Uzbek; Faruk Sümer, 1a, šv. Pehlivan and Kust-Arslan; Zambaur, Manuel, 231; Bosworth, The Islamic dynasties, 125-6.

For the cultural and literary history of the dynasty, see the references in Dawlatshah, Tahkhatar al-ghwaris, and Aflul, Lubab al-ulubab; and also, J. Rypka, Iranische Literaturgeschichte, 200 ff., and Browne, II, 401-2, 422-17.

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ILDIJÀ or TALIQÀ, a method of protection by a superior of his inferiors, on which see the bibliography dayà and hımâyà, adding to the bibliography Y. Linant de Bellefonds, Volonté interne et volonté déclarée en droit musulman, in Revue Intern. de Droit Comparé, x (1958), 513 (taliqà occurring in law as a fictitious sale with the object of gaining protection against confiscation, taxes, etc.; but the question arises of how the property is to be regained once the danger is over.

(CL. CAHEN)

ILEK-KHÀNS or KÀRAKHÀNIDS, a Turkish dynasty which ruled in the lands of Central Asia straddling the Tien-shan Mountains, scil. in both Western Turkestan (Transoxania or Mâ warâ al-Nahr) and in Eastern Turkestan (Kashgaria or Xinjiang), from the 4th/1oth to the early 7th/13th centuries.

1. Introductory. The name "Ilek-Khàn" or "Ilig-Khàn" stems from 10th century European nisistans. The element ilâk (known in Hunnish, Magyar and Uygur Turkish onomastics) is commonly found on the dynasty's coins, but is by no means general. The complete phrase Ilek-Khàn/Ilig-Khàn is an erroneous conflation: Ilekliq and Khat/ Khukhâk Kagan denoted two distinct ranks in the ruling hierarchy of the dynasty, the former being subordinate to the latter (cf. O. Turan, Ilig vunvai hakhinda, in TM, vii-viii (1940-2), 192-9). The name "Karakhanids" again stems from 19th century orientalists and nisistans. Kâra (literally "black"), but also used in early Turkish to designate the prime compass point of the north, hence acquiring the meaning "principal", "chief", "ekstreme", in Zeki Velidi Togan GERMAN, Istanbul 1935-5, 239-63) occurs in the title of the Great Khân of the dynasty. Contemporary Islamic sources often simply refer to the dynasty as "the Khân" (al-Khâhîâiyya, al-Khâniyya); sometimes the phrase Aî-i Afrasîâyâb "House of Afrasiyab" is used, connecting the dynasty with the king of the Turanians in the Iranian national epic (= the Alp Er Tonga of Turkish lore, cf. Barthold, Zwolf Vorlesungen, etc., repr. 1962, 86-9, Fr. tr., Geschichte des Turcias d'Asie Centrale, Paris 1945, 69-70).

In his Elit article, Barthold wrote that the historical references to the dynasty were very scanty, and Zambaur in his Manuel, 206, confessed that his section on the Karakhanids, "la seule grande dynastie musulmane dont la généalogie est restée obscure", was in large measure conjectural. The sources are not perhaps quite so scanty as Barthold supposed, and much light has now been thrown on the Karakhanids by O. Pritsak, who has given the first connected account of the dynasty; the historical section which follows here owes much to his work.

2. Historical. The Turkish tribal origins of the Karakhanids still remain obscure. Pritsak is probably correct in attaching them to the great tribal group of the Karluq (q.v.), who formed part of the confederation of the Orhon Turks or T'u-chüeh, and then after 742 A.D., part of the tripartite confederation of the Karluq, Uygur and Basmil which succeeded to the Tu-chüeh in Mongolia (Von den Karluk zu den Karakhaniden, 270 ff.). In the 3rd/9th century the Karluq began to clash with the Sâmâns on the northern fringes of Transoxania, and the Bilge Kül Kâdîr Khân who fought Nûbî b. A sąd is seemingly the first Karluq and Karakhanid ruler whose name is definitely known. The political and social structure which was to be characteristic of the confederation gradually becomes discernible. As amongst certain other Albanic peoples, there was a system of double kingship. The Great Khân ruled directly over the eastern part of the confederation, with his court at the encampment of Balasagûn or Kara Ordu in the Çu valley of Siemireyê. The Associate Khân was under the supreme authority of the Great Khân, and also ruled directly over the western lands, with his encampment at Talas or Kashgar. Beneath these two Khâns was a complicated hierarchy of subordinates Khân and regional governors of the Karakhanid family. These rulers all bore Turkish regnal names and titles, including a totemic one (ôngâhr), and after their conversion to Islam they acquired Muslim names and patronyms also. The Turkish titles changed as members of the family moved up in the hierarchy. The disentanglement of the genealogy and chronology of the dynasty, on the bases both of literary sources and of coins, is accordingly very difficult.

Military activity along the Sâmâns-Karakhanid borders, and commercial intercourse, led to the conversion of the Karakhanids in the course of the 4th/ 10th century. Much of this proselytizing work was doubtless done by dervishes and other Muslim enthusiasts; the name of one of these, Abu 'l-Hasan Muhammad Kalimât of Nîshâpur, is known (cf. Samânî, Anisâb, f. 486a). The head of the western Khânate, Satur Bukhra Khân (d. 344/953), became a Muslim and assumed the name of 'Abîl Khârim, but the eastern Khânate was not Islamized till some time later, when Khotan and other towns of eastern Turkestan received the new faith. Ibn al-Ashir's report (viii, 396) that in 349/960 200,000 tents of Turkish tribesmen became Muslim is doubtless connected with this process. Karakhanid pressure southwards on the fertile and attractive lands of the Syr Darya basin was an important factor in the downfall of the Sâmâns at the end of the 4th/10th century. Hârin or Hasan Bukhra Khân in 382/992 occupied for a while the Sâmâns capital of Bukhârâ. The Ilig Nasr b. Alli of Özkend definitively took over Bukhârâ in 389/999, and divided the Sâmâns dominions with Mâvûd of Ghazna. However, the Ilig did not for some time to come accept the Oxus as the boundary between the two Turkish empires. Whilst Mâvûd was pre-occupied by an expedition against Multân in India, he invaded Khurâsan in 396/1006, and the situation was only restored by Mâvûd's hasty return. It was during these years that the western Karakhanids recognized fully the authority of the 'Abbâsid Caliphs; this can be seen in the legends on their coins, where we often find the phrase Maâd Amir al-Mumînîn after the Khâns' names. The early Khâns were further noted for their strict piety, expressed, for instance, in their avoidance of wine-drinking. The Karakhanids thus followed the generality of Turkish dynasties in accepting the orthodox Sunni form of Islam, together with the Hanafi law-school.

What has been said above about the internal structure of the Karakhanid confederation shows how these dominions were never ruled as a unitary state,
but instead as a loose, tribal grouping. In the early 5th/11th century, two distinct lines emerged within the dynasty. The first was that of the descendants of Satuq Bughrā Khān’s grandson ‘Ali (the “Alids” in Pritsak’s nomenclature); these supplied the Great Khāns of the western Khānate after the split within the dynasty described below. The second line was that of the descendants of Satuq Bughrā Khān’s other grandson Hārūn or Hasan Bughrā Khān (the “Hasanids”); these supplied the Great Khāns for the eastern Khānate.

The system whereby various members of the family ruled simultaneously in different parts of the Kara-khanid dominions inevitably led to disputes and rivalries. The Ghaznavid historian Bayhaqī already speaks of warfare among “the Khāns and the Ilīg” in the middle years of Mahmūd of Ghaznavī’s reign, and the Sultan encouraged these divisions in the hope of weakening the solidarity of the Kara-khanids. In particular, he allied in 427/1035 with Yūsūf Kadr Khān b. Hārūn Bughrā Khān of Kopotan and Kāshghar (and after 427/1036, of the capital Oezđend) against their mutual enemy, Yūsūf’s brother ‘Alī, known as ‘Alī Tigin (see on the latter, O. Pritsak, Karachanidische Streiffragen. 3. Wer war ‘Alī Tigin?, 216-24). ‘Alī Tigin plays a central part in the history of Transoxiana at this time; his power had a secure base in the rich cities of Bughrā and Samarkand, and in alliance with the Saljuq bands of Arslan Isrā‘īl, Toghril and Çağhril, he was the Ghaznavids’ implacable foe until his death in 425/1034. ‘Alī Tigin’s sons, representing the Hasanid line, were not long able to retain their father’s principality in Transoxiana once he was dead. The whole region of Transoxiana and western Farghāna as far as the Khurūndjanda, with first Oezđend and then Samarkand as its capital. The intermediate zone of the middle Sūr Darya was frequently a subject of friction between the two branches.

The eastern branch of the Kara-khanids, the Hasanids, soon conquered the whole of Farghāna. Their resources in manpower were augmented by the conversion to Islam of large numbers of pagan Turks from the outer steppes; thus in 435/1043-4 10,000 tents of Turks who nomadized “between Bughrā and Balasaghūn” became Muslims. The Great Khan Mutamīd b. Yūsūf Kadr Khān was probably the grandson of the pioneer Turkish lexicographer Mahmūd Kāshgharī [q.v.]; Mahmūd’s father was Amīr of the district of Barskhan in Semireythe (cf. O. Pritsak, Mahmud Kāšgarī kimi nird, in TM, x (1951-3), 243-6). During these years, Kāshghar grew as a centre for cultural and religious life, and it was there that Yūsūf Khāṣh Hādījī [q.v.] wrote his Kudākh biqlī, dedicating it to the Khān Ḥasan b. Sulaymān (467-96/1071-5 to 1102-3). In particular, Kāshghar speedily became the chief starting-point for the spread of Muslim faith and culture over the Tarim basin and towards the frontiers of Mongolia and China.

Hasan Khan’s son and successor Ahmad held in check the Western Liao or Kara Khītī (q.v.), a people who were probably of Mongol origin and who were at this time being forced to migrate westwards after the downfall of their two centuries’ dominion in northern China. But after Ahmad’s death, the eastern Kara-khanids were no longer able to stem the Kara Khītī advance. Balasaghūn fell under Kara Khītī control and became their capital. Little is known of the eastern Kara-khānīd Khāns of the later 6th/12th century; they were willy-nilly vassals of the Kara Khītī Gür-Khān and now had their capital in Kāshghar. When the Nayman Mongol adventurer Küülig overthrew the Gür-Khān and established his ephemeral empire in Semireythe, he released the Karakhānīd Muḥammad II from his previous detention at the Kara Khītī court, and restored him to Kāshghar. Unfortunately, an internal revolt brought about the death of this last eastern Karakhānīd before he could re-assert the throne (607/1210-11). Kāshghar passed into Küülig’s hands and the eastern branch of the dynasty was finished.

The history of the western Khānate is better known that of that of its eastern counterpart, for the Islamic historical sources deal more fully with Transoxanian events, these being frequently interwoven with happenings in Khorassān. Ibrāhīm Tamghā Khān, the former Bōrī Tigin (ca. 444/1052-63), secured a leading place in the “Mirrors for Princes” and adab literature as the exemplar of a just and pious ruler, although the historical sources show that Ibrāhīm was at the same time involved in many clashes as with the over-proud and ambitious claimants of the ‘ulama” in Transoxania. A serious external threat to these Karakhanids arose from the rise of the Great Saljuq empire, which in the second half of the 5th/11th century was at its apogee under Alp Arslan and Malīk Shāh (q.v.). Ibrāhīm had already found it impossible to retain in face of Saljuq pressure the upper Oxus provinces of Khuttal and Çağhrānīyan, which he had earlier conquered from the Ghaznavids. His son Shams al-Mulk Naṣr (460-72/1068-80), famous for the splendour of his court and his patronage of scholars, had to endure a Saljuq invasion in 465/1072-3; in the following year, he had to face a rebellion at Samarkand with his faithful ally Malīk Shāh, and to acknowledge Saljuq suzerainty over Transoxania. Tension between the throne and the ‘ulama” was now a permanent feature of the western Khānate. In 482/1089 the religious classes called in Malīk Shāh against Ahmad Khān b. Khīd, and the Sultan penetrated as far as Oezđend; soon afterwards, the ‘ulama” secured Ahmad’s deposition and execution on a charge of simpanity for the Ismā‘īlīs. The next Khān seem to have been nominated by the Saljuqs. Muḥam-mad II b. Sulaymān (497-524/1002-30) was Sultan Sandjar’s nephew and son-in-law, but his reign was much troubled by the activities of rival Karakhanid claimants.

Muhammad’s son Maḥmūd II was also Sandjar’s nephew and was Great Khān from 526/1132 to 536/1141. It was he who came up against the Kara Khītī. After reducing the eastern Karakhānids to submission, the Kara Khītī marched westwards. In the great battle of the Qātān Steppe in 536/1141, Sandjar and his Karakhānīd protégé were disastrously defeated. Maḥmūd fled to Khorassān, leaving the Gür-Khān to take over Transoxania. The Gür-Khān then set up various Karakhānīd princes as his
puppets, although the real power in Bukhārā now lay with the Sunni religious leaders or Ṣudūr of the Burdān family (see on these O. Pritsk, Āl-i Bukhān, in Isl., xxx (1952), 81-90), who collaborated closely with the pagan but tolerant Kara Khiṭṭāy. Mahmūd II Khān remained in Khurāsān till his death in 559/1164; after Sanjār’s capture by the Ghuzz he was acclaimed as Amir of Khurāsān by the leaderless Saljuqs army there (the famous poem, “The tears of Khurāsān”, which lamented the ravages of the Ghuzz, was addressed by the Saljuq poet Anwarī to Mahmūd at this time), and he re-assumed this position after Sanjār’s death in 552/1157.

With the deaths of Mahmūd and his sons, the ‘Ālids branch of the Karakhanids came to an end, and rule over the western Khānate passed to the Hasānids or descendants of All Tīgin. These Hasānids Khāns were, like their predecessors, much troubled internally by the turbulence of their Karluq soldiers and tribesmen. Externally, they came to be overshadowed by the dynamic and ambitious Khārazm-Shāh’s line of the Ataš. The last Karakhanid to rule over an exiguous principality around Bukhārā and Samarkānd was Uhmān Khān b. Ibrāhīm. Squeezed between powerful neighbours, he vacillated between support for the Khārazm-Shāh’s ‘Ālids’ al-Dīn Muḥammad and the Kara Khiṭṭāy Gūr-Khān, marrying princesses from both houses; but after the anti-Khārazmian rising in Samarkānd of 607/1210-11, the Shāh conquered the city and executed Uhmān, thus ending Karakhanid rule in Transoxiana.

In Farghāna, Karakhanid princes lingered on for a few more years. It seems that a separate line had arisen here, centred on Özked, after the Kara Khiṭṭāy invasion of 536/1141. One of these Khāns, Arslān, in 608/1211-12 threw off Kara Khiṭṭāy control and recognized the rising power of Čingiz-Khān. The line apparently persisted as governors of Farghāna under the first Mongol Khāns, but virtually nothing is known of them.

3. Cultural. Like the Saljuqs Sultans, the Karakhanid Khāns gradually assimilated themselves to the Perso-Islamic cultural and governmental traditions. The Khān’s red ceremonial parasol or tābūn is mentioned in the Kudūd al-awdān. His pious and just rulers are Ibrāhīm Tamgāhā Khān and Shams al-Mulk Naṣr conformed to the ideal of a Muslim ruler as laid down in the ‘Mirrors for Princes’. Shams al-Mulk expended much effort on public buildings; he built two famous caravan-sarais (each called, after the royal builder, Ribāb-i Malīk), reconstructed the Friday mosque of Bukhārā and laid out the palace of Shamsiābād near that city. Muḥammad II b. Sulaymān was also a great builder, and restored the citadel of Bukhārā. Such traditional duties as the defence of the frontiers of the Dar-al-Islām were undertaken by the Khāns, and we hear of Muḥammad II leading expeditions against the “infidels” of the steppes, probably the Kipčak. Together with this extension of the faith by arms, the 6th/12th century was important for the spread of Islam within the Khānate steppe by peaceful means. The Sūfī Shāykh ‘Abdād Yasaṣī [q.v.] of Sayram, and the order of the Yasavīyya which he founded, had a great influence in both eastern and western Turkestan and in the adjacent steppes; this may have been partly because the order in many ways adapted itself to and incorporated in itself certain pre-Islamic religious practices (cf. Köprülizade Mehmed Fuad, Türk edebiyatında ılk mudaşavvıflar, abridged Fr. tr. by L. Bouvat in RMM, xlili (1921), 239 ff., and idem, Influence du chamanisme turco-mongol sur les ordres mystiques musulmans, Istanbul 1929).

It has been noted above that the Karakhanids adopted enthusiastically the Ḥanafī law-school, and Transoxania was to become a stronghold of the Ḥanafī madhhab and the Māturīdī kalām, as the sheer volume of legal and theological literature emanating from the region attests. How great a part direct encouragement by the Khāns played here is uncertain, but the stimulus from them may well have been significant. In the wakīfiyya for a madrasa (which was to include a mosque and tomb for the Khān himself) in the Bāb al-Djaddid quarter of Samarkand, the founder Ibrāhīm Tamgāhā Khān stipulated that the faṭāḥ who was to teach there and all the students were to be of the school of Abū Ḥanīfa; the date of the foundation, 458/1066, is further interesting in suggesting that the wave of madrasa-building associated with Nizām al-Mulk and other Saljuq dynasties may have had a counterpart in the Karakhanid dominions. Ibrāhīm’s orthodoxy seal is further shown in his suppression of an outbreak of Ismā‘ili activity in his Khānate in 436/1044-5, when Fātimid missionaries persuaded many of the local people to give allegiance to their Caliph in Cairo, al-Mustanṣir. But the accusations of Ismā‘ili sympathies brought against Ahmad b. Khider Khān in 488/1095 seem to have been purely a pretext raised by the Khān’s unscrupulous opponents, and they do not reflect any general penetration of Transoxania by the Ismā‘ilis of Persia.


With all this, the Karakhanids retained their strong Turkmensh, and their age is of prime importance for the creation of a Turkish cultural consciousness and, in particular, for the creation of the first Turkish Islamic literature. Here the regions of Semirečye and Kaşqar, now becoming strongly Turkicized, were prominent, rather than Transoxania, where Persian culture still retained pride of place. Cultural influences from the Uygurs, and even, to some extent, from distant China, were strong in these eastern Karakhanid provinces. The region of the Tārīb basin, which included Kaşqar and Khotan, was often attributed by Muslim geographers to the marchers of China, and indeed it had often been included within the Chinese empire. Hence we find that Yusuf Kadhr Khān, after he had occupied and Islamicized Khotan, called himself Malīk al-Maṣūrī wal-Sīn “King of the East and China”. This title is further found on coins minted by his distant kinsman Ibrāhīm Tamgāh Khān and dating from after 451/1059, and in the ‘alima or validatio of a wakīfiyya for a hospital founded by the Khān in 458/1066 (see M. Khān in JA (1967), 320, 324, and
also the anecdote concerning the titles of the Karakhanids and Mahmūd of Ghazna's jealousy over them, given in Niẓām al-Mulk’s Siyāsat-nāma, ch. xl. and discussed by Bosworth in Orients, xv (1969) 225-6. The legends of Karakhanid coins also show that the Uyghur script was used side-by-side with the Arabic. The *Kutdugh biği of Yusuf Khāṣ Hādjiī* was completed at Kāshgār in 439/1049-50 and dedicated to the then ruling Khān. Four years later, Mahmūd Kāshgharī [q.v.] completed his *Divān-i hūghat al-Turk*, with the express aim of demonstrating that the Turkish language was comparable to Arabic in its richness. The didactic nature of early Turkish poetry was continued at the end of the Karakhanid period in the *Atabat al-kaḵāk* of Abūmad b. Mahmūd; the existence of this work shows that the *Kutdugh biği* was by no means an isolated phenomenon. Shaykh Abūmad Yasawī (d. 562/1166) left behind a collection of vernacular Turkish verse, the *Divān-i ḥikmet*, although this is now regarded as of doubtful authenticity.

4. General conclusions. The limitations of source material make it difficult to assess the general historical significance of the Karakhanids and difficult to evaluate the changes which their rule brought to Transoxania and the adjacent lands. As with the Saldzūks, we have the establishment of a Muslim Turkish power, not by Turkish slave commanders (as in the case of the Ghaznavids) but by tribal leaders and their hordes. Compared with the preceding régime of the Samanids, the Karakhanids brought about a decentralization of administration and a fragmentation of authority in Transoxania. One of the continuators of the historian of Buḫkārā, Naršakhāl, says that taxes were everywhere lightened when the Karakhanids supplanted the Samanids, and it is further probable that indigenous landed classes there, the *diḵāns*, enjoyed a resurgence of local power. The Khāns remained close to their Karluḵ followers, who comprised such tribes as the Čiḵil and Yaghnā; certainly, in the time of Shams al-Mulk Naṣr the Khāns were nomadic during the summer months, residing in their capitals only during the harsh steppe winters. Unfortunately, we know little about changes in land utilization and tenure, although it seems likely that the influx of pastoral nomads did cause some changes. The mention during Shams al-Mulk Naṣr’s reign of *ghurūks* or tracts of hunting ground established as crown preserves (Continuador de Narshakhī, tr. R. Frye, *The history of Buḫkārā*, Cambridge, Mass. 1934, 29, 125) may indicate a certain extension of pastoralization.

The Karakhanid territories shared in the general economic trend, whose causes remain obscure, whereby silver coinage tended to be replaced by gold. Nevertheless, the dirham remained the standard coin circulating in Transoxania, and both dirhams *muʾayyadīyya *adiyya and the slightly baser ghīrīfiyya ones circulated in the later 5th/11th and the early 6th/12th century. These dirhams were, however, considerably debased in relation to the legal dinār, and the currency was obviously somewhat unstable at this time; the testimony of the *wastīyya* for İbrahim Tāmghā Khān’s madrasa, mentioned above, suggests a figure of 47 dirhams *muʾayyadīyya *adiyya to the dinār instead of the legally desirable figure of 14*ṣīf (cf. Cahen, in *JA* (1967), 309-10, and Continuador de Narshakhī, tr. Frye, 36).

Yet despite the Khāns’ identification with their tribal contingents, their positions as Muslim sovereigns over such rich and fertile regions as Transoxania and Farghānā inevitably tended to raise them above the general tribal level. As happened within the Great Saljuq Sultanate, social and political tensions were generated. During the 6th/11th century, the Khāns were continually at odds with their military supporters, the Karluḵ tribesmen, often with dangerous consequences; it was Mahmūd II’s appeal to Sandjar in 536/1141 for help against the Karluḵ that determined the latter to call in the Kara Khīṭāy as a counterweight. It is not clear exactly how the Khāns fell foul of the religious classes in Buḫkārā and Samarkand, orthodox *ʿulāmā* and *ʿAlīds alike, but this too caused tensions which led at times to bloodshed and executions. The explanation is probably that the religious institution represented any extension of the central government’s power, and were ready to join with the military against the throne. The situation here parallels that obtaining in the Sāmānid period, and is an instance of the essential continuity of the structure of power and society in Transoxania. Because of these tensions, and because of the fragmentation of power within the ruling dynasty itself, the Karakhanids were ill-prepared to withstand such resolute opponents as the Kara Khīṭāy and the Khārāz̲m-Shāhs.

**Bibliography:** A detailed bibliography is given by O. Pritsak at the end of his article *Die Karachaniden* (see below), 63-8. The pre-Muslim history of the Karluḵ can be pieced together from the diverse sources which bear on the history of Central Asia: Chinese, Uyghur, Orkhon Turkish, Byzantine, etc. For Muslim historians, the Karakhanids inhabited only the periphery of the Islamic world, and they tend to mention the Khâns only so far as they impinge on the wider eastern Islamic world. There are, however, important notices in such authors as Utbi, Gardizi, Bayhākī, continuators of Narshakhī, Niẓām al-Mulk, Djamāl Khānī, Nasawī, Djuwaynī and Ibn al-Aḥīr. Light is thrown on the culture of the Karakhanid period by the works of such authors as Yusuf Khâṣ Hādjiī, Mahmūd Kāshgharī, al-Kīṭib al-Samarkanī, etc., and by the anecdotes given by Niẓām ʿArūḏī and ʿAwīfī. Amongst secondary literature, the following should be noted: E. Sachau, *Zur Geschichte und Chronologie von Khwarizm*, in *SBAr. Wien*, lxiv (1873), 219-30; Sir H. Howorth, *The northern frontiers of China. IX. The Muhammadan Turks of Turkestan from the tenth to the thirteenth century*, in *JRAS* (1868), 467-502; F. Grenard, *La légende de Sathak Boghra Khan et l’histoire*, in *JA*, Ser. 9, xv (1900), 5-79; Barthold, *Turkestan*: idem, *Zweifel Vorwüssen über die Geschichte der Türkischen Mittelasien*, repr. Hildesheim 1962, Fr. tr., *Histoire des Turcs d’Asie Centrale*, Paris 1915: idem, *A short history of Turkestan and History of the Semirechye*, in *Four studies on the history of Central Asia*, Leiden 1956; R. Vasm, *Zur Münzkunde der Karakhaniden*, in *Ms. for Inner Asian History*, xxiii (1930), 83-104; O. Pritsak, *Karachanidische Streiffragen* 1-4, in *Oriens*, iii (1950), 209-28; idem, *Von den Karluḵ zu den Karakaniden*, in *ZDMG*, ci (1951), 270-300; idem, *Die Karakaniden*, in *IsI*, xxxi (1953-4), 17-68 (Turkish version in IA Art. "Karakaniler"); A. Z. V. Togan, *Zentral-asiatische Türkische Literaturen*. II. *Die Islamische Zeit*, in *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, Abt. I, Bd. 5¹ Türkologie, Leiden 1963, 229-33; A. Cadoroğlu, *La littérature turque de l’époque des Karakanides*, in Funda-

(C. E. Bosworth)

ILERI, DİJELAL NÜRİ, in modern Turkish Celâl Nûri İleri, Turkish modernist, writer, publicist and journalist, 1877-1938. He was born at Gallipoli. His father, Hayvâlîzade Mustafa Nūrī, from Crete, served as governor in various provinces and became a senator in 1908. His mother was the daughter of Abûdîn Paşâ (surnamed Dino, 1843-1908) from Priärin, a governor and vizier under Âbâd al-Hamîd II and the author of a well-known commentary on the Mathnavi. One of his brothers, Şûbûh Nûri İleri was a socialist writer and journalist and the other, Sedîl Nûr, a painter and cartoonist.

Educated at Galatasaray Lyceum and Istanbul University, where he studied law, Dîjelâl Nûrî perfected his French to the point of publishing a few books in that language, including a novel, Caucummar, about life in Istanbul under Âbâd al-Hamîd. He also learnt English. His education owes much to his family circle, which included his paternal uncle Sûrî Paşa and his wife, Leylâ Sâz (1850-1936), the poetess and composer, and author of valuable memoirs of 19th century kârem life.

Dîjelâl Nûrî visited Europe several times and published some of his impressions in two books: Kûfûb musâhabeleri and Sûmâlî kâtêrîlari (see below). He soon abandoned the legal profession to become a journalist and free-lance writer. He contributed to many newspapers and periodicals (some of which he founded), particularly İkhâm, Atî, İleri, İlâşiâh, Edebiyyât-ı Umâmiyye Mehmetâsî, Therwât-î Fûnûn, Türk Yurdu, Le Courier d’Orient and Le Jeune Turc. He wrote more than fifteen hundred articles in the last-named French language newspapers, many of great documentary value for the period following the mutiny of 13 April 1909 ("31 Mart wâkâyâl").

Dîjelâl Nûrî represented Gelibolu in the last Ottoman Parliament, and was elected four times to the Grand National Assembly. His wide legal knowledge and his familiarity with both Eastern and Western culture made him one of the most sought-after advisers of the new Nationalist Government in Ankara. He was an honest, straightforward writer, always consistent in his principles and in his advocacy of liberalismo and honest government. His strong criticism, in his Istanbul daily İleri, of authoritarian rule and its abuses, and his contention that the single-party system was incompatible with democracy, resulted in violent polemics in the press. Several extremist supporters of the Government, particularly Aghaoglu Ahmed and Yûnus Nâdi, violently attacked him in Government organs. A member of Parliament, Kûldî ʿAli, whose name was published in a list of deputies and officials accused of having misused their influence, went to Dîjelâl Nûrî’s office and attacked him (for details of this polemic and the subsequent incident, see the newspapers İleri, Hâkimiyet-i Millîyet, Zümâkîriyeyet and Şûn Telêbrâf for June to August 1340 (fiscal)/ 1924. Dîjelâl Nûrî’s journalist brother Şûbûh Nûrî published a strong article of protest the following day in İleri (31 July 1924). But Dîjelâl Nûrî himself henceforward wrote only occasionally in the same paper, and avoided polemics. He died in Istanbul on 2 November 1938.

Dîjelâl Nûrî is the author of some thirty books and thousands of articles, a few of which have been collected in book form. Without fully adhering to any of the three main groups of the post-1908 period, i.e., "Turkists", Islamists, and Westernizers, he made his own compromise between the two last. He conducted long polemics on social, political, religious, juridical and linguistic issues with leading writers of the period, and, opposed equally the extremist Nationalists, the radical Westernizers and the uncompromising Islamists (see Gökalp, Djewdêt, Mehmed Tanz, Panislamism, Türan).

He himself was a moderate reformist. But he was no systematic thinker, so that his ideas and suggestions on various problems crop up in most of his writings no matter the subject title. The following are his most outstanding themes on controversial issues of the period 1908-23.

The legal system. The need for a radical reform in this field is one of his main themes. The legal system of a country must take into consideration the historical development, the character, peculiarities, conditions of life of the nation and the requirements of the contemporary age. Midhat Paşa’s Constitution, Djewdêt Paşa’s Medîelle and many laws dealing with administration, jurisprudence, property, the civil service etc., are, since they ignore these conditions, inadequate. Laws are not unalterable; on the contrary they should at times be reviewed and modified according to the changing circumstances of the times.

The emancipation of women. Many social evils in Ottoman society have as their primary cause the humiliating position of women. Polygamy should be prohibited and women should not be treated as property. Laws concerning marriage, divorce and children should be modernized. This too is in keeping with the spirit of Islam; whose rules on women and marriage have been misinterpreted for centuries. Dîjelâl Nûrî’s ideas on this subject were by many found to be "too progressive".

The causes of Ottoman decline. The main causes for the backwardness of the Ottomans are that they had no part in the maritime discoveries, the Renaissance, and the exploitation of printing.

Alphabet and language reform. The Arabic alphabet not being suitable for Turkish, a reformed alphabet based on the Roman script is necessary. As far as the language itself is concerned, however, Dîjelâl Nûrî’s approach is conservative. He saw the Persian-Arabic elements as being as natural and necessary to Turkish as Latin and French words are to English. Yet his campaign against the supporters of “simplification” mellowed later in the republican period.

Reform in Islam. Islam per se has never been an obstacle to progress. But it has been constantly misinterpreted and exploited by bigots and opportunists. A reform in Islam, particularly in Muslim law, is necessary. The unity of the Muslim world should be the ideal, and should replace the nationalist ideologies of individual Muslim nations. Yet the ideal of a theocratic state is an anachronism. To ignore Western civilization leads nowhere. But there are two civilizations: the technological and the real civilization. The Turks, like the Japanese, should adopt the first, but preserve their own Muslim-
even Şafis raised the question of the certainty of the knowledge given by it. So al-Hudjwiri (Kashf al-mahdū, transl. Nicholson, 271) contends that ilhâm cannot give assured knowledge (ma\u015f\u0160\u0167a) of Allâh; but al-Ghazâli would probably have said that al-Hudjwiri was using ilhâm in the sense of an idea which one found in his mind, and not of the flashing out of the divine light on the soul which, once experienced, can never be mistaken. Others taught that, while it was sufficient for the recipient, it could not be used to convince others or reckoned as a source of knowledge for men in general. This appears to have been al-Nasâ'î's position; see his 'Akhâ'id with commentaries of al-Taftázâni and others, Cairo ed. 1321, 40 f. A very curious use is by Ibn Khalîdân in the sense of "instinct" (Mukaddamât, ed. Quatrembre, ii, 331, transl. de Slane, ii, 384; tr. Rosenthal, ii, 370) but this, though a natural development, does not seem to have been taken up by others. Yet Ibn Hazm speaks of ilhâm as a labî\"a and refers as an illustration to Kur'ân, XVI, 70, on the instinct of bees (Milâl, v, 17).

Bibliography: Add to references above: Dict. of technical terms, 1308; al-I\u0167jîrjânî, Ta\u0167rifât, Cairo 1321, 22 foot; Râqîb al-I\u0167shâhâni, Mufra\u015fât, 471; L. Massignon, Tawâsîn, 125-8.

(D. B. MACDONALD*)

III, a large river in Central Asia. It is formed by the two rivers Tekes and Kungus, which rise on the northern slopes of the Tien-Shan Mts.; the united stream of the III then flows for some 950 kms. across the northern part of the region known in mediaeval times as "the land of the seven rivers", Yeti\u00b4u or Semirecyè, into Lake Balkhâsh. The lower course of the III falls within the Soviet Kazakhstan Republic, whilst the eastern part of the III river system belongs to the Chinese Sinkiang-Uyghur Autonomous Region.

The III is first mentioned in the history of the Chinese T'ang dynasty, when one of the main roads from China to Turkestan passed through its valley (Chavannes, Documents sur les Touroigne (Turcs) occidentaux, 11 II.). The oldest Muslim source to mention it is the Hudud al-d\u0167umm (373/982-3), which says that the III runs into the Isk-Kel (the existence of Lake Balkhâsh was not known to early Islamic geographers). Kâshgârî calls the III or Ili "the Djâyûn of the Turkish country", and he places the Turkish tribe of the Tukhäl in the III valley, together with the Yaghma and part of the Cijil (tr. Atalay, i, 30, 81, 92, 408). The Hudud mentions a town in this region, probably to be identified with Kâshgârî's frontier town Iki-ögü" ("situated between the two rivers", i.e., the Ili and Yalînâ, cf. Hudud, 71, 208, 276-7, 300-1.

It is not known when Islam first came to the III valley, but in the 7th/13th century it was regarded as marking the farthest boundary of the Dâr al-Islâm, and the lands to the east were only converted in the post-Mongol period. Immediately before the Mongol period, northern Semirecyè, including the town of Kâyallâh (see below), was ruled by the Karlu\u0167 Arsân Kâhân. He threw off Kara Khi\u0167az susurarity and negotiated with Çingig; consequently, the region did not suffer from the Mongol devastations so badly as Transoxania and Khi\u0167sâhân. The upper parts of the III basin contained good pasture for the nomads, and Çahgâlây had his ardu on the III after Çingig's death. The reports of such travellers as Rubruck (651/1253) and the Chinese envoy to Hûlêgî's court Chang-té (657/1259) show that the III region was still reason-

ably flourishing, but that there was a trend towards pastoralization. Rubruck mentions that after crossing the III, he came to the town of Equis (se. Ili-bâlûk "town on the III"), whose population was Tâtîjîk, and the Armenian King Haiton (He\u015fûn) also visited it. The nearby town of Cailac (se. Kâyallâh) is also described as having many merchants (cf. E. Bretschneider, Medieval researches from eastern Asiatic sources, i, 169), and the trading centre of Alma-

lîh (q.v.), to the north of the III, was at this time the capital of a small Muslim principality. By the 9th/15th century, however, urban life seems to have disappeared from the region.

From the late 17th century until the destruction of Kalmuck power in Turkestan in 1758, Semirecyè and the III valley were occupied by the Buddhists Kâl-
mucks or Oyrat. During the time of the great Khan Ghaldan (d. 1308/1697), the III valley became regarded as the Khan's personal domain. In the 19th century, it was part of the lands of the Kazaks, but during the reign of Tsar Nicholas I was annexed by Russia. The upper III valley, and especially the town of Kuldâj (q.v.), suffered considerably during the Muslim rebellion in Chinese Turkestan led by Ya\u0167kûb Beg. Because of Russian fears that the outbreak might spread, the district of Kuldâj was in 1871 annexed by Russia, but given back to China in 1853.

During the present century, the main centres of population have been Kuldâj and the small town of III, situated at the junction of the river and the Turkestan-Siberia railway. Navigation is possible during the ice-free months on the Soviet part of the river down to a point near the delta; the waters of the III's tributaries are extensively used for irrigation, and the upper reaches are an important source of hydro-electric power (see BSE*, xvii, 530-1, with a map).

Bibliography: In the text.

(C. E. BOSWORTH)

ILIČPUR [see Supplement].

ILIĐIA (t.) "hot spring"; and a bath served by a hot spring (whereas in principle, in Ottoman usage, a hâmûnam [q.v.] is a bath whose water is artificially heated), a characteristically Western Turkish word, the diminutive(?) of III "hot" (< ilîg, cited by Mabmûd Kâshgârî, Ar. text, i, 31, tr. T. Atalay, i, 31, in contrast to "Turkish" yîlîg, as an example of the Oguz tendency to drop initial y-). According to "Ašim (T. translation of al-Firûzâ-

bâdî's Mu\u015fl, s.v. al-bimma, = ed. of 1268-72, iii, 435; cited in TTS, i, 349), a thermal and curative spring is called "Iliđia in Turkish, kâplûdja in Bursa, and bâna (cf. Serbo-Croat bâna) in Rumeli". Red-

house distinguishes kâplûdja as "a hot spring rooted in [kâplu] as a bath; especially any one of the hot-
baths of Brousia". These distinctions are perhaps etymological rather than real: kâplûdja [q.v.] is admittedly used primarily of the baths, served by thermal springs, in the Çekirge suburb of Bursa; and Evi\u015blî Çelebi says of Sofia (iii, 399) "in these regions an Iliđia is called bâna"; yet he himself uses the word Iliđia for the baths of Sofia and Buda (vi, 244 f.), and so too Ferîdûn (i, 599) uses the terms bâna and Iliđia without apparent distinction in a "Rumelian" context.

Iliđia is a common toponym in Anatolia (over thirty attestations in Türkiye'de meskân yerler kilavuzu, Ankara 1946-50). (Ed.)

ILIYA [see AL-KUDS].

ILKHÂN [see TAĞ*R].

ILKHÂNS, Mongol dynasty ruling in