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Front cover:

“Portrait of a princess”, *Muraqqaʾ* X 3 from the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Fabergé collection, fol. 31a, 9.5 × 16.5 cm. Moghūl school, mid-18th century, watercolour, gouache and gold on paper.

Back cover:

Decorative composition from elements of the double frontispiece of a Qurʾānic manuscript, the same album, fol. 29a, dimensions within the outer border 18.0 × 21.0 cm. Presumably Tebriz, 1540s—1560s. Mounted in India, mid-18th century.

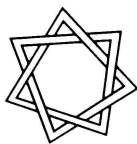
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ON THE HISTORY OF BOOK IN THE JŪCHID KHĀNATES*

The following record has been preserved under the year 1549 in the Patriarchal, or Niconian, chronicle and the so-called "Royal Book": "On the 25th of that month of March, news came to the Grand Prince, the Tsar, that in Kazan the Tsar of Kazan, Şafā-Girēy had died, perishing in his chambers. The nobility of Kazan and the Crimea, acting in concert, set his son, the two-year-old Tsarevich Utemish-Girēy, on the throne and sent to the Crimea many ambassadors to ask for help and a [middle-aged] regent for the Tsar. And the Cossacks of the Grand Prince, the Tsar, Urachko and his fellows, struck those ambassadors down and seized their *yarlighs* and sent them to the sovereign, and let no one reach the Crimea" [1]. The Kazan messengers were headed by Yanbars and Salkish. They were bringing to the Crimea 4 *yarlighs*, or letters, and a book as a "gift", which, as a result of the incident, made their way to Moscow on May 1, 1549. A record of this event and a Russian translation of one of the *yarlighs* has come down to us in four copies. The first (defective, apparently the earliest) is in the collection of I. E. Zabelin (today at the State Historical Museum in Moscow, No. 419, fols. 94—95b); the second is present in the compilation of the Synodal assembly (*ibid.*, No. 272, fols. 404b—406) which is Patriarch Nicon's contribution to a Jerusalem monastery; the third copy is part of the collection of A. N. Popov (the State Library of Russia, fund 236, call number 59, fols. 135—136b), and the fourth is contained in a seventeenth-century collection from Moscow State Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Russian State Archive of Ancient Documents, fund 181, inv. 1, item 591, fols. 787—789) [2].

The record runs: "And they sent to the Crimean Tsar with those of their ambassadors a book as a gift. That book is written in the Persian language and is called *laziab ekh malukkat*, in Russian 'The Wisdom of the Entire World' according to their Mohammedan heresy". The document is not dated, but according to the above-mentioned chronicle, the seizure of the Kazan's ambassadors "in the field" and the interception of the *yarlighs* they carried, without indicating their contents, are recorded under 1549. M. N. Tikhomirov erroneously gives the year as 1547 in his edition of the letter's text [3], while J. Pelensky, in his work devoted to the relations between Muscovy and the Kazan khānate, argues that the letters were dispatched from Kazan to the Ottoman empire [4]. He seems to base his assumption on the fact that Dawlat-Girēy, who was requested to

come as a regent to Kazan, was in Turkey at the time. But contrary to this assumption, on page 42 of his work, Pelensky asserts that Utemysh-Girēy's embassy was headed for the Crimea [5].

It was N. P. Likhachev who, at the close of the nineteenth century, drew attention to a note present in an order (dated June 6, 1565) to the Muscovite ambassador to the Noghay Horde, Mikhail Subulov: "And if Tinehmat the Prince say: 'I have written to the Tsar, Grand Prince, about the book *Azia ibu imalukat*, and the ruler did not send me the book', Mikhail should say: 'Our sovereign ordered that the book be sought among their holdings, but it could not be found'" [6]. The report of this request by the Noghay bey Dīn Aḥmad (Tinehmat, as he was termed in Russian documents) also drew the attention of A. I. Sobolevsky, who identified the book as Qazwīnī's *'Ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt*. But he did not know of the chronicle record for 1549, mentioned above; by this reason, he believed that the manuscript entered the Tsar's archive after the death of the Kazan khān, Şafā-Girēy, as in August, 1551, his widow Suyun-bike and his son, the under-aged Tsarevich Utemish (Utiamysh of the document), were sent to Moscow together with the treasury [7].

The text that mentions *yarlighs* and a Persian book and was seized from the Kazan ambassadors also drew the attention of A. D. Sedelnikov, who devoted a few remarks to it [8]. It was he who juxtaposed the information in the order Mikhail Subulov received in 1565 and the 1549 record in the chronicle, and suggested that both documents discuss the same manuscript containing a work by the Arab scholar Zakariyā' b. Muḥammad al-Qazwīnī — *'Ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt* ("The Wonders of Nature") [9]. Unfortunately, this manuscript has not yet been discovered in Moscow's archival collections [10]. Zakariyā' b. Muḥammad al-Qazwīnī's (1203—1283) cosmographic work was written in Arabic and dedicated to the Baghdad governor under the Mongols, 'Alā al-Dīn 'Aṭā Malik b. Bahā al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Juwaynī. The work was one of the most popular cosmographies of the Muslim East, and its manuscripts were frequently adorned with miniatures [11].

As far as I know, since Sobolevsky, and later Sedelnikov, identified the manuscript under question as Qazwīnī's work, its authorship, time of creation, and previous and subsequent fate, have only been discussed once in the scholarly literature [12]. In his work on Arab geo-

* The Russian version of the paper was published in *Vostochnyi Arkhiv*, 4—5 (2000), pp. 77—82.

graphical literature, I. Krachkovsky, who was familiar with the 1549 record [13], also tended to identify the book termed as *laziab ekh malukkat* in the chronicle as Qazwīnī's cosmography. He wrote that the title of the work which is mentioned in the Niconian chronicle is a "distortion of a common title for al-Qazwīnī's work, about which there can be little doubt" [14]. Krachkovsky, however, was at a loss about determining which version of the work — the original Arabic text or one of the Persian translations that appeared at virtually the same time — was seized by the Muscovite Cossacks [15]. But the point is that al-Qazwīnī's work is not the only one to bear the title. Between 1165—1173, a work by the title of '*Ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt* [*wa-lgharā'ib al-maṣnū'āt* ("Wonders of Creation and Rarities of That Which Exists") was created in Persian for the Iraqi Seljuk Ṭoḡhrul II (r. 1177—1194). Its author is considered to be Najīb Hamadānī, although it was believed earlier that the work was written by Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ṣalmānī al-Ṭūsī [16]. Krachkovsky rejects the possibility that the Kazan book was Hamadānī's (or Ṭūsī's) work. He writes in this connection that it can hardly be "some other work with the same title, for example, Aḥmad Ṭūsī's" [17].

I must confess that I do not share Krachkovsky's skepticism in this regard. First of all, the officials in the Moscow *prikaz* (board) who recorded the events of 1549 were unlikely to have erred in determining the language of the book. Be that as it may, either a Persian translation of al-Qazwīnī's work or the Persian original of Hamadānī's work was brought to Moscow. It should be noted that the second assumption seems not to be too extraordinary. Hamadānī's '*Ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt* was translated into Central Asian Turkic by Kamāl al-Dīn Shīr-'Alī Harawī (or Hirawī) (ca. 1453—1512), a well-known court poet, scholar, theologian, historian and musician of Sheybānī-khān. Harawī was known by the *takhalluṣ* Binā'ī. Binā'ī made the translation in Samarqand at the request of Sheybānī-khān himself; in his introduction to the translation of Hamadānī's work, Binā'ī writes that he was responding to an offer from Sheybānī-khān to translate the composition into Turkic [18]. Sheybānī-khān enjoyed close ties with the Kazan khānate. For example, according to Bābur, Sheybānī-khān sent to the Kazan khān, Muḥammad Emīn, his court singer and poet, Ghulām Shādī, the presumed author of the poem *Faṭḥ-nāma*, dedicated to Sheybānī-khān himself [19]. The proximity of Shādī and Binā'ī to the courts of Sheybānī-khān and Muḥammad Emīn makes likely the appearance of Hamadānī's work in the Kazan khānate. One can add that '*Ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt* by Hamadānī could also have been known in Kazan because the work provides an abridged version of Ibn Faḍlān's account of his journey to the Volga [20], which would have interested men of learning in Kazan. As M. G. Khudiakov, a specialist in the history of the Kazan khānate, points out, "the Kazan khānate's cultural ties with Turkestan, Persia, Turkey and Arabia were not interrupted. Books were brought to Kazan from Persia, devout pilgrims travelled to Mecca, merchants and diplomats journeyed to Astrakhan, Bakhchisarai, and Constantinople" [21].

It should be noted that the dispatch to the Crimea of a "gift" book from the "Kazan realm of Mamāy, the sovereign of the *ulāns*, the *mūllās*, *hāfiṣ*z, and subject princes, and all people", as the title of the Kazan *khān* was given in old-Russian official documents, was not an unusual practice. Book-purchasing contacts, if indirect, between the

Crimea and Kazan existed before 1549. To cite an example, at the beginning of 1526, the Crimean *khān* Sa'ādat-Girēy sent to Moscow his messenger Tamach with documents addressed to the Grand Prince Vasily. One of them, dated January, 1526, runs as follows: "On this occasion, I appointed my servant *sayyid* Ḥuseyn to my servant Tamach, to inquire of the health of Tsar Ṣafā-Girēy, the Tsar of Kazan and my son, and [also] to ask you, my brother, to give your permission to him to go across your land, so that if you should let him go through your land with a sealed letter, and [one of] your men appointed to him, as far as the Kazan border and back, there should be no oppression or attack from your people. **And I send him to Kazan for books. There are four books there, and I am sending him to ask for those books.** My request is the following: let him go freely through [your lands], there and back, without detaining him, and let him come back to us together with the ambassador" [22]. A *kalgha* of Sa'ādat-Girēy, Ṣāhib-Girēy wrote more laconically of this mission: Sa'ādat sent "his theologian, Ḥuseyn-'aziz", to inquire about the health of the Kazan *khān*, Ṣafā-Girēy, "and we sent our theologian, Aqchura-'aziz, to learn the royal health of Ṣafā-Girēy" [23]. These messages arrived in Moscow in April, but the Grand Prince was evidently reluctant to let the messenger travel on to Kazan. Moscow was extremely suspicious about Crimean-Kazan contacts and strove to limit them as much as possible. In conditions of openly hostile relations with Ṣafā-Girēy, Vasily seems to have decided to foil *sayyid* Ḥuseyn's visit to Kazan.

At the beginning of December, Moscow received a new portion of official letters from the Crimean *khān*. In one of them, written in July of 1526, Sa'ādat rebukes Vasily: "[It would have been good] if I had [already] received the books from Kazan with my messenger Tomach. I have sent *sayyid* Ḥuseyn [already for this purpose]. And you have not yet allowed him to proceed on to Kazan. You understand us correctly if you allow him to travel to Kazan" [24]. Unfortunately, the result of this diplomatic correspondence is unknown. *Sayyid* Ḥuseyn is not mentioned in known sources either before or after 1526: we do not find him among those who, together with Sa'ādat-Girēy, swore the *shert* (oath — *I. Z.*) to Tsar Ivan IV in 1524 before his messenger, O. Andreev. Nor is he among the *sayyids* who swore to Ivan around 1531—1532 at the court of the Crimean *khān*, Islām-Girēy. The Niconian chronicle, however, mentions a certain Usein-Seit (i.e. *sayyid* Ḥuseyn — *I. Z.*). In February 1554, he came to Kazan waywodes with a petition [25], but it is unlikely that he was the same person. It is possible that the two documents of Sa'ādat from 1526 are the only ones that contain the name of *sayyid* Ḥuseyn, but this is probably not the case. It may be that "*sayyid* Ḥuseyn" is another person — seyid Shauseyn (*sayyid* Shākh-Ḥuseyn?), first mentioned in Russian chronicles in 1512 as Muḥammad Emīn's ambassador to Moscow. In 1516, he once again carried out the duties of the Kazan *khān*'s ambassador in Moscow. In 1523, we find him in the Crimea, where he married [26]. He was sent by Ṣāhib-Girēy from Kazan to the Crimea as an ambassador. In his letter to Moscow of March, 1524, the Muscovite ambassador in the Crimea I. Kolychev reports to his ruler: "two weeks... before Christmas, the ambassador Shauseyn seit (our Shākh-Ḥuseyn — *I. Z.*) came to Tsar Sa'ādat-Girēy in Perekop from Ṣā[h]ib-Girēy in Kazan. And he brought... from Tsar Ṣā[h]ib-Girēy to Tsar Sa'ādat-Girēy eighteen

gifts and nine from himself. And among these ... [were] silver vessels, and clothing, and horses. And seit (*sayyid*), from Tsar Şā[h]ib-Girēy to Tsar Sa'adat-Girēy, said: now the Grand Prince of Moscow has founded a city on the river Sura, beside my realm of Kazan. You should send me cannons, and arquebuses, and Janisseries, or I will be unable to stand against the Muscovite waywodes" [27].

Thus, Shauseyn arrived in the Crimea at the beginning of December, 1523 (two weeks before Christmas). In 1523, Moscow demanded that he be handed over as a traitor to the oath to accept Shaykh 'Alī in Kazan after the death of Muḥammad Emīn [28]. The Muscovite ambassadors in the Crimea, O. Andreev and I. Kolychev, even received special orders which indicated what they were to say to Shauseyn if they should happen to meet him. If he repented, they were to say that the Grand Prince had put off his fall from grace and would forgive the *sayyid* and "all the Kazan land" [29]. From a report of the Muscovite envoy to the Crimea, T. Gubin, in 1524, it is clear that the *sayyid* "is not to be back in Kazan" [30]. It is likely that the intentional delay of *sayyid* Ḥuseyn in Moscow in 1526 was directly linked with Moscow's attempts in 1523 to gain from the Crimea his surrender for treason. Ḥuseyn's mission is likely to have ended in failure. It is also possible that the dispatch of a book from Kazan to the Crimea in 1549 was in some way linked to the episode in 1526, when Sa'adat-Girēy intended to receive four books from Kazan.

It is not by chance that the Noghay biy, Dīn Aḥmad, also tells about the manuscript of '*Ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt*' in 1565. The Noghay biys were apparently no strangers to books, just like the *khāns* of Kazan, Astrakhan, and the Crimea. Otherwise, there would hardly have been reason for the Ottoman Sultan Süleymān to refer in a 1547 letter to Ismā'il (Dīn Aḥmad's father) to certain Muslim works apparently known to the addressee. The Muscovite envoy to the Noghay Horde, P. Turgenev, conveyed the text of the letter: "...in our, that is, Mohammedan books it is written that the time has come, the time of the Russian Tsar Ivan has come, when his hand is held high over the Mohammedans..." [31]. It is also interesting that the Noghay leaders appealed to the authority of Muslim learned men in conducting foreign-policy correspondence with non-Muslim rulers, too. In 1538, *mīrzā* Urāq wrote in his letter to Tsar Ivan IV: "and if only the Honorable (*aq*) Prince had wished, there would have been no obstacle to Him till His second destiny — our learned men say" [32].

It is interesting, the Noghay learned men apparently studied not only Muslim writings, they also knew the Gospels. In a 1550 letter, *mīrzā* Yūsuf writes to Tsar Ivan: "One comes into this captivating world and one leaves it. Our learned men say that no one can escape death. It is written in our Qur'ān. And in your Gospel it is also. Your learned men see in the Gospels that all that lives in this world must die" [33].

The authority of some of those "learned men" was so high that the Noghay rulers sought to get held of them as court literary figures. In the summer of 1549, the above-mentioned *mīrzā* Yūsuf wrote to the Tsar in Moscow: "I ask you to send us a translator (*tolmach*) called Magmed Yar (Muḥammad Yār) who has come [to you] from Kazan". The reference is certainly to the outstanding Kazan poet of the time, Muḥammad Yār. But we learn from Ivan IV's reply that "our people killed Muḥammad Yār, the Kazan translator, in Muroḥ" [34].

People were sent from the Noghay Horde to other Muslim lands to study, for example, to the Crimea. In a 1550 letter from Yūsuf to Ivan IV, there is mention of an *imeldesh* (foster brother) of *mīrzā* Idlibāy, "who left our land for the Crimea to learn writing and is said to have reached that place" [35].

Let us turn again to the incident of 1549. The Noghay *mīrzās* were well familiar with the seizure of the Kazan embassy by Muscovite Cossacks that year. In the summer of 1549, Yūsuf wrote to Tsar Ivan: "And when Şafā-Girēy had died, those mercenaries who live in Kazan sent thirty of their men led by Yanbār Sarasov and Danil, son of Muḥammad, to Crimea, with a petition to the sovereign. And your people took those thirty men, and those who escaped fell into the hands of our people. And after them, other people went to the Crimea to petition the sovereign and his son" [36]. The reference is undoubtedly to the embassy with which we are familiar. It is possible that the remnants of the embassy, intercepted by Yūsuf's people, were the source of information about the book '*Ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt*' in the Noghay Horde. The name of one of the embassy's participants is given erroneously as Yanbar Sarasov while one should read this name as Yanbārs Rasov. No doubt, it is the very "Yenbars-murza, son of Rast" whose name we encounter among the envoys sent by the Kazanians to Moscow in July 1551 to conduct peace talks [37].

It seems that books were not only read, but also produced in the Noghay Horde. In a 1538 letter to Ivan IV, the Noghay biy Sayyid Aḥmad asked the Muscovite Tsar for "six different colours, a *batman* [38] of saffron, a thousand sheets of paper" [39].

It seems that due to the close ties between the "Great Horde" and Central Asia, Afghanistan, and Ottoman Turkey the *khāns* of the so-called "Great Horde" and the Astrakhan *khāns* possessed some sort of book collection. In the *Bābur-nāma*, in the account of the Tīmūrid Sultan Ḥusayn Mīrzā, (r. in Herat from 1469 to 1506), we read that "during his Cossack days" he gave his sister Badī' al-Jamāl Badke-bikim in marriage to Aḥmad, *khān* of Haji-Tarkhan [40]. Badke-bikim was older than Ḥusayn Mīrzā, who was born in 1438. She could have become Aḥmad's wife in the 1450s. Aḥmad had two sons with Ḥuseyn Mīrzā's sister, who "after arriving in Herat ... served Mīrzā for a long time", meaning that they served his uncle [41]. 'Alī-Shīr Nawā'ī wrote the so-called *Sāqī-nāma* ("Book of the Cup-Bearer") for one of them, Bahādur-sulṭān [42]. In *Ḥabīb al-Siyar* by Ḥwand-Amīr (the work was finished around 1524), we learn that in time (probably after the husband's death in 1481) Badke-bikim returned to her brother in Herat with her two sons and daughter [43].

Close ties linked Aḥmad's descendants also with North Azerbaijan. One of Aḥmad's sons, Sayyid Muḥammad, was married to a daughter of *shīrwānshāh* [44] This *shīrwānshāh* was most likely Farrukh Yasār [45].

The manuscript repository of the Topkapı Sarayı in Istanbul has preserved a unique manuscript (No. 2937) [46] copied in the late fifteenth — early sixteenth century in Mawarannahr or Khorasan. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, the manuscript belong to Aḥmad's grandson Qāsim, the son of Sayyid Aḥmad, who ruled in Astrakhan (1502—1532). It is the only extant manuscript of the *Shu'ab-i panjgāna*, the third volume of Rashīd al-Dīn's *Tāj al-tawārīkh*, compiled between 1306/7—1310/11. The

work treats the genealogy of the ruling dynasties of the "five peoples": Turks and Mongols, Muslims (Arabs), Jews, Franks and Chinese. A. Z. V. Togan made the suggestion that the manuscript may have been given to Qāsim by his friend, *khān* Muḥammad Sheybānī, after the latter's conquest of Bukhara and Samarqand at the very beginning of the sixteenth century [47]. Ties of Muḥammad Sheybānī-khān with Astrakhan were apparently very close; possibly this can be explained by the events of the late 1460s when young Sheybānī and his brother concealed themselves at Qāsim and his Mangyt *beglerbeg* Tīmūr in Astrakhan. The amicable attitude of Sheybānī to the Astrakhan rulers seems to be also the reason of his friendly relationships with the Kazan *khān* Muḥammad Emīn [48].

It is possible that Sharīf Ḥājītarkhānī wrote his work *Ẓafar-nāma-i wilāyat-i Qazān* in Astrakhan, of which the poet was a native; it treats the unsuccessful Russian campaign against Kazan in 1550. In 1550, the author sent his *Ẓafar-nāma* to the Ottoman Sultan Suleymān Qānūnī. The text of the composition was discovered in 1965 by Zaki Validi Togan in the collection of the Zeytinogulları ilçesi Tavshanlı library in the Kütahya region of the Turkey. The work is on folios 60a–64b of a composite manuscript (No. 2348). The text was published by Z. V. Togan in 1965 without translation or commentary [49]. In the opinion of M. I. Akhmetzianov, which was shared by D. Iskhakov, Sharīf Ḥājītarkhānī and Qūl-Sharīf — poet, author of the poem *Qışsa Hubb-i Khwāja, millā and sayyid*, a well-known political figure in the Kazan khānate killed during the seizure of the city in 1552 — are one and the same [50], while the author of the poem *Ẓafar-nāma-i wilāyat-i Qazān* — Sharīf with the *nisba* Ḥājītarkhānī — is, in my view, none other than Mawlānā Sharīf al-Dīn Ḥusayn Sharīfī, known as the author of the *Jāddat al-‘āshiqīn* ("Broad Way of Those in Love"). This work was based on the *Miftāḥ al-ṭālibīn* ("Key for Those Who Seek the Truth") by Mawlānā Kamāl al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Shaykh ‘Alī b. ‘Imād al-Dīn al-Ghijduwānī, which was written around 950/1543; the former may be a reworking of the latter [51]. The *Jāddat al-‘āshiqīn* is a life of Shaykh Quṭb al-Dīn Ḥusayn, who died on 8 Sha‘bān 958/21 August 1551. In the view of H. Ethe, this was Shaykh Ḥusayn Khwārazmī, who died in 1549 [52]. Sharīfī was at the deathbed of his *pīr*, Shaykh Quṭb al-Dīn, in Aleppo many years after al-Gijduvānī's work had been written, and knew his *murshid's* affairs well.

Sharīfī's work consists of an introductory section, 14 chapters, and a conclusion. In the introduction, Sharīfī writes about the *silsila* of Quṭb al-Dīn. The 14 chapters are devoted to the circumstances of the *murshid's* life, his movements and events connected with them in Mawarannahr, Khorezm, Iran, Asia Minor, Mecca, Medina, Astrakhan, and other places. In the conclusion, Sharīfī explains why the *Jāddat al-‘āshiqīn* was written and the sources used in the work [53]. Manuscripts of the work have been preserved in the collection of Eastern manuscripts at the Uzbekistan Academy of Sciences and in the library of the India Office in Great Britain [54].

At the court of the Astrakhan *khāns* there were scribes (*bakhshī*) who were in charge of writing official documents and foreign correspondence, and, probably, of copying books. One of them is mentioned in Russian chronicles; he is *khān* ‘Abd al-Raḥmān's scribe-*bakhshī* who, together with "prince Yan Magmet" (Yān Muḥammad), took part in the khan's embassy to Moscow in the autumn of 1540 [55].

Also, the Turkish traveller, Evliya Çelebi, who visited Astrakhan in the autumn of 1666, wrote about experts in Muslim law (*qāḍī*) from among the Astrakhan *khesheks* that "many of them translate into the Muscovite language the books '*Imād al-Islām, Bazzāziya, Qāḍī-khān, Tātār-khāniya, Muḥammadiya*, books on law and liturgical books..." [56]. The composition titled '*Imād al-Islām*' ("Pillar of Islam") is most likely the Turkish translation of a Persian work '*Umdat al-Islām*' by Mawlānā ‘Abd al-‘Azīz Abū Ṭāhir Fārīsī, elucidating the five pillars of Islam. The translation into Turkish was made by ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Yūsuf al-Aqsarāyī in 950/1543 [57]; fairly numerous copies of the translation are held in the repositories of Turkey [58].

Among the works mentioned by Evliya Çelebi, the three titles represent collections of *fatwās*. For example, *Qāḍī-khān* contains the so-called *Qāḍī-khān fatwās* compiled by Fakhr al-Dīn Ḥasan b. Maṣṣūr b. Maḥmūd al-Uzjandī al-Farghānī (d. 1196), while *Bazzāziya* is another title of the work *Jāmi‘ al-wajīz* ("Collection of Extracts [from Books on *Fiqh*]") by Ḥāfiẓ al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Shihāb ibn al-Bazzāzī al-Kārdārī (or Kūrdūrī). The son of a cloth merchant, whence his name — ibn al-Bazzāzī — derives, al-Kārdārī lived in the Volga region (he was possibly a native of this land), then in the Crimea and Asia Minor, where he died in Ramaḍān 827/August 1424. He completed his *al-Bazzāziya*, known also under the titles *al-Fatāwā al-Bazzāziya* or *al-Fatāwā al-Kārdārīya*, in 812/1409. Kārdārī was also the author of another work, the biography of the famed *faqīh* Abū Ḥanīfa [59]. *Tātārkhāniya* is a collection of *fatwās* compiled by *imām* ‘Alim b. ‘Alā’ al-Dīn al-Ḥanaḥafī in the fourteenth century [60].

As for the *Muḥammadiya*, it can be identified as a religious *mathnawī* by the Turkish author Mehmed Yazıcıoğlu. It is an exposition and explication of Islam based on the Qur‘ān and *ḥadīths*. Of this author little is known. Yazıcıoğlu (or Ibn al-Kātib in Arabic) Mehmed Efendi was born in Malkara, not far from Adrianople; he was a *murīd*, and then *khalīfa*, of *shaykh* Ḥājī Bayrām whose blessing he received in Ankara. Yazıcıoğlu lived in seclusion and died in Gelibolu in 855/1451. His *Muḥammadiya* was finished in 853/1449 [61].

Thus, the works cited are compositions on Ḥanaḥafī *fiqh*, apart from the two books with a popular exposition of Islam. Although information on Evliya Çelebi is relatively late, one can say with certainty that Ḥaji-Tarkhan '*ulamā*' were familiar with these works before Russian rule.

Classical writings on *fiqh* were known in Astrakhan as well. Ḥājītarkhānī's *Ẓafar-nāma-i wilāyat-i Qazān* mentions three such works — *al-Kanz*, *al-Waḥfī*, and *al-Kāfi* — authored by Ḥāfiẓ al-Dīn Nasafī [62], whose full name was Ḥāfiẓ al-Dīn Abū-l-Barakat ‘Abdallāh b. Aḥmad b. Maḥmūd al-Nasafī (d. 1310 or 1320). He was the author of several works on *fiqh*, but his main work — *al-Waḥfī fī-l-furū* ("The Complete [Compendium] of Branches [of *Fiqh*]") — with authorial commentaries on his own text, entitled *al-Kāfi sharḥ al-waḥfī fī-l-furū*, which he began to write immediately after compiling *al-Waḥfī*; the commentary was completed on 22 Ramaḍān 684/21 December 1285. There exists also a brief version of this work — *Kanz al-daqa‘iq fī-l-furū* ("A Treasure-trove of Subtleties of Basic Principles [of *Fiqh*]"). Al-Nasafī wrote several other works on *fiqh*, the so-called "Poems of Stars" treating

Ḥanafī *fiqh* principles, and other compositions among which we find “A Shining Beacon on the Foundations of *Fiqh*”, commentary on it — “Revelation of Secrets in the Interpretation of ‘The Beacon’”, commentary on al-Madīnī “Useful [Book on] *Fiqh*”, etc. [63].

Astrakhan was probably the origin of a collection containing several writings: *Qinyat al-munya li-tatmīm al-ghunya* (“Acquiring a Desirable Complement to what is already Sufficient”) by the Khwārizmī *faqīh* Najm al-Dīn al-Ghazmīnī (d. 1260), a brief treatise on the Khwārizm monetary system, and three small compositions of Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad al-‘Imādī (first half of the 14th century). The first provides an explanation of the works used in al-Ghazmīnī’s work, the second treats questions of property division, and the third deals with epithets applied to scholars. All three works were copied by ‘Alī al-Awḍī from the autograph [64]. It is likely that a copy of “Basic Principles” (an Arabic-Persian dictionary for children in verse) by the thirteenth-century author, Abū Naṣr Farāhī, was also completed in Astrakhan in 1656/57 [65].

There is no doubt that Astrakhan had close cultural ties with Iran, Central Asia, Ottoman Turkey, and the lands of Dasht-i Qypchaq. It seems that the city’s Muslim clergy conducted active missionary work in lands to the East of Astrakhan, spreading and strengthening Islam and Muslim culture among the Kazakhs. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, Faḍlallāh b. Rūzbikhān Iṣfahānī wrote that ‘*ulamā*’ from Haji-Tarkhan (as well as from Turkestan, Khiva, Astrabad, Khorasan, and Iran) journeyed to the Kazakhs to root out heathenism [66]. Unfortunately, we still know little of the city’s cultural life in the first half of the sixteenth century.

All of these facts indicate that books played a significant role in the Kazan, Crimean, and Astrakhan khānates, as well as in the Noghay Horde; their close cultural ties with one another and contacts with Central Asia and the Ottoman empire can be clearly traced. Despite political collapse, the post-Golden Horde states represented a single cultural realm held together by shared traditions and a common language of science, literature, and education.

Notes

1. *Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisei* (henceforth, *PSRL*). *Patriarshaia ili Nikonovskaia letopis’* (Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Patriarch, or Niconian Chronicle) (St. Petersburg, 1904), xiii, pp. 157, 459.

2. The copy was published by V. V. Trepavlov, see his “Priklucheniia ‘Chudes tvoreniū’: iz khanskoī biblioteki Kazani v ‘liberiuū’ Ivana Groznogo” (“The adventures of ‘Marvels of That Which is Created’: from the *khān* library in Kazan to the library of Ivan the Terrible”), *Gasırlar Avazı / Ekho vekov*, 3–4 (Kazan, 1999), p. 37.

3. M. N. Tikhomirov, *Rossia v XVI stoletii* (Russia in the 16th Century) (Moscow, 1962), pp. 489–90.

4. J. Pelenski, *Russia and Kazan. Conquest and Imperial Ideology (1438–1560s)* (The Hague—Paris, 1974), p. 15.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 42–3.

6. N. P. Likhachëv, *Biblioteka i arkhiv moskovskikh gosudarev v XVI stoletii* (The Library and Archive of Muscovite Sovereigns in the 16th Century) (St. Petersburg, 1894), p. 59; also Trepavlov, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

7. A. I. Sobolevskii, *Materialy i issledovaniia v oblasti slavianskoī filologii i arkheologii* (Materials and Investigations on Slavic Philology and Archaeology) (St. Petersburg, 1910), p. 219. note; M. G. Khudiakov, *Ocherki po istorii Kazanskogo khanstva* (Essays on the History of the Kazan Khānate) (Moscow, 1991), p. 137.

8. A. D. Sedel’nikov, “Dve zametki po èpokhe Ivana Groznogo” (“Two comments on the era of Ivan the Terrible”), *Sbornik statei k sorokaletiiu uchënoi deiatel’nosti akademika A. S. Orlova* (Leningrad, 1934), pp. 165–7; Tikhomirov, *op. cit.*, p. 490.

9. Sedel’nikov, *op. cit.*, p. 165.

10. D. A. Morozov, “Zabytye stranitsy vostokovedeniia” (“Forgotten Oriental documents”), *Kratkii katalog arabskikh rukopisei i dokumentov Rossiiskogo gosudarstvennogo arkhiva drevnikh aktov* (Moscow, 1996), pp. 8–9.

11. I. Iu. Krachkovskii, *Arabskaia geograficheskaia literatura* (Arab Geographical Literature), in *Izbrannye sochineniia* (Moscow—Leningrad, 1957), iv, pp. 358–63.

12. Not counting a brief mention by K. V. Bazilevich. See K. V. Bazilevich, “Iarlyk Akhmed-khana Ivanu III” (“Aḥmad-khān’s *yarligh* to Ivan III”), *Vestnik Moskovskogo universiteta* (1948), No. 1, p. 30; see also Trepavlov, *op. cit.*

13. Krachkovskii, *op. cit.*, pp. 362–3.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 362.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 363.

16. C. A. Storey, *Persian Literature. A Bio-Bibliographical Survey* (London, 1958), ii, p. 121, No. 181; Krachkovskii, *op. cit.*, p. 323; L. V. Dmitrieva, “Rukopis’ tiurkskogo perevoda persidskogo sochineniia ‘Ajā’ib al-makhlūqāt’ v GPB v Leningrade” (“A manuscript of the Turkic translation of the Persian work ‘*Ajā’ib al-makhlūqāt*’ at the State Public Library in Leningrad”), *Pamiatniki pis’mennosti Vostoka: istoriko-filologicheskie issledovaniia. Ezhegodnik 1973* (Moscow, 1979), pp. 102–3.

17. Krachkovskii, *op. cit.*, p. 362.

18. Dmitrieva, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

19. *Babur-name. Zapiski Babura (Bābur-nāma. Bābur’s Records; henceforth, Bābur-nāma)* (Tashkent, 1958), pp. 211–2; *Materialy po istorii Kazakhskikh khanstv XV–XVIII vekov* (Materials on the History of the Kazakh Khānates: 15th — 18th Centuries) (Alma-Ata, 1969), pp. 44–5; A. Z. V. Togan, *Umumi Türk tarihine giriş. Cild 1: en eski devirlerden 16. asra kadar* (İstanbul, 1946), pp. 371, 478.

20. Dmitrieva, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

21. Khudiakov, *op. cit.*, p. 234.

22. Rossiiskii Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Drevnikh Aktov (Russian State Archive of Ancient Documents; henceforth, *RGADA*), fund 123, inv. 1, item 6, fol. 114b–115.

23. *Ibid.*, fol. 117.

24. *Ibid.*, fol. 128.

25. PSRL (1904), p. 239.
26. See B. I. Dunaev, *Prepodobnyi Maksim Grek i grecheskaia ideia na Rusi v XVI veke* (The Holy Maxim Grek and the Greek Idea in Rus in the 16th Century) (Moscow, 1916), p. 62; Khudiakov, *op. cit.*, p. 69; D. Iskhakov, "Seidy v pozdnezolotoordynskikh tatarskikh gosudarstvakh" ("Sayyids in the post-Golden Horde Tatar states"), *Tatarica: Zvezdnyi chas tatarskoï istorii*, No. 1, winter 1997/1998 (Kazan, 1997), pp. 53—5 (henceforth — Iskhakov, 1997); for details, see also *idem*, *Seidy v pozdnezolotoordynskikh tatarskikh gosudarstvakh Kazan (Sayyids in the Post-Golden Horde Tatar States)* (Kazan, 1997), pp. 25—6 (henceforth — Iskhakov, 1997a).
27. RGADA, fund 123, inv. 1, item 6, fols. 49—49b.
28. *Ibid.*, fols. 21b—22, 32—32b, 34; Iskhakov, 1997, pp. 55—6.
29. RGADA, fund 123, inv. 1, item 6, f. fols. 38b—40b.
30. Iskhakov, 1997, p. 54.
31. RGADA, fund 123, inv. 1, item 4, fol. 39.
32. *Posolskie knigi po sviaziam Rossii s Nogaïskoï Ordoï. 1489—1549* (Embassy Books on Russia's Ties with the Noghay Horde) (Makhachkala, 1995), p. 203.
33. *Ibid.*, pp. 306—7, 319.
34. *Ibid.*, pp. 296, 299.
35. *Ibid.*, p. 309. For more details on employing books in the Noghay Horde at a later date, see A. Kh. Kurmanseitova, "Bytovanie arabopis'mennoï knigi sredi nogai'tsev" ("The circulation of Arabic-script books among the Noghay"), *Sovremennyi byt i kul'tura narodov Karachaev-Cherkessii*, fasc. 3 (Cherkessk, 1990).
36. *Ibid.*, p. 294.
37. PSRL (1904), pp. 166, 469; Khudiakov, *op. cit.*, p. 135. For more detail on the Kazan embassy of 1549 and the Raşov brothers, see I. V. Zaitsev, "Posol'stva iz Kazani v Krym v 1549" ("Embassies from Kazan to the Crimea"), *Orientalistica Iuvenile: Sbornik stateï molodykh uchënykh i aspirantov otdela istorii Vostochnoï RAN*, Collection 1 (Moscow, 2000), pp. 84—98.
38. Measure of weight varying in different places (in Kazan — 4 kg).
39. *Posolskie knigi*, p. 200.
40. *Bâbur-nâma*, pp. 189—90.
41. *Ibid.*, p. 190.
42. Togan, *op. cit.*, p. 371; A. S. Levend, *Ali Şir Nevai* (Ankara, 1965), i, p. 217.
43. V. V. Bartol'd, *Sochineniia* (Works), vol. II, pt. 2 (Moscow, 1964), p. 221.
44. *Sbornik Mukhanova* (Mukhanov Collection) (St. Petersburg, 1866), p. 34; *Litovskaia metrika* (Lithuanian Metrics). First section, pt. 1, book of records, vol. 1 (St. Petersburg, 1910), p. 352. — Russkaia Istoricheskaia Biblioteka, XXVII.
45. S. Ashurbeili, *Gosudarstvo Shirvanshakhov (VI—XVI vv.)* (The Shirvānshāh State: 6th — 16th Centuries) (Baku, 1983), pp. 252—7.
46. In one of his publications, A. Z. V. Togan erroneously gives the manuscript's number as 2932 (see "The composition of the history of the Mongols by Rashīd al-Dīn" *Central Asiatic Journal*, VII/1, 1962, p. 68). A footnote in E. Esin's "Hanlar ulaki (the succession of the kings). On the illustrated genealogy, with Uigur inscriptions, of Mongol and Timūrid dynasties, at the Topkapı Library", *Gedanke und Wirkund. Festschrift zum 90. Geburtstag von Nicolaus Poppe* (Wiesbaden, 1989), pp. 114—5, shows that the manuscript's call number is in fact A.III 2937.
47. Togan, *Umumi Türk tarihine giriş*, pp. 370—1; Togan, "The composition of the history of the Mongols by Rashīd al-Dīn", p. 68; Ch. A. Stori, *Persidskaia literatura: biobibliograficheskiï obzor*. Ch. 1—2 (Moscow, 1972), pp. 306—8 (Russian translation of C. A. Storey's *Persian Literature. A Bio-Bibliographical Survey*).
48. H. F. Hofman, *Turkish Literature. A Bio-Bibliographical Survey*, section 3, pt. 1, vol. 4 (Utrecht, 1969), p. 167.
49. A. Z. V. Togan, "Kazan Hanlığında İslam Türk Kültürü", *İslam Türkleri Enstitüsü Dergisi*, III/3—4 (1965), pp. 194—5. This work by Togan is translated into Tatar by M. I. Akhmetzianov ("Hajitarkhani Şarif Kazan vilayatenen jinuc. Iskermeler", in *Idel*, I (1995). There is also a more recent reprint of this Tatar translation with commentary, see *Kol sherif i kuñel, bu donyadır* (Kazan, 1997). For the Russian translation by F. Khakimzianov, see Kh. Sherif, *Zafer-name-i vilaiet-i Kazan* (Husayn Sharifi, *Zafar-nâma-i wilâyat-i Qazân*), ed. A. Melek Uzyetgin, in *Gasırlar Avazı! Èkho vekov*, May (Kazan, 1995), pp. 83—92.
50. Iskhakov, 1997, p. 59; Iskhakov, 1997a, pp. 34—5.
51. *Sobranie vostochnykh rukopiseï Akademii Nauk Uzbekskoï SSR* (Collection of Eastern Manuscripts of the Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences) (Tashkent, 1975), x, p. 235 (henceforth *Sobranie*, 1975).
52. *Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the Library of India Office*, by Herman Ethé (Oxford, 1903), i, No. 1877.
53. *Sobranie*, 1975, p. 235.
54. *Ibid.*; *Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts* (1903), No. 1877.
55. PSRL, vol. xiii: Patriarch, or Niconian Chronicle, p. 133; vol. XX, pt. 2: Lvov chronicle (St. Petersburg, 1914), p. 455.
56. Èvliia Çelebi, *Kniga puteshestviia (Izlecheniia iz sochineniia turetskogo puteshestvennika XVIII veka)*. Vypusk 2: *Zemli Severnogo Kavkaza. Povolzh'ia i Podon'ia* (Èvliia Çelebi. Book of Travels: Extracts from the Works of the Seventeenth-Century Turkish Traveller). Fasc. 2: The Lands of North Caucasus, the Volga and Don Regions (Moscow, 1979), p. 133.
57. *Sobranie vostochnykh rukopiseï Akademii Nauk Uzbekskoï SSR* (Collection of Eastern Manuscripts of the Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences) (Tashkent, 1964), vii, p. 367, No. 5539.
58. See, for example, *Türkiye Yazmaları Toplu Kataloğu*. Antalya-Tekelioğlu. IV.07 (İstanbul, 1984), p. 163, No. 3018.
59. *Sobranie*, 1975, p. 181, No. 6903; *Haji Khalifa Lexicon Bibliographicum et Encyclopaedicum a Mustafa ben Abdallah Katib Jelebi dicto et nomine Haji Khalifa celebrato compositum*, tomus secundus (Leipzig, 1837), p. 49.
60. *Haji Khalifa Lexicon Bibliographicum et Encyclopaedicum*, pp. 90—1, No. 2039.
61. See, for example, Ch. Rieu, *Catalogue of the Turkish Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London, 1888), p. 168; G. Flügel, *Die Arabischen, Persischen und Türkischen Handschriften der Kaiserlich-Königlich Hofbibliothek zu Wien*, erster Band (Wien, 1865),

pp. 618—9. F. E. Karatay, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi Türkçe Yazmalar Kataloğu. Vol. II: Filoloji, Edebiyat, Mecmualar (İstanbul, 1961), pp. 95—6, Nos. 2270—2275; Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland. Band XII, 2: Türkische Handschriften. Teil 2, beschrieben von Manfred Götz (Wiesbaden, 1968), pp. 10—2, Nos. 10—12. The work was published, see Muḥammad Yāzījī-zāda, *Muḥammadīya* (Istanbul, 1881).

62. A. N. Kurat, *IV—XVIII Yüzyillarda Karadeniz Kuzeyindeki Türk Kavimleri ve Devletleri* (Ankara, 1972), p. 368. See also *Kolsherif I kunel, bu donyadir*, p. 88.

63. See, for example, *Sobranie vostochnykh rukopisei Akademii Nauk Uzbekskoi SSR* (Collection of Eastern Manuscripts of the Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences) (Tashkent, 1957), iv, p. 260, No. 3164, p. 273, No. 3181, p. 274, No. 3182, p. 277, No. 3183, p. 278, No. 3185.

64. S. A. Volin, “Novyi istochnik dlia izucheniia khorezmiiskogo iazyka” (“A new source for the study of the Khwārizmian language”), *Zapiski Instituta vostokovedeniia Akademii Nauk SSSR*, fasc. 7 (Moscow—Leningrad, 1939), pp. 79—86.

65. S. I. Baevskii, *Opisanie persidskikh i tadzhikskikh rukopisei Instituta narodov Azii* (Description of Persian and Tadjik Manuscripts at the Institute of Peoples of Asia), fasc. 5 (Moscow, 1968), pp. 15—6, No. 61.

66. *Fazlallah ibn Ruzbikhān Isfahani. Mikhman namei Bukhara (Zapiski bukharskogo gostia)* (Faḍlallāh ibn Rūzbikhān Iṣfahānī. *Mikhmān-nāma-i Bukhārā* (The Records of a Bukhāran Guest)) (Moscow, 1976), p. 106.
