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THE PROBLEM OF GENESIS OF SEYYIDS' INSTITUTES IN THE LATE GOLDEN HORDE TURK-TATAR STATES¹

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The article analyzes an insufficiently investigated problem of the formation of seyyids' institute within the Turkic-Tatar States of the 15th–16th centuries, which were the historical heirs of the ulus of Jochi (Golden Horde). The author found that this institution was characteristic for all, without exception, Turkic-Tatar state formations that emerged after the collapse of the Golden Horde. A number of features of this institution (existence of family relationship between the seyyids' "houses" of different Tatar yurts, seyyids' participation not only in the diplomatic and administrative affairs but also in military actions) indicates that it appeared in the period of the ulus of Jochi, more precisely, during the reign of khan Uzbek who had completed Islamization of this State. As a result of the study of the complex issues related to the seyyids who lived in the Turko-Tatar khanates and hordes, the author concluded that there was a link between them and the lineages of the Golden Horde seyyids affiliated with the Yasaviyya tariqa. Overall, the author both emphasizes the apparent Golden Horde origin of this very important social institution functioned in all the Turkic-Tatar state formations and indicates the presence of real contacts (including gentilitial ones) between the seyyids' branches located in different States.

Keywords: seyyids' institute, Supreme seyyid, Naqib, Yasaviyya tariqa, ulus of Jochi, Golden Horde, supreme elite.

A message was sent to Ottoman sultan Suleiman from the Kazan khanate in 1550, which described victories of the Kazan troops over Russian warriors during their onslaught in Kazan in 1549. The author of this document, which was found in archives in Turkey and published by Ahmet-Zaki Validi Toğan², was Sharif Hajitarkhani, as I suppose, the last supreme Kazan seyyid, Kul-Sharif [8]. There is an interesting information in this source, which contains several unique facts about the Kazan khanate of the middle of the 16th century: while describing the defenders of Kazan fortress, the author tells us about how one of a few gates was defended by "seyyid Kul-Muhammad, the grandson of Seyyid Ata and the son of one person [already] dead and awarded with the seyyid office". Basing on the documents, he stood on the fortress walls in a battle suit as a leader of young dervishes and Sufis [29, p. 90].

¹ English translation by R. Hautala.

² See more details in [5].

There are also two moments that are worth noticing. First of all, "Seyyid Ata" was mentioned as an ascendant of the Kazan seyids. Secondly, participation in a combat of Kul-Muhammad, a supreme seyid of the Kazan khanate [8, p. 132–133], seems, at first look, unsuited for a religious figure of his level. However, the history of seyids' institute is hidden behind this information not only about its existence in this State, but also in other late Golden Horde Turk-Tatar yurts.

On the whole, the study of the seyids' institute in the late Golden Horde Turk-Tatar states, which began in the Russian empire in the second half of the 19th century (see works by V.V. Velyaminov-Zernov, G.I. Peretyatkovich, V.V. Radlov), was also continued there in the beginning of the 20th century (works by K. Atlasi, M.G. Khudyakov, S. Vahidi, I.F. Aleksandrov, V.D. Smirnov). Later this subject was not really popular in the USSR, but it was addressed in certain historical researches (by B.A. Akhmedov, S.V. Bakhrushin, F.T. Valeev, A.B. Kochekaev, M.I. Akhmetzyanov)³. In recent years the interest in this topic has increased. As a result, a great number of studies appeared in Russia devoted to Islam among the Turk-Tatar communities during the Middle Ages, including the researches of the seyids' institute that have been summarized in my new work⁴.

The researches that were conducted by the historians let us state that the seyids' institute was typical for all Muslim states-heritors of the ulus of Jochi. The only problem arose with the Crimean khanate, since Alan Fisher (after I.F. Aleksandrov) stated that the "Muslim establishment" in this State was headed by mufti [7, p. 21]. However, two Russian historians (V.V. Velyaminov-Zernov and V.E. Siroechkovskiy) even earlier insisted on the fact that Muslim clergy of the Crimean khanate was headed by seyid [25, p. 242; 13, p. 38]. The examination of this question gives us an opportunity to talk about that this two-way situation was a result of the fact that the old Crimean-Tatar tradition of calling the head of Muslim clergy as "seyid" was "overlapped" in the Crimean khanate by Ottoman tradition, according to which this person was called "mufti" [21, p. 23].

The earliest sources' mentions of the seyids in the late Golden Horde Turk-Tatar states are found in the: Sheibanid State (the State of the nomadic Uzbeks) – 1429–1431 AD, Crimean khanate – 1453–1459 AD, Kazan khanate – 1489–1491 AD, and Kasimov khanate – the last quarter of the 15th century (according to indirect data) [21, p. 80, 105, 123, 151]. This information evidently tells us about the initial presence of the groups of seyids in the all Turk-Tatar yurts that emerged after the dissolution of the ulus of Jochi.

Certain facts prove the existence of connections, which are not right clear now but worth noticing, between corporations of religious figures of

³ See references in [21, p. 3–14]

⁴ Watch the bibliography in [21, p. 6–46].

seyyids living in different Tatar states. In particular, there is an entry in preserved genealogy of the Kasimov seyids (in the 19th century their last name was Shakulov originated from Shah-Kolyj, who lived approximately in the last quarter of the 15th century [21, p. 105]), that informs us about the expansion both of seyid Shaghan's descendants in "the Crimean vilayet, in Kuban and in Dagestan" and of his brother's, seyid Shakhbay's descendants in "the Bulgar vilayet, in Khan-Kirman, in Hajji-Tarkhan and in the Volga region" [12, p. 22; 3]. Since the persons mentioned in genealogy were one generation younger than Shakh-Kolyi, there must be a question of the "kinship" of seyids from the Turk-Tatar yurts of no later than the middle of the 15th century. Even though this information cannot be double checked basing on other facts, it is more likely that it emphasizes some kind of historical reality that we should keep in mind.

It has been stated above that one of the Kazan seyids took part in warfare. Still it is not the only report of such kind. In particular, we know another report on the Kazan khanate contained in Patriarchal (*Nikon*) chronicle and related to 1491. According to this report, one of the two commanders who led troops of the Kazan khanate (which hurried in conjunction with the Russian troops to the aid of the Crimean khan Giray Mengli during his confrontation with the Great Horde) was Borash seyid [24, p. 228], and most likely he was then a supreme seyid in that State⁵. Starting from the second half of the 16th century, a similar presence of seyids in the armed forces is also observed in the Kasimov khanate. Moreover, they are referred to as direct participants of military operations [21, p. 108–109]. In addition to this, the troops in this State in the second half of the 16th – the first third of the 17th centuries were divided into two divisions (possibly related to the bygone division into two "wings"). One of them was called the "Tsar's regiment" ("Tsar's court"), the other – "Seit's regiment" ("Seit's court")⁶. Evidently, the latter division was under the Kasimov seyid's command. In the same manner, we can trace the presence of seyids in the Sheibanid (Tyumen) khanate's forces since the time of its formation. We can say that seyids Kul-Muhammad and Kara-Sayid were present in the troops of sultan Abul-Khair in spring 1429 and they declared him as khan after the conquest of Sheibanid's headquarter [11, p. 46]. The seyids mentioned in 1431 did not only take part in the noblemen meeting discussing the possible campaign against Khwarezm but, despite the fact that a lot of people were against it, they expressed support for the campaign and reversed the situation, which in fact meant their participation in warfare [11, p. 99]. So Devin DeWeese was right, when he wrote that seyid Kul-Muhammad (he was a supreme Qadi during the reign of Abul-Khair in Sheibanid State [11, p. 101]) known as "sultan an-niqaba", had the functions of an adviser and participated in warfare [5, p. 620; 26, p. 143]. It was not accidental that this

⁵ See the argumentation concerning his status in [21, p. 81–85].

⁶ See examples in [11, p. 109].

seyyid's son, Shamghun Seyyid, took part in campaign of 1472 as an adviser of the Abul-Khair's grandson, khan Muhammed Sheibani, who later became the ruler of the "nomadic Uzbeks" [28, p. LIX; 1]. This meant that he was involved in warfare and politics and he had the same status as his father did.

In fact, the available information allows us to formulate a sufficiently justified conclusion about the dating of seyids' institute, which, as already mentioned, was present in all the post-Golden Horde Turk-Tatar yurts. The seyids' institute dates back to the reign of Uzbek khan (1312–1342), when there occurred the Islamization of the State⁷. In this regard, we should pay attention to the series of publications by Devin DeWeese [3; 2; 5; 6] who analyzed in detail both the question of the seyids' institute's origin in the Golden Horde and its relationship with the status of "naqib".

Basing on the research of Central Asian historical sources that were devoted to hagiographies of Muslim saints, he pointed out that the term "naqib", which was used in the ulus of Jochi and in Tatar khanates, was connected with Sayyid Ata (his real name was Ahmed ibn Abdelhamid [19; 26]), one of the leaders of Yasaviya tariqa, who played an important role in Islamisation of the ulus of Jochi during the reign of Uzbek khan. It was then that the honorable place to the left of the Golden Horde ruler was reserved for Sayyid Ata and his descendants came to be known as "Orun-i niqabat" [5, p. 613–634; 6, p. 173–188]. Of particular note is that the Golden Horde seyids, the bearers of the rank of "naqib", performed military functions. According to Devin DeWeese, Sayyid Ata "always acted as niqabat in the army of Uzbek" [5, p. 614]. I should note that the later sources, which were also analyzed by Devin DeWeese [5, p. 614], stated that Sayyid Ata located the specific clannish groups in different wings of the Jochid army (the Naimans and Kungrats were in the right wing, the Argyns and Burkuts were in the left one). Although such distribution of the clannish military units had, more than likely, existed in this State even before Sayyid Ata, in this case, the emphasis on the role of a military leader is rather significant, which provides us with the evidence that Sayyid Ata became a kind of "Islam commissioner" in the Golden Horde army after Islamization of the ulus of Jochi. It is possible that such an his role was put into practice during Islamization of the ulus of Jochi through introduction into specific Golden Horde clans of certain Muslim sheikhs⁸ who were connected with Yasaviya tariqa and later on became their saint patrons known as "buzurgs", for example, in the Kokand khanate⁹. It is also possible that the "Turk sheikhs called argujji" who were mentioned

⁷ See more details about this event in [4; 25].

⁸ See in this regard [15, 14].

⁹ See for example [23, p. 158]. It is significant that Baba-Tuqlik "aziz" was considered as a "buzurg" of the Mangyts who is present in Edigu's genealogy as an ancestor in the sixth degree of relationship.

by Ibn Battuta during his visit of Khwarezm and who assisted eight “older emirs” in judicial proceedings held in the court of Timur-Qutlug, the ruler of Khwarezmian vilayet [16, p. 146], were precisely those Islamic sheikhs being the channel of Sayyid Ata’s influence. Appearingly, later diplomatic functions of his descendants were developed from military functions of naqib Sayyid Ata that were clearly recorded not only in the Kazan [20, p. 22–41], but also in the Khiva and Bukhara khanates [5, p. 624–626].

We should mark that after Islamization of the ulus of Jochi, the seyyids very quickly became part of the State’s elite, inter alia, through the matrimonial relations with the Genghizids and clan’s leaders. So, according to Natanzi’s “Iskander’s Anonym”, the Golden Horde khan Aziz’s (ruled in 1363/64 – 1365/66 AD) daughter married Sayid-Ata [18, p. 130], who was likely to be the next naqib. The foregoing is confirmed by the fact that in different extant versions of the genealogy of bekleribek Edige from the Mangyt tribe the name of Abu Bakr, the father-in-law of the Prophet Muhammad, is mentioned along with an indication of the Nogai tales of special closeness of his son with the “tribe of the glorious Turkish warrior Hochakhmat-Babatukli” [10, p. 12] and with taking into account the tradition of marriage between the daughters of the Nogai princes and murzas with seyyids and vice versa, well known by the sources [21, p. 145; 27, p. 48]. Moreover, such matrimonial contacts remained even in the States-heritors of the Golden Horde [21, p. 67, 110, 129, 131, 140, 145, 156, 165; 24, p. 147].

Thus, seyyids’ institute that functioned in the late Golden Horde Turk-Tatar yurts was inherited from the ulus of Jochi and formed there as far as the social organism of the Golden Horde society decomposed. Persistent preservation of this institute in the 15th–16th centuries in the Turk-Tatar states can be explained not only by Islamic features of these states, but by the integratedness of naqib Sayid-Ata’s descendants in relations of power and also in the ruling elites, which were headed by the representatives of the Genghizid “Golden Family”. That is why the information that was preserved in genealogies from the Kasimov khanate concerning the relationship of seyyids’ lines of the different Turk-Tatar powers has a certain ground. However, in order to discover genuine affinitive relations between them, we need to examine in detail the preserved genealogies of seyyids from these yurts. This kind of work has just only begun¹⁰ and can lead us to many important discoveries in research domain of the history of Turk-Tatar societies.

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ПРОБЛЕМА ГЕНЕЗИСА ИНСТИТУТОВ СЕЙЙИДОВ В ПОЗДНЕЗОЛОТООРДЫНСКИХ ТЮРКО-ТАТАРСКИХ ГОСУДАРСТВАХ

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В статье анализируется недостаточно исследованная проблема формирования в тюрко-татарских государствах XV–XVI вв., являвшихся историческими наследниками Улуса Джучи (Золотой Орды), института сеййидов. Установлено, что данный институт был характерен для всех без исключения тюрко-татарских политий, возникших после распада Золотой Орды. Ряд особенностей рассматриваемого института (существование родственных отношений между «домами» сеййидов разных татарских юртов, участие сеййидов не только в дипломатических, управленческих делах, но и в военных действиях) свидетельствуют о его восхождении к периоду Улусов Джучи, точнее, ко времени правления хана Узбека, завершившего исламизацию этого государства. В итоге исследования комплекса вопросов, имеющих отношение к сеййидам, жившим в тюрко-татарских ханствах и ордах, был сделан вывод об их связи с линеджами сеййидов, отмечаемых в Золотой Орде и аффилированных с тарикатом Ясавийа. В целом очевидна не только унаследованность данного весьма важного социального института, функционировавшего во всех тюрко-татарских политиях, от периода Золотой Орды, но и наличие реальных, в том числе и родственных контактов между ветвями сеййидов, находившихся в разных государствах. Но эти связи нуждаются еще в дальнейшем исследовании.

Ключевые слова: институт сеййидов, верховный сеййид, накиб, тарикат Ясавийа, Улус Джучи, Золотая Орда, высшая элита.

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