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Chagatai Turkish and Its Effects on Central Asian Culture

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Abstract

Hakaniya Turkish, the official language of Karahanli State which reigned between 840 and 1212 in Central Asia, was – on account of the Mongolian invasion – labeled by the linguists with the name of ‘Chagatai Turkish’. Chagatai Turkish was employed by the Central Asian Turkic States as a written language – and consequently as a diplomatic language – from the 13th century until the 19th century. It was the language of the rich Turkish literature of Central Asia of the time.

Chagatai Turkish exerted significant influence on a huge region extending from Afghanistan, India, to Crimea and Caucasus in Russia. It was the common national language of Central Asian Turks. From the second half of the 19th century on, due to the fact that Central Asia was invaded and shared by the Chinese and Russian Empires, the Chagatai language began to lose influence and was replaced by regional dialects. The Chagatai Turkish then split into two, becoming the two modern Turkic languages known as Uighur and Uzbek.

This paper goes on to review the major literary works of Chagatai Turkish.

After Chagatai Turkish had lost influence and been replaced by the regional dialects Russian and Chinese languages began to expand in Central Asia. The official language policy applied by the Russian and Chinese governments during the last one and a half centuries was the major source of the ongoing linguistic and cultural conflicts in the area.

Keywords : Central Asia, Chagatai Turkish, Turkistan, Uighur, Uzbek

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1 . Introduction

It is known that Turkish has been used as the official language and common language since the times of the Huns[ئهمنن , 2002:131]. Since we cannot definitely say that the letters of the Great Hun Tanrıkut Batur to the Khan Empress are written in the Chinese language, it is possible that these letters are in Turkish. The Central Asian Turkish language after the Hun language was called the “Gokturk language”. It can be said that Turkish was more commonly used in Central Asian in the period of the Gokturk state, which is between the seventh and eighth centuries. Since we do not have adequate evidence of the Turkish used in Central Asian previously, the Gokturk epigraphs by the riversides of Orhun as the oldest evidence currently known of the Central Asian Turkish written language. Scientists, considering that the language of the Gokturk epigraphs is highly developed both in orthography and wording, state that the written language of Turks goes back much further. Uighurs, who established a state by the Orhun River after Gokturks continued to use the Gokturk language till the second half of the eighth century. The Uighur managers and intellectuals adopted Manichaeism as their religion after the campaign of the Uighur Khan Bögü in Orhun to China in 762. When Uighurs adopted Manichaeism, which is the religion of settled and trading societies, they needed many religious and cultural books to spread this religion among the public and brought such books to their country and translated them. When they shifted from their life style based on nomad husbandry to a new settled life style based on trading culture, they needed a change in this alphabet. So they left their alphabet of 38 letters that was developed from ancient stamps and shifted to the Uighur alphabet developed from Sogud language with 18 letters. Uighurs enriched the written language they took from Gokturks with many foreign words and terms they borrowed from Chinese, Indian language, Sanskrit, Syriac and Sogud languages they used in their translations of the religious and cultural works. The Uighur authors and translators tried to find the equivalents of the concepts of the religions like Manichaeism, Buddhism and Christianity in the Turkish language. When they could not find any equivalents for such terms, they adopted words into Turkish phonetics. Foreign words of material and spiritual culture continued to increase with the increasing contacts of the Turkish state with neighboring countries in the time of Uighurs. The foreign words that have entered the Turkish language in the time of Uighurs did not disturb the main structure of Turkish; to the contrary, they mostly enriched it with cultural words. Archeologist Prof Tolostov claims in one of his articles that “the rate of literacy among Turks increased in the eighth and ninth centuries” [İnan, 1998:191].

After termination of Uighurs in Orhun in 840 by the Kırız Turks in Yenisei, majority of the Uighurs in the Orhun riverside migrated to the west to their kins living at the outskirts of the Tengri Mountains.¹ The northern and eastern skirts of the Tengri Mountains were the most important cultural centers of Central Asian Turks for a long time. A Chinese Buddhist priest T’ang Hsüan-tsang was the

1 The Tengri Mountains is a large mountain system located in Central Asia.Chinese: 天山 (Tiān Shān), Uighur: تەنگرى تاغ, Mongolian:Tenger Uul.

guest of the West Gokturk Khan Tongyabgu in 639 and conferences to Turks in philosophical and religious subjects. With the coming of Uighurs from Orhun riversides, the Turkish Uighur written language experienced a new development in this area, which is the heart of the Central Asia. Most of the works in Uighur Turkish that were taken to Europe by European investigators in the early twentieth century and that fill the museums and libraries in European capitals, particularly Berlin and London, were written in this area. There are works on language, history, culture, art, and medicine together with the works in Turkish, either original or translated.

Uighur authors and translators called the written language they used “Turkish”, not the “Uighur language” as we call it today. Turkish written language started to develop in a brand new direction with the influence of Islam into Central Asia in the early tenth century. The Karahanli state that dominated in the Central Asia between 840 and 1212 came from deep-rooted Turkish ancestry who established and managed the old Gokturk and Uighur states. These were loyal to the old Turkish traditions in Ötüken and Orhun although molded within the Uighur culture that had adopted the old Hun and Gokturk language and culture. Kashgarli Mahmud who was raised in the period of Karahanli and accepted as the first founder of today’s Turkology science says the following about the dialect of Uighurs as the founders of the Karahanli state when writing about the Turkish dialects in his time, “Uighurs have a dialect that is Genuine Turkish². The Genuine Turkish is also called the “Hakaniye language” (Mahmud, 2006:29-30). The language that Kashgarli Mahmud called “Genuine Turkish” or “Hakaniye Turkish” was the literary language developed from the old Gokturk and Uighur written language traditions in the Central Asia and was the official language of the Karahanli state. This written language was intelligible by all the Turks from the Great Wall to the Idyll riverside, from Irtish riverside to Baghdad, the core of the Islam Caliphate. Written communication of Karahanli khans with Seljuk sultans in Hakaniye Turkish can be indicated as the evidence of this. Although many works were written in the Karahanli period with Hakaniye Turkish, survivors of these are limited in number. The invasion of Karahitay starting in 1130s and following this, invasion of Kuchlug Naymans had a very severe impact on the Central Asian Turkish culture of the Karahanli period. After the invasion of Karahitay, elements that are the possessors of the Karahanli culture in the east migrated to Harezm region. The deep influence of the Hakaniye Turkish on the Harezm Turkish comes from this reason. Development of a new written language called the Harezm Turkish in Central Asia is mentioned in the sources from the second half of the twelfth century till the early thirteenth century (that is, the eve of the Mongolian invasion). The poem named *Yusuf Zeliha* written by a Turkmen named Ali in 1233, thirteen years after the pulling down of the Kharezmshah state by Mongols, is an example of this dialect. The development area of the Central Asian Turkish language in the unproductive and collapse periods starting after the Karahitay invasion was the Kharezm region. Bahaeddin Rabguzî, among

2 According to Kashgarli Mahmud “Öztürkçe”.

those leaving their footsteps in the Turkish written language, tried to be loyal to the traditions of the old common writing in his work named *Kıyas-ı Enbiya* (1310).

2. The beginning of Chagatai Turkish

Following the Mongolian invasion in the early thirteenth century, a new written language called “Chagatai” was formed in the Central Asia. Although this written language is the direct heir of the written language called the “Hakaniye Turkish”, it was based on the living dialects of the Turks living in Central Asia in those times. According to Şemseddin Sami, although the reign of Chagatai Khan in Turkistan was not too long (1225-1242), his name survived as the name of the language and culture in that time. This name “Chagatai” means in fact the Uighur literary language [Sâmî, 1889:171]. Calling the old Central Asian Uighur literary language “Chagatai” resembles the Kypchak-Turkish dialect, which became the official and literary language in the Golden Horde state.

When Genghis Khan was dividing the lands he conquered between his sons in 1225, he gave the ruling of the Turkistan, called Central Asia by the western and Russian orientalist to his second son Chagatai. Therefore the Turkistan lands that had been ruled by the Karahanli state were called the “Chagatai Region”, and the people living in the region accordingly called “Chagatai nation”, and the state established here was called “Chagatai Khanate”. While the name “Chagatai” meant the nations subject to Chagatai Khan and the khanate established here, later it adopted the meanings of Turkish and Turkified Hitay and Mongolian nomadic tribes in the lands dominated by the Chagatai Khanate and particularly the Eastern and Western Turkistan, the Turkish written language developed during the Chagatai Khanate and the Timurid period established in Ma Wara’un Nahr after the division of the Khanate and the Central Asian Turkish culture and literature created with this language. According to the Turkish scientist Fuat Köprülü, “in the broadest meaning, Chagatai means the literary Middle-Eastern Turkish dialect that was used to create a rich literature in the civilized centers of the Chagatai, İlkhanid and the Golden Horde Khanates established by the children of Genghis Khan after the Mongolian invasion in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and gained classical features in the time of Tımuriyan particularly in the fifteenth century” [Köprülü, 1945:270].

3. “Turkification”

Towards the end of the fourteenth century, Mongols settling in the towns of Central Asia described themselves as “Chagatai” after being “Turkified”. Mongols living in the pastures of the current East Turkistan however, continued to describe themselves as “Mongols” to express that they are different from the “Turkified” Mongols. Announcing the Khanate as “Mongolia” by Tuğluk Timur, who came to the throne of Chagatai in 1348 in the current Aksu city of the Eastern Turkistan, was in fact to the purpose of preventing the division in the Chagatai Khanate. When Tuğluk Timur united the

Khanate in 1360 by way of the campaign to Ma Wara'un Nahr, the absolute majority of the population consisted of Turks, and the rulers were Turkified Mongols. The Chagatai Khanate was divided again after the death of Tuğluk Timur. In the west side of the Khanate, Emir Timur (known also as Timur the Lame) established the Great Timur Empire. In the east, son and grandsons of Tuğluk Timur continued the domination of the Mongolian Khanate (the Eastern Chagatai Khanate).

The rich Turkish literature of the Central Asia was created and developed after the Turkish literature of the Karahanli state. This was simultaneously developed with the Chagatai Turkish that was the written and diplomatic language in the Central Asia from the thirteenth century to the nineteenth century. Scientists claim that the Chagatai language is the fourth stage of the Central Asian Turkish language after the Gokturk, Uyghur and Hakaniye Turkish. Chagatai Turkish entered its most developed stage starting from the fifteenth century crossing the borders of the Central Asia in time. It exerted significant influence on a huge region extending from Afghanistan, India, to Crimea and Caucasus in Russia, and was used as the common national and literary language of the Turkish groups in all these regions.

Varying opinions have been put forth by the scientists about the development process of the Chagatai language that acquired its classical form in the works of Alishir Nevayî. According to Janos Eckmann, Chagatai language is divided into three periods, namely, the pre-classical period, the classic period, and the post-classical period [Eckmann, 1959:14]. Fuad Köprülü [1981] however, divides this era of the Central Asian Turkish culture and literature between the thirteenth and nineteenth centuries into five periods, namely, the initial Chagatai period, the first classical period, the second classical period, the third classical period and the unproductive, regression and collapse period. There are others who describe the Chagatai Turkish in a narrow and broad sense. In the narrow sense, it was used for the literary works created in Ma Wara'h un Nahr in the Time of Timuriyan, and this reflects the opinion of some Russian investigators in the times of the former USSR. This opinion was not accepted by the wide scientific circles. In the broad sense, the term covers all the literary works created in the Turkish language in the states in the current Turkistan, Afghanistan, India and the states in the north of the Black Sea.

Chagatai Turkish became the focus of interest after an article written by Herrmann Vamberi [1867]. After this, several German and Hungarian scientists including Jozef, Thury, and Martin Hartmann concluded that Chagatai language was a common literary language containing all the dialects of the Central Asia that had become a written language. The Sheikh Suleyman Effendi, who was an Ottoman Turk, stated that he supported this opinion in his dictionary named *Lûgat-i Chagatai ve Turkî-yi Osmanî*. To the contrary, the French orientalist E. Marc Quatremere and Pavet de Courteiller and the German scientist J. Th Zenker used the term “eastern Turkish” for the Chagatai language [Ölmez, 2007:177].

4. The founders of Chagatai literature

The Central Asian Turkish culture and literary language that was damaged with the heavy impacts of the invasions by Karahitays and immediately after by Naymans, experienced a severe crisis with the Mongolian invasion. It became the duty of the Central Asian scientists and culture leaders to restore the Central Asian Turkish culture that was on the point of collapse after all these severe impacts that came one after another. The most important scientists and culture leaders who founded the Central Asian Turkish culture in the Chagatai period are: the consultant of the Chagatai Khan who was responsible for science, Yusuf Sekkaki (1160-1228), the famous diplomat and political scientist and the chief consultant of Chagatai Khan Kutbeddin, and the agricultural engineer and educationalist Mesut Yalavaç. With the efforts of these individuals, the culture centers of the Central Asia under the ruins following great invasions were enlivened again. Samarkand, Bokhara, Kashgar and Almalık, capital of the Chagatai Khanate became the cultural and scientific centers of the Central Asia again within a short time. Mesut Yalavaç repaired and re-activated the Madrasa'ı Saciye in Kashgar surviving from the time of Karahanli state that was pulled down by Kuchlug Naymans and furthermore, built the *Mesudiye Madrasah* in 1260 and added a large library on its side with the name of Saadet [نیزم, 1989]. Students from all the Turkish and Islamic countries and from the various regions of the Central Asia came to these scientific centers to learn science. Kashgar, which was the scientific and cultural center of the Central Asia in the time of the Karahanli state, was even named "Buhari Sani" (the second Bukhara) after the restoration of the higher education. One of the important scholars of this higher education center that was founded by Mesut Yalavaç and personally managed by him from 1254 till 1289 was Ebul Fazl bin Muhammed Cemâl Karşı, author of the *Mülhakati's Sürah*, the first products of the Central Asian Turkish culture in the Chagatai period. He says in his work named *Seyahatnâme* about the *Mesudiye Madrasah* in Kashgar, "Thousands of students come to this madrasah every year from every climate. Not only religious sciences are taught here. Philosophers like Aristo, Socrates, Harezmi, Farabi and İbn-i Sina and their philosophies are also taught here, and investigations are made ... There are also sections teaching Arabian, Persian, and Urdu languages" [تالیپ, 1987:63].

The *Mesudiye Madrasa* was the equivalent of the universities of the present times, and students were examined when they came. This Madrasa had committees that granted scientific titles. The graduates of the highest degree would have title of "Mevlevi" and were authorized to establish and manage new madrassas. The graduates of the second highest degree would have title of "Grand Mullah" and professorship at the *Mesudiye Madrasah*. The graduates of the third highest degree would have title of "Mullah" or "Halpet". They would teach in other higher education institutions.

While the graduates of the *Mesudiye Madrasah* mostly worked as high-rank officials not only in Chagatai Khanate, but also in other Khanates established by the other sons of Genghis Khan, they were also occupied positions in the educational-training and cultural services in the country. For example, there were: Uighur managers and scientists in the palaces of the Kubilay Khan in Khanbalık

(currently Peking), of Hülagû Khan in Tabriz, of Berke Khan in Saray Berk in numbers that could not be underestimated. This is one of the important reasons that the Chagatai Turkish became widespread throughout the Mongolian nation starting from the fifteenth century. The Arabian historian İbn-i el Beşir (1388-1450) says in his work: “... . In these places (countries of the sons of Genghis) assignment of titles and ranks, orders, imperial orders, official correspondence and other documents are made in the Uighur language. In these places, only those fluent in this language can rise and are respected” [تالپ، 1987:64-65]. Again, as understood from the sources, Seyit Kashgari, one of the important representatives of the pre-classical period and Mevlane Ebeydullah Lutfî are also graduates of the *Mesudiye Madrassa* in Kashgar.

The Chagatai literature developed with the Chagatai written language has an important place in the Central Asian Turkish culture after the Mongolian invasion. We indicated above that the Chagatai Literature was divided into some periods by scientists. Now, if we briefly evaluated the authors of the Chagatai Literature and their works, the pre-classic period of the Chagatai Literature cover the period from the early fourteenth century to the second half of the fifteenth century, that is, to the writing of the first divan of Alishir Nevâyî in 1465. This period is a transitory period that the characteristics of the old Turkish, and we can see from the examination of the works created in this period that the influence of the Hakaniye Turkish and the Harezmi Turkish are rather intense. This period is represented by Haydar Harezmi, Yûsuf Emirî, Yusuf Sekkâkî, Mevlane Ebeydullah Lutfî, Atâ'î, Hôcendî, Seyyid Ahmed Mîrzâ, Yakînî, Ahmedî and Gedâ'î through their works.

The first poet of the Timurid period of the Chagatai Literature is Haydar Harezmi. This poet known under the alias “Turkiguy” wrote a mesnevi named *Mahzen-ül Esrar* that was dedicated to İskender Mirza. He acknowledges that he adopted the name and contents of the work from Sheikh Nizamî with the following verses:

Men ki pişürdüm bu leziz aşni, (I cooked this delicious meal)
Şeyh Nizamî'den alıp çeşni. (Having taken the taste from Sheikh Nizamî) [İnan, 1998:14].

The only copy of this work of Haydar Harezmi is now in the British Museum.

Another important poet of this period is Yusuf Emirî. He has been under the protection of Baysungur Mirza. According to Alishir Nevayî, he is a poet with a powerful pen. He had a mesnevi named *Dehnâme* (1429) and a debated book named *Cağır ve Bang* [Alpay, 1972:103-125]. Although he was fluent in Persian language, his important works in Turkish indicates that he exerted efforts to create a classical literature in the Turkish language.

During the struggle between Halil Sultan (1405-1410), successor of Timur and Shahruh, many Timurid princes were left in misery. One of these princes was the poet Seyid Ahmet Mîrzâ, grandson of Timur and one of the representatives of the pre-classic Chagatai Literature. Alishir Nevayî gives information about him: “He was an individual with a strong nature and clear mind. He has

many famous gazels and mesnevis". His work named *Taaşuknâme* addressing his uncle Shahruh complaining about his poverty between 1435 and 1436 is well known. The only copy of this work is now in the British Museum.

The time of Baysungur Uluğbey, one of the grandsons of Timur, was a great time for improvements in science, architecture and fine arts for Turkistan, Khorasan and even Eastern Islamic world. In this time, Turkish literature was developed to cope with the classical literature of Iran.

Sekkâkî of Ma Wara'un Nahr, thought to have lived in the second half of the fourteenth century and the first half of the fifteenth century became famous with his poems in Samarkand. According to Alishir Nevayî, Sekkâkî matured in the time of Uluğ Bey. He has a work named *Divan*. Two copies of this work have survived. Apart from this, in the pages numbered 165 to 167 of a corpus recorded in the Aya Sophia Library, Istanbul (number 4757), his three gazels written in both Uighur and Arabian letters, four eulogies dedicated to Uluğbey and four eulogies dedicated to Arslan Hoca Tarhan remain. The mastery of the use of Chagatai literary language in the works of Sekkâkî, and the elegance and ecstasy in his gazels are enough to place him amongst the founders of the Chagatai literature [Eraslan, 1993:170].

One of the pre-classic scholars who played an important role in the development of the Chagatai literature was Mevlane Ebeydullah Lutfî (1366-1465), and we do not have definite information about the place he was born and grown up. In the book named *Tarih-i Muskiyyun* it is mentioned that he was born in Mongolia³ and worked as a scholar in various places in the Central Asia after completing his education in the *Mesudiye Madrassa* in Kashgar. He then migrated to Herat. It is understood from the works of Lutfî that was mostly known for his poems in the Chagatai language that he used the Chagatai language very well and he was successful in the in his gazels, eulogies and tuyugs in the literary sense. His fame and poems in Turkish crossed the borders of the Central Asia and reached as far as Iraq. Alishir Nevayî says "he was a saintly and blessed man" about him [Karaağaç, 1997]. From Lutfî, the book named *Divan-i Lutfî* containing 280 gazels, two eulogies, tens of stanzas, tuyugs and rubais and the epic named *Rose and Nawroz* dedicated to İskender Mirza, the Ruler of Persia and Esfahan. His works were taught in the Turkish schools in the Central Asia until recently.

One of the scholars who played a very important role in the development and maturing of the Chagatai literature is Atayî. His literary activities were in the first half of the fifteenth century. According to the information from Alishir Nevayî, Atayî was the child of İsmail Ata, brother of Hoja Ahmet Yesevi. Since the sheiks of the Yesevî sect were called "Ata" he adopted the alias of "Atayî". He preferred an unassuming Turkish in his poems, and chose the earthly pleasures and love as his subjects. According to Nevayî, his poems spread widely among Turks and became famous. A copy of

3 What is meant with "Mongolia" here is an area consisting of what has become the today's Uighur Autonomous Region and the Yedisu region of today's Kazakhstan.

his *divan*, that was collected after his death, is now in the Russian Academy of Sciences Institute of Oriental Studies Library.

One of the important characteristics of the pre-classic period of the Chagatai literature is the books written in the form of discussions. One of the poets known with his work written in the form of a discussion is Yakinî. His work named *The Arrow and the Bow* is notable. Another author with works in the form of discussion is Ahmedî. It is understood that Ahmedî is a musician at the same time, and has a *mesnevi* named the Discussion of Musical Instruments. In this work, he describes the discussion between the string instruments named *tanbura*, *ud*, *ceng*, *kopuz*, *yatagan*, *rabap* and *kungura*.

Gedaî, a poet laureate of Ebûl-Kasım Babur, is among the poets of this period. The following information is given about Gedaî in the memorandum of Alishir Nevayî: “Gedaî writes poems in Turkish. He became very famous during the reign of Ebûl-Kasım Babür. He is now past 90” [Eraslan, 2001:120-121]. He also has one single work named *Divan-ı Gedaî* and this was published by J. Eckmann with the name *The Divan of Gadâ’i* in Bloomington in 1971 in text, glossary and facsimile [Eckmann, 1971:477].

The pre-classic period of the Chagatai language is a period of transition that the characteristics of the Hakaniye Turkish and the Harezm Turkish were maintained, and according to the investigators studying this subject, Turks succeeded in the synthesis of the Islamic culture and the Turkish culture. The Buddhist Uighurs who adopted Islam played a great role in this. They freed Turkish from the translations and citations from the literary works of the Arabic-Persian culture, and succeeded in creating original literary works in the Turkish language capable of coping with Arabian and Persian languages in the artistic and cultural sense. Thus, the Turkish language became one of the three great languages of the Islamic world and carried the Chagatai literature to a period of development.

The development period of the Chagatai Literature is called the “Classical Period” or the “Period of Hüseyin Baykara-Alishir Nevâyî”, and this period covers the second half of the fifteenth century and the first half of the sixteenth century. The Timurids, who lost strength through struggles of political power after the death of Şahruh in 1447, were able to recover somehow thanks to the authorities of Ebûl-Kasım Babür in Khorasan and of Ebu Said in Ma Wara’un Nahr. However, after the death of Babür, struggles for the throne appeared again in the Empire and there was political instability. Hüseyin Baykara stopped this instability and made Herat the political center of the Empire. Thus Herat was made the center of art and culture in a short time. Hüseyin Baykara, the last reign of the Timurid dynasty played an important role in the Central Asian Turkish culture to absorb the influences of China, Northern Asia and India and to reach a brilliant level. He made his palace in Herat a lively scientific center and took the leading philosophers and artists of the time under his protection and gained their respect. The poet Camî, the famous miniaturist Behzad, grandfather-grandchild historians Mirhand and Khandemir, Hilali, Hatifi, author *Tezkiretü’ş-Şuara*, Devletshah, calligrapher Sultan Ali of Meshed, childhood friend of Hüseyin Baykara Alishir Nevayî were all collected in the center of consultants established in Herat, and this center functioned as an academy of sciences of the

period.

The typical representatives of the this period known as the “Golden Era” of the Chagatai Turkish Literature include Hüseyn Baykara, Alishir Nevayî, Baburşah, Sheybanî, Mirza Haydar Dođlat, Hamîdî, and Muhammed Salih.

Hüseyn Baykara, who wrote poems in Turkish and Persian languages with the alias “Hüseynî”, is the representative of the classical Chagatai poetry after Nevayî. He has a *Divan* that his lyric poems are collected in, and a *Pamphlet* written in the form of an autobiography. His poems in Turkish were published with the name *Divan-ı Sultan Hüseyn Mirza Baykara*. Another portion of his poems were published with the name *A Selection of the Divan of Hüseyn-i Baykara*. There are 21 copies of the *Divan-ı Sultan Hüseyn Mirza Baykara*, out of which 8 are in Turkey and 13 in abroad [Yildirim, 2003]. A facsimile of the copy in the Aya Sophia Library in Istanbul was published by İsmail Hikmet Ertaylan [Ertaylan, 1946]. In his *Pamphlet*, he writes about himself, ancestry, the respect he used to show to dervishes and Molla Câmî, his devotion for justice, the foundations he established, how he protected poets and the gifts and merits of this childhood friend Alishir Nevayî. Two copies of the *Pamphlet* have survived. The first one is the initial text included in the collection numbered 550 in the Beyazid Library in Amasya, Turkey. The second one is recorded in number 257 with the name *Şükür-nâme* in the Library of the Archeology Museum in Istanbul. A facsimile print of the *Pamphlet* was again published by İsmail Hikmet Ertaylan [1945]. The style, beauty of descriptions, animation and attractive expressions in his works are notable.

It is also known that Hüseyn Baykara was a fan of Turkish language. He had given an imperial order inviting the intellects of the country to write their works in Turkish. Giving this order in such a period that some poets who adored the Persian language made fun of the poets who wrote in Turkish has great importance. The great poet Alishir Nevayî who made his mark in the period dedicated a section of his work named *Mecalis'ün Faris* to emphasize Hüseyn Baykara's place in the period of development and maturing of the Chagatai Turkish literature.

Alishir Nevayî was the most important representative of the classical Chagatai literature. He was the poet who exercised a formative influence on Chagatai Literature. Through his works Chagatai language reached its peak as a literary language.

This great poet, whose real name was Nizâmü'd-din Alishir Nevayî, comes from Uighur ancestry and was born in Herat in 1441. His father was Gıyasü'd-din Kichkine Bahadır, one of the beys of the Ruler of Khorasan Ebül Kasım Babür. He was the ruler of Sebzivar for a period. They grew up together with Hüseyn Baykara and the friendship between the two started then. When Hüseyn Baykara won the struggle for the throne in 1469 and conquered Khorasan and got to the Timurid throne in Herat, Alishir Nevayî also went back to Herat and became the seal keeper of Hüseyn Baykara. Alishir Nevayî dedicated himself to science and knowledge when a child and read and learned by heart the poems of classical Persian poets including Ferid-ed-Din Attar, Kasım Enverî, and Nizamî Gencevî. The wish to raise the Turkish literature to the level of the classical Persian

literature formed in him as early as those times. Making Turkish a language of high literature and art and make the Turkish national spirit and pride rise was his ideal in times when an important portion of the Turkish intellectuals adored the Persian literature. As indicated by Abdulkadir İnan, efforts close to the efforts of Alishir Nevayî for the Turkish language, literature and culture was neither before, nor after him [İnan, 1946]. Till Alishir Nevayî, the Chagatai literary language was mixed with the Golden Horde Harezmi dialect and was unstable. Alishir Nevayî made the Chagatai language the common language of Turkish tribes all over Central Asia. The Idyll-Ural Turks gave thanks for his genius and extraordinary efforts. Thus, the Chagatai language was used as the common literary and diplomatic language of the entire Turkish world except Anatolia and Thrace till the mid-nineteenth century, that is, until the invasion of Turkistan by Russians and Chinese. Thus, Alishir Nevayî proved that Turkish could be an important global language with its high culture and rich literature. The Chagatai language was called “Nevayî language” for this reason. Works of Nevayî were read everywhere in the Turkish-Islamic world including Azerbaijan and Anatolia, except for Turkistan. The writers and poets of the Turkish-Islamic world accepted him as “the Master of Medieval Turkish literature”.

Works of Alishir Nevayî, who was productive in almost all the areas of literature, can be classified as follows: 1. Divans, *Bedâyiü'l-bidaya*(1466-1482), *Nevadir-ün nihaye*(1482-1492), *Hazâ'inü'l-me'ânî*(1492-1499), *Garâibü's-sigar*, and *Fevâidü'l-kiber*, and all the literary works of Nevayî within half a century are collected here. 2. *Hamse*, *Hayretü'l-ibrâr*, *Ferhâd ve Şîrîn*, *Leylî ve Mecnun*, *Sab'u Seyyare (Bahram Gur)* and *Seddî İskender*; that was completed in 1487 amounts to 64,000 verses in total. Alishir Nevayî attempted to give a Turkish spirit to his *Hamse*. The hero in the epic named *Ferhat ve Şîrîn* is the son of a Turkish sovereign, and individual artist, architect, painter and a heroic soldier. In his epic called *Seddî İskender* he emphasizes the folklore and ethnology of Turkish tribes. He mentions the names of the Turkish tribes a lot. By mentioning –in his description of the Persian army fighting against Alexander that there were alongside the Kalmyks and Mongols also two Uzbek tribes, Kongrats and Mangits, in the Persian army, he was trying to bring to light the role played by Turks in the history old humanity. 3. Biographies including *Mecâlisü'n-nefâis*, *Nesâyim'l-mahabbe min şemâyimi'l-fütüvve*. His first biography written in the years 1491-92 has an important place being the first biography in the Turkish literature. Each one of the eight sections of this work was named “Meclis”. The eight meclis is dedicated to Hüseyin Baykara completely. In addition, the 43 Turkish poets who are not included in other sources of the period are mentioned in this collection of biographies. Nevayî who wrote first collection of Turkish poets in the Chagatai Turkish Literature gives us important information about the Central Asian Turkish culture and literature. 4. Works and language and literature, include *Risâle-i mu'ammâ*, *Mîzânü'l-evzân*, and *Muhâkemetü'l-Lûgateyn*, and among these the *Muhâkemetü'l-Lûgateyn* was written in 1499 to show that Turkish was a competent language as much as Persian and even superior to it from time to time [Özönder, 1996:188]. In this work based on the comparisons between the two languages, there are some words and terms relevant as regards the Turkish folklore and ethnography. It was particularly emphasized that Turkish was

superior to Persian, especially in vocabulary. Nevayî criticized the young poets who wrote in Persian leaving Turkish aside, shows the depth of his awareness of language through these claims. 5. Works related to religion and morals include *Münâcât*, *Çihil Hadis*, *Nazmu'l-cevâhir*, *Lisânu't-tayr*, *Sirâcü'l-müslimîn* and *Mahbûbu'l-kulûb*, and the last is his last work written right before his death. This work is a book of morals and consists of three main sections; the first section gives information about the various classes in the population and people from different classes. The second section is dedicated to religious and sophistic subjects and the good and the bad behaviors are described. In the third section in which love is being thematized three types of love is being depicted: plebeian love, passionate and true love. 6. Historical works include *Târîh-i enbiyâ vü hükemâ*, *Târîh-i mülûk-i Acem* and *Zübdetü't-tevârih*, and the first of these include legendary information about prophets from Hz. Adem to Hz. Muhammed. The second work classifies the Persian rulers according to the four dynasties and the legendary history of Iran is discussed. *Zübdetü't-tevârih* is the book uniting the other two books. 7. Biographic works include *Hâlât-ı Seyyid Hasan-ı Erdeşîr*, *Hamsetü'l-mütehayyirîn* and *Hâlât-ı Pehlevân Muhammed*, and life and ideas of his close friend and author Seyyid Hasan-ı Erdeşîr. He wrote the second work, which is thought to be written between the years 1492 and 1496 for his close friend and master, Abdurrahman Câmî. This work includes three articles and one epilogue. He wrote the third one upon the death of Pehlevân Muhammed, another close friend. This work that enlighten the aspects of the culture of the period, literature, medicine and social life together with the biographic data, that 4 copies have survived, three in Istanbul and one in Paris [Eraslan, 1980:99-164]. 8. Documents include *Vakfiyye* and *Münşe'ât*, and *Vakfiyye* is a work describing the foundations established by himself and by Hüseyin Baykara. It is known that this was written in 1481. *Münşe'ât* is a collecting the letters of Alishir Nevayî. His letters to Hüseyin Baykara and Bedi'üz-zaman are also included in this work. Like in his other works he gives information on the cultural and social life of his period.

Works of Alishir Nevayî were kept in various libraries in the world also thanks to his great benevolence and survived to our times. Almost all his works were published, examined and studies were performed on them many places in the world. However, among these, those made in the area of language are rather high in number. I believe that his works should also be examined as regards literature, culture and history.

In the beginning of the sixteenth century, Uzbeks, under the leadership of Sheybânîs, captured Khorasan. Upon the death of Hüzeyin Baykara, and after capturing Harezm and Ma Wara'un Nahr, they terminated the Timuriyan Empire. Herat started to lose its importance. Babur attempted to capture Ma Wara'un Nahr and Harezm, but he could not succeed and retreated to India. With the establishment of Turkish-Indian Empire by Babur in India, Timuriyan made their presence felt in India again. Therefore, the Chagatai culture and literature was represented in Ma Wara'un Nahr, Khorasan and Harezm regions by Sheybânîs (1500-1599), in the current Eastern Turkistan, Yedisu and Issikgöl basins by Seïdis (1514-1678), and in Afghanistan and India by Baburis (1526-1858).

One of the important representatives of the classical period Chagatai literature after Alishir Nevayî is the founder of the Turkish Empire in India, Zahiruddin Baburşah (1483-1530). He provided the Chagatai Turkish with the most beautiful prose. Strong influence of Nevayî is seen in his works. Although he has *Babur Divani*, Aruz Pamphlet and a mesnevi about the Hannifin Islamic Law named Mübeyyen, his main work that made him famous is his *Baburnâme*. This is a masterpiece as regards the Turkish language, that is considered among the classical works of the world as regards the contents. There are western historians and authors thinking that *Baburnâme* is more serious and sincere than the memoirs of Julius Cesar. In this masterpiece, Babur tells the historical events starting from 1494 till 1529. Therefore, although this book is one of the most beautiful prose written in the Turkish literature, it is also a historical and autobiographical works giving important information about the Central Asia, Afghanistan and India in the late fifteenth century and early sixteenth century. When he describes Endican, the land of his father, he writes, “Population of this land is Turkish. There is no one in the city and the bazaar who cannot speak Turkish. Common language of the population is in harmony with the written language. Likewise, works of Mir Alishir Nevayî was written in this language although he was born and raised in Herat” [Inan, 1998:25]. Works of Babur are fondly read by Turks for centuries. The Turkish scientist Reşit Rahmeti Arat published his works [Arat, 1943].

One of the important Khans of the Uzbek Khanate, Sheybânî Khan (1488-1510) was also one of the representatives of the classical Chagatai literature after the period of Alishir Nevayî. He has a *Divan* collecting his poems, a mesnevi written in 1508 named *Bahrü'l-hüda* and a pamphlet related to the Islamic Law. Together with his poems written in the classical style, he has also poems in syllabic meter in the style of aphorism. There is the influence of Hoja Ahmet Yesevî on his writing these poems, like in many other poets. The only hand-written copy of *Divan-i Sheybânî* is recorded in No. 2346 in Istanbul Topkapı Museum. The only copy of his mesnevi named *Bahrü'l-hüda* is recorded in No. 7914 in the British Museum, London.

Muhammed Hayder Mirza Doğlat, cousin of Babur, with an active and artistic and political life of the East Turkistan and also was the ruler of Kashmir in the last period of his life, is one of the representatives of the classical period Chagatai literature. His works named *Tarih-i Reşidi* written in Kashmir in 1545 is one of the Chagatai literary works and was named after Sultan Reshit Khan (1533-1559), ruler of the Seidiye Khanate established in the East Turkistan. *Tarih-i Reşidi* is the only work shedding light to the Turkish Chagatai Khanate that dominated the East Turkistan between the thirteenth and sixteenth century. The original copy, written in the handwriting of the author, lost in the fire in Srinagar library during the incident in Kashmir in 1947. Surviving copies of this work are the hand-written copies of the original.

Apart from the above, again Hâmidî' with his mesnevi named *Yusuf u Züleyha* [Korkmaz, 1968] and Muhammed Salih with a poetical historical work named *Sheybânîname* represent the classical period of the Chagatai literature.

5. The decline of Chagatai literature

The period between the early seventeenth century and the mid-nineteenth century is accepted as the post classical period of the Chagatai literature. This is the unproductive collapse of Chagatai literature. The Uzbek Khanate had collapsed with the death of Abdullah Khan, and Hive, Hokand and Bukhara Khanates were established and the political unity in the Central Asia was eliminated. Wars between these Khanates prevented the developments in the Central Asia and the regional Turkish dialects started to replace the Chagatai literary language slowly.

Poets of the post classical period of the Chagatai literature also produced works in the style of divan. However, we do not have adequate information, except for Ebûl-Gazi Bahadır Khan. Scientists investigating this period are also unable to give a full list of the poets of this period and their works. Although not a divan poet, Ebûl-Gazi Bahadır ruler of the Khanate left his mark with his two important works. Ebûl-Gazi Bahadır Khan was born in 1603 in Urgenç, capital of Harezmi, and was educated seriously in scientific areas in Urgenç and Iran till he was 16 when he started state administration; it is understood from the translations he made from Arabic and Persian languages that he was fluent in these languages. He made Hive capital in 1643 and became the Harezmi Khan. He valued history, literature, art and scientific areas like genealogy during his uninterrupted reign of 21 years, and he also was occupied in scientific studies. Ebûl-Gâzi Bahadır Khan left us two important works. One of these is the *Şecere-i Terâkime* that he wrote in 1659, and the other is *Şecere-i Türk* that he left unfinished when he died in 1663 and was completed by his son Enûshe upon his will. He arranged his first work by comparing the *Oghuznâme* he took from the history book of Reşideddîn with some 20 other Oghuz nâmes he captured from Turkmens. The first study on this work belongs to the Russian investigator Tumanskiy. This study consisting of translation of the work into Russian was published in Ashkhabad in 1897. Translation of the work into contemporary Turkish was made by Muharrem Ergin. *Şecere-i Türk* was written with the purpose of the ancestry and history of Uzbek Khans reigned in Harezmi starting from the second half of the fifteenth century, and is the basis for the history of this dynasty till 1663. Since this work is first known domestic source on the Turkish and Mongolian history, it is accepted as the main source not only for the Uzbek Khans, but also for the entire Turkish and Mongolian history. It was first found by Strahlenberg in Tobol in 1717 and several publications and investigations were based on it.

Apart from Ebûl-Gazi Bahadır Khan, poets and authors including Munis Harezmi, Agehî, Kâmil, İvaz Otar, Ömer Khan and his son Muhammed Ali Khan, Cihan Hatun and Muhammed Sherif have taken their places in the representatives of the post classical Chagatai Literature.

After the invasion of Bukhara (1868), Hive (1873) and Hokand (1876) by the Tzardom of Russia in the second half of the nineteenth century, Chagatai literary language known also as the “Sart

language”⁴ in the west Turkistan left its place to “Uzbek language”, and left its place to the “Uighur language” in the East Turkistan with the invasion of the East Turkistan by the Chinese Manchou Empire by pulling down the Kashgariye state in 1878.

Starting from the fourteenth century till the end of the nineteenth century, the Turkish groups had common literature, common idioms, terms and basic concepts despite the differences in the dialects and sub dialects from the Central Asia to Middle East, from the Idyll Riversides to the northern coasts of the Black Sea. However, invasion of the region with foreign forces made the development and continuance of these partnerships forces made impossible. This shook the Chagatai literary language from its foundations. Tatar, Kazak and Kirgiz writing languages appeared in the Kypchak group of the Turkish language. After that, the conditions of the culture and literature in Turkistan that hosted the Chagatai written language for about six centuries started to change against the Chagatai language. With the disintegration of the Chagatai literary language, foreign words started to be adopted together in the local Turkish dialects, along with words translated from Russian or Chinese languages.

Under the influence of the language policies applied to the local populations by the dominating forces in the region, the Chagatai written language lost its power and influence in its own land, and left its place to a multi-cultural and multi-language structure. This in turn, created conflicts arising from the differences of religion in time. Although conflicts arising from the religious and cultural differences have partially reduced with the establishment of independent Turkic states in the regions in the west of the Central Asia after the disintegration of the Soviet Union, the ethnic conflicts arising from the differences of religion and culture are still on-going in the autonomous Uighur region under the dominance of the People’s Republic of China. In the recent years, restrictions by China on the education in the Uighur language in schools through “Policy of Education in Two Languages” and even prohibiting the Uighur language in schools causes religious and cultural conflicts in the region getting more serious on the one hand, while having negative effects of the transfer of the inheritance of Chagatai literary language, which has been used in the region as the language of civilization for about six centuries, to the next generations.

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4 During the 18th century, members of the settled population of Bukhara, Semerkhand, Kokand, Kashgar, Gulja etc were known “Sarts”. The literary model for Sarts whose predominant language was Turkic remained the Chagatai classics of the 15th century, especially the Works of Nevayî.

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