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ISSUES OF ATTRIBUTION OF LEGISLATIVE ACTS OF THE SHRINE OF KHOJA AHMAD YASAWI FROM THE A. L. KUN COLLECTION

Abstract

This article examines legislative acts (yarliq, farman, nishan, inayat-nama, buyruq) from the 16th to 19th centuries, which serve as crucial historical sources for illuminating the history of the Shrine of Khoja Ahmad Yasawi and his descendants in Turkestan. The primary objective of the research is to conduct a source-critical analysis of 61 legislative documents preserved in the personal archive of A.L. Kun within the Archives of Orientalists at the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts in St. Petersburg, as well as to determine their precise attribution.

The study employs internal textual criteria for document identification: the names, ranks, and titles of rulers, textual language and style, historical terminology, and explicit dates. The findings reveal that the earliest decree in the collection was issued by the Bukhara ruler Abu Sa'id (1530–1531), Khan of the Abulkhairid dynasty, while the latest dates back to the Khokand ruler Sultan Sa'id Khan (1863). Dynastic analysis indicates that 8 documents belong to the Abulkhairids, 5 to the Janids (Ashtarkhanids), 9 to Kazakh sultans, 6 to the rulers of Bukhara Emirate, 1 to the Tashkent Bekdom, 28 to the Khanate of Khokand, and 2 to Russian Imperial administrators, with 2 remaining unassigned. Furthermore, complex attribution issues were successfully resolved, such as identifying the 1576 decree of Abulkhair Sultan and the 1685–1686 document of Yesim Khan b. Semeke Khan.

The study concludes that these legislative acts were not merely administrative orders, but the product of a mutually beneficial dialogue between political authorities and sacred lineages. Rulers granted tax exemptions, land rights, and social privileges to the descendants of Khoja Ahmad Yasawi in exchange for political and spiritual support. These results contribute significantly to a deeper understanding of the history, socio-economic and demographic conditions, historical geography, and administrative system of the city of Turkestan based on new primary sources.

Keywords: Shrine of Khoja Ahmad Yasawi; Turkestan; A.L. Kun collection; legislative acts; yarlik; attribution.

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**А. Л. КУН ЖИНАҒЫНДАҒЫ ҚОЖА АХМЕТ ЯСАУИ КЕСЕНЕСІНІҢ
ЗАҢНАМАЛЫҚ АКТІЛЕРІН АТРИБУЦИЯЛАУ МӘСЕЛЕЛЕРІ**

Аннотация

Осы мақалада Қожа Ахмет Ясауи кесенесі мен оның Түркістандағы ұрпақтарының (Алави қожаларының) тарихын ашып көрсетуде маңызды дереккөз болып табылатын XVI–XIX ғасырларға жататын заңнамалық құжаттар (жарлық, ферман, нишан және

инабатнамалар) зерттелген. Зерттеудің негізгі мақсаты — Санкт-Петербургтегі Шығыс қолжазбалары институтының Шығыстанушылар архивінде сақталған А.Л. Кунның жеке қорындағы 61 заңнамалық актіге тарихи деректанулық және дипломатикалық талдау жасау, сондай-ақ олардың атрибуциясын (берілген уақыты мен авторын) анықтау болып табылады.

Зерттеу барысында аталған құжаттарды сәйкестендіруде билеушілердің есімдері, лауазымдары мен титулдары, мәтін тілі мен стилі, қолданылған тарихи терминдер мен даталар негізгі фактор ретінде ескерілді. Изденістер нәтижесінде жинақтағы ең ескі жарлық Бухара ханы, Әбілқайыр әулетінен шыққан Әбу Сағид ханға (1530–1531 жж.), ал ең соңғысы Қоқан ханы Сұлтан Сағид ханға (1863 ж.) тиесілі екені анықталды. Құжаттардың әулеттік қатыстылығы талданғанда: 8-і Әбілқайырлар, 5-і Аштарханилер, 9-ы қазақ сұлтандары, 6-сы Бухара әмірлігі, 1-еуі Ташкент бектігі, 28-і Қоқан хандығы және 2-еуі Ресей империясы әкімшілігі атынан берілгені белгілі болды. Тағы екі құжаттың иесі әлі де белгісіз болып отыр. Зерттеуде 1576 жылғы Әбілқайыр сұлтан мен 1685–1686 жылдардағы Есім хан б. Семеке хан жарлықтары мысалында күрделі атрибуция мәселелері сәтті шешілді.

Қорытынды көрсеткендей, бұл заңнамалық актілер жай ғана әкімшілік құжат емес, орталық билік пен киелі әулеттер (сакралды отбасылар) арасындағы өзара тиімді диалогтың нәтижесі болып табылады. Билеушілер саяси және рухани қолдау алу орнына Ахмет Ясауи ұрпақтарына салықтық, жер-су және әлеуметтік жеңілдіктер ұсынған. Алынған нәтижелер жаңа дереккөздер негізінде Түркістан қаласының тарихын, әлеуметтік-экономикалық және демографиялық жағдайын, тарихи географиясы мен басқару жүйесін тереңірек зерттеуге қызмет етеді.

Түйін сөздер: Қожа Ахмет Ясауи кесенесі; Түркістан; А.Л. Кун жинағы; заңнамалық құжаттар; жарлық; атрибуцияны анықтау.

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ПРОБЛЕМЫ АТРИБУЦИИ ЗАКОНОДАТЕЛЬНЫХ АКТОВ МАЗАРА ХОДЖА АХМАДА ЙАССАВИ ИЗ КОЛЛЕКЦИИ А. Л. КУНА

Аннотация

В данной статье исследуются законодательные акты XVI–XIX веков (ярлыки, фарманы, нишаны и инаят-наме), являющиеся важнейшими источниками для освещения истории мазара Ходжа Ахмада Йассави и его потомков в Туркестане. Основная цель исследования заключается в проведении источниковедческого анализа 61 законодательного акта, хранящихся в личном архиве А.Л. Куна в Архиве востоковедов Института восточных рукописей в Санкт-Петербурге, а также в определении их атрибуции.

В ходе исследования при идентификации указанных документов в качестве основных факторов учитывались имена, звания и титулы правителей, язык и стиль текста, использованная историческая терминология, а также даты. В результате изысканий установлено, что самый ранний ярлык в коллекции был выдан бухарским ханом из династии Абулхайридов Абу Саид-ханом (1530–1531), а самый поздний — ханом Коканда Султан Саид-ханом (1863 г.). Анализ династийной принадлежности документов показал: 8 из них принадлежат Абулхайридам, 5 — Аштарханидам, 9 — казахским султанам, 6 — Бухарскому эмирату, 1 — Ташкентскому бекству, 28 — Кокандскому ханству и 2 — администрации Российской империи. Владельцы еще двух документов пока остаются неизвестными. В исследовании успешно решены сложные вопросы атрибуции на примере ярлыков Абулхайр-султана 1576 года и Есим-хана б. Семеке-хана 1685–1686 годов.

Сделан вывод о том, что эти законодательные акты являлись не просто административными документами, а результатом взаимовыгодного диалога между центральной властью и сакральными родами. Правители предоставляли потомкам Ходжа Ахмада Йассави налоговые, земельные и социальные привилегии в обмен на получение политической и духовной поддержки. Результаты исследования служат более глубокому изучению истории, социально-экономического и демографического состояния, исторической географии и системы управления города Туркестан на основе новых источников.

Ключевые слова: Мазар Ходжа Ахмада Йассави; Туркестан; коллекция А.Л. Куна; законодательные акты; йарлык; атрибуция.

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A. L. KUN KOLEKSIYONUNDAKI HOCA AHMED YESEVI TÜRBESİ HUKUKİ BELGELERİNİN AİDİYET TESPİTİ SORUNLARI

Özet

Bu makalede, Hoca Ahmed Yesevi Türbesi ve onun Türkistan'daki soyundan gelenlerin tarihini aydınlatmada önemli bir kaynak niteliği taşıyan XVI–XIX. yüzyıllara ait hukuki belgeler (yarlık, ferman, nişan ve inayetnâmeler) incelenmiştir. Araştırmanın temel amacı, St. Petersburg'daki Doğu Yazmaları Enstitüsü Doğu Bilimciler Arşivi'nde yer alan A.L. Kun kişisel arşivinde muhafaza edilen 61 hukuki belgenin tarihsel kaynak incelemesini ve diplomatik analizini gerçekleştirmek, ayrıca bu belgelerin aidiyetini (veriliş tarihi ve müellifini) tespit etmektir.

Araştırma sürecinde söz konusu belgelerin kimlik tespitinde hükümdarların isimleri, unvan ve lakapları, metin dili ve üslubu, kullanılan tarihsel terimler ile tarihler temel ölçüt olarak dikkate alınmıştır. İncelemeler sonucunda koleksiyondaki en eski yarlığın Buhara Hanı Abülhayrlı Ebu Sa'id Han (1530–1531) tarafından, en sonuncusunun ise Hokand Hanı Sultan Sa'id Han (1863) tarafından verildiği tespit edilmiştir. Belgelerin hanedan aidiyetleri analiz edildiğinde: 8'inin Abülhayrlılar, 5'inin Aştarhânîler, 9'unun Kazak sultanları, 6'sının Buhara Emirliği, 1'inin Taşkent Beyliği, 28'inin Hokand Hanlığı ve 2'sinin Rus İmparatorluğu makamları adına verildiği anlaşılmıştır. İki belgenin aidiyeti ise henüz belirsizliğini korumaktadır. Araştırmada 1576 tarihli Abülhayr Sultan ve 1685–1686 tarihli Yesim Han b. Semeke Han yarlıkları örneğinde karmaşık aidiyet meseleleri başarıyla çözüme kavuşturulmuştur.

Sonuç olarak, bu hukuki belgelerin sıradan birer idari belge olmayıp, merkezi iktidar ile kutsal hanedanlar (sakral aileler) arasında karşılıklı faydaya dayalı bir diyalogun ürünü olduğu ortaya konmuştur. Hükümdarlar, siyasi ve manevi destek alma karşılığında Ahmed Yesevi nesline vergi, toprak-su ve sosyal imtiyazlar bahşetmişlerdir. Elde edilen bulgular, yeni kaynaklar ışığında Türkistan şehrinin tarihi, sosyoekonomik ve demografik durumu, tarihsel coğrafyası ve yönetim sisteminin daha derinlemesine incelenmesine hizmet etmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Hoca Ahmed Yesevi Türbesi; Türkistan; A. L. Kun koleksiyonu; hükümdar yarlık ve fermanları; yarlık; aidiyet tespiti.

Introduction

Khoja Ahmad Yasawi's place in the shared spiritual heritage of Central Asia and the Turkic world has been studied extensively. Substantial scholarship has focused in particular on his hikmats and the history of the Yasawiyya. Yet important historical documents illuminating the role of his shrine in the history of the region, especially the city of Turkestan, have received less attention. A considerable portion of these materials consists of acts issued to the Turkestan shrine by the rulers

of states that governed the region and by their local deputies. The surviving documents are not the originals but copies made in 1872. Local officials in Turkestan at the time certified the copies as faithful to the originals. However, documents that had deteriorated and become difficult to read could not always be reproduced accurately. Consequently, the names of some issuing rulers and the inscriptions on their seals were not copied in full. This presents a problem of attribution when the documents are used in historical research. The present article addresses that problem.

By legislative acts, this study means documents issued by a supreme ruler or a local deputy with the force to establish binding rules or privileges. They are commonly designated *yarlik*, *nishan*, *farman*, *hukm*, and *inayatnama* [1]. Such documents, issued between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries, were not merely ad hoc responses by rulers. They also record a centuries-long, reciprocal dialogue between their recipients, the sacred lineages, and political authority. Both sides participated actively and obtained benefits. Representatives of a sacred lineage could serve as religious leaders and influential social figures in the area containing an ancestor's shrine. Rulers, in turn, had an interest in granting them charters in exchange for political and spiritual support. As official legal instruments of their time, the acts gave their holders considerable political and economic leverage: rights to use land and water, exemptions from taxes and obligations, and an elevated social standing. Many shrines in the region received documents of various kinds. The following sacred lineages, however, stand out for receiving a continuing series of acts from local dynastic rulers during the sixteenth through nineteenth centuries:

- the descendants of Ahmad Yasawi, the Alawi khojas of the city of Turkestan;
- the descendants of Shaykh Zayniddin Baba, the Siddiqi khojas of Tashkent;
- the descendants of Babakhan Ata, the Alawi khojas of the Tashkent region;
- the descendants of Sultan Sayyid, the Husayni (Karaskan) sayyids of the village of Karaskan in the Fergana Valley [2].

Materials and Research Methods. Two collections of legislative documents issued to the shrine of Ahmad Yasawi are currently known. The first is held in St Petersburg in the personal archive of Alexander Ludwigovich Kun (1840–1888), Fund 33 of the Archives of Orientalists at the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts [3]. It was assembled on Kun's initiative in 1872 by making copies of original documents then held by the khojas of Turkestan. The copies were authenticated with the seals of local officials.

The second collection was discovered in Turkestan in 1974. It contains more than 1,000 documents of various kinds and, according to the cited accounts, remains in the possession of V. K. Shukhovtsov in Alma-Ata [4, 5]. Unfortunately, the documents in this collection have not yet been published either as a catalogue or in facsimile. We have therefore been unable to examine them closely. It is known, however, that this collection includes thirty legislative documents relating to the shrine of Khoja Ahmad Yasawi. We hope that a detailed investigation of its contents will become possible in the future.

The group of materials relating to the shrine of Khoja Ahmad Yasawi in the A. L. Kun Collection comprises 97 folios of various historical documents. The originals belonged to three descendants of Ahmad Yasawi: Rahmatullah Khoja, the naqib and son of Aliakbar Khoja; Sharif Khoja Azizlar, son of Behbud Khoja Azizlar; and Nasrullah Khoja, the shaykh al-Islam and son of Ishaq Khoja. The record states that 21 charters were copied from Nasrullah Khoja's documents, 18 from those of Rahmatullah Khoja, and 13 from those of Sharif Khoja Azizlar, making 52 charters in all. They were written in Turkic and Persian. Their subject matter includes the appointment of khojas in Turkestan as mutawalli, shaykh, or naqib of the shrine and the exemption of its landholdings from various taxes and obligations.

Some documents were already old and badly damaged when they were copied in 1872, making them difficult to read. As a result, sentences, personal names, seal inscriptions, and dates were sometimes copied incorrectly. For this reason, it is not always clear who issued each of the 61 legislative documents identified in the collection, to whom it was issued, or when. Their attribution therefore requires closer investigation. The following criteria were used:

- the name of the issuer;
- the issuer's rank and titles;
- the language and textual style of the document;
- the historical terms employed;
- the date of the document.

Results. Application of these criteria identified 61 legislative documents, including complete and partial copies written in Turkic and Persian, among the materials relating to the shrine of Khoja Ahmad Yasawi in A. L. Kun's personal archive. The earliest charter in the group was issued in Jumada I 937 AH (December 1530–January 1531) in the name of Abu Sa'id Khan, a representative of the Shaybanid (Abulkhairid) dynasty who ruled in Samarkand; the source gives his regnal years as 1531–1533 [6]. The latest charters by date—two documents—were issued in Rabi' I 1280 AH (August–September 1863) in the name of the Kokand khan Sultan Sa'id Khan, whose regnal years are given as 1863–1865 [7]. The presentation of documents with a legislative character nevertheless continued after the Russian Empire conquered Turkestan. Our investigation has allowed us to identify some rulers and princes who issued other charters. Consider, for instance, a charter dated 5 Safar 984 AH (4 May 1576), whose intitulation names “Muzaffar al-Din Sultan Abulkhair Bahadur Khan.” Many princes named Abulkhair lived between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. Examination of the document's date indicates that the issuer was Abulkhair Sultan ibn Javanmard Ali Khan ibn Abu Sa'id Khan ibn Kuchkunji Khan (1530–1578), a member of the Samarkand branch of the dynasty, the house of Kuchkunji Khan.

Some charters issued in the periods of the Bukhara Emirate and the Kokand Khanate can be assigned to their issuers without great difficulty. The attribution of documents issued by Abulkhairid princes, particularly those governing peripheral areas, and by Kazakh khans and sultans can be more challenging. Establishing the period and issuer of charters belonging to such princes and provincial governors requires separate study. For example, the intitulation of a Turkic-language document dated to the year of the hare, 1197, rendered in the source as 1685–1686, was not copied. The document may already have been torn or too difficult to read when the copy was made. Two seal inscriptions beneath it, one round and one almond-shaped, read “Ishim Bahadur Khan ibn Shah Muhammad.” This suggests that the document was issued by a Kazakh sultan. Yet several khans and sultans of the Kazakh Khanate bore the name Ishim Khan, or Esim Khan in Kazakh. Notable examples include Esim ibn Shighay (ruled 1598–1628; died in 1628 or 1645), Esim ibn Semeke Khan (khan of the Middle Zhuz in 1756–1798), and Esim ibn Nuraly (1739–1797; ruled 1796–1797). The source identifies “Shah Muhammad” as the full Islamic form of the name Semeke Khan, which was common in spoken Kazakh. On this basis it attributes the document to Esim Khan ibn Semeke Khan and states that its date corresponds to his period of political activity.

Conclusion. To date, 61 legislative acts in the Kun Collection have been examined. Eight originated in the chancelleries of Shaybanid rulers, five with the Ashtarkhanids, nine with Kazakh sultans, six with the Bukhara Emirate, one with the independent Tashkent beklik, and twenty-eight with rulers or local deputies of the Kokand Khanate. The origin of the issuers of another two documents cannot yet be established. Two further documents were issued in the names of Russian imperial officials installed in Turkestan, General A. G. Chernyaev and the governor of Turkestan. The attribution of the acts relating to the shrine of Ahmad Yasawi in the Kun Collection illuminates a two-way relationship between the shrine administration and political authority during the sixteenth through nineteenth centuries. The relationship was initiated not by one side alone, but by the needs of both parties to exercise, consolidate, and legitimize authority. A future comparative examination of the legislative documents in the Alma-Ata and Kun collections could bring further evidence to bear on this question. It would clarify the history of the Alawi khojas in Turkestan, the shrine's finances, the city's administration and the participation of Yasawi's descendants in it, Turkestan's economy and agriculture, local toponymy and historical geography, and the city's demographic history. It is also desirable to identify and study the full range of historical documents concerning the shrine, including charters, in institutional and private collections.

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