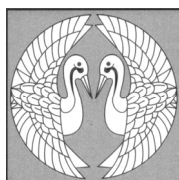


EX IPSO FONTE

IN CO-OPERATION WITH
THE STATE HERMITAGE MUSEUM

PETER THE GREAT MUSEUM OF ANTHROPOLOGY AND ETHNOGRAPHY
RUSSIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES



Manuscripta Orientalia

International Journal for Oriental Manuscript Research

Vol. 30 No. 1 2024

St. Petersburg

Manuscripta Orientalia

Efim A. Rezvan (St. Petersburg), Editor-in-Chief,
Maryam E. Rezvan (St. Petersburg), Deputy Editor-in-Chief
Anna Yu. Kudriavtceva (St. Petersburg), Editor

Advisory Board

Alexander B. Kudelin (Moscow) — *Pavel B. Lurje* (St. Petersburg) —
Annabel T. Gallop (London) — *Mikhail B. Piotrovsky* (St. Petersburg) —
Anton D. Pritula (St. Petersburg) — *Alessandro Gori* (Copenhagen)

English Editor

Natalia Denisova

Copyright

© Copyright 2024 Manuscripta Orientalia, Russia

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, translated, stored in a retrieval system or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior written permission of the publisher.

Subscriptions

Subscription orders may be made directly to the publisher by E-mail: manuscripta.orientalia@mail.ru.

Subscription orders are accepted for complete volumes only, orders taking effect with the first issue of any year. Claims for replacement of damaged issues or of issues lost in transit should be made within ten months after the appearance of the relevant issue and will be met if stocks permit. Back issues are available.

For further information, please, visit our web site under: <http://manuscripta.ru> or <http://manuscripta-orientalia.kunstkamera.ru>

The journal is registered by North-Western regional office of the RF State Committee for Press.

Date of registration: 15.11.2023. Registration number: ПИ № ТУ78-02314П.

E-mail (subscription): manuscripta.orientalia@mail.ru

“Lema”. Address: 28, 1st line, 199004, St. Petersburg, Russia

Nurlan Atygayev,

Abai Kazakh National Pedagogical University, Almaty,
Kazakhstan
Eurasian Research Institute of the Khoja Akhmet Yassawi
International Kazakh-Turkish University, Turkestan, Kazakhstan
E-mail: nuratygaev@mail.ru

Zarine Dzhandosova,

St. Petersburg State University, St. Petersburg, Russia
E-mail: zarinejandosova@rambler.ru

Kaliolla Ahmetzhan,

Military History Museum of the Armed Forces of Republic of Kazakhstan, Astana, Kazakhstan
E-mail: kaliolla.akhmetzhan@mail.ru

Tatiana Krupa,

Pavlodar Pedagogical University, Pavlodar, Kazakhstan
E-mail: tatiana.krupa@gmail.com

Omir Tuyakbay

Al-Farabi Kazakh National University, Almaty, Kazakhstan
E-mail: omirabuali@gmail.com

MOGHUL KHANS FROM *MURAQQA'* *TAŞĀVĪR-I SALĀṬĪN-I KĀSHGHAR. PART I* [1]

Abstract. The article introduces a reader to a small handwritten album of miniatures in the Persian style (*muraqqa'*), most likely originating from Kashgaria (modern XUAR of the PRC) and currently stored in the manuscript fund of the Malek National Library and Museum in Tehran (IRI). The album contains eight miniature portraits of the “Sultans of Kashgar” (i. e., rulers of Mughulistan (Eastern Chaghatay Khanate) and later Daulat-i Mughuliya (Yarkand Khanate)) of the 9th—10th / 15th—16th centuries, including such famous khans as Shir Muhammad Khan, Sultan Mahmud Khan, Sham-i Jahan Khan, and Naqsh Jahan Khan. The portraits are not set in chronological order. One miniature depicts prince Sufi Sultan, the ruler of Kashgar, who, judging by the entry on the first page of the album, is the customer of the manuscript. The authors of the article offer their own attribution of some portraits, where the depicted personality seem not so obvious. The publication of miniatures is accompanied, if possible, by a detailed historical commentary, as well as by the description of the portrait itself, with special attention to the clothes and ammunition of the depicted person.

Keywords: *muraqqa'*, miniature, portrait, Kashgar, Eastern Chaghatay Khanate, Moghul, khan, sultan, weapons, costume, status

Acknowledgement. Prepared for publication with the support of a targeted funding program #BR21882416: “The Historical Geography of the Central Asia”.

The manuscript fund of Malek National Library and Museum (Tehran, IRI) owns a small, but rather interesting, in terms of its content, manuscript titled *Taşāvīr-i Salāṭīn-i Kāshghar* (“Portraits of the Sultans of Kashgar”, No. 5927, 15 pp.). The manuscript is an album of miniatures (*muraqqa'*) containing the portraits of a new Moghul rulers. According to the framed Arabic inscription following the *basmala* on the first page of the

manuscript, the portraits were made “by the highest command of the Shadow of God on Earth, His Highness Sultān Šūfī-khān, may Allāh perpetuate his rule”. Based on this report, the *muraqqa'* was made in the second half of the 10th / second half of the 16th century, when Šūfī-sultān ruled (see below). The album consists of five folios with eight portraits of Moghul rulers (i. e., khans of Mughūlistān and Mughūliya in 9th—10th / 15th—

16th centuries). The portraits are signed: at the bottom of each miniature there is a name of a khan, and at the top there is an explanatory phrase, a slogan, or a title. In

some cases, the attribution is conjectural; it can be assumed that some miniatures may depict the rulers of Kashgar (as a part of Mughūlistān).

Portrait of Sulṭān Ṣūfī-khān [2]

Historical Note

According to the available sources, there was no khan of Mughūlistān or Mughūliya with such name. Presumably, the depicted person is Ibrāhīm-sulṭān, known as Ṣūfī-sulṭān. According to *Baḥr al-asrār fī manāqib al-akhyār* (“The Ocean of Secrets in the Accounts of the Noble”) by Maḥmūd b. Wālī, *Tārīkh-i Kāshghar* (“The History of Kashgar”), and *Tārīkh-i Shāh-Maḥmūd b. Mirzā Fāzil Churās* (“The Chronicle of Shāh-Maḥmūd b. Mirzā Fāzil Churās”, further in the text *Tārīkh-i Churās*), he was the fourth son of ‘Abd al-Rashīd-khān and Chū-chūk-khānim [3], a daughter of a Qazaq Chingizid Adik-sulṭān (848—908 / 1445—1503) and a niece of a Moghul ruler Sulṭān Sa‘īd-khān and was a *ḥakīm* of Kashgar [4]. It should be noted that Maḥmūd b. Wālī’s remark that “the historians did not mention a word about Sufi

Sultan” [5] is incorrect, since shāh-Maḥmūd Churās (d. before 8th Rajab 1105 / 4th March 1694) gives some information about him: “Sufi-Sultan was a prince of handsome appearance and domineering. The narrow-minded people recognized him as a worthy [ruler]” [6]. In another place, he writes: “Sufi Sultan was a handsome, eloquent and courageous prince, but at the same time arrogance and pride were mixed in the core of his nature” [7]. When his elder brother ‘Abd al-Karīm-khān (966—999 / 1559—1591) ascended the throne in 966/1559, he gave Yangī-Ḥiṣār to Ṣūfī-sulṭān. From 980/1572 until his death, Ṣūfī-sulṭān ruled Kashgar. At the end of his life, he became blind [8]. Oleg Akimushkin, based on *Jalīs al-mushṭāqīn* (“The Companion of the Thirsty”), indicates that Ṣūfī-sulṭān died ca. 996/1588 in Kashgar [9].

Description

The miniature depicts a white-bearded man of venerable age, of Mongoloid appearance, standing half-turned, with his right side to the viewer. He is wearing two long robes. The lower dressing gown is green, with a long narrow sleeve and a light lining, clearly visible on the lapels on the right side below and along the central line of the fastener, made in the form of a row of

small buttons from neck to waist; the man has a narrow belt with a metal (?) clasp. The overcoat is brown, without a fastener, with long folding sleeves with a slit for the arm at shoulder level; decorated, presumably, with gold decor, in shoulder area and along the bottom line. The man has red boots with heels. He is holding a cane [10].

Portrait of Rashīd-khān b. Aḥmad-khān

Historical Note

Presumably the depicted person is ‘Abd al-Rashīd-khān, the grandson of Aḥmad-khān (known as Alacha-khān), the son of Sulṭān Sa‘īd-khān (892—939 / 1487—1533, ruler of Mughūliya 920—939 / 1514—1533). His full name is Abu-l-Muẓaffar ‘Abd al-Rashīd b. Sulṭān Sa‘īd. He was the ruler of Mughūliya from Dhū al-Qa‘da 939 / July 1533 to 967/1559 [11]. According to *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* (“The History of Rashīd”), ‘Abd al-Rashīd-khān was born in 915/1509–10, and his mother “was a commoner and was made the [khan’s] wife to serve him” [12], but since he died presumably at the age of fifty, and the year of his death was apparently 967/1559–60, it is probable that he could have been born a year earlier, that is, in 914/1508–9. The name ‘Abd al-Rashīd was given to him by the famous Timurid, the founder of the Mughal Empire in India, the writer and historian Zāhīr al-Dīn Muḥammad Bābur (887—937 / 1483—1530). For some time, a baby, the very young ‘Abd al-Rashīd and his mother were held captive by the Uzbek ruler Muḥammad Shaybanī-khān (ca. 855—916 / 1451—1510). After being released from captivity, the boy was placed under the care of Habība Sulṭān-khānim,

the sister of Mirzā Muḥammad-Ḥaydar Dughlāt (904—958 / 1499—1551) and the wife of Sulṭān Sa‘īd-khān. *Amīr* Gūrī Bārlās and ‘Alī Mīrak Bārlās (928/1521–2) were his *ātābeks* (guardians), and the learned Persian Mawlānā Muḥammad Shīrāzī taught him to read and write. His martial arts teacher was Mirzā Muḥammad-Ḥaydar Dughlāt [13] who colourfully describes his pupil in *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*: ‘Abd al-Rashīd-khān,

even though he lacked understanding of people, by his nature, in terms of physical strength, health and grace of conversation, he had no equal. In shooting, after his great father, there are few like him. In the cup of courage, he is a lion hunting tigers, and in the sea of insolence, he is a shark devouring a dragon. His talent for eloquence and pearl-scattering speech are the only pearl in a sea of grace and a lovely casket with excellent pearls. His generous hand plays [different] musical instruments so [wonderfully] that the chang (harp) of Venus is silent before him, and the songs of nightingales in the garden of melodies lose their harmony. The driving force of his noble nature shifted prose to a pearl series of poems. His giftedness

tasted the food of subtlety and grace. Due to his natural talent, he works wonders in all arts and crafts [14].

Mirzā Muḥammad-Ḥaydar also notes that ‘Abd al-Rashīd-khān is “a good Muslim who claims justice and fairness” [15].

The anonymous author of *Tārīkh-i Kāshghar*, in turn, writes the following: ‘Abd al-Rashīd-khān

surpassed the great khan (i. e., Sultān Sa‘īd) in the arts of horse-riding and archery. ‘Abd al-Rashīd khan [was] a brave and courageous prince, handsome and well-behaved... He used to compose nice poems in Farsi and Turki and was well literate. He could read, as if having learned by heart, any text written without orthography [16].

Perhaps this assessment is influenced by the author of *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*.

Until the age of thirteen, ‘Abd al-Rashīd had lived next to his father in Yarkand. In 928/1521–2, together with Muḥammad Qirghiz (d. after 928/1521–2), he was sent to rule Mughūlistān and the Qirghiz, but soon “because of the attacks of the Qazaqs and the hostile attitude of the Qirghiz” he returned to his father and was appointed the ruler of Aqsu [17]. There, according to Shāh-Maḥmūd Churās, he remained from 930/1523–4 to 940/1533–4 [18]. ‘Abd al-Rashīd-khān, accompanied by

Mirzā Muḥammad-Ḥaydar, led one of the Moghul campaigns in Balur [19]. For his exploits in the fight against the Qalmaq, he was titled a *ghāzī* (a fighter for the Faith) [20]. After the death of his father in Dhū al-Hijja 939/July 1533, ‘Abd al-Rashīd-khān ascended the throne in Yarkand [21]. Having come to power, he had the *ülüs* bek Sayyīd-Muḥammad-mirzā (d. 939/1533) and his foster brother ‘Ali Sayyīd (d. 939/1533), relatives of Mirzā Muḥammad-Ḥaydar Dughlāt, killed [22]. Mirzā Muḥammad-Ḥaydar, trying to justify his pupil, writes: ‘Abd al-Rashīd-khān himself, by his nature,

strove for justice and fairness, but he clearly followed the instructions of Muḥammadi [bārās], in all cases he acted with his consent, therefore he contributed to the most disgusting deeds [23].

‘Abd al-Rashīd-khān changed the policy of the former Moghul khans and started to fight with the Qazaqs and Kyrgyz in alliance with the Shibanids. He died in 967/1559–60 at the age of fifty-two [24]. Other sources indicate other dates of his death; however, Akimushkin finds them erroneous [25]. Maḥmūd b. Wālī in *Baḥr al-asrār* reports that ‘Abd al-Rashīd-khān had nine sons and two daughters [26] According to *Tārīkh-i Churās* and *Tārīkh-i Kāshghar*, he had twelve sons [27].

Description

The miniature depicts a beardless young man of Mongoloid appearance. He stands half-turned, left side to the viewer. He is wearing two long robes. The under-robe is green, with a long narrow sleeve and a light lining, clearly visible on the lapels along the centre line of the fastener. The clasp is made in the form of a row of small buttons from neckline to waist. The top button is

undone, and the neck of the red shirt is peeking out. The robe is belted with a narrow belt with a metal (?) clasp. A dark brown robe with long folding sleeves is thrown over the khan's shoulders over a green robe. The top robe does not have a fastener but is decorated with yellow (presumably gold) embroidery. The man is in red boots with heels, holding a cane.

Portrait of Isanbuqū-khān / Isan-Bughā-khān

Historical Note

According to *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* by Mirzā Muḥammad-Ḥaydar, Isan-Bughā-khān was the younger son of Ways-khān (r. 821–824 / 1418–1421; 828–831 / 1425–1428) [28] and ruled Mughūlistān from 837/1433–4 to 867/1462–3 [29] According to Akimushkin, he became khan a little earlier, ca. 833/1429–30 [30] The headquarters of Isan-Bughā-khān was Aqsu. He undertook campaigns against Sayram, Turkestan, Tashkent and Andijan, fought against Timurid Abū Sa‘īd-mirzā (827–873 / 1423–4–1469), resisted the attempts of his brother Yunūs-khān

(818–892 / 1415–6–1487–8, r. 872–892 / 1467–68–1487–88) to take the throne of Mughūlistān with the help of Abū Sa‘īd-mirzā. He was that very khan of Mughūlistān who accepted Kiray (828–878 / 1425–1474) and Jānibīk (831–884 / 1428–1480), the descendants of Urūs-khān (d. 778/1377, ruled in the Golden Horde 774–776 / 1372–74; 776–7 / 1375, ruled in Eastern Dasht-i Qypchāq 769–778 / 1368–1377), and gave them the Qūzībāshī area in the western part of his realm. Over time, this led to the emergence of the Qazaq Khanate [31].

Description

The miniature depicts the khan as a young man of Mongoloid appearance, with a short black beard; he stands half-turned, right side to the viewer. He is wearing two long robes, the underrobe being slightly longer and having long, narrow sleeves and a green lining, clearly visible on the lapels on the right side below and along the centre line

of the fastener. The overcoat is brown, with short sleeves and a clasp in the form of a row of small, presumably gold, buttons from neck to waist; it has gold (?) decoration and has a white lining clearly visible on the lapels on the sides below and along the centre line of the fastener. The khan wears black heeled boots. The khan is depicted wearing

a ceremonial combat sash adorned with large decorative, presumably gold plaques, which marks his high social status. On the belt hangs a sabre in a scabbard covered with green material (presumably velvet). The scabbard is suspended by two hanging straps; the mouth, the clips and the tip of the scabbard seem to be gold; judging by colour, the crosspiece and pommel of the sabre hilt are also gilded. At the top of the handle there is a lanyard with a silk tassel. The sabre is of the *qilich* / *qilij* type, with a slightly curved blade and a handle slightly curved towards the blade [32]. The length of such a sabre reached one meter [33].

A quiver with arrows decorated with an ornament is depicted on the khan's belt. Quivers of this type were common among the Turkic-Mongolian and Iranian peoples since the 15th century. They were made of leather, covered with fabric (most often velvet) and for noble warriors embroidered with silk, gold, and silver threads [34]. The given quiver is most likely sheathed in dark blue velvet and embroidered with silk or gold threads. There is no image of a *sadaq* (bowcase), but, most likely, it is on the belt on the left invisible side [35]. In his right hand, the khan is holding a cane.

Portrait of Shīr-Muhammad-khān

Historical Note

According to *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, Shīr-Muhammad-khān was a son of Muhammad-khān (r. 810—819 / 1407–8—1416–7) [36]. He ruled Mughūlistān from 824/1421–2 to 828/1424–5 [37]. Mirzā Muḥammad-Ḥaydar indicates that he became an independent khan after the death of his father, adding that “his times were calm, and the people prospered” [38]. However, according to earlier sources, after the death of Muhammad-khān, Uways-khān, a son of Shīr-‘Alī-ughlān (d. ca. 823/1420), managed to seize the Moghul throne [39], thus causing discord between him and his uncle Shīr-Muhammad-khān. According to ‘Abd al-Razzāq Samarqandī (816—887 / 1413—1482), in Jumādā II 823 / July 1420 Shīr-Muhammad-khān left Mughūlistān for Timurid Ulūghbīk's (796—853 / 1394—1449) Samarkand. Even though the latter received him well, arranged a feast in his honour, and “dis-

tinguished [the Moghuls] with luxurious robes and numerous gifts”, Shīr-Muhammad-khān used to perceive his stay at the Timurid court as a kind of captivity. Therefore, four months later, Shīr-Muhammad-khān and his companions tried to flee to Mughūlistān but were captured and given forgiveness [40]. In 824/1421–2, with the military assistance of Ulūghbīk, Shīr-Muhammad-khān seized power in Mughūlistān. However, he soon ceased to obey the Timurid and began to rule independently [41]. As a result, in 828/1424–5 Ulūghbīk undertook a campaign against him. Having plundered a few of Moghul *uluses*, his army returned to Māwarā’al-nahr [42]. However, Uways-khān remained the main rival of Shīr-Muhammad-khān, and battles took place between them every now and then, with varying success. This continued until the death of Shīr-Muhammad-khān, which had natural causes [43].

Description

The miniature depicts a middle-aged man of Mongoloid appearance, with a short black beard; he stands half-turned, left side to the viewer. The man is wearing a reen underrobe with long narrow sleeves and a brown overcoat with short sleeves. The length of both robes reaches the middle of the lower leg, while the underrobe is slightly longer. The bottom robe has a white lining. The clasp of the overcoat is made in the form of a row of small, presumably gold, buttons from neckline to waist. The overcoat has yellow (presumably gold) decoration and white lining visible on the lapels. The hemline of the robe tucked up and plugged into the belt, which indicates readiness for action. The footwear is high red boots with

small heels. The khan is girded with a narrow battle belt. A sabre with a slightly curved blade hangs on his left side. The type of sabre is like the previous one. The scabbard is pink or maybe red; the mouth, the clips, and the tip of the scabbard, as well as the crosspiece and the pommel of the hilt, are presumably gilded; the hilt of the sabre is slightly bent towards the blade, on the pommel there is a lanyard with a tassel. In his right hand, the khan is holding a pike [44]. Both pike tips are depicted with a wide sub-triangular nib, with a relief line in the middle of the nib; judging by the colour, the tips are gilded to indicate the high status of the owner of this weapon [45].

Portrait of Aḥmad-khān, or Lanjī (Lanchī, Alanchī?)-khān

Historical Note

Probably, the depicted person is Sultān-Aḥmad-khān (Alaḥa-khān), the youngest son of Yunūs-khān. Sultān-Aḥmad was born in 870/1465–6). Even under Yunūs-khān, the nomadic tribes of Mughūlistān, dissatisfied with the latter's craving for a settled life, recognized

Sultān-Aḥmad-khān as their ruler [46]. Mirzā Muḥammad-Ḥaydar characterizes him that way:

Sultān-Aḥmad-khān was an extremely pious sovereign, a faithful Muslim and well-versed in sharia so that in most

cases he made decisions according to sharia. In matters of sharia, he did not experience difficulties. He was an energetic and courageous person, distinguished by great courage, intelligence, and common sense, and [at the same time] he was modest. He devoted most of his time to the fulfilment of religious prescriptions, he made sure to pray five times among the people. He greatly valued the bonds of kinship; in his nobility and commendable manners in his time he had no equal [47].

Sultān-Aḥmad-khān ruled the Central and Eastern part of Mughūlistān, i. e. Turfan, approximately from 890/1485–6 to 910/1504–5 [48]. According to Mirzā Muḥammad-Ḥaydar, after ten years of fierce struggle, he established his power in Mughūlistān and strengthened his possessions so much that “Qalmaqs and Uzbaks could not pass through the territory of Mughūlistān at a distance of seven to eight months' journey” [49]. According to Bābur, Sultān-Aḥmad-khān was nicknamed Alacha-khān after his battles with the Qalmaqs. Bābur writes:

They say that the reason why he has been called Alacha is that in the language of the Qalmaqs and Moghuls a killer is called *alachī*, and since Sultān-Aḥmad-khān defeated the Qalmaqs several times and exterminated many of their

people, he was called Alachī; from frequent use [the word *alachī*] turned into Alacha [50].

There is a similar explanation in *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*:

The Qalmaqs were extremely afraid of him and called Alachī-khān; in Mughal *alachī* means “a murderer”, i. e., khan the Murderer. This nickname remained with the khan; people called him Alacha-khān [51].

Despite all his power, Sultān-Aḥmad-khān recognized the status of his elder brother Sultān-Maḥmūd-khān as the supreme ruler of Mughūlistān. He would several times come to support Sultān-Maḥmūd-khān (r. 892–913 / 1487–1508) and successfully fight against his opponents. However, in 909/1503–4 the two brothers were defeated by Shaybanī-khān near Akhsi and retreated to Aqsu. There, Sultān-Aḥmad-khān was stricken with paralysis and died [52]. According to *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, he had eighteen sons, the eldest of whom was the governor of Turfan Manšūr-khān (r. 907–950 / 1501–1544). And his third son Sultān-Sa‘īd-khān became the founder of the Moghul state (Daulat-i Mughūliya) with its centre in Yarkand [53].

Description

The miniature depicts a middle-aged man standing half-turned with his left side towards the viewer. He has a Mongoloid appearance, with a short black beard. The khan is depicted in combat gear. Two robes (a green underrobe and a red, short-sleeved overcoat) are fully tucked into brown trousers (although it is also possible that the man is wearing a shirt and a short coat, not long robes). The (over)coat is embroidered with yellow (presumably gold) thread. Fastening has the form of a row of small, probably gold buttons from neckline to waist. The trousers are tucked into gold-embroidered black boots with low heels. The khan is girded with a narrow harness belt. On the left a sabre in a green sheath is hanging on the belt; most likely, the scabbard is covered with green velvet. The type of sabre is like the previous ones. The

mouth, clips, and tip of the scabbard, as well as the crosspiece and pommel of the sabre handle are presumably gilded. Also, on the belt there is a *sadaq*-type bowcase with a bow. *Sadaq*, presumably, is covered with dark blue velvet; its front surface is embroidered with a floral pattern [54]. In this miniature, a quiver for arrows, which should hang from the belt on the right side, is invisible. With both hands, the khan leans on a *buzdygan*-type pernach (mace), the head of which has several flat ribs (feathers) fan-shaped around the perimeter. Judging by colour, the hilt and head of the mace are gilded [55]. The image of Sultān-Aḥmad-khān with a *buzdygan* in his hands depicts him as a famous commander or even as the Commander-in-Chief of the Moghul army before the start of a military campaign.

Notes

1. Given the large volume of the article with illustrations, it has been divided into two parts, and the ending should be published in the next issue of the journal.

2. Please refer to the official Malek National Library website for the images:



3. In *Tārīkh-i Kāshghar* she is called “an ascetic, pious, prudent, virtuous [and] far-sighted person” [*Materialy po istorii Kazahskih hanstv...*, 1969: 412].

4. *Ibid.*: 330, 412; Churās, 2010: 139, 143.

5. *Materialy po istorii Kazahskih hanstv...*, 1969: 331.

6. Churās, 2010: 143.

7. *Ibid.*: 153.

8. *Ibid.*: 145.

9. *Ibid.*: 260.

10. Headgear to be analyzed separately.

11. Dughlāt, 1999: 168; Barthold, 1973: 174–175; Akimushkin, 2004: 263.

12. Dughlāt, 1999: 167.

13. *Ibid.*: 167–170, 176.

14. *Ibid.*: 176.
 15. *Ibid.*
 16. *Materialy po istorii Kazahskih hanstv...*, 1969: 411.
 17. Dughlāt, 1999: 161, 170, 514.
 18. Akimushkin, 2004: 142.
 19. Dughlāt, 1999: 161, 170, 447.
 20. *Ibid.*: 435.
 21. *Ibid.*: 168, 514; Akimushkin, 2004: 139.
 22. Dughlāt, 1999: 172, 519—520.
 23. *Ibid.*: 176.
 24. Akimushkin, 2004: 142.
 25. *Ibid.*: 249.
 26. *Materialy po istorii Kazahskih hanstv...*, 1969: 329.
 27. Akimushkin, 2004: 139; *Materialy po istorii Kazahskih hanstv...*, 1969: 411.
 28. Dughlāt, 1999: 102.
 29. Barthold, 1964a: 113, 115; Pishchulina, 1977: 117, 123.
 30. Akimushkin, 2004: 263.
 31. Dughlāt, 1999: 106—108; Pishchulina, 1977: 259—263.
 32. Astvatsaturyan, 2002: 85.
 33. An analogue can be a sabre of the early 16th century from the collection of the Armoury Chamber of the Moscow Kremlin, which, according to a legend, belonged to Prince Mstislavsky [*Materialy po istorii russkih odezhd...*, 1883, fig. XX]. A similar type of sabre appeared in the East in the 15th century, possibly originating from the territory of the Golden Horde, and was common among the Turkic-Mongolian peoples until the 17th century, before the spread of the Iranian type of sabre, *shamshīr*, with a narrow, strongly curved blade.
 34. For example, a similar type of Turkish quiver and beam from 1550 is in the collection of the Kunsthistorisches Museum of Vienna. Online. Available form: <https://www.khm.at> [Accessed: June 18th, 2023].
 35. On the left side of a combat belt, complete with a quiver, there was always a *sadaq* bow designed in the same style as the quiver, forming a single set with it (also called *sadaq*).
 36. Dughlāt, 1999: 91.
 37. Pishchulina, 1977: 103; Akimushkin, 2004: 263.
 38. Dughlāt, 1999: 91.
 39. Pishchulina, 1977: 100; Akimushkin, 2004: 263.
 40. Romodin (ed.), 1973: 163.
 41. *Ibid.*: 163—164; Pishchulina, 1977: 103.
 42. Romodin (ed.), 1973: 168; Pishchulina, 1977: 100.
 43. Dughlāt, 1999: 95.
 44. An analogue of such a pike is a Turkish pike with two tips from the collection of the Tsarskoye Selo Arsenal [Bejhajm, 1995: 233, fig. 360]. One tip of this pike is narrow and faceted, the other tip has a wide feather of an elongated triangular shape; the shaft is covered with fabric.
 45. Such cavalry lances of a *sungi* type were used by noble warriors such as khans, sultans and *batyrs*. The use of such a pike in a battle can often be seen in miniatures.
 46. Dughlāt, 1999: 139, 147; Pishchulina, 1977: 270; Akimushkin, 2004: 263, 265.
 47. Dughlāt, 1999: 150.
 48. Akimushkin, 2004: 263.
 49. Dughlāt, 1999: 147—149.
 50. Bābur, 1992: 27.
 51. Dughlāt, 1999: 148.
 52. *Ibid.*: 150.
 53. *Ibid.*: 191.
 54. This is an image of a type of eastern beam of the 16th century, which was made of leather, velvet and artistically decorated with embroidery with gold and silver threads. The museum analogue is a Turkish bow and quiver from the collection of the Vienna Kunsthistorisches Museum. Usually, the beam and the quiver made up a single set and were decorated in the same style.
 55. *Buzdygan* (mace, *pernach*, *shestoper*) was used by the Turkic and Iranian warriors since the 14th century. It was not only a weapon, but also an attribute of the highest military power [Akmetzhan, 2007: 123—124, fig. 109]. As an official badge of a military leader, the heads of such *buzdygans* were gilded, and the handles decorated with ornaments and precious stones. The museum analogue is an Iranian mace from the 17th century from the collection of the Armoury Chamber [*Sokrovishcha Oruzhejnoj palaty...*, 1996: 106, fig. 97].

References

- Ahmetzhan K. S. (2007), *Etnografiya tradicionnogo vooruzheniya kazahov* [*The Ethnography of the Traditional Weaponry of the Kazakhs*], Almaty: Almatykitap.
 Akimushkin, O. F. (2004), *Srednevekovyj Iran: Kul'tura, istoriya, filologiya* [*Medieval Iran: Culture, History, Philology*], St. Petersburg: Nauka.
 Astvatsaturyan, E. (2002), *Tureckoe oruzhie* [*Turkic Weapons*], St. Petersburg: TPG Atlant.
 Bābur, Zāhīr al-Dīn (1992), *Bābur-nāme*, transl. into Russian by M. A. Sal'e, Tashkent: Glavnaya redakciya enciklopedij.
 Barthold, V. V. (1964a), *Sochineniya* [*Works*], vol. 2, part 2, Moscow: Nauka.
 Barthold, V. V. (1964a), *Sochineniya* [*Works*], vol. 8, Moscow: Nauka.
 Bejhajm, V. V. (1995), *Enciklopediya oruzhiya* [*The Encyclopaedia of Weapons*], St. Petersburg: Sankt Peterburg orkestr.
 Churās, Shāh-Mahmūd (2010), *Hronika / Tārīkh-i Churās*, transl. into Russian and comments by O. F. Akimushkin, 2nd ed., St. Petersburg: Peterburgskoe lingvisticheskoe obshchestvo.
 Dughlāt, Mirzā Muḥammad-Ḥaydar (1999), *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* [*History of Rashīd*], transl. into Russian by U. Urunbayev, R. Dzhaliilova, L. Epifanova, 2nd ed., Almaty: Sanat.
Materialy po istorii russkih odezhd i obstanovki zhizni narodnoj, izdavaemye po Vysochajshemu soizvoleniyu V. A. Prokhorovym i A. V. Prokhorovym v 4-h vypuskah. Vypusk 2: *Period istoricheskij* [*Materials on the History of Russian Clothing and the Environment of People's Life, Published by the Highest Permission by V. A. Prokhorov and A. V. Prokhorov in 4 Issues*. Issue 2: *Historical Period*] (1883), St. Petersburg: Tipografiya Imperatorskoj Akademii nauk.

Materialy po istorii Kazahskih hanstv XV—XVIII vv. (izvlecheniya iz persidskih i tyurkskih sochinenij) [*Materials on the History of the Kazakh Khanates of the 15th —18th Centuries (Extracts from Persian and Turkic Sources)*] (1969), compiled and edited by S. K. Ibragimov, N. N. Mingulov, K. A. Pishchulina, V. P. Yudin, Alma-Ata: Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk KazSSR.

Romodina, V. A. (ed.) (1973), *Materialy po istorii kirgizov i Kirgizii* [*Materials on the History of the Kyrgyz and Kyrgyzstan*], No. 1, Moscow: Nauka.

Pishchulina, K. A. (1977), *Yugo-Vostochnyj Kazahstan v seredine XIV — nachale XVI vekov (voprosy politicheskoy i social'no-ekonomicheskoy istorii)* [*South-Eastern Kazakhstan in the Middle of the 14th — Beginning of the 16th Centuries (Issues of Political and Socio-Economic History)*], Alma-Ata: Nauka.

Sokrovishcha Oruzhejnoj palaty. Posol'skie dary [*Treasures of the Armoury Chamber. Ambassadorial Gifts*] (1996), Moscow: Gosudarstvennyj istoriko-kul'turnyj muzej-zapovednik.
