

УДК 929.52

**THE STUDY OF JOCHID GENEALOGY ACCORDING TO
RASHID AL-DIN'S "SHUAB-I PANDJGHANA"**

I.M. Mirgaleev, Ch.I. Khamidova

*(Sh.Marjani Institute of History,
Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Tatarstan)*

The authors of the present study describe the Rashid al-Din's work "Shuab-i pandjghana" obtained from the archives of the Topkapi Palace Museum in Istanbul and containing genealogies of the reigning dynasties of the "five peoples". The article contains a brief description of the previous study of this important Rashid al-Din's work. The authors also analyze the information on the "Shuab-i pandjghana" contained in the A.P. Grigoryev's study. The authors present their own version about how "Shuab-i pandjghana" got to Anatolia, how the latest version of Rashid al-Din's work corresponds to his famous composition "Jami al-tawarikh". The study contains comparison of the information given in two Rashid al-Din's works – "Jami al-Tawarikh" and "Shuab-i pandjghana", which shows the difference between them. The authors believe that the information gathered for "Jami al-tawarikh" was the main source, but then some additions and corrections were made. The authors of the article also make an attempt to determine the date when this genealogy was created. They think that this genealogy was compiled later than it is considered to be based on the information given in the preface of the "Shuab-i pandzhgana" and the genealogies. Also one of the arguments is that while writing such a large-scale work as "Jami al-tawarikh" it is difficult to prepare other complex work as genealogies. In the authors' opinion the fact that the manuscript nowadays is known only in one copy counts in favor of the point of view that the work refers to the end of author's life. According to the article, by using "Shuab-i pandjghana" one can both accurately trace the genealogy of the Batuid rulers in the Golden Horde and also have an excellent background information for understanding the genealogies of other Jochid branches.

Keywords: Rashid al-Din, Shuab-i pandjghana, "Five Genealogies", Jami al-tawarikh, Topkapi Palace Museum, Genghis Khan, Jochi khan, Uzbek khan.

"Shuab-and pandjghana" (*shu'ab lit.* "branch") is a genealogy of the reigning dynasties of the "five peoples" (Page 6. 1. Arabs, 2. Mongols, 3. Sons of Israel, 4. Christians and Franks, 5. Chinese). "Shuab-i pandjghana" has not yet been published. Under the assumption of Z. Togan, it is a manuscript of the 16th century [12, p. 211]. The manuscript is kept in the museum of the Topkapi Palace in Istanbul [16]. The language of the work is Persian and it is written in Nasta'liq handwriting style.

In 2011 we obtained a copy of Rashid al-Din's "Shuab-i pandjghana" پنچگانہ شعاب from the Museum of Topkapi Palace of the Republic of Turkey, as well as official permission for the publication of the manuscript.

Nowadays we are preparing a translation of the manuscript into Russian. We are also actively seeking for information pertaining to its author as well as to the manuscript. We have wrote official inquiries and involved personal contacts in order to study out whether there are other copies of the manuscript in the archives of Turkey and other countries. According to the answers of our Tajik, Azerbaijani, Iranian and Uzbek colleagues, no one knows about other copies in Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Azerbaijan, Turkey and Iran. During our research we found other Rashid al-Din's manuscripts. However, among them there is no any part or a full version of "Shuab-i pandjghana".

There is a short historiography about this work of Rashid al-Din. First of all, there are Z.V. Togan's works. Also A.P. Grigoriev examined this manuscript [6], however, his findings on the manuscript, especially the presence of the images, miniature paintings have been criticized by I.M. Mirgaleev [8]. Famously, "Shuab-i pandjghana" has no any miniature paintings. It is made in the classic style of the Muslim genealogies.

According to Z.V. Togan and others following him, the manuscript under consideration was created no later than 1310. Although we have come to a different conclusion, now it would be too early to speak about it with confidence. The most of "Shuab-i pandjghana" is genealogy with a few commentaries and specifications. As our predecessors we had no doubt in Rashid ad-Din's authorship of the manuscript. In a small preface of the manuscript Rashid al-Din writes:

"Thanks and praise to Allah, Lord of the Worlds, and may Allah grant peace and honor on the Prophet Muhammad and all his pure descendants. For order of most august (*skip in the text*), which inspired this worthless and weak Fazlaalah bin Abi al-Khair bin 'Ali known as Rashid al-Tabib for collecting and writing of history of the Turks, as well as for the management and ordering. This initiative has been shown under the blessed name (*skip in the text*) ... for the perpetuation of the state history and contains the history of all the families of people in the world" [16].

We believe these omissions were to be the final title of the work and a name of a person who gave an order to write the work. The absence of the name may show that the compiler did not know whom to point out. It turns out that the manuscript is not fully completed or written during a change of rulers.

Some of the names in the "Shuab-i pandjghana" are written in red, some – in black. Perhaps more important personalities are highlighted by red, because of glorifications of the Prophet Muhammad (may Allah grant peace and honor on him) and other prophets and sacred verses from the Quran.

From the context it is clear that "Shuab-i pandjghana" was created later than "Jami al-tawarikh". In his article in the encyclopedia "Iranica" Charles Melville conceived "Shuab-i pandjghana" as a supplement to the "Jami al-tawarikh" [19].

Of course, Rashid al-Din's main sources were the same ones, which were used in the writing of the historical annals; may be "Jami al-tawarikh" itself was used as a source. However, we could not say that the facts in these works are similar. It is obvious that while writing "Shuab-i pandjghana" Rashid al-Din clarified and added some points and details. We believe that the information gathered for "Jami al-tawarikh" was the main source, but then some additions and corrections were made. It is clear that for such an important subject as the genealogy of Genghis Khan descendants only rechecked and reliable information was used. This is easily can be seen when one compares "Shuab-i pandjghana" and "Jami al-tawarikh".

Here are a few examples. In the "Jami al-tawarikh" Rashid al-Din writes that Jochi khan "had about forty sons" [15, p. 65], but he had no information about all of them. In the "Jami al-tawarikh" he gives a description of fourteen Jochi khan's sons and their genealogies [15, p. 78]. In "Shuab-i pandjghana" amount of the sons of Jochi khan is 15, the author adds Kugadzhi (كوكاجي) to 14 names listed in the "Jami al-tawarikh". We believe that the figure 40 here is allusive and applied by Rashid ad-Din in accordance with the Turkic-Mongol tradition of using figure 40 to indicate the multiplicity, and here Rashid ad-Din assumes that the founder of the dynasty had a lot of descendants. Interestingly, Jamal al-Qarshi also mentions 40 sons of Jochi: "Reference is made to [the names of] 40 sons born by him" [5, p.120]. The fact that the actual number of sons was 15 was confirmed earlier by other author Juzjani who in his work "Tabakat-i Nasiri" writes: "The whole Tushi-khan family had 15 sons and grandsons" [3, p.48].

It is mentioned in the "Jami al-tawarikh" that the sixth and the seventh sons of Orda are Kutukuy and Hulagu and it is unknown whether Kutukuy has sons; only Hulagu's sons are listed. At the same place it is written that actually Hulagu has no sons, and children who are considered to be his children are Kutukuy's sons. According to "Shuab-i pandjghana", Hulagu has not children but Kutukuy has them [15, p. 70–71]. It turns out that "Shuab-i pandjghana" is a kind of a corrected version of the "Jami al-tawarikh".

Here are a few more examples. In the "Jami al-tawarikh" sons of Hulagu are listed. The first is Kubluk and there is written nothing about his sons there. "Shuab-i pandjghana" mentions 2 sons of him, plus 3 empty squares are left for additional names [15, p. 71].

In the "Jami al-tawarikh" we can find Sheyban's sons (Jochi's son). His fourth son is Balakan. Balakan's third son is Tokday. It is written in the "Jami al-tawarikh" that Tokday has three sons [15, p. 74], but in the manuscript of "Shuab-i pandjghana" 6 sons are mentioned and one of them has a grandson. As one can see in this example, Rashid al-Din discovered new details.

With regard to the time of writing of "Shuab-i pandjghana", it is considered to be 1310 and we do not dispute it now. But we think that this ge-

nealogy was compiled later. We saw in the passage from the preface that there is a gap in the text where it should have been the name of the ruler who ordered to make a genealogy. Since Rashid al-Din served Ilkhan Öljeitü more than 10 years, it is possible that he finished this preface after the death of Öljeitü. In “Shuab-i pandjghana” we can find the name of the future khan of the Golden Horde, that is of the Jochid Uzbek [9]. When Rashid al-Din wrote “Jami al-tawarikh”, Uzbek had not yet ascended to the Golden Horde throne. In the “Jami al-tawarikh” Rashid al-Din writes that Toktay is “now sovereign of the Ulus of Jochi” [15, p. 73]. However, in “Shuab-i pandjghana” there are mentioned three sons of Tokta and Ilbasar (in the “Jami al-tawarikh” he is called Iksar) had a son Isan-buka, which was supposed to be younger than Uzbek. All this also points to the fact that the time of writing of “Shuab-i pandjghana” should be later than 1310.

Our preliminary view is that Rashid al-Din compiled this genealogy after his displacement, perhaps before his death, i.e. in 1316–1318. Of course, the question is still open, but we do not think that it was compiled at the same time with the “Jami al-tawarikh” or immediately after that.

Hafiz Abru writes in his “Zayl-i Jami al-tavarikh-i Rashidi” (“Supplement to the Jami al-tawarikh of Rashid”), Rashid al-Din was dismissed from his post of co-vizier in September of 1317, and in July 1318 he was executed [7, p. 79–80]. All this happened at the beginning of the reign of Abu Said. Rashid al-Din served as co-vizier to Ghazan (1295–1304) and Öljeitü (1304–1316). “Jami al-tawarikh” was created in 1300–1310. Therefore it is unlikely that while writing such a large-scale work, also difficult work of genealogies was prepared at the same time. We believe that work on the “Shuab-i pandjghana” was carried out in the last years of Öljeitü and Abu Said did not have time to approve it. Therefore it remained unfinished.

Rashid al-Din sought to have his works were translated into Arabic and from them copies were made, which were sent to the major cities of the Muslim world. Here is a passage from his waqf testament: “... from these books, which are my works quite perfect copies should be taken annually in the following order...” [10, p. 368]. Unfortunately, none of them are “Shuab-i pandjghana”. In our opinion, this counts in favor of the fact that the work refers to the end of author’s life, when he was no longer co-vizier. Moreover, after his death an attempt to collect all Rashid al-Din’s works was made but a compiler wrote that he did not manage to find all his works [10, p. 369]. Of course, it should be taken into account the fact that “Shuab-i pandjghana” was written not for distribution, because there was all genealogy of Genghisides and it was likely to be in limited quantities in the courtyard of the governor.

Unfortunately, archival history of “Shuab-i pandjghana” and how it came to the archive of the Topkapi Palace Museum is also unknown. There is a version that it had been sent from Central Asia, but this is not supported by any sources. At the same time, as it is known, Rashid al-Din

had a son Khoja Jalal al-Din who was hakim (governor) of Rum [13]. Perhaps after the death of Rashid al-Din, this manuscript might have belonged to his son and in the following got into the Topkapi vault with an archive of the Ilkhanid governors.

Of course, these are preliminary conclusions. Specialists have yet to analyze this genealogy. The main thing is that this is a genealogy of Genghisides composed by fastidious connoisseur of their family history. Using “Shuab-i pandjghana”, we can both accurately trace the genealogy of the Batuid rulers in the Golden Horde and also have an excellent background information for understanding the genealogies of other branches of the Jochids. They were active in politics after the Batuids, but we have very confusing source base on their genealogy.

REFERENCES

1. *Entsiklopediya «Iranika»* [Encyclopedia «Iranica»]. Available at: <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/jame-al-tawarik>
2. Esin E. Hanlar Ulaki (The Succession of the Kings). On the Illustrated Genealogy, with Uygur Inscriptions, of Mongol and Timurid Dynasties, at the Topkapi Library. *Gedanke und Wirkung. Festschrift zum 90. Geburtstag von Nicolaus Poppe*. Wiesbaden, 1989, pp. 114–115.
3. Grigor'ev A.P. Letopisnye litsevye svody v srednevekovykh gosudarstvennykh obrazovaniyakh Rossii i Irana: chingisidskie rodosloviya na persidskom i chagatayskom yazykakh [The corpus of illuminated chronicles in the medieval state formations of Russia and Iran: Chingisid genealogies in Persian and Chaghatai languages]. *Tyurkologicheskii sbornik* [Turkological Collection]. Moscow, 2009, pp. 98–123.
4. *Istoriya Kazahstana v persidskikh istochnikakh. Vol. I. Sbornik materialov, otnosjashhij k istorii Zolotoj Ordy* [The history of Kazakhstan in the Persian sources. V. I. Collection of materials relating to the history of the Golden Horde]. Almaty, 2005.
5. *Istoriya Kazahstana v persidskikh istochnikakh. Vol. III. Mu'izz al-ansab (Proslavlyayushcheye genealogii)* [The History of Kazakhstan in the Persian Sources. Vol. III. Mu'izz al-ansab (The Glorifying Genealogies)]. Almaty, 2006. 672 p.
6. *Istoriya Kazahstana v persidskikh istochnikakh. Vol. IV. Sbornik materialov, otnosya-shchikhsya k istorii Zolotoj Ordy* [The History of Kazakhstan in the Persian Sources. Vol. IV. The Collection of Materials Relating to the History of the Golden Horde]. Almaty, 2006.
7. Khafiz Abru (Shikhab ad-Din Abdallah ibn Lutfullakh al-Khavafi). *Zayl-i Dzhami at-tavarikh-i Rashidi («Dopolneniye k sobraniyu istoriy Rashida»)*. *Per. s pers., pre-disl., komment., prim. i ukaz. E.R. Talyshkhanova* [Zayl-i Jami al-tavarikh-i Rashidi ("Supplement to the Rashid al-Din's Jami al-tavarikh")]. Trans. from Pers., foreword, comments, approx. and notes by E.R. Talyshkhanova]. Otv. red. I.M. Mirgaleyev [Executive ed. I.M. Mirgaleyev]. Kazan, 2011. 320 p.
8. Mirgaleyev I.M. «Shuab-i pandzhghana» Rashid ad-dina: perspektivy izucheniya [Rashid al-Din's “Shuab-i pandjghana”: perspectives for the study].

Zolotoordynskoe obozrenie [Golden Horde Review]. Kazan. № 1/2013, pp. 57–64.

9. Mirgaleev I.M., Khamidova Ch.I. Genealogiya predkov Uzbek-khana po dannym «Shuab-i pandzhgana» Rashid ad-dina [Genealogy of Uzbek Khan's ancestors according to "Shuab-i pandjghana" of Rashid al-Din]. *Zolotoordynskaya tsivilizatsiya*. Red. izdaniya i sostavitel' I.M. Mirgaleev. Is. 6 [Golden Horde Civilization]. Ed. and comp. by I.M. Mirgaleev. Kazan, Sh. Marjani Institute of History of Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Tatarstan, 2013. P. 22.

10. Muginov A.M. Persidskaya unikalnaya rukopis Rashid ad-dina [The Persian Unique Manuscript of Rashid al-Din]. *Uchenye zapiski Instituta Vostokovedeniya. Vol. XVI* [Proceedings of the Institute of Oriental Studies. Vol. XVI]. Moscow, Leningrad, 1958, pp. 352–375.

11. Petrushevsky I.P. Rashid-ad-Din i ego istorichesky trud [Rashid al-Din and His Historical Work]. *Rashid-ad-Din. Sbornik letopisey. Vol. 1. Kn. 1* [Rashid al-Din. Jami al-tawarikh. Volume 1. Book 1]. Moscow, Leningrad, 1952, pp. 7–37.

12. Quinn S.A. *The Mu'izz al-ansab and the Shu'ab-i Panjganah as Sources for the Chaghatayid Period of History: A Comparative Analysis*. Central Asiatic Journal, 33, 1989, pp. 229–253.

13. Rashid al-Din. *Perepiska. Per., vvedeniye i komment. A.I. Falinoy* [The Correspondence. Trans., introduction and commentary by A.I. Falina] *Ser.: Pamyatniki pismennosti Vostoka. (PPV). Is. XVII* [Ser.: Written Oriental Monuments. Iss. XVII]. Moscow, Nauka Publ., 1971. 498 p.

14. Rashid al-Din. *Sbornik letopisey. Vol. II* [Jami al-tawarikh. Vol. II]. Moscow, Leningrad, 1960.

15. Storey Ch.A. *Persidskaya literatura: bio-bibliografichesky obzor. Gl. 1–2* [Persian Literature: A Bio-bibliographical Survey. Ch 1–2]. Moscow, 1972, pp. 306–308.

16. *Şu'b-i pençgâne*. Topkapı. Ahmet III. (A.2937) Nesebname-i Mülük, Reşidüddin, Acem, Talik, 227 sayfa. Tupkapu Saraye Muzeye Kitapkhane, shifr A.III 2937.

17. Togan A.Z.V. *Tarihde usul* [The Method in History]. Istanbul, 1950.

18. Togan A.Z.V. *The Composition of the History of the Mongols by Rashid al-din*. Central Asiatic Journal, VII/1. 1962, pp. 60–72.

19. Togan A.Z.V. *Umumi Turk Tarihine Giris. Cild 1: En eski devirlerden 16 asra kadar* [Introduction to the General History of Turks. Vol. 1: From Ancient Times to the 16th Century]. Istanbul, 1946, pp. 370–371.

About the authors: Il'nur Midkhatovich Mirgaleev – Head of the Usmanov Center for Research on the Golden Horde History, Sh.Marjani Institute of History, Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Tatarstan, Cand. Sci. (History) (420014, Kremlin, entrance 5, Kazan, Russian Federation); dilnur1976@mail.ru

Chulpan Ildarovna Khamidova – Post-graduate student, Sh.Marjani Institute of History, Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Tatarstan (420014, Kremlin, entrance 5, Kazan, Russian Federation); zahragizza@gmail.com

**ИССЛЕДОВАНИЕ ГЕНЕАЛОГИИ ДЖУЧИДОВ ПО ДАННЫМ
«ШУАБ-И ПАНДЖГАНА» РАШИД АД-ДИНА**

И.М. Миргалеев, Ч.И. Хамидова

*(Институт истории им. Ш. Марджани
Академии наук Республики Татарстан)*

Авторы данного исследования описывают генеалогическую рукопись Рашид ад-дина «Шуаб-и панджгана», полученную из архива дворца-музея Топкапы в Стамбуле и содержащую родословные династий «пяти народов». Статья содержит краткое описание предыдущих исследований этой важной работы Рашид ад-дина. Авторы анализируют также информацию о «Шуаб-и панджгана», содержащуюся в исследовании А.П. Григорьева. Авторы представляют свою версию о том, как «Шуаб-и панджгана» оказался в Анатолии, а так же как последняя версия работы Рашид ад-дина соотносится с его знаменитым сочинением «Джами ат-таварих». Исследование ставит целью сравнение данных, представленных в двух работах Рашид ад-дина – «Джами ат-таварих» и «Шуаб-и панджгана», которое показывает разницу между ними. Авторы считают, что информация, собранная для «Джами ат-таварих», была основным источником и для «Шуаб-и панджгана», но потом были внесены некоторые дополнения и исправления. Авторы статьи также делают попытку определить дату, когда эта генеалогия была создана. Они предполагают, что эта генеалогия была составлена позже, чем это принято считать, вывод делается на основе информации, содержащейся в предисловии «Шуаб-и панджгана» и родословных. Также одним из аргументов является то, что во время написания такой масштабной работы как «Джами ат-таварих» трудно было подготовить другие комплексные работы, особенно как родословные. По мнению авторов, факт, что рукопись в настоящее время известна только в одном списке, говорит в пользу той точки зрения, что работа относится к концу жизни автора. Согласно статье, используя «Шуаб-и панджгана», можно проследить генеалогию правителей-батуидов в Золотой Орде, а также мы имеем отличную справочную информацию для изучения генеалогий других ответвлений джучидов.

Ключевые слова: Рашид ад-дин, «Шуаб-и панджгана», «Пять Генеалогий», «Джами ат-таварих», музей Топкапы, Чингиз-хан, Джучи-хан, Узбек-хан.

Сведения об авторах: Ильнур Мидхатович Миргалеев – руководитель Центра исследований истории Золотой Орды им. М.А. Усманова Института истории им. Ш. Марджани АН РТ, кандидат исторических наук (420014, Кремль, подъезд 5, Казань, Российская Федерация); dilnur1976@mail.ru

Чулпан Ильдаровна Хамидова – аспирант Центра исследований истории Золотой Орды им. М.А. Усманова Института истории им. Ш. Марджани АН РТ (420014, Кремль, подъезд 5, Казань, Российская Федерация); zahragizza@gmail.com