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# THE *UMDET ÜL-AHBAR* AND THE TURKIC NARRATIVE SOURCES FOR THE GOLDEN HORDE AND THE LATER GOLDEN HORDE

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*in memory of Tibor Halasi-Kun (1914-1991)*

A series of Turkic narrative sources have come down to us from the Later Golden Horde, the period of the successor states to the Golden Horde including the xanates of the Crimea, Kasimov, Kazan, and other political units in the 15th-18th centuries.<sup>1</sup> These narrative sources, mostly chronicles, are of fundamental importance for the study of the history of western Eurasia in the 13th-18th centuries. As most of these works are still available only in the original Turkic, they remain inaccessible and sometimes even unknown to the mainstream of modern scholarship.<sup>2</sup> It seems appropriate, therefore, to briefly survey these historical writings together with a closer examination of one particular work, the *Umdet ül-ahbar*. It is hoped that such a survey will encourage the integration of Turkic sources into the study of the history of the states of western Eurasia.

If we consider the various factors which might be seen as contributing towards the development of a major tradition of court historiography in this period, the Golden Horde did, in fact, incorporate some of these. One may argue—contrary to the view of Schurmann<sup>3</sup>—that a strong centralized state

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<sup>1</sup>For Islamic Turkic narrative historical works written in these states see the references in A. Bennigsen et al., *Le khanat de Crimée dans les Archives du Musée du Palais de Topkapı* (Paris, 1978), pp. 410-414 ; A. Temir, "Die alten Quellen der kasan- und nord-türkischen Literatur (bis zum XIX. Jahrhundert)", *Studies in General and Oriental Linguistics. Presented to Shirō Hattori on the Occasion of His Sixtieth Birthday*, ed. R. Jakobson and S. Kawamoto (Tokyo, 1970), pp. 12-26, especially pp. 617-621 ; and M.A. Usmanov, *Tatarskie istoričeskie istočniki XVII-XVIII vv.* (Kazan, 1972). I have chosen to focus on sources for the Golden Horde from the successor xanates within the same territories, since the sources for this area are not known as well as the rich corpus of sources from Xwarezan and the other regions of Central Asia.

<sup>2</sup>In fact, this has led to underestimations of the scope of literary and historical writings among the Turkic peoples of western Eurasia. See A. Kappeler, *Russlands erste Nationalitäten. Das Zarenreich und die Völker der mittleren Wolga vom 16. bis 19. Jahrhundert*, *Beiträge zur Geschichte Osteuropas* 14 (Cologne-Vienna, 1982), pp. 13, 41, 207, and 219.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. H.F. Schurmann, "Mongolian Tributary Practices of the Thirteenth Century", *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 19 (1956), pp. 304-389, especially p. 307.

power did develop. Numerous urban centers, including over time several capitals, also existed.<sup>4</sup> Finally, we know from the famous traveler Ibn Baṭṭūṭa and other sources that these urban centers served as home to religious institutions and the learned groups usually associated with them.<sup>5</sup> At the same time, certain factors worked against the florescence of a literary culture and its preservation. The Black Death, which struck the territories of the Golden Horde late in the 1340s, must have included a very high proportion of the learned groups in its heavy human toll.<sup>6</sup> The attacks on urban centers in the second half of the 14th century, the final Russian conquest of many cities, and the later history of fires in cities such as Kazan were also devastating in terms of the survival of a literary heritage.<sup>7</sup> This may help explain why much of what survives of the literary culture of the cities of the Golden Horde has come down to us from outside the territories of the Golden Horde.

When enumerating the products of the Turkic literary culture in western Eurasia in this period, the best-known examples are the edicts and diplomatic correspondence collectively known as *yarlıqs*. These are not strictly speaking narrative sources and survive in original Turkic versions only from the end of the 14th century.<sup>8</sup> This does not mean however, that there were no internal documents written before the end of the 14th century. *Yarlıqs* issued as early as the 13th century are preserved in translations into Russian and other languages

<sup>4</sup>A catalog of the urban centers of the Golden Horde may be found in V.L. Egorov, *Istoričeskaya geografiya Zolotoy Ordı v XIII-XIV vv.* (Moscow, 1985), pp. 75-150.

<sup>5</sup>See the references in B. Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde. Die Mongolen in Russland, 1223-1502* (Wiesbaden, 1965), p. 219 ff.

<sup>6</sup>For general remarks concerning the impact of large-scale outbreaks of disease on literacy see W.H. McNeill, *Plagues and Peoples* (New York, 1976), pp. 107 and 62. See also my forthcoming papers "Preliminary Remarks on the Role of Disease in the Golden Horde" in the *Proceedings of the Third International Conference on Central Asia* (University of Wisconsin-Madison, April 27-30, 1988); and "The End of Volga Bulgarian", *Róna-Tas Festschrift*. I also examine this topic and a wide range of other issues in the social, economic, and cultural history of the Golden Horde in the 13th-14th centuries in my forthcoming book on this period.

<sup>7</sup>Usmanov, *Tatarskie istoričeskie istočniki*, pp. 9-12.

<sup>8</sup>Tibor Halasi-Kun made a fundamental contribution to the study of the documentary sources for this period through his discovery and study of some of the most important *yarlıqs*. See his "Monuments de la langue tatare de Kazan", *Analecta Orientalia memoriae Alexandri Csoma de Körös dicata*, Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica V (Budapest, 1942-1947), i, pp. 138-155; and "Philologica III: Kazan Türkçesine ait dil yadigârları", *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi* 7:4 (1949), pp. 603-644. See also the references in Bennigsen et al., *Le khanat de Crimée*, especially pp. 405-409; and M.A. Usmanov, *Jalovannıe aktı Djučieva Uluşa* (Kazan, 1979), especially pp. 299-316; to which should be added S. Muhamedyarov and I. Vászary, "Two Kazan Tatar Edicts (Ibrahim's and Sahib Girey's Yarlıks)", *Between the Danube and the Caucasus. A Collection of Papers Concerning Oriental Sources on the History of the Peoples of Central and South-Eastern Europe*, ed. Gy. Kara, Oriental Sources on the History of the Peoples of South-Eastern and Central Europe 4 (Budapest, 1987), pp. 181-216; and I. Vászary, "A Contract of the Crimean Khan Mängli Girây and the Inhabitants of Qırq-ıyer from 1478/79", *Central Asiatic Journal* 26 (1982), pp. 289-300.

from the original "Mongolian" (which could also mean Turkic in the Mongolian script which the Mongols borrowed from the Uyğurs). These translated documents offer the best evidence of an earlier literary culture which has not survived in the original.<sup>9</sup>

A small number of bellettristic and religious work are also connected by various scholars with Old Saray or New Saray (the successive capitals of the Golden Horde) or with some of its other cities.<sup>10</sup> These include Qutb's reworked Turkic translation of the romantic poem *Xusrev u Şirin* (dedicated to the Golden Horde xan Tımbeg, r. 1341-2);<sup>11</sup> Xwarezmi's romantic poem *Mahabbetname*;<sup>12</sup> and the religious treatise *Nehc ül-feradis* (generally considered to have been written in 1358 or 1360 by one Mahmud b. Ali).<sup>13</sup> Seyf-i Serayî's *Gülîstan bi-türki* (a reworking of the Persian work by Sa'dî) falls into a somewhat different category as a work written in Mamlûk Egypt in 1391 by a native of Saray.<sup>14</sup> There is also the oral literary work (*destan*)<sup>15</sup> *Cümcüme sultan* (also known as the *Cümcümename*)<sup>16</sup> whose relationship to the *Kesikbaş kitabı* deserves further study.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>9</sup>For translations into Russian see M.D. Priselkov, *Xanskîe yarlıkî russkim mitropolitam* (Petrograd, 1916); and "Yarlıkî tatarskîx xanov moskovskim mitropolitam (kratkoe sobranie)", ed. A.A. Zimin, *Pamyatniki russkogo prava*, iii, (Moscow, 1955), pp. 463-491.

<sup>10</sup>For general surveys of western Eurasian Turkic literature in the 13th-14th centuries see A. Bombaci, trans. I. Mélikoff, *Histoire de la littérature turque* (Paris, 1968), pp. 90-100; J. Eckmann, "Die kiptschakische Literatur. I: Die Literatur von Chwarezm und der Goldenen Horde", *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta*, ii, ed. P.N. Boratav (Wiesbaden, 1964), pp. 275-296; and Z.V. Togan, "Zentralasiatische türkische Literatur. II: Die islamische Zeit", *Turkologie, Handbuch der Orientalistik*, ed. B. Spuler, I, v/1 (Leiden-Cologne, 1963), pp. 229-249.

<sup>11</sup>The text of the only extant manuscript (copied in Egypt) has been published by A. Zajaczkowski, *Najstarsza wersja turecka Husrev u Şirin Qutba*, i, *Prace orientalistyczne* 6 (Warsaw, 1958); and M.N. Hacıeminoğlu, *Kutb'un Husrev ü Şirin'i ve dil hususiyetleri* (Istanbul, 1968). See Eckmann, "Die kiptschakische Literatur", pp. 280-285; and the article by G.T. Tahircanov in *Tatar ädäbiyatı tarixi*, i (Kazan, 1984), pp. 170-196.

<sup>12</sup>See Eckmann, "Die kiptschakische Literatur", pp. 285-287; and the article by Ş.Ş. Abilov in *Tatar ädäbiyatı tarixi*, i, pp. 196-208.

<sup>13</sup>See Eckmann, "Die kiptschakische Literatur", pp. 287-291; and the article by Ş.Ş. Abilov in *Tatar ädäbiyatı tarixi*, i, pp. 208-231.

<sup>14</sup>The text on this work has been published by A. Bodrogligeti, *A Fourteenth Century Turkic Translation of Sa'dî's Gulistan*. (*Sayf-i Sarayî's Gulistan bi-türki*) (Budapest, 1969). See Bodrogligeti's "Introduction", pp. 8-9; and *Tatar ädäbiyatı tarixi*, i, pp. 246-273. On historical data in the *Gulistan bi-türki* see the "Introduction", pp. 19-20.

<sup>15</sup>See V.M. Jirmunskiy, *Izbrannie trudi. Tyurkskiy geroicheskiy épos* (Leningrad, 1974); and N.K. Chadwick and V. Zhirmunsky, *Oral Epics of Central Asia* (Cambridge, 1969). For additional references on the Turkic *destans* see H.B. Paksoy, "Central Asia's New Dastans", *Central Asian Survey* 6:1 (1987), p. 76-92; idem "Chora Batur: A Tatar Admonition to Future Generations", *Studies in Comparative Communism* 19 (1986), pp. 253-265.

<sup>16</sup>On *Cümcüme sultan* see Eckmann, "Die kiptschakische Literatur", pp. 292-293; and the article by Ş.Ş. Abilov in *Tatar ädäbiyatı tarixi*, i, pp. 231-246.

<sup>17</sup>Temir ("Die alten Quellen", p. 615) and Bombaci (*Histoire*, p. 95) seem to follow M.F. Köprülü (*Türk edebiyatı tarihi*, i, Istanbul, 1926, pp. 362-364; and *Türk edebiyatında ilk*

Yet, there is no extant work written in the 13th-14th centuries which can be called a history of the Golden Horde. As just described, a literary culture clearly existed. There was even a pre-13th century historiographical tradition in one or more of the regions of the Golden Horde which could have contributed to the further development of a historiographical tradition in the 13th-14th centuries. In the north, Volga Bulgaria had been a center of literacy, literary traditions, and even historical traditions dating back to the first millennium.<sup>18</sup> The literary culture of this sedentary area continued through the time of the xanate of Kazan (15th-16th centuries) as known from original works produced in the xanate itself.<sup>19</sup> For the southern area, Omeljan Pritsak reminds us that the Crimea had been a center of unbroken literary activity since classical times.<sup>20</sup> Finally, Xwarezm and its rich literary culture also formed an integral part of the territory of the Golden Horde until the second half of the 14th century.<sup>21</sup> An important question, then, is what happened to historiography in the Golden Horde?

The absence of an independent work devoted solely to the 13th-14th centuries should not be understood to mean that no historical works or historical traditions existed in this period.<sup>22</sup> Instead, I would like to argue that one should look to the historical traditions of the Later Golden Horde (15th-18th centuries). In many instances, the data for the 13th-14th centuries contained in these later works can be considered the direct continuation of historical traditions from the earlier period of the Golden Horde (even though not all the states of the Later Golden Horde were directly descended from the western half of the earlier Golden

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*mutasavvıflar*, Istanbul, 1976, p. 176) in identifying *Cümcüme sultan* and *Kisekbaş* as one work. See *Kesikbaş kitabı* (Kazan Tatar *Kisekbaş kitabı*) as a neglected separate work in the article by Ya.S. Axmetgaleeva in *Tatar ädäbiyatı tarixi*, i, pp. 273-282; and her *Issledovanie tyurkoyazychnogo pamyatnika "Kisekbaş kitabı"* (Moscow, 1979).

<sup>18</sup>For a survey of the literature of this period see the contributions of Ş.Ş. Abilov, G.M. Däülätşin, and N.Ş. Xisamov in *Tatar ädäbiyatı tarixi*, i (Kazan, 1984), pp. 84-157. For the inscriptions see D.G. Muxametşin and F.S. Xakimzyanov, *Yazık epitafıy Voljskix Bulgar* (Moscow, 1978); and *Epigrafičeskie pamyatniki Voljskoy Bulgarii i ix yazık* (Moscow, 1987).

<sup>19</sup>See Bombaci, *Histoire*, pp. 170-171; Temir, "Die alten Quellen"; Usmanov, *Tatarskie istoričeskie istočniki*, pp. 134-16; and the contributions of Ş.Ş. Abilov and F.V. Äxmätova in *Tatar ädäbiyatı tarixi*, i, pp. 283-321.

<sup>20</sup>"The Role of the Bosphorus Kingdom and Late Hellenism as the Basis for the Medieval Cultures of the Territories North of the Black Sea", *The Mutual Effects of the Islamic and Judeo-Christian Worlds: The East European Pattern*, ed. A. Ascher, T. Halasi-Kun, and B.K. Király (Brooklyn, 1979), pp. 3-21.

<sup>21</sup>On the rich historical literature of Xwarezm see B.A. Axmedov, *Istoriko-geografičeskaya literatūra Sredney Azii XVI-XVIII vv.* (Pis'mennıe pamyatniki) (Tashkent, 1985).

<sup>22</sup>The negative judgement of Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde*, pp. 1-2, is based on great learning and familiarity with a wide range of sources, including those in Turkic languages. The Turkic sources for Mongol history are routinely ignored, however, by many other recent scholars, as for example in D. Morgan, *The Mongols* (Oxford, 1986), pp. 5-27. A more alarming recent trend has been the complete neglect of almost all Islamic sources, as evidenced by the works of C. Halperin, including *Russia and the Golden Horde. The Mongol Impact on Medieval Russian History* (Bloomington, 1985); and *The Tatar Yoke*, (Columbus, 1986).

Horde).<sup>23</sup> Only when these different extant traditions are fully studied and compared can we have a better notion of the full extent of historical writing and historical traditions in the earlier Golden Horde.

Turning to the narrative sources from the 15th-18th centuries, one of the outstanding historical works from the Later Golden Horde is the *Camī ūt-tevarix*, written in the xanate of Kasimov by Qadır Ali Calayir. According to the received interpretation, this unusual political unit in the service of the Russian grand duke was founded in 1452 when Vasiliy II granted Qasım b. Uluğ Muhammed the town of Gorodets (or Meşçerskiy gorodok) as an appanage.<sup>24</sup> The work itself, produced in 1602, begins with a condensed Tatar translation of portions of Raşîd ad-Dîn's *Camī' at-tavâriẓ*.<sup>25</sup> Familiarity with Raşîd ad-Dîn's universal history is evidence that even a state in the service of Russia could maintain a historical consciousness linking it with the earlier Çingisid states as well as the greater Turkic and Islamic cultural world. Appended to the translation of the earlier source is a series of *destans* or accounts of personalities and events from the end of the earlier Golden Horde leading up to the time of the xanate of Kasimov. It includes separate sections on the following figures, many of whom date from the 14th century (no doubt based on sources or traditions dating back to the 14th century): Urus Xan, Toqtamış Xan, Temür Qutlu Xan and his descendants, Hacı Giray Xan, Edigey, Hacı Muhammed Xan, Abu l-Xayr Xan, Yadigar Xan, and Uraz Muhammed Xan.<sup>26</sup> This final section, a unique indigenous source for the xanate of Kasimov, provides valuable information on the organization and tribal composition of the xanate of Kasimov. Qadır Ali Calayir was himself *garaçı* bey of the Calayir "ruling tribe" in that xanate, and one can therefore be sure that some of the information in the source is cast from the perspective of the tribal

<sup>23</sup>Even though it has already been stated that this essay does not focus on Xwarezm, it is worth citing an example of relevant later source traditions from Xwarezm concerning the Golden Horde: Y. Bregel, "Tribal Tradition and Dynastic History: The Early Rulers of the Qongrats According to Munis", *Asian and African Studies*, 16 (1982), pp. 357-398; and Mûnis and Âgahî, ed. Y. Bregel, *Firdaws al-iqbâl: History of Khorezm* (Leiden, 1988).

<sup>24</sup>V.V. Vel'yaminov-Zernov, *Izsledovanie o kasimovskix tsaryax i tsareviçax*, i, Trudi Vostočnago otdeleniya Imperatorskago Russkago arxeologičeskago obščestva 9 (St. Petersburg, 1864). See also I. Vásáry, "The Hungarians or Možars and the Meščers/Mişers of the Middle Volga Region", *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* 1 (1975), pp. 137-275, especially pp. 264.

<sup>25</sup>The text of this work was published by N.I. Berezin, *Biblioteka vostočnix istorikov*, ii/1: *Sbornik letopisey. Tatarskiy tekst* (Kazan, 1854). Extracts accompanied by a translation were also published by Vel'yaminov-Zernov, *Izsledovanie o kasimovskix tsaryax i tsareviçax*, ii, Trudi Vostočnago otdeleniya Imperatorskago Russkago arxeologičeskago obščestva 10 (St. Petersburg, 1864), p. 121 ff. For more detailed recent evaluations of this work see Usmanov, *Tatarskie istoričeskie istočniki*, pp. 33-96; and the article by Ş.Ş. Abilov in *Tatar ädäbiyatı tarixı*, i, pp. 333-343. Kappeler considers this source to be the unique historical work of the Turkic peoples of the Middle Volga region (*Russlands erste Nationalitäten*, p. 219).

<sup>26</sup>Usmanov, *Tatarskie istoričeskie istočniki*, pp. 74-91.

establishment of the state (the "land"), rather than from the opposing perspective of the ruling Çingisid line.<sup>27</sup>

In sharp contrast to Kasimov, the only Turkic narrative source to be connected with the xanate of Kazan is a brief account relating to its conquest discovered by Zeki Velidi Togan.<sup>28</sup> Given the active relations between the various xanates of the Later Golden Horde (one only need recall the many figures that served as ruler in more than one xanate), it is likely they shared many of the same traditions regarding the period up to the foundation of the individual xanates. Written works could also have been shared. Usmanov speculates, for example, that the work of Raşid ad-Dîn might have found its way to Kasimov through the xanate of Kazan.<sup>29</sup> It has also been suggested that *Cümcüme sultan*, which the Crimean xan Sahib Giray ordered translated into Turkish, may have found its way to the Crimea from Kazan.<sup>30</sup>

Given the limited number of narrative sources available for the xanates of Kasimov and Kazan, historians interested in these states should pay special attention to the Crimean xanate. The most dramatic reason for this is the rather large number of Turkic narrative sources which survive from this xanate. In addition to the *Umdet ül-ahbar*, which will be described in greater detail below, there is a series of other important works which have also been published :

— The *Es-seb üs-seyyar* was written by Seyyid Muhammed Rıza (a member of the Crimean aristocracy, d. 1756). It was edited by Mirza Kazembek in the first half of the 19th century<sup>31</sup> and used by V. D. Smirnov in his history of the Crimean xanate.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>27</sup>On the *garaçı* beys see U. Schamiloğlu, "The Qaraçı Beys of the Later Golden Horde : Notes on the Organization of the Mongol World Empire", *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* 4 (1984), pp. 283-297 ; and "Tribal Politics and Social Organization in the Golden Horde" (Columbia University, 1986), Chapter II.

<sup>28</sup>"Kazan hanlığında İslam Türk Kültürü", *İslam Tetkikleri Enstitüsü Dergisi* 3 (1959-60 [1966]), pp. 179-204 (the text is on pp. 183-194). This source is yet to be incorporated into studies of the xanate.

<sup>29</sup>Usmanov, *Tatarskie istoričeskie istočniki*, pp. 54-55.

<sup>30</sup>See *Tatar ädäbiyatı tarixi*, i, p. 232. Cf. Köprülü, *Türk edebiyatı tarihi*, i pp. 362-364 ; and *Türk edebiyatında ilk mutasavvıflar*, p. 176 ; Eckmann "Die kiptschakische Literatur", p. 293 ; Bombaci, *Histoire*, p. 95 ; and Temir, "Die alten Quellen", p. 615.

<sup>31</sup>*Asseb a-sseyyar ili sem planet* (Kazan, 1832) ; trans. M. Kazimirski and A. Jaubert, "Précis de l'histoire des khans de Crimée, depuis l'an 880 jusqu'à l'an 1198 de l'hégire", *Journal Asiatique* 12 (1833), pp. 349-380 and 428-458. See F. Babinger, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen und ihre Werke* (Leipzig, 1927), p. 281.

<sup>32</sup>*Krimskoie xanstvo pod verxovenstvom Ottomanskoy Portii do načala XVIII veka* (St. Petersburg, 1887). See pp. IX-XVI for additional details on this source. See also A.W. Fisher, "Crimean Separatism in the Ottoman Empire", *Nationalism in a Non-National State. The Dissolution of the Ottoman Empire*, ed. W.W. Haddad and W. Ochsenwald (Columbus, 1977), pp. 57-76, especially p. 69.

— The *Gülbün-i hanan* was composed in 1811 by Halim Giray Sultan (d. 1823), a Çingisid descended from Mengli Giray.<sup>33</sup>

— The *Tarih-i İslam Giray Han* was written by Hacı Mehmed Senai, who flourished in the 1640s. This work was edited and translated into Polish by Z. Abrahamowicz as the *History of Islam Giray Han III*.<sup>34</sup>

— The *Tarih-i Sahib Giray Han* was written by Remmal Hoca, a physician to Sahib Giray who later entered the service of Sultan Selim II. This work, which has been made available by Ö. Gökbilgin in a transcription accompanied by a French translation, pays particular attention to the upheaval in the system of "ruling tribes" in the early Crimean xanate.<sup>35</sup>

— The *Tarih-i Said Giray Han*, a work from the 17th century which has been studied by B. Kellner-Heinkele.<sup>36</sup>

— The *Tevarih-i Deşt-i Kıpçak*, composed ca. 1638, includes a brief survey of the earlier Golden Horde as well as the later period until the early 17th century. It has been made available by A. Zajaczkowski together with its 18th-century French translation.<sup>37</sup>

Other sources include the *Telhis ül-beyan fî kavanin al-i Osman*, which was utilized by Smirnov in his history of the Crimean xanate,<sup>38</sup> and the *Tarih-i Muhammed Giray Han*, which covers the period 1684-1703.<sup>39</sup> Although this listing is not exhaustive, it is clear that the Crimean xanate offers a wealth of narrative historical sources to a degree simply not available for the other states of the Later Golden Horde.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>33</sup>*Gülbün-i hanan, yahut Kırım tarihi*, ed. O. Cevdi (Istanbul, A.H. 1327). See Smirnov, *Krımskoe xanstvo*, p. XVI ff.; Babinger, *Geschichtsschreiber*, pp. 342-343 and 379; and Fisher, "Crimean Separatism", pp. 58-59.

<sup>34</sup>*Historia Chana Islam Gereja III* (Warsaw, 1971). See Babinger, *Geschichtsschreiber*, p. 236 n.; Hacı Mehmed Senai/Abrahamowicz, pp. 13-15; and Fisher, "Crimean Separatism", pp. 68-69.

<sup>35</sup>*Tarih-i Şahib Giray Han (Histoire de Sahib Giray, Khan de Crimée de 1532 à 1551)* (Ankara, 1973). See Fisher, "Crimean Separatism", p. 68; and Inalcik, "The Khan and the Tribal Aristocracy: The Crimean Khanate under Sahib Giray I", *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 3-4/i (1979-1980), pp. 445-466, especially p. 446 n. 2, on the author of this work.

<sup>36</sup>*Aus den Aufzeichnungen des Sa'id Giray Sultān. Eine Zeugnössische Quelle zur Geschichte des Chanats der Krim um die Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts*, Islamkundliche Untersuchungen 28 (Freiburg i. Br., 1975).

<sup>37</sup>*La Chronique des steppes kiptchak Tevārih-i deşt-i qipçaq du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle*. Edition critique, Prace orientalistyczne 16 (Warsaw, 1966).

<sup>38</sup>See Smirnov, *Krımskoe xanstvo*, pp. XXIII-XIV.

<sup>39</sup>See Bennigsen et al., *Le Khanat de Crimée*, p. 410-411.

<sup>40</sup>For other works written in the Crimea see Bursalı Mehmed Tahir, *Idare-i osmaniye zamanında yetißen Kırım müellifleri* (Istanbul, A.H. 1335).



Let us turn now to a closer look at one of these sources, the *Umdet ül-ahbar*, and some examples of the kind of information it can offer. This work, which covers the rise of the Mongol empire and the history of the Crimean xanate, was written in Ottoman Turkish (but with some Crimean Tatar elements) by Abdülgaḥḥar b. el-Hac Hasan b. el-Hac Mahmud b. el-Hac Abdülvehhab el-Kırımı, a member of the Crimean ulema banished from his home in A.H. 1157/1744-5 A.D.<sup>41</sup> One partial edition of this work, published by Necib Asım earlier this century under the title *Umdet üt-tevarih* (Istanbul, A.H. 1343/1924-5 A.D.), appeared as a supplement to the *Türk tarih encümeni mecmuası*. This edition was prepared on the basis of the manuscript of about 166 folia preserved in Istanbul in the Süleymaniye Library (Esad Efendi no. 2331).<sup>42</sup> Though the manuscript begins with a substantial section surveying the history of the earlier Islamic states, the printed edition includes only the final portion of the original work covering in detail the rise of the Mongol world empire, the Golden Horde, and the Crimean xanate. The work has not been made available in any other language.<sup>43</sup>

The *umdet ül-ahbar* is based on a wide range of Arabic, Persian, and Turkic sources for the different periods it covers.<sup>44</sup> One of Abdülgaḥḥar Kırımı's most important sources for the 13th-14th centuries was the *Tarih-i Dost Sultan*. This work, supposed to have been written in Xwarezm in the 16th century, survives in the library of Zeki Velidi Togan. (Another copy of this work is the incomplete Tashkent manuscript known as the *Ötemiş Hacı tarihi* or as the *Çingizname of Ötemiş Hacı b. Mevlana Muhammed Dostı*).<sup>45</sup> For the later periods, Abdülgaḥḥar Kırımı draws on various Crimean and Ottoman sources as well as on his own first-hand knowledge.

The *Umdet ül-ahbar* has been utilized as a historical source by only a handful of scholars. For the earlier period, Berthold Spuler made use of the edition by Necib Asım in his history of the Golden Horde, though he concludes

<sup>41</sup> Abdülgaḥḥar Kırımı/Asım, p. 5-6. See also Babinger, *Geschichtsschreiber*, p. 280.

<sup>42</sup> *Istanbul kütüphaneleri tarih-coğrafya yazmaları katalogları*, I. *Türkçe tarih yazmaları*, 1. *Umumi tarihler* (Istanbul, 1943), pp. 13-14.

<sup>43</sup> I had originally begun work on a new edition and translation into English of this work, but I postponed further work on this project upon learning that M. Ürekli (Istanbul) is working on a new edition of this work and that I. Vásáry (Budapest) is working on publishing a collection of extracts of Turkic sources on the Golden Horde. Certainly it would be desirable to establish a series of publications aimed at making available in English translation the Turkic sources for the Golden Horde and the Later Golden Horde, with a special emphasis on the narrative sources.

<sup>44</sup> Abdülgaḥḥar Kırımı/Asım, p. 7-8.

<sup>45</sup> See V.V. Bartol'd, "Otčet o komandirovke v Turkestan", *Soçineniya*, viii (Moscow, 1973), pp. 119-210, especially pp. 164-169; A.Z.V. Togan, *Tarihte usul* (Istanbul, 1981), pp. 44 and 224; and V.P. Yudin, "Ordı: Belaya, Sinyaya, Seraya, Zolotaya", *Kazaxstan, Srednyaya i Tsentral'naya Aziya v XVI-XVIII vv.*, ed. B.A. Tulepbaev (Alma-Ata, 1983), pp. 106-165, especially p. 121 ff.

that many of the accounts in this work pertaining to the 13th-14th centuries are legendary.<sup>46</sup> More recently, Mustafa Kafalı has relied on the data contained in the the *Umdet ül-ahbar* as the basis of his recent work on the the Golden Horde.<sup>47</sup> (Both Spuler and Mustafa Kafalı were also able to consult the Togan manuscript of the *Tarih-i Dost Sultan*.) Coming to the later period, the foremost modern scholar of the various Turkic chronicles for the history of the Crimean xanate has been Halil İnalcık. He has incorporated the *Umdet ül-ahbar* and other Crimean sources in his now-classic articles on the history of the Crimean xanate, which may serve as a model for research based on the Turkic narrative histories and diplomatic correspondence preserved for this period.<sup>48</sup> Otherwise, the *Umdet ül-ahbar* has been neglected in most studies of the Golden Horde and the Later Golden Horde.<sup>49</sup>

In its survey of the history of the 13th-14th centuries, the *Umdet ül-ahbar* offers accounts of the reign of each of the rulers of the Golden Horde, sometimes in great detail. It includes descriptions of the role of the tribal nobility in the selection and elevation of the various Çingisid xan of the Golden Horde. For example, it refers to negotiations of the Golden Horde emirs with Hülegü prior to the accession of Berke Xan (r. 1255-1266):<sup>50</sup>

His two princes [the sons of Batu] Sarıtağ and Togan were left, but Sarıtağ then died. Since Togan was a small child, the consultation of the celebrated emirs decided at this point to inform Hülegü, one of the sons of Toluy from the party of the xan (*zümre-i kaan*). They sent him according to the habit of Mongol custom a lock of hair and a sword without a scabbard, and a shirt without a collar as though the *ulus* of Coçi had no ruler.

<sup>46</sup>*Die Goldene Horde*, pp. 156 n. 12, 158 n. 25, and 162 n. 51.

<sup>47</sup>M. Kafalı, *Altın orda hanlığının kuruluş ve yükseliş devirleri* (Istanbul, 1976), Index under "Ötemiş Hacı tarihi".

<sup>48</sup>See most notably his "Yeni vesikalara göre Kırım hanlığının Osmanlı tâbiliğine gimesi ve ahidname meselesi", *Belleten* 8 (1944), pp. 185-229; "Kırım", *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vi (Istanbul, 1955), pp. 746-756; and "The Khan and the Tribal Aristocracy: The Crimean Khanate under Sahib Giray I", *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 3-4/i (1979-1980), pp. 445-46. For a more complete listing see the "Halil İnalcık Bibliography", *Journal of Turkish Studies* 10 (1986), pp. V-XVI.

<sup>49</sup>See now also I. Vásáry, "'History and Legend' in Berke Khan's Conversion to Islam", *Aspects of Altaic Civilization III. Proceedings of the Thirtieth Meeting of the Permanent Altaic Conference*, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana, June 19-25, 1987, ed. D. Sinor, Indiana University Publications. Uralic and Altaic Series 145 (Bloomington, 1990), pp. 230-252. Vásáry's important article is relevant here for its treatment of passages in the *Umdet ül-ahbar* cited in this essay and their sources. Unfortunately Vásáry's article appeared too late to be taken into greater consideration in this essay.

<sup>50</sup>Abdülgaŋfar Kırımı/Asım, pp. 20-21. See now also Vásáry, "'History and Legend' in Berke Khan's Conversion to Islam", pp. 243-244 and n. 38.

At the beginning of the reign of Tüde Mengü (r. 1280-1287), it is described that the emirs of the *Deşt-i Qıpçaq* had to swear an oath of fealty to him, after which they participated in the installation ceremony of ritual elevation.<sup>51</sup> Similar statements are made for other rulers as well, including the accession to the throne of Özbek Xan (r. 1313-1341):<sup>52</sup>

Then two notable emirs seated the xan on a (rug of) white felt according to Çingisid custom and, raising him, installed him on the throne. All the tribes came and gave the oath of fealty in groups one after the other.

The *Umdet ül-ahbar* relates other information on the rulers as well, including major source traditions on the piety of Berke<sup>53</sup> and the conversions to Islam of Özbek Xan and Canibek.<sup>54</sup>

The *Umdet ül-ahbar* is notable for offering information on individuals connected with the major socio-political units ("ruling tribes") of the Golden Horde on which the traditional sources for the earlier period are usually silent. One account relating to the first half of the 13th century describes how Batu sent Şiban with 30,000 soldiers and Bor Altay of the Taraqlı Qıyat as his *atalıq* against Mankup in the Crimea:<sup>55</sup>

In the province of the Crimea there were all sorts of different peoples, but most of them were Genoese infidels, and from among the Tatars there were also some people called the As. These soldiers attacked the fortress called Mankup, but the aforementioned fortress was very strong. Since it was (situated) on very steep mountains and its conquest was not an easy matter, they entered it by ruse. He ordered that each of the soldiers should take two stirrups in his hands apiece and begin beating them together. Such a frightful clamor issued forth that those who heard it were amazed. They did not cease this tumult for a whole month and they refrained from fighting. The infidels of the fortress heard this melodic noise and they were ready to neglect the defense and protection of the ramparts of the fortress. Following this manner of deception, with the rest of his troops not stopping their clamor, he selected four-five thousand brave and courageous young men and appointed Bor Altay bey as commander-in-chief. In the middle of the night they advanced well

<sup>51</sup> Abdülgaḥḥar Kırımı/Asum, pp. 26-27.

<sup>52</sup> Abdülgaḥḥar Kırımı/Asum, pp. 34-35.

<sup>53</sup> Abdülgaḥḥar Kırımı/Asum, pp. 21-24. See now also Vásáry, "'History and Legend' in Berke Khan's Conversion to Islam".

<sup>54</sup> Abdülgaḥḥar Kırımı/Asum, p. 35-38.

<sup>55</sup> Abdülgaḥḥar Kırımı/Asum, pp. 19-20.

concealed. The As infidels were surprised and did not find a place of refuge, and the fortress was captured, they say.<sup>56</sup>

This is just one example in which an individual is described as having a specific tribal affiliation, and there are other references to individuals connected with the Qanlı, the Sicivut, and especially the Qıyat.<sup>57</sup> In another example, the 14th-century figure Mamay is called the nephew of Qıyat Astay bey of the right flank.<sup>58</sup>

The most important of the socio-political units functioning as a "ruling tribe" in the various xanates of the Later Golden Horde was the Şirin. The Şirin remained throughout the history of the Crimea the dominant among the four (later five) "ruling tribes" of the xanate up until the Russian annexation of the Crimea at the end of the 18th century. Even when Şahin Giray intended to streamline and centralize his administration in the 1770s by downgrading the role of the *qaraçı* beys (whose role in electing the Çingisid xan is identical with that of the *qurultays* in the earlier period) by usurping for himself the power of designating his successor, he could not fully ignore the importance of the Şirin and the Mansurs (earlier known as the Mangıts).<sup>59</sup> Abdülğaffar Kırımı, who was a strong partisan of the Şirin "ruling tribe", depicts the Şirin "ruling tribe" defending the interests of the "land" against the interests of the Çingisid Giray dynasty throughout the history of the Crimean xanate. As such, the *Umdet ül-ahbar* is the history of the Şirin in the Crimea, offering information which is particularly valuable for the origins and later history of the leadership of the Şirin "ruling tribe". It states, for example, that the Şirin are descended from a particular branch of the As with a *çömüç* brand or *tamğa*.<sup>60</sup> This is a unique statement in the sources regarding the origin of this most important socio-political unit in the states of the Later Golden Horde. By the expression *As kabilesi* it is not clear, however, whether it is meant that they are therefore descended from the Iranian Alans of the medieval Pontic steppe (there is certainly no other "ruling tribe" with a similar origin) or that the name has a geographical connotation.<sup>61</sup>

<sup>56</sup>Cf. A.A. Vasiliev, *The Goths in the Crimea* (Cambridge, 1936), pp. 162-164.

<sup>57</sup>Many of these individuals and "ruling tribes" can be found listed in Kafalı, *Altın orda hanlığı*, pp. 36-47.

<sup>58</sup>Abdülğaffar Kırımı/Asum, p. 40.

<sup>59</sup>See A.W. Fisher, *The Crimean Tatars* (Stanford, 1978), pp. 62-65.

<sup>60</sup>Abdülğaffar Kırımı/Asum, pp. 46 and 194.

<sup>61</sup>Kafalı (*Altın orda hanlığı*, p. 39) is at a similar loss to explain this passage. On the Alans/As see Barthold, W., and Minorsky, V., "Alān", *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2 (Leiden, 1960), p. 354 ; Yu. S. Gagloyti, "Etnogenez osetin po dannim pis'mennix istočnikov", *Proisxozhdenie osetinskogo naroda. Materiali naučnoy sessii, posvyashchennoy probleme etnogeneza osetin* (Ordjonikidze, 1967), pp. 67-97 ; and P.B. Golden, *Khazar Studies. An Historico-Philological Inquiry into the Origins of the Khazars*, i-ii, *Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica* 25 (Budapest, 1980), i, pp. 93-97.

The *Umdet ül-ahbar* describes the leaders of the Şirin, Barın, Arğın and Qıpçaq as joining Toqtamış as his *has nōkers* or "special companions".<sup>62</sup> From this period on it is a rich source for following the earliest leaders of the Şirin in the Crimea. The first Şirin leader to cooperate with Toqtamış was Örek Temür b. Dangı bey, whose son Tegine was just as important in the *Deşt-i Qıpçaq* (or Kipchak steppe) as his rival, the Mangıt leader Edigü. Beyond the genealogical information contained in the narrative itself, there is a separate genealogical appendix at the end of this work.<sup>63</sup> Thus, the *Umdet ül-ahbar* is indispensable for understanding the greater socio-political and cultural unity beginning with the Golden Horde itself and continuing through the time of the component states constituting the Later Golden Horde.

It is only with the help of the *Umdet ül-ahbar* that it is possible to understand that these later states continued certain earlier Çingisid traditions, the most outstanding of which was the Çingisid system of state organization. In this pattern of state organization which I have termed the "four-bey system", four socio-political units shared fully in the governing of the state. The leaders of these four "ruling tribes" were collectively known as the four *qaraçı* beys; their direct predecessors in the earlier Golden Horde were known as the *ulus* beys. Another well-known passage in the *Umdet ül-ahbar* describes the functioning of this system of government.<sup>64</sup> I have published a translation of this passage elsewhere and have argued that this description is, in fact, the key which allows us to piece together and reinterpret partial account of state organization found in diverse sources for the 13th-14th centuries as well.<sup>65</sup>

There are many questions regarding the history of both the earlier Golden Horde, the Crimean xanate itself, and even the other xanates of the Later Golden Horde to whose discussion the *Umdet ül-ahbar* makes a contribution beyond these few illustrative examples. Of course, I do not insist that all of the information in this work is to be corroborated by information in other sources. Nevertheless, this work and the other Turkic narrative sources from the later

<sup>62</sup> Abdülğaffar Kırımı/Asım, p. 45-48. Inalcik connects the *ulus* beys and the *qaraçı* beys with the term *nōker* ("The Khan and the Tribal Aristocracy", pp. 451-452).

<sup>63</sup> Abdülğaffar Kırımı/Asım, pp. 15 ff. and 200 ff. For a discussion of this information see Inalcik, "The Khan and the Tribal Aristocracy", pp. 454 and n. 24. See also B.F. Manz, "The Clans of the Crimean Khanate, 1466-1532", *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 2, (1978), pp. 282-309, which is an attempt to reconstruct the genealogy of the Şirin leaders based exclusively on Muscovite and eastern European sources. Such an approach, however, does not allow one to take the line any further back than Tegine.

<sup>64</sup> Abdülğaffar Kırımı/Asım, p. 13 ff. A portion of this passage is also paralleled in the *Gülbün-i hanan* (Halim Giray Sultan/Cevdi, p. 40).

<sup>65</sup> See "The *Qaraçı* Beys", pp. 284-285. For an elaboration of this theme see also my "Tribal Politics and Social Organization in the Golden Horde". In the meantime I would like to acknowledge Prof. Inalcik's suggestion regarding my earlier translation that *emr-i azim* should be translated as a "glorious matter" rather than as a "glorious order".

period represent a contribution to the preservation of historical traditions from the 13th-14th centuries about which sometimes very little else is known. Some of these tradition survive exclusively through works written in Xwarezm, others survive through works written in the xanates of the Later Golden Horde, and some survive as oral traditions, a topic which I have not even considered in this essay. Taken together, however, they represent what survives of the indigenous historical traditions of the Golden Horde. It may be premature to offer a bold new hypothesis on the state of historiography in the Golden Horde. It is not too soon, however, to insist that the study of the Turkic narrative sources mentioned in this essay is essential for any study of the history of western Eurasia in the period of the Golden Horde as well as in the period of the Later Golden Horde.

U. S.