## "Tarikhi Rashidi" as an important source in studying the history of Central Asian peoples

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## **Abstract:**

The source "Tarikhi Rashidi" is the best sample of the Persian prose of the XVI century. Historical data of the chronicle give us a chance to recreate many of little known and sometimes even unknown pictures of socio-political, ethnic, commercial and economic, cultural life of the peoples and the states of Central Asia and Kazakhstan, India of the XIV - the first half of the XVI centuries. The author of the source Muhammad Haidar Dughlat from the Dughlat tribe wrote his work in the Persian language while he was ruling in Kashmir, India. The main features of the source "Rashid's History" and the role of the Persian language in cultural exchange of Central Asia and India will be considered in this article.

**Keywords:** Tarikhi Rashidi, Persian language, Central Asia, India.

Mirza Haidar Dughlat's "Tarikhi Rashidi" is one of the major sources written in Farsi language. The work draws attention of many researchers and scholars from different countries in the last decades. The importance and the value of the source are constantly increasing.

The book is also one of the major primary sources that describes political system of Central Asia, Iran and India at the end of the Timurids era and at the beginning of the Safavids rule in Iran, beginning of the Baburids reign in India as well as the period of their opposition with the Uzbeks and the Chagatai khans.

During this historical time there were very serious changes emerging in the field of Sufism, the Sufis had created new forms of relationship with political structures.

There is Hoja Ubaidullah Ahror who was one of the main Pirs (head) of the Naqshbandiyya Sufi Order had played a great historical role. His instructions and the stories described in the "Tarikhi Rashidi" are unique and have a great importance for understanding and analyzing the questions of the Sufi tradition. Besides, this book is very valuable source concerning criticism for literary works, fine and musical arts. According to the author of the book, it is possible for us to imagine the level of skill, criteria of assessment and esthetic perceptions the people of that period had possessed in fact.

Mirza Muhammad Haidar Dughlat himself was a Sufi, a follower of the Naqshbandiyya Order and for this reason, those data about the Pirs (the heads or saints) of the Sufi Order which are reported in the book, are still of great value for studying the history of the Sufi Order itself.

Thus, Muhammad Haidar Dughlat explains the reason of creating of his book: "for a long time the Mongolian khans stopped conquering other lands, being content with simple steppe life, and there was anyone among them who could write their history". Undoubtedly, when the author emphasizes — "among them", he means a certain period of history. Since the author perfectly knew the traditions of writing historical compositions (treatises on history) in Central Asia and Iran, and in his particular work himself mentions such books as "Tarikh-i Jahangusha" of A. Juvayni, "Jami-al-Tawarikh", "Zafarnama" and etc. several times.

Explaining the reason that inspired Mirza Haidar to create the book, he gives the following statement: "Therefore this servant began writing the history from Tughlugh Timur Khan's time, for three reasons. The first is that until Tughlugh Timur Khan's reign, the history was written in a loyal and positive manner, and there were no evidences to describe before the khan. The second reason is the fact that after Tughlugh Timurkhan there were khans who could have reached the same high political position and managed to rule the same huge territory. The third reason is that among the Mongolian khans, he was the only khan awarded the title of an Islamic governor. After Tughlugh Timur Khan came to the throne and the Mongols were released from the slavery of godlessness. (2).

The author also describes the three factors of why he named the composition "Tarikhi Rashidi". First, the Islamic tradition followed by Tughlugh Timur Khan had Arshad-ud-Din's direct influence. Secondly, before Tughlugh Timur Khan, Barrokhan and after Barrokhan - Kebekhan adopted Islam and became Muslims, but khans from the Mongolian dynasties, not only did not develop Islam, but also moved back and therefore doomed themselves to hell. Thirdly, the last Mongolian khan was Abdu Rashid khan, and this work is called in his honor and written for him".

These words of the author are simple, but at the same time, they possess great importance as well. Undoubtedly, there are also other reasons too. In addition, those reasons the author hints at, can serve as a topic for further discussions for

scholars.

Mirza Haidar Dughlat cites numerous quotes (ayats) from the Quran in his book, hadiths of the Prophet, verses of different poets, etc. Contrary to opinion of Mr. Tafforifard, he perfectly knew Farsi, Arabic and, naturally, Turkic and the Mongolian languages. Some authors believed allegedly that Mirza Haidar did not know the Persian language well, according to them he thought in one language, and wrote in another language. However, the language of the book proves their opinion wrong. To everyone who knows Persian language and who has a good acquaintance with the Persian classical literature, coming across with Mirza Haidar's "Tarikhi Rashidi", it becomes clear that he is dealing with the best sample of the Persian prose of the XVI century. Mirza Muhammad Haidar Dughlat's "Tarikhi Rashidi" is one of the major sources for the study of the end of the Timurid's age and the beginning of Baburid's rule in India and, especially, for studying the history of the end of Chagatai khanates.

"Tarikhi Rashidi" consists of two parts: "The main history" and "The short history". "The main history" is about the historical events related to the Mughal khans in the beginning of the Tughlugh Timur's rule and the period after his age. The "Short history" tells about the events related to the Shaybanids, the Baburids, the Safavids, the sultan Said Khan, Abdu Rashid Khan and other stories about Kashgar, Tibet and Kashmir. In this part of the book, the author narrates about the events of his own life and discusses other various aspects.

Surprisingly, this part of the book is larger than the main part. It also raises a question — why this part is called "Short history"? However, there is no answer for that question so far. It seems that the author, perhaps, wanted to return further to this part and to add something more. We never know, perhaps, Mirza Haidar over some time did actually so. We will be able to understand this only after the preparation of a scientific and critical edition of the book based on all existing manuscripts. So far, there was no such attempt taken until now. All the existing editions and translations of the "Tarikhi Rashidi" represent the works based on one or two manuscripts and have no full scientific approval.

The structure of the book reminds such sources as "Tuzukoti Timuri" and "Tuzukoti Baburi", each of them divided into two parts of the "Tuzukot" and the "Vokeot". The "Vokeot" ("Events") parts of the both works tell us about the authors' lives and worldviews. We see such divisions and in the "Tarikhi Rashidi" as well. In fact, "The Main History" of the "Tarikhi Rashidi" introduces Rashid's "Vokeot", and "The Short History" represents mainly Mirza Haidar Dughlat's own biography and his historical experience and observations.

One of the major features of "Tarikhi Rashidi" is that Mirza Haidar widely uses in his work a large number of original historical evidences and literary references. Many of them Mirza Haidar describes in detail. Like any other professional historian of his time, Mirza Muhammad Haidar classifies the sources used. The author's own observations take a special place among these sources. Mirza Haidar Dughlat reports about those things and events of which he witnessed himself (p. 235) or what he heard from his relatives and his inner circle (p. 14, 96, 177, 235, 385). For example, in a particular chapter of the book he provides a remarkable narration about the mausoleum of "Dau-han" and the inscriptions in it that he discovered (p. 431).

Besides, he uses many written Persian sources, such as the "Zafar-nama" of Sharafaddin Ali Yazdiy to which he repeatedly refers (p. 71, 73, 63, 45, 38, 36, 33, 77, 431), "Tarikh-i Jahangusha" of Atomalik Dzhuvayni (p. 385-418) and "Jami-al-Tawarikh" Rashiddin Fazlullakh (p. 386-418), and he refers to works of Mirkhond and Hondamir (p. 137, 138, 156) as well.

From the Sufi writings, he refers to such compositions as "Silsilat Ularifin" of Qaziya Samarkandi and Mir Abdurrahman Dzhami work (p. 297), "Takmilai Nafikhot" of Abdulgafur Laurie (p. 300-301) and undoubtedly, he uses such important sources as "Nafakhat ul-uns" Abdurrahman Dzhami and Fakhraddin's "Rashakhot" of Ali Kashifi Sabzavari.

Mirza Haidar does not blindly quote his predecessors; he critically considers all the statements and descriptions. Thus, he writes the following: «In such important books as "Majma-al-Buldoi" and "Jami Getinama" etc. Tibet is not described as it is needed, or it is written in such a way that it is difficult to understand from the description which country it is." (p. 602). He also criticizes the author of the "Zafar-nama» for giving incorrect information about Kashmir and Tibet, emphasizing the fact that he wrote all this according to the words of other people, but did not see the place with his own eyes (p. 623).

A brief acquaintance with the "Tarikhi Rashidi" shows that Mirza Haidar possessed a perfect knowledge of the Persian literature. For example, it is fair to point out that he was familiar with such well known literary compositions as "Bustan" and "Gulistan" of Saadi, Hafiz's gazelle, "Tarikh-i Jahangusha" of Atamaliki Dzhuvayni, "Tarikhi Vassof", "Jami-al-Tawarikh" and other Persian literary sources.

The author also was with the Quran and the Prophet's hadiths, had a literary talent. He well knew history of his land and astrology.

"Tarikhi Rashidi" contains important data on the history of Asia, including Kazakhstan, is the main source on the history of Mogholistan. For the first time,

the author compiles information about the formation of the Kazakh khanate, states short history of the Kazakhs after Kerei and Zhanibek sultans had migrated, covering the period from the 50s of the XV century until the end of the 30s of the XVI century. Mirza Haidar reports the most detailed data on Chipmunk, Qassim, Takhir khans and about the other Kazakh-Mughal and Kazakh-Uzbek relations of the period.

The formation of the Kazakh khanate had a relevance to the internal political condition of the two states in the territory of Kazakhstan – Abulkhair's khanate and Mogolistan in which the economic power of the nomadic nobility amplified.

The Kazakhstani historians made conclusions based on Muhammad Haidar Dughlat's "Tarikh-i-Rashidi" that Kerei Khan and his co-ruler Zhanibek Khan founded the Kazakh khanate in 1465. Muhammad Haidar Dughlat himself wrote about it: "Those days Abulkhair Khan entirely seized Deshti Kypchak. He attacked the sultans of the Jochid dynasties. Zhanibek Khan and Kerei Khan escaping him arrived to Mogholistan. Esen Bugha Khan accepted them and gave them the district of Qozi Bashi, which was located in the west of Mogolistan, on the side of the river Shu. While they quietly stayed there, the Uzbeks after Abulkhair Khan's death came to frustration, there were big disagreements and most [people] took Kerei Khan and Zhanibek Khan's side. Thus, their number reached two hundred thousand people and they began to call themselves as "Uzbek- Kazakhs". The Kazakh sultans' rule starts from 870 (1465-1466), "and Allah knows better", and till 940 (1533-1534) the Kazakhs had the full power over the most part of Uzbekistan".

Therefore, this was the first historic evidence written about the history of the Kazakhs, which appeared in the "Tarikh-i Rashidi" of Mirza Muhammad Haidar Dughlat. Further, he writes the following: "... those who left with Zhanibek and Kerei khans were named "the Kazakhs", and this name was assigned to them". This long-term ethnic process resulted in affirmation of the ethnonym "Kazakh" and creation of the Kazakh khanate.

A prominent ruler who contributed in strengthening and further development of the Kazakh khanate at the beginning of the XVI century was Qasim Khan. He was the son of Zhanibek Khan (reigned in 1511-1518). Qasim Khan could manage to unite the Kazakhs under a strong khanate and strengthen its power. We can find following statement in the "Tarikh-i Rashidi": "Qasim Khan conquered all the Desht-i Kipchak, as nobody after Jochi Khan could not do it. For example, the number of his army exceeded thousands (one million) people. Eventually, after 924 (1518) he departed into eternity" [1, 324].

However, after Qasym's death the khanate overflowed by inner wars, khans replaced each other. In the "Tarikhi Rashidi», Mirza Haidar Dughlat writes: "After Qasym Khan's death his son Mamash was approved as a khan and succeeded the throne". Events of his rule are unknown. Mamash Khan fell a victim of a war; he died of asthma caused by the pressure of his fighting armor's weight in one of the battles. "After that the throne was succeeded by Adika Sultan's son – Takhir Khan. As Takhir Khan was an extremely cruel person, most of his people suddenly turned away from him and dissipated... At Takhir Khan's period, the Kazakhs underwent more adversity. After Takhir Khan, his brother Buydash came to rule"[1]. Intestine wars weakened the Kazakh khanate, and Qasim's successors for some time lost the lands gained by him.

In "Tarikh-i-Rashidi», the author claimed: "throughout the period to 940 Hijra (1533-1534) the Kazakhs entirely ruled in the most part of Uzbekistan i.e. the most part of Deshti-Kypchak. The Takhir Khan (1523-1533) failed in fight against the Noghai horde and lost most of his army. However, he managed to press back governors of Mogolistan from the territory of Kazakhstan. In 1526-1527 under Takhir's pressure the Moghol khan – Sultan Said transferred Rasheed Sultan and all his Mongolian army from Mogholistan to Kashgar".

There are plenty of materials about the Kazakh-Moghol and the Kazakh-Uzbek relations, about rivalry of the Kazakhs and the Moghols for possession of Mogholistan, actually for possession of the modern the Zhetisu region as well as the data on historical geography and topography of the Zhetisu region, Turkestan and other territories.

Mirza Haidar Dughlat's data on the Kazakh history are extensive and various. They concern all aspects of their life - political, ethnic social and cultural. Nevertheless, they are not limited only to data where they specifically mention the Kazakhs or the events directly related to the history of the Kazakh people and their statehood. First, it includes the history of Mogolistan and its governors – South East Kazakhstan (Zhetysu) was its component that time. Secondly, as a component of the history of Mogolistan, - history of the Dughlats (one of large tribes of the Kazakhs), history of the Ulusbeks (Amirs of this tribe) in the XIV-XVI centuries.

Many sources on the history of Kazakhstan are in the Persian language, such as the well-known work "Tarikh-i Rashidi". Thus, the Persian language for the Turkic world served as a language of science and culture. Correspondence between the Sultans was made on Turkic peoples (the Chaghatai language), the Persian language.

Thus, "Tarikhi Rashidi" is one of the major historical sources for the study

of history of the people of Central Asia, Iran and India in the 16th century. Scholars engaged in the research of the XIV-XVI centuries can find in this work a great number of essential information about the history and culture of that period.

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