بچول کیلیک ملان اول کون لار بار بویا کین

این تتر ایور

شیرینی

FIGURE 4 61b

۷۷
شیرینی ایمنابویردین غزنا امیر کبول بوکونون سونکدیگی لایم بودو صوفیانی
تبردر وازد. بوعلقت نیکل سوتونی بوخلایق نیکل، لغونی مرحوم پولاد نیکل اوغلی
عمای نیکل برلنوغلی مرزا زیدو قدرما مردان صیقل ازجان و مرد آقسن و جوانان دولتی
اسکندر لکنی لادنی بیغیب قاشیوا لیب تورور ایردی لشتر جانزاد تورور صوفیانی
تویون تاج نصرت نی باشیوا ایرو صیران ار اهر بری لیم اورور لاهور خان دکن خیر
تقی خان موصالیوا که در وادو، بهادر لبق حیدرانی نیکل صفدری دلاور لیکه پیشه نیکل
غضنفری قوزیخاق اوغلان زیدو اقتدار و لشتر کورسا کتاد لایم حکیم جبریا میورا
دیبا السلام شمشیر قولید اوستوار دیباکای اول کشتی حکیم خیرا لکن تقی لاقنی اللعلی
لایف الآذوالغفار اول هم بول جوانان همز پیشه ودلاوران صوابا لکن لادنی
قشیرا لیب تورور ایردی تقی تبر وازد، دلاور لارا اهل نیکل سروی بهادر
مکرماس نیکل لکندری آق محمد اوغلان زیدو عجب بیت ایرور زیدو جبریم از لیم لکن
بویردین بولسون بهیله ایلی کم لشتر ای نیکل کردن فرمش جبر فر نیکل
خوشبو هم، که بود در میان نیکل هرکم اوق کیم اقامت لکن تقی ووزیکا
دیبا لکن اوق تیوبل کم ایرور تفکر تقی تبر وازد فرمش لکن تقی لکن تقی
لافتاب سیداناییم نالی مرحوم غضنفر سید نیکل اوغلی قول کیم تورور هم فصل ابانک
جوانان درویش لغار و صوفیان ریاضت آثار لاری بیغیب آیت کریمه قلی اتمی جوانی
ربیع الی صراط مستقیم دیبا قیامه ابراهیم صیقا صمدوزین فرضال و آید لکن زین ان الوبی

FIGURE 5 62a

عنوا الله الامم من غير ان يشاءوا ان يكونوا من اهل القبلة
 رسالت بنامی روی بالنسبة لعمادینا، اول اروا لا یرین استغاثة قبلت بالی
 سیرا تا حق است روی دین سم اذ اختیرتم في الامور فاستغینوا من اهل القبور
 متفق علی سنج مورد و معاونت اسباب غلظت اطفیف اطلانیست حکم السابغی علی قلب
 کفار سدی بوز لانیب جعفر و ناصر بولوب تور و ایردی تخی ببرد و از زده دارا وایت
 اسکندر وایت دستم مثال و بهرلم امثال بار بولسون انالین نعم الهی دنیا دا
 اول بار بولسون معینت فیه و حضرت بار بولسون بهادر لیسو دامع بولسا
 کمی یوق بولسون نایب اشادت جمع غمی یوق اوز توابع و لواحق الاری لور و تور
 ایردی تخی ببرد و از زده شهر بیک بلغار و الابغ بیک حالکی قمره عین السلاطین
 دره صرف الوتر و العین مودیر امور الممالک السلطانیة معین ابواب العلم انی لایان
 سلاله الامم ایز بارص بیک زید قوره بیک بهادر لیسو تخی حرکت کاکلیب دلاور لیک بولگی
 تبر اینب هر زمان دیر ایردی کیم قطع من نه ان باشم که روزی جنگی منی پست من
 آن من کلانر حیان خاک و خون منی لری هر که جنگل آرد خون خونش باری میکند
 روز میدان آله بکیرم ز خون لشکری بعض دلاوران نام دار و بهادران حکم کار
 ماری بیک و ای کلری بیک واق معان بیک و جماعه حاجی انضرم اندر سردار کفار
 قبه خار هجوم قلسار الار اول بیک اوز لارین بنگور و جان و دل بر آمد و معاونت
 بریب کفار سید کار لار بر له بخار بدمان قبله کافه انی سنجیب و کولاری لیسو ز غلظین

تشریح

FIGURE 6 62b

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تشنه یابی بر ابر شرف ایردی لار القمه ایلنک هم بر بیگما حاربه و مجاد اوینا اینه
 قونو قورد بلر مشغولی در عربیه صف دران صف بر کشیدیز زما سی تا یله کشم کشیدیز
 سپاه کوه سپکر فوج بر فوج چنان در روی دریا موج بر موج سر بر با نهادن
 زار تپای در آسن کشم که نه هر طرف نشینان صلی عمان جایی قوم ضعیفی تویم
 بر سیل نواتر ثابت و محقق بولور ایردی که کفار نیکل شکم بر او نبر او تلوغ
 قوب بار ایردی بر بخشی توبی هم قاچیب کلبه ایلن ایردی اول تور لار سیک
 هر بر او تلوغ جادری تخمینا قرآن نالیند بجان بار ایردی اولوغ لیسف اطوطوم
 چاکلی ایردی اول یادره اچیدر انواع طلسمات ار و اجناس تقفات لار قیل ایردی
 لاریم عقل اطلون بر ان قایل فیه لار طوطی و سرگردان بر لغای ایردی اول یادره
 تاشیدین تور لار برله قورش بر یز لار برله تو قوب اچیدر نفت سپید قور که کرد لار
 سالیب کیچکنده تو فاجه لار راست قیلیب اچیدر ا تورت بش قورغانلیندن
 یادره لار سالیب مضبوط و مربوط و محکم و مستحکم قورانکغوی که لار دایم انا ایردی
 لار دیکای ایردینکیز که کصیب من السماء فیه ظلمات و رعد و برق تیوتی اول او تلوغ
 یادره لار دین کیچر لار سالیب صیقغان هواداغی او جغون لارنی خیال قیلغای
 ایردی نیکیز که کور کچک کور لار دایم کواکب نباتات و میات لارنی بار چالینی
 یز کا توشتی تیو اول او تلوغ یادره لاری لار شهر اچیدر هر که کیم توشار ایردی هیچ
 کیم ایردینکیز صامی یوق ایردی کیم آنیکل بوغین یارب سونور کای بیت

FIGURE 7 63a

کورچه و تخی کیلیت لئونورس ابوغالی لقبول بود بلایه اوت زیم اولوب بولور
 آتا بعض جوانان باجرت ودلاوران یا همت المراء یطیر بتمت دکان تیکل اولار دین
 اول اوتقم کمنور بیکین سالیب بالمعاف ملک متعال و اشعارت علم عمل فعال برله
 اول اوتقم ابوغالی لئونورس ایدی لاریکم آثار و علامت لری قالمس ایدی لشتر
 سوغه بالیق اوتقم کمنور کراک ایشی کونین امر ددلا و کراک ابر کتشی کاهمت کرا
 بولسا یار عاقبت الامر مرادین بنار تخی دورت بش موای قوب لاری
 هم بار ایدی هم بر یادره تاشی برکوه باره ایدی هر وقت کیم اول تو بلار ایتلور ایدی
 اول یادره تاشی قوه قسه هر که برله تونن بیکین او جوی کالطیم یطیر بخصایه موای
 کیم صیار ایدی و تری لیلان کسبها جاده و صیحه تهره التحاب دایره افلاک
 بر نقطه بیکین بولوب مولد ایشی جبهه السامد ایرروب قوه قسه بیسی توکان کمان
 سونکرا حیل طبعی لری بر لکیم توکان اینار ایدی باد صصر دین تنزراق قضا و قور
 تیزراق اینیب شعر قضا چون زکر دون فرو هشت پیر عمد زیکان کونشدر کم
 هر بر کاتوش ویرسل الصواعق فیصیب با من یشاء منطوقه بینه اول سیرنی بوزوب
 بیغیب منف طبقه از من دین اوتار ایدی شعر زبلا چو سلی سیر ایدی زکا و سیرنی کیم
 بیت کویا آتی لکمال و ایندی تا فرق کسکل ممکن ایز عالس دور بومش نیکل مکر ابر صغیر
 و ایز تیزب زن لار کلا و تو تیکل لار کاص برک ان بوق ایدی بو تو بلار نیکل صامعه آسمانی
 سمنکلا و از لاریض ضلایق و سمنکلا بولوب و تری الناس کسکاری و صامع بر کسکاری و لکن عذرا لیمه
 شویو

FIGURE 8 63b

بربری تا سلسله نیک بولوب ایردی لار لکل امرای منهم شان نینیه نیز لاریران متحیر بولور
 ایردو کیم حوینجان و تنالی بو کافر بی دین و شرک و کاباکر و کین کابواساس و دبیر و بولاشکر
 و عسکر بو شمت و سلطنت بریب بند. نوازلیق قیلغانا شعر لجان من تحیر فی ذلالت
 سواوه فهم خرد بکنه کمالش نبرد. راه لشکر ای کرمی که از خزانده غیب کبر و ترسای طغنه
 خودداری دولتانه ای کانی محرم نو که بادشمان نظر داری القصد اکی لشکر عرق
 آیین بولوب بربریکا تو و تور و ببحار به و مجاهد کاشغول بولوی لاریتت میان دو
 دیوار آهن بنا یکی کرب آموز لشمزنا لشکر در آمد و لشکر کجینش چو کوه کران جنبش
 آمد جهان راستوه زغریده ناله کتره نای در افتاد تب لرزید دست پای او کون
 انواع اوروش لار بولوی کویا شتر و شتر ایردی مصراع آن تیکس غوغای ای کویا شتر
 شعر چکا چاکل خیم کبر دون رسید ز شهر قران خون بچگون رسید محمد الله و الله
 و عبانیه الصلوة و الخیة توفیق الهی رفیق و تائید نامتاجی مطرب و غنایه
 رب العالمین قرین و ملائک ناصر و معین بولوب آیه کریمه و سو معلما ایما کتم صدر ای
 روح افوازی سلمان لاری نیکر سامع لاری نیت شیب آیه شریفه ان ینصركم الله فلا غالب لکم
 مقتضی سخن و لقد نصرکم الله فی مواطن کثیره معنی صوری صورت پزیر بولونوی کفار
 بیکیش و خط اندیش لاری انواع قیردی لاری کیم آثار و علامت لری جمیعاً رو کاردی
 محکوک و محکوم بولوی فقطع دایره القوم الذین ظلموا و الحمد لله رب العالمین نعل نیک
 ایکی باز سید اکتا رسیده کار انواع ادب طوبی لکان و لغو کرک و فرسان بولوب یاور و دی لاری

FIGURE 9 64a

اباق سارغزبر جو لایم ببولاس ایردی فترتی القوم جنبها صرعی کایم عیاجار خلی خاوند نهل
 تترس لهم من باقیة شعر فقادہ دران باین دشت درشت سرتا انیر چون فخرت
 القوم چون تو کتیک اوروش الاراون التي لثبانہ روز متصل لانتقطع بولوی آون بیجی کون
 لشکر کتارتہ کار خنوزل و معزول و مردود و مشهور ببولوب قایتی المحدثہ الازلیه عبد الوتر
 جنزہ و ہمزیم الاحزاب و حصرہ بیت سخت و دولت بکار دانی نیست جز بتایید الائی
 قطعہ ساقلاہ ہر کیمی دشمن دن فدایں ہم نزل حاجت ایر ماں دورا نکا کما کلا زہ عالی احصار
 ساقلا ماں بولسا تبقی بوق بوایکا و دین منتفست سقلا سا ممکن ایماں بر قلمی کسکوزہ انصار
 رجا کرم ارباب تحقیق لار دین و امید الطاف احباب توفیق لار دین اول تو کرم معجزات
 بوجاب دولت لارینک منظور نظر لارین بولوسا بوق کرم معرفت دور عجز و قصور مصنف
 و منصف دور کتاه و عصیان بر لاسکیر مرادینہ حاجتہ با اخلاص درینو قیلا غای لار طمتم
 عبدا قلا عسنا و حقت ہذا الواقعة فی شہر محرم الحرام سنہ تسعم و عسین و تسعایہ
 منشی ہذا الانشا الفراء و مسود ہذا الصحیفہ البیضا با فقر العباد لشرین حاجی ترخان

FIGURE 10 64b