

# IV ORIENTAL STUDIES

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## **Mīrzā Muhammad Haidar Dughlat and His «Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī» as a Source For the History of the Kazakh Khanate**

*We are only in present, but in us are centuries.*

*M. Dughlat*

**Abstract.** The paper contains information about the life and activity of Mīrzā Muhammad Haidar Dughlat – a medieval Kashmir ruler of Turkic origin. His work «Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī» bears special value as a reliable source on the history of Kazakh people. «Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī» describes the processes of formation of Turkic peoples: Kazakh, Kyrgyz, Uzbek and Uighur, and gives data on the time of establishment of Kazakh Khanate.

**Key words:** «Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī», Kazakh Khanate, Moghul empire, Kashmir, Kazakhs, memoires, etc.

### **Introduction**

Muhammad Haidar Dughlat was a comprehensively educated man and remained in people's memory as a great scientist, writer, poet, statesman and military leader. His book «Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī» (History of Rashid) is one of the most significant historical and literary monuments of the middle Ages, containing information on the history, literature and culture of the peoples of Central Asia. In addition, it becomes more important at present, in the year of celebrating the 550th anniversary of the Kazakh Khanate, as a reliable historical source on the history of Kazakh people.

For a better understanding of the works of Mīrzā Haidar Dughlat, we present his brief biography. Muhammad Haidar Dughlat came from a noble Dughlat tribe and well-known Mogul clan. His family enjoyed hereditary privileges received from Chagataids, head of the clan was a hereditary emir of the state-tribal formation Manglai-Sube. Muhammad Haidar was born in Tashkent (1500), where his family lived for several years ruling the domain of Ura-Tube. During a plot against Sheibanids his fa-

ther failed, and the whole family had to flee to Fergana. However there his father was killed by the order of Sheibani Khan. To save his life M.H. Dughlat fled to Kabul to his cousin Babur, who received him warmly. Three years later, Muhammad Haidar went to live to another cousin, Sultan Said Khan in Andijan. In 1514, with the establishment of the power of Sultan Said Khan in Kashgar and foundation of a new state – «Mamlakat va Mogulie,» Muhammad Haidar handled army and state activities, as well as brought up Sultan Said Khan's son – Khan Abdurashid. Muhammad Haidar headed several military campaigns to Badakhshan, Kafiristan, Ladakh, Tibet. After the death of Said Khan, his son Abdurashid Khan organized the murder of a number of influential members of the Dughlat tribe, including his uncle Muhammad Haidar. Therefore, Muhammad Haidar had to leave the home of his ancestors, and moved to India to Babur (Lahore), where he conquered Kashmir and ruled there until his death. He was killed accidentally by his soldier's arrow in 1551, in a row with hill tribes of Kashmir (1).

Muhammad Haidar Dughlat received an excel-

lent education for his time; along with the native Chagatai, he also knew Persian language. About himself, he wrote: «I became the best, most skillful among relatives in calligraphy, writing, poetry, style, painting and gilding. ... In other crafts, such as in inlay, carving, jewelry craftsmanship, saddlery, manufacture of armor, arrows and bow, knife, ornamentation in construction, joinery and other crafts ... I was proficient thanks to the efforts of Khan (2;21). «

### Methods

In this research we fulfill examining the sources—monographs, journals, newspaper articles, letters, court case records, artworks, autobiographies, that people from certain historical period left behind. Those sources are set in context, explained, interrogated and related to the question posed.

### Main body

We see that Mirza Muhammad Haidar Dughlat was a comprehensively developed person. Having excellent knowledge of military affairs, craftsmanship and public administration, he also wrote memoirs and poetry. Only two of his works reached our time: «Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī» – the story of the Mughals and Chagatai khans in Kashgar and Mogolistan, in Central Asian Persian, and the poem «Jahan-name» in Chagatai language.

Muhammad Haidar Mirza, who understood the high purpose of the «science of history» as a guide in life of «all the people of the world» could hardly imagine that his historical and memoir writing would take a very special place in Muslim historiography of the peoples of Central Asia. The main purpose of his work, he said, was to write the history of the Moghul Khans of Mogolistan from the adoption of Islam, i.e. from the time of Chagataid Tugluk Timur Khan. Before him, starting from Genghis Khan, Mongolia was ruled by non-Muslim khans, and their history had been described in many works, such as Juveyni, Rashid al-Din and so on, says Muhammad Haidar. However, in fact, he left a legacy of a unique source of political, ethno-cultural, socio-economic history of several Turkic peoples of the 200-year period of their historical fate on the vast territory occupied by Mogolistan – the main object of study of Mirza Haidar, and after its collapse – the Kazakh Khanate in Zhetysu in the period of its formation, the Kyrgyz union and the state of Moguliya in East Turkestan (2;4).

Mirza Haydar wrote «Tarikh-i Rashidi» in Kashmir for several years. The writing consists of two parts – the «Daftars». The first daftar describes the

history of Chagataid Khans of Kashgar and Mogolistan from Tugluk Timur to Abdarrashid Khan. It was written after the second. The second daftar is nearly four times larger than the first, and contains memoirs of the author. That is why the work of Mirza Haidar, along with «Babur-name», is considered a model of memoir literature of the XVI century (2;25).

In the introduction to the first «daftar» Mirza Haidar names three reasons why he called his work «Tarikh-i Rashidi»: the first – in honor of Sheikh Arshaddaddin, who converted Tugluk Timur to Islam; the second – after the right path (Rushd), by which led his people Tugluk Timur, and the third – in honor of the Mughal Khan Abdarrashid (2;26).

As for today, «Tarikh-i Rashidi» has been translated into English, Turkish, Russian and Kazakh languages.

In Kazakhstan, with the study of life and work of this extraordinary man for many years engaged scientist-orientalist, arabist, doctor of philological sciences, professor, and director of the Institute of Oriental Studies Absattar Derbisali. He was the first modern scientist who managed to find the long lost in Kashmir grave of Mirza Muhammad Haidar Dughlat. Under his supervision, the unique book «Tarikh-i Rashidi» was translated from Persian into Kazakh. He also made the first, and so far the only Kazakh translation from Chagatai language of the poem «Jahan-name». As A. Derbisali mentioned in his article «M.H. Dughlat on the first Kazakh khanate», Mirza Dughlat gives clear information on the date of formation of Kazakh Khanate: «In those days, Abul Khair Khan completely mastered the Dasht-i Kipchak. He attacked the sultans-Juchids – Janibek Khan and Khan Kiray fled from him and came to Mogolistan. Isan Buga Khan received them well and gave them Kozy Bashi, which is located in west Mogolistan on the Chu River. As they stayed there, Uzbek ulus after the death of Abul Khair Khan came to disorder, there arose great disagreement and most [people] went to Kiray Khan and Janibek Khan, so that their number reached two hundred thousand people, and they were called «Uzbek-Kazakhs.» The rule of Kazakh sultans started from 870 (1465-1466) years, and up to 940 (1533-1534), the Kazakhs had full authority over most of Uzbekistan» (3).

Chapters of the book «Tarikh-i Rashidi», describing the ethnogenesis of Kazakhs, the acquisition of their historical name, the history of the formation of the first Kazakh Khanate: «The mentioning of the life of Kazakhs and their sultans; about the reason why they were given this name and the consequences of their deeds, «» On leaving Sultan Said

Khan to Qasim Khan, to the Kazakhs «on dynasty of Dughlats and others – contribute to the expansion of knowledge about the history of the establishment of our independent state, the first steps young Kazakh Khanate in the political arena (4). «Tarikh-i Rashidi» describes outstanding politicians whose names are associated with the formation of an independent state of the Kazakhs, the first steppe khans Janibek, Girey, Kasim. The book presents a gallery of outstanding personalities, who contributed to making the history and culture of the Kazakh people. Mirza Haidar considered essential to characterize the life and work of the great Kasim Khan (1512-1521 years), because «if you do not tell briefly about him, the story remains unclear». M.H.Dughlat verifies that Kasim Khan, skillfully using the political situation in Central Asia, subjected vast areas of steppe, «... he subdued all the Dasht-i Kipchak, as no one after Jochi Khan was able to do». Thanks to the objective assessment of Mirza Haidar, we received information about the power of the Kazakh Khanate, headed by a wise and visionary leader.

«Tarikh-i Rashidi» describes the process of formation of Turkic peoples. Kazakhs separated during Mogolistan in the part, which composed the Senior zhuz, along with the Middle Zhuz, formed within the boundaries of Ak-Orda and Abulhair's Khanate and Junior zhuz in the Nogai Horde. Researchers acknowledge the completion of formation of Kyrgyz ethnos in the period of entering of the territory of modern Kyrgyzstan in Mogolistan state; the Kyrgyz, according to Mirza Haidar, were «also from the tribe of Mogolistan.» Addition of Uighur (new Uighur) people happening in Kashgar during the reign of Moghul Khans, who at the end of XIV century. Subjugated the eastern part of East Turkestan. «Tarikh-i Rashidi» also contains historical information about other peoples of Central Asia – Kalmak (Oirat), Tibetans, Kashmiris, Hazariy and others. However, it is the story of four related Turkic peoples – Kazakhs, Kyrgyz, Uzbeks and Uighurs, which was in more detail covered in the pages of «Tarikh-i Rashidi.» Each of them is entitled to consider Mirza Muhammad Haidar Dughlat their national historian (5).

Studying the history of Central Asia and Eastern Turkestan, European historical tradition addressed Muhammad Haidar's «Tarikh-i Rashidi» in the mid XIX century. However, it was the information about Kazakhs and Kazakhstan, which attracted the attention of a well-known Russian orientalist V.V. Velyaminov Zernov. In his four-volume historical work «Study on Kasimov tsars and princes» (5), he reconstructed the history of Kazakh khanate, basing on written sources in oriental languages.

Velyaminov-Zernov published the information on Kazakhs from «Tarikh-i Rashidi» and compared it with the data from other sources («Jami-at tawarih» by Kadyrgali Jalairi, «Abdulla-name» by Khafiz Tanysh, «Khabib as-siyar» by Khondemir, etc.) He described the political history of Kazakh khanate as it was narrated by Muhammad Haidar, connecting the formation of this state with the fact of departure of Janibek and Girey khans from Dasht-i-Kypchak to Zhetysu, expressed his opinion on the reasons of attaching ethnonym «kazakh» to their people, showed foreign relations of Kazakh khans with mogul, Uzbek, Nogai rulers.

Even before the publication of data about the Kazakhs from «Tarikh-i Rashidi» by V. V. Velyaminov-Zernov an outstanding Kazakh scientist-orientalist and ethnographer Ch.Ch. Valikhanov showed particular research interest in this source. He conducted big research work of a historian-source studies character: made extracts from «Tarikh-i Rashidi», compiled genealogical tables based on materials of Mirza Haidar, Kadyrgali Zhalairi and other sources, drew a schematic map of Mogolistan, defined a range of sources, from which Muhammad Haidar wrote his work. Materials of Ch.Ch. Valikhanov on «Tarikh-i Rashidi» were published only decades later (5;5).

«Tarikh-I Rashidi» was written by Mirza Muhammad Haidar Dughlat almost 80 years after the formation of Kazakh khanate. This span gave him the opportunity to look on Kazakh history as a whole epoch in the life of an ethnos and its state. In this historical source for the first time, systematically, in a brief essay was narrated the history of rulers of Kazakh state (ulus, khanate) of more than 7 decades, from the end of 50s of XV century. The work of Mirza Haidar is the only one, which says about the fact of establishment of Kazakh khanate; moreover, gives the exact date, says about the split of Uzbek tribes of East Dasht-i-Kypchak and Turkestan on «Uzbeks» and «Kazakhs», and the so-called «departure» of Kazakhs in 1459. Kazakh khans Janibek and Girey did not subject to Abulhair-khan and remained sovereign rulers in the lands inherited from their fathers – khans of Ak Orda – territories of Dasht-i-Kypchak and Turkestan (Central and South Kazakhstan), were respected by faithful clans and tribes – their numerous, according to Muhammad Haidar, people – rulers, khans, decades before the departure. In fact their activity in those decades straightly connected Ak-Orda and the future Kazakh khanate as in terms of a common generation line, so in terms of development of a single Kazakh statehood from the XVI century (5;16).

Mirza Muhammad Haidar reflected in his work, the final act in a long process of forming a single Kazakh nation – the acquisition of its national name. In his short history of Kazakh rulers, he explains the origin of the people's name, showing the transformation of the ethnic name from the ethnopolitonym «Uzbeks», common with the population of Abulhair's khanate, through the use of the dual term «Uzbek-Kazakhs», reflecting the peculiarity of this part of population deserting East Dasht-Kipchak (which became the «Kazakhs»), until the appearance of a new ethnonym «Kazakh». And in *Tarikh-i Rashidi* and other sources of XV-XVI centuries, this ethnonym was applied to all the people of the region Zhetysu, East Dasht-i-Kipchak and Turkestan, i.e. the whole territory of Kazakh Khanate as it was with Kasym Khan.

Mirza Haidar showed how during a short period, the life of just one or two generations, the term «Kazakh» became the dominant ethnonym. But this term was used as an ethnonym to describe the long-established Turkic people, whose ethnic territory were lands of Zhetysu, East Dasht-Kipchak and Turkestan. Further, its consolidation took place in the framework of its national state – the Kazakh Khanate (5;13). Thus, «Ta'rikh-Rashidi» is one of the most important sources, making it possible to reveal the problem of ethnogenesis and ethnic history of Kazakh, Kyrgyz, Uyghur, to a certain extent Uzbek peoples. Muhammed Haidar Mirza in his work reflected the end of formation of three Turkic peoples of Central Asia, and their formation was complete in the era of Mogolistan (as of the rest of Kazakh people, Middle and Junior zhuzes – in the era of the Ak-Orda, Khanate of «nomadic Uzbeks» Nogai Horde). They became successors of moguls, their nationhood, ethnic composition, achieved level of socio-cultural development (5;9).

As for the second composition of Mirza Haidar, which has reached us through time, the poem «Jahan-name», Bashkir scientist Ahmed Zaki Validi Togan (1891-1970), in German, read it by chance in 1937 and he was the first person to write a short article about this poem. *Jahan-name* was written in 1533 and consists of 110 couplets. It is based on historical events, which took place at that time: the death of Said Khan, protector and cousin of Mirza Haidar and accession to the throne of his son Abdarrashid. In addition, it describes socio-political situation, the life of the people during the reign of Abu Bakir, who brought much evil and suffering to his people. The poet opposes Abu Baqir to Khan Said whose justice and common sense won the love and

respect of the people. The poem showed the breadth of Myrza Haidar Said Khan's heart, his compassionate attitude towards same as he, orphans with a wounded soul, compared Said Khan with Mahmut Gaznau, and himself with Ayaz (6).

Thus, M. Dughlat's verses reflected military events, heroic images of military service. M.H. Dughlat created a very strong incriminating picture of the world of elite, their immorality. In his lyrics he awakened in his people faith in their own strength, self-esteem, will for the unity of the people. M.H. Dulati introduced to the poetry Allah, values of Islam and checked each step of the managers on morality of religion. The best characters were smart, convinced, and passionate. «We are just now – says the «Jahan-name»- but the centuries are in us» (7). Muhammad Haidar Dughlat's personality seems surprising of how he managed to combine the qualities of a skilled military leader, ruler, artisan, historian, writer and poet.

According to Babur's recollections, Muhammad Haidar was very keen on poetry: «In poetic tales, he was at the mercy of natural forces. He possessed a truly unheard of ability to concentrate. It was a constant strain of mind and thought. He belonged to the idea. It dawned on him. On his Mongol-type face burned his sharp eyes. «(Babur. Babur-name / Trans. By Salye. Gl.P. – Tashkent, 1993. – 197) (7).

Dughlat's works are scattered around the world. His manuscripts were found in India in the XVIII century. The first edition of his works was made in 1895 in England, three years later it was reprinted for the second time and in 1972 in India – for the third. Two valuable manuscripts are kept in Berlin and Kashgar (8).

### Conclusion

For the modern Kazakhstan, undergoing processes of state formation and nation building, and moving to the innovative ways of globalization and integration development, it is especially important to know and popularize our history. 2015 is the year of celebration of 550<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Kazakh Khanate, and this year witnessed the reprint of such important works as «Nomads» by Ilyas Esenberlin and «Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī» by Muhammad Haidar Dughlat. The fundamental work of «Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī» is an excellent and reliable source on the history of Kazakh and other Turkic peoples, which is of great importance and relevance today, in the context of multinational states and the search for national and ethnic identity. Central Asian nations can rightly regard Muhammad Dughlat as a chronicler of national history and draw wisdom from his works.

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