

*Joo-Yup Lee Dr. <sup>\*1</sup>*

*<sup>1</sup>lecturer of the Department of civilizations of the near and Middle East, University of Toronto, (Canada)*

*E-mail: yjooyup.lee@mail.utoronto.ca*

## **SOME REMARKS ON THE ULUS (PEOPLE) OF JOCHI AS SEEN BY THEIR CONTEMPORARIES**

### *Abstract*

Jochi Ulus is the largest of the Mongolian states. If we take the history of the Jochi Ulus, its people, information about their domestic and foreign policy from the memoirs of a traveler, historian, scientist, sage who lived in those days, then we can say that their data are written on the basis of truth. In this article, data were obtained from the moment of the founding of the Jochi Ulus to the XVI century. In the sources in the Turkic-Mongolian states of Ilkhanid, Timurid, Shibanid -the Uzbek, Tatar, Ottoman and Kazakh peoples have brief but extensive information. His attitude towards the Jochi ulus is well reflected in the book "Jami al-Tawarih", written by Rashid Al-Din (b. 1318) in Persian at the beginning of the XIV century. In addition, modern Kazakhs have left their data on Maiki (Baikyu), which they consider to be their ancestor, as one of the four generals (emirs) handed over by Jami al-Tawarih to Genghis Khan Johu. In addition, Sharaf al-Din Ali Yazdi in his work "Afar-nama" also talked about the ulus. In the 1550s, Chagatai in Khorezm wrote the works "Tarikh-i Dust Sultan" or "Genghis-nama" in the Turkic language, "the history of the Zhokhid ulus", Utemish Hadji called Zhokhid ulus Uzbekistan. Interestingly, the history of the Jochi Ulus and the criminal khanate, compiled by Sayyid Muhammad Reza in 1737, in the book "Es-Cebu-Seyar fi Akhbar-i Muluk-u Tatars" calls the Jochi people "Tatars". Based on such data, information is provided about the way of life, the social status of the main population of the Jochi Ulus, and how they are mentioned in the data.

**Keywords:** Jochi Ulus, sources, states, Ilkhanid, Timurid, Shibanid-Uzbek, Tatar

*Джу-Юп Ли <sup>\*1</sup>*

*<sup>1</sup>доктор, Торонто Университети, Таяу және Таяу Шығыс өркениеттері кафедрасының оқытушысы,  
(Канада)*

*E-mail: yjooyup.lee@mail.utoronto.ca*

## **ЖОШЫ ҰЛЫСЫНЫҢ (ХАЛҚЫНЫҢ) ТАРИХИ КЕЗЕҢІНЕ ҚАТЫСТЫ КЕЙБІР ЕСТЕЛІКТЕР**

### *Аңдатпа*

Жошы Ұлысы Моңғол мемлекетінің ішіндегі ең ірісі. Жошының Ұлысының тарихын, халқын, олардың ішкі және сыртқы саясаты туралы ақпаратты тура сол заманда өмір сүрген саяхатшы, тарихшы, ғұлама, ақылгөйлердің естеліктерінен алсақ, олардың деректері шындыққа негізделіп жазылған деп айтуға болады. Бұл мақалада Жошы Ұлысы құрылғаннан бастан XVI ғасырға дейінгі деректер алынды. Түркі-Моңғол мемлекеттеріндегі дереккөздерде Ильханид, Тимурид, Шибанид-өзбек, татар, Османлы және қазақ халықтарында ақпараттар қысқаша, бірақ кең ауқымды сараптама жүргізеді. Жошы Ұлысына деген көзқарасы XIV ғасырдың басында парсы тілінде Рашид әл-Дин (1318 ж.) жазған "Жами Әл-таварих" кітабында жақсы көрсетілген. Сонымен қатар, қазіргі қазақтар өздерінің ата-бабалары деп санайтын Майкі (Байкү) туралы Джами: әл-таварих Шыңғыс Хан Жошыға берген төрт қолбасшының (әмірдің) бірі ретінде өз деректерін қалдырған. Одан бөлек Шараф әл-Дин әли Язидің "Афар-нама" еңбегінде де Ұлыс туралы үлкен мағлұмат көрсетіп кеткен. 1550 жылдары Хорезмдегі Чағатай Түркі тілінде "Тарих-и Дуст Султан "немесе" Шыңғыс-нама", "Жохид Ұлысының тарихы" атты еңбектерін жазған Өтеміш Хаджи Жохид ұлысын Өзбекстан деп атап кеткен. Бір қызығы, 1737 жылы Сайид Мұхаммед Реза құрастырған Жошы Ұлысы Мен қылмыстық Хандықтың тарихы "Эс-Себу-Сейяр фи Ахбар-и Мулук-ү татар" кітабында Жошы халқын «Татар» деп атайды. Осындай деректерді негізге ала отырып, Жошы Ұлысының негізгі халқының тұрмыс-тіршілігі, әлеуметтік жағдайын, олардың деректерде қалай атағанын туралы мәліметтер берілген.

**Кілт сөздер:** Жошы Ұлысы, мемлекет, деректер, Ильханид, Тимурид, Шибанид-өзбек, татар

Джу-Юн Ли<sup>\*1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>доктор, преподаватель кафедры ближней и ближневосточной цивилизаций Университета Торонто,  
(Канада)

E-mail: [yjoooyur.lee@mail.utoronto.ca](mailto:yjoooyur.lee@mail.utoronto.ca)

## НЕКОТОРЫЕ ВОСПОМИНАНИЯ ОБ УЛУСАХ (НАРОДАХ) ДЖУЧИ ГЛАЗАМИ ИХ СОВРЕМЕННОКОВ

### Аннотация

Улус Джучи является крупнейшим из монгольских государств. Если взять историю Улуса Джучи, его народ, информацию об их внутренней и внешней политике из воспоминаний путешественника, историка, ученого, мудреца, жившего в те времена, то можно сказать, что их данные написаны на основе истины. В этой статье были получены данные с момента основания Улуса Джучи до XVI века. В источниках в тюрко-монгольских государствах Ильханид, Тимурид, Шибанид-у узбекского, татарского, Османского и казахского народов информация краткая, но обширная. Его отношение к улусу Джучи хорошо отражено в книге "Джами аль-таварих", написанной Рашидом Аль-Дином (р. 1318) на персидском языке в начале XIV века. Кроме того, современные казахи оставили свои данные о Майки (Байкю), который они считают своим предком, как один из четырех полководцев (эмиров), переданных Джами аль-таварихом Чингисхану Джоху. Кроме того, Шараф аль-Дин Али Язди в своей работе "Афарнама" также рассказал о улусе. В 1550-х годах Чагатай в Хорезме написал на тюркском языке произведения "Тарих-и Дуст Султан "или" Чингис-нама", "история Жохидского улуса", Утемиш Хаджи назвал Жохид улус Узбекистаном. Интересно, что история Улуса Джучи и преступного ханства, составленная Сайидом Мухаммедом Реза в 1737 году, в книге "Эс-Себу-Сейяр фи Ахбар-и Мулук-у татар" называет народ Джучи «татарами». Исходя из таких данных, приведены сведения о быте, социальном положении основного населения Улуса Джучи, о том, как они упоминаются в данных.

**Ключевые слова:** Улус Джучи, источники, государства, Ильханид, Тимурид, Шибанид-узбекский, татарский

### Introduction.

The Ulus of Jochi, better known as the Golden Horde, was a western Mongol state founded in the middle of the thirteenth century following the Mongol conquest of the Qipchaq Steppe and the Rus' principalities. It was named "Ulus of Jochi" because it was ruled by the heirs of Jochi (d. 1225)[1], Chinggis Khan (r. 1206–27)'s eldest son[2].

This paper will examine how the Jochid *ulus* (in the sense of people) [3] were identified in the sources composed in the Turko-Mongol states of the Mongol and post-Mongol periods. More specifically, it will conduct a brief but broad-range examination of Ilkhanid, Timurid, Shibanid Uzbek[4], Crimean Tatar, Ottoman, and "Kazakh" sources in order to investigate the nature of Jochid *ulus* identity as understood by their contemporaries. The thesis that this paper will defend is that the Jochid people, who were identified as *Jochi eli* as well as *Uzbek*, *Tatar*, and *Toqmaq* in various sources, were viewed as one and the same people by their contemporaries, and that the modern Kazakhs, whose ancestors were identified with these group identities in the sources, are the most representative descendants of the Jochid *ulus*.

#### The Ilkhanid View of the *Ulus* of Jochi

The Ilkhanid Mongol view of the *ulus* of Jochi is well presented in the *Jāmi' al-tavārīkh*, the universal history written in Persian by Rashīd al-Dīn (d. 1318) in the early fourteenth century. Rashīd al-Dīn refers to the Jochid people as *ulūs-i Jūchī*, which he divides into "Batu's *ulus* (*ulūs-i Batu*)" and "Orda's *ulus* (*ulūs-i Orda*)." Rashīd al-Dīn adds that Batu commanded half of Jochi Khan's troops while Orda commanded the other half [5]. Importantly, Mayqī (Bāyqū), whom the modern Kazakhs view as their ancestor, is mentioned in the *Jāmi' al-tavārīkh* as one of the four commanders (*amīrs*) given to Jochi by Chinggis Khan [6]. Mayqī later commanded the right wing of Batu's army [7].

The *ulus* (people) of the Jochid state began to be called *Uzbek* from the reign of Uzbek Khan (r. 1313–41) [8]. Accordingly, the Ilkhanid historian Ḥamd Allāh Mustaufī Qazvīnī refers to the army of Uzbek Khan that invaded the Ilkhanate in the mid-fourteenth century as *Uzbeks* (*Uzbakiyān*) and calls the Jochid state "the kingdom of Uzbek (*mamlakat-i Uzbek*)" in his Persian history *Tārīkh-i guzīda* [9]. Qazvīnī's son Zain al-Dīn, who added the description of the events that took place in Iran between 1341 and 1390 to the

*Tārīkh-i guzīda*, also designates the Ulus of Jochi ruled by Jānī Beg Khan (r. 1342–57), son of Uzbek Khan, as “the Ullus of Uzbek (*ulūs-i Uzbek*) [10]”.

**The Timurid View of the Ulus of Jochi.** Like the Ilkhanid historians, the Timurid historians referred to the people of the Jochid state as *ulūs-i Jūchī* and *Uzbek*. In addition, they used the term *Toqmaq* as the designation of the Jochid *ulus*. Notably, the *Zafar-nāma* by Sharaf al-Dīn ‘Alī Yazdī (d. 1454), completed in 1425 and dedicated to Ibrāhīm Sultān (r. 1415–35), son of Shāhrukh and grandson of Temūr (r. 1370–1405), uses both *ulūs-i Jūchī* and *Uzbek* for the Jochid nomads, including the Kazakh ancestors, that is, the nomads of the eastern Qipchaq Steppe. For instance, Yazdī relates that when Temūr crossed the Syr Darya and invaded the Qipchaq Steppe, the Jochid ruler Urus Khan (r. ca. 1368–78) brought together “all the Jochid people (*tamām-i ulūs-i Jūchī*)” in response [11]. Yazdī also writes in the *Zafarnāma* that “some of the Uzbek people (*ba’zī ulūs-i Uzbek*)” were pillaged during Temūr’s campaign in “the right wing of the Ulus of Jochi Khan (*ulūs-i dast-i rāst-i Jūchī khān*) [12]”. Elsewhere, Yazdī refers to the envoys dispatched to Temūr by Edigū (d. 1419) and Temūr Qutluq Khan (r. 1397–99), who became the new rulers of the Jochid Ulus after Toqtamīsh Khan’s downfall, as “the Uzbek envoys (*īlchīyān-i Uzbek*) [13]”.

Other Timurid historians also used both *ulūs-i Jūchī* and *Uzbek* to refer to the Jochid nomads. Nizām al-Dīn Shāmī, who composed another *Zafar-nāma*, the earliest known history of Temūr, which he wrote in Persian in 1404 at the order of Temūr himself, refers to the Jochi realm as “the Uzbek domain (*vilāyat-i Uzbekī*)” in his work when describing a Jalayir amīr who revolted against Temūr and fled to Urus Khan [14]. Similarly, Mu’īn al-Dīn Naṭanzī refers to the throne of the western wing of the Jochid state, which Urus Khan had captured, as “the Uzbek throne (*takht-i Uzbek*)” in his *Muntakhab al-tavārīkh-i Mu’īnī* [15], a general history from Creation to 1413–14, written in Persian in 1413–14 for Shāhrukh (r. 1405–47), son of Temūr. Describing the conquest of the Ulus of Jochi by Temūr, Naṭanzī states that “the entire capital of the Uzbeks was destroyed by the Chaghatay (*majmū’-i pāytakht-i uzbek dar zīr-i dast va pāy-i jaghatāy ‘ālīyahā sāfilahā shud*) [16]”. He also designates the domains of Temūr Malik, son of Urus Khan, as “the Ulus of Jochi (*ulūs-i Jūchī*)” in his work [17].

Timurid historians also used the term *Toqmaq* as a designation for the Jochid *ulus* [18]. For instance, Naṭanzī employs the term *Toqmaq* to refer to the armies of both Temūr Malik and Temūr’s protégé Toqtamīsh. He calls the army of the former “the *Toqmaq* troublemakers (*būlg’hāūlān-i Tūqmāq*)” and the army of the latter “the *Toqmaq* army (*lashkar-i Tūqmāq*) [19]”.

Here, one should note that the *ulus* of Urus Khan and Toqtamīsh Khan, who were Jochid leaders from modern-day Kazakhstan, that is, the eastern Qipchaq Steppe, were not distinguished from the right wing Jochid *ulus* by Timurid historians. In other words, Timurid historians did not differentiate between the Kazakh ancestors inhabiting the eastern Qipchaq Steppe and their western counterparts residing in the western Qipchaq Steppe.

**The Shibanid Uzbek View of the Ulus of Jochi.** The Shibanid Uzbek historians identified the Uzbeks with the *ulus* of Jochi. Notably, Ötāmiš Ḥājī, who wrote the *Tārīkh-i Dūst Sultān* or *Chingīz-nāma*, a history of the Ulus of Jochid, in Chaghatay Turkic in Khorezm in the 1550s, refers to the Jochid *ulus* as *Uzbeks*. He writes as follows: Again, during the time of Berke Khan, the Uzbek people became Muslim. After that, they turned away from religion and became unbelievers. This time, Uzbek Khan became a Muslim. Since then, the Uzbek people have not abandoned Islam (*Basa, Barkā Ḥān zamanında Özbek tā’ifası musulmān bolup erdilār. Olardīn song yenü murtadd bolup kāfir bolup erdilār. Bu yol ki Öz Beg Ḥān musulmān boldī. Andīn bārū Özbek tā’ifasīning Islāmī tağayyur tapmadī*) [20].

Abū al-Ghāzī Bahādur Khan (r. 1644–63) attributes the origin of the designation *Uzbek* to Uzbek Khan in his *Šajara-i Türk*, a history of the Chinggisids up to the ‘Arabshāhid Uzbek dynasty. He explains that *Jochi eli* became *Uzbek eli* after Uzbek Khan’s reign as follows: [Uzbek Khan] brought the *el* and *ulus* to the faith of Islam. Thanks to this possessor of good fortune, all the people had the honor of receiving the glory of Islam. It is after him that all the *el* of Jochi was called the *el* of Uzbek (*el ulusni dīn-i islāmga kōrkūzdi barča ḥalq ol šāhib-i davlatning sababīndīn šaraf-i islāmga mušarraḥ boldīlar andīn song barča Jochi elini Özbāk eli tidīlār*) [21].

Just as the Timurid historians viewed the ancestors of the Kazakhs inhabiting the eastern Qipchaq Steppe and their western counterparts as one and the same Jochid people, Uzbek historians also viewed the Shibanid Uzbeks and the Kazakhs as belonging to the same Uzbek people. Notably, the Uzbek court historian Faẓlallāh b. Rūzbihān Khunjī (d. 1521) writes in his *Mihmān-nāma-i Bukhārā*, which provides a first-hand account of Muḥammad Shībānī Khan’s third campaign against the Kazakhs, that there are three branches (*tāyīfa*) that “belong to the Uzbeks (*mansūb bi-Uzbek*).” The first is the Shibanids (*Shībānīyān*). The second is the Kazakhs (*Qazāq*), “who are, in strength and ferocity, well known throughout the world (*ki dar quvva va ba’s mashhūr-i āfāqand*).” The third is the Manghit (*Manfit* [sic]), “who are the rulers of

Astrakhan (*ki īshān pādshāhān-i Hājji Tarkhān-and*) [22]”. Khunjī thus states that “the Kazakhs are a branch of the Uzbeks (*Qazzāq yik t̄ayifa az Uzbek-and*) [23]”. Although Khunjī does not mention the Crimean Tatars here, in all likelihood, he identified them with the Manghits. In short, the Shibanid Uzbek historians identified the Jochid *ulus* with the Shibanid Uzbeks, Tatars, and Kazakhs.

The Crimean Tatar View of the *Ulus* of Jochi. Unlike the Ilkhanid, Timurid, and Shibanid Uzbek historians, who used *Uzbek* as a new name of the Jochid *ulus*, the Crimean Tatar historians used, for the nomadic people of the Jochid realm (*ulus-i Cūci*), the term *Tatar*, which they also employed as a self-name. The term *Tatar* was a name that was used to denote the Mongols by the Muslim writers and the Rus’ chroniclers when they first came into contact with the former [24]. At some point, unlike their eastern Jochid counterparts (who used the self-name *Uzbek*), the Crimean Tatars adopted *Tatar* as a self-designation. The Crimean histories produced from the sixteenth century onwards and various diplomatic letters used *Tatar* as a self-appellation [25]. Notably, the *Es-Sebu’s-Seyyar fi Ahbar-ı Mulūk-ü Tatar*, a history of the *Ulus* of Jochi and the Crimean Khanate composed by Sayyid Muḥammad Rezā in 1737, refers to the Jochid people as Tatars. For instance, mentioning the conversion of the Jochid people to Islam during the reigns of Berke Khan and Uzbek Khan, it calls the former Tatars [26]. Elsewhere, it refers to the Mongol army led by Hülegü’s commander Kitbuqa, who was defeated by the Mamluks, as Tatars [27].

The *Umdat al-aḥbār* is another history of the *Ulus* of Jochi and the Crimean Khanate written by ‘Abd al-Ghaffār Qırımī’s in Ottoman Turkish in 1744, which provides insights into the Crimean Tatar view of Jochid *ulus*. Qırımī uses *Tatar* or the phrase “Mongols and Tatars” to designate the Crimean Tatars as well as the Jochid *ulus* in his work. For instance, he writes that Berke Khan “led all the Mongol and Tatar tribes to Islam and ruled for about 16 years (*cümle tavāif-i Moḡol ve Tatar’ı İslāma götürdü ale’l-ihtilāf on altı yıl han-ı alīshān olub ...*) [28]”. Like the above-mentioned historians, Qırımī applies the term *Tatar* to both left and right wings of the *Ulus* of Jochi, without differentiating the two. He refers to Toqtamīsh Khan, the Jochid ruler from the eastern Qipchaq Steppe, that is, modern-day Kazakhstan, and his army as Tatars, when describing his invasion of Transoxiana, which was under Temür’s rule [29].

Importantly, Qırımī also identified the Tatars with the Uzbeks. Mentioning the Islamization of the Jochid people, he writes, “The Muslim Tatars were called the Uzbek people because of this reason (*İslām ehli olan Tatar’a Özbek Halkı dimesine bāis işbu sebebdendir*) [30]”. In short, Jochi’s *ulus* (*ulus-i Cūci*), Uzbek, and Tatar were all regarded as the same people by Crimean Tatar historians.

**The Ottoman View of the *Ulus* of Jochi.** Like the Crimean Tatar historians, the Ottoman historians employed the term *Tatar* to denote the Jochid people. Notably, the Ottoman historian Muḥṣafā ‘Ālī (d. 1600) used *Tatar* to denote the nomads of the Jochid realm in his universal history, *Künhü’l-aḥbār*. For instance, he employs the term *Tatar* to refer to the Jochid people ruled by such khans as Batu, Urus, and Toqtamīsh, among others [31]. ‘Ālī also uses *Tatar* along with *Moḡul* to denote the Mongols. He writes that the third volume of his work covers the history of the Tatar people (*ḳavm-i Tatar*), namely, the Chinggisids and Timurids (*Āl-i Timur u Āl-i Cengizī*) [32].

Similarly, Evliya Çelebi (d. c. 1684), the celebrated Ottoman traveler, also used the name *Tatar*, which he applies to Temür and the Mongols, to refer to the people of the Jochid realm. For instance, he writes that “the Tatars of Hülegü, the Tatars of Chinggis Khan, the Tatars of Temür, and the Tatars of Toqtamīsh Khan once came to Crimea and left after assaulting and plundering it (*Hulāgū Tatarı ve Cingiz Hān Tatarı ve Timur Leng Tatarı ve Tohtamış Hān Tatarları Kırım’a gelüp nehb [ü] gāretler edüp gitmişlerdir*) [33]”.

In short, the Ottoman writers such as Muḥṣafā ‘Ālī and Evliya Çelebi regarded the nomads of the Jochid realm, including modern-day Kazakhstan, and the Mongols as belonging to the same Tatar people.

**The Mamluk View of the *Ulus* of Jochi.** When the Mongols first appeared in the Islamic world in the early 13th century, Muslim writers generally referred to them as Tatars (*Tātār* or *Tatār*) or Mongols (*Mughūl*). They applied *Tatar* to the Chinggisid-led nomads of the Mongol states, which included the *Ulus* of Jochi (Golden Horde). Mamluk chroniclers followed this Muslim practice and referred to the Jochid *ulus* (as well as the Mongols) as Tatars. For instance, al-Malaṭī, a late Mamluk historian, refers to the ruler of the *Ulus* of Jochi as “the king of the Tatars in the Land of the Qipchaqs (*malik al-tatār bi-Dasht Qibjaq*) [34]”. Ibn Taghrībirdī, a fifteenth century Mamluk historian, also refers to the ruler of the *Ulus* of Jochi as “the king of the Tatars (*ṣāhib al-Dasht wal-tatar*) [35]”.

Like the Ilkhanid and Timurid histories, some Mamluk histories also used the designation *Uzbek* to refer to the Jochid people/state from the fourteenth century. For instance, the *Ulus* of Jochi controlled by the Mongol military commander Mamay (d. 1380) is called “the territories of Uzbek (*bilād-i Uzbek*)” in the *Tārīkh al-duwal wa al-mulūk* [36].

**The “Kazakh” View of the *Ulus* of Jochi.** Perhaps, the works of Muḥammad Ḥaidar Dughlāt (d. 1551) and Qādir ‘Alī Bek Jalāyirī may tell us how the pre-modern Kazakhs viewed themselves as a Jochid

*ulus*. Although the former was a member of the Chaghatyid *ulus*, the Dughlat, the tribe to which he belonged, has now become Ulu Jüz (Senior Horde) Kazakhs. The latter was a member of the Kazakh Jalayir tribe, also now belonging to the Ulu Jüz.

Muhammad Haidar uses the terms *ulūs-i Jūchī* and *Uzbek* when referring to the Jochid people of the Qipchaq Steppe in his *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, a history of the Moghul Khanate written in Persian in 1546. For instance, he refers to Abū al-Khair Khan (r. 1428–68), the progenitor of the Uzbek Khanate, as “the greatest ruler (*pādshāh*) of the Ulu of Jochi [37]”. Like the above-mentioned Uzbek historians, Muhammad Haidar regarded the Kazakhs of his time as *Uzbeks*. He refers to the Jochid nomads led by Jānībeg Khan and Girāy Khan, the founders of the Kazakh Khanate, not only as Kazakhs, but also as “*qazaq* Uzbeks (*Uzbek-i qazāq*) [38]”. Furthermore, praising ‘Abd al-Rashīd Khan (r. 1533–60), the Moghul khan to whom he dedicated his work, for having achieved victory over the Kazakhs, Muhammad Haidar states that ‘Abd al-Rashīd Khan “triumphed over the Uzbeks (*bar Uzbek zafar yāft*) [39]”. He also refers to the domain of (Jānībeg Khans’ grandson) Tāhir Khan (r. 1523–33), that is, modern-day Kazakhstan as “Uzbekistan (*Uzbekistān*) [40]”.

Similarly, Qādir ‘Alī Bek Jalāyirī refers to the Kazakh *ulus* as *Uzbeks* in his *Jāmi‘ al-tavārīkh*, a Chaghatay Turkic history, which he wrote as a continuation of Rashīd al-Dīn’s *Jāmi‘ al-tavārīkh* in 1602 and dedicated to Boris Godunov (r. 1598–1605). For instance, listing the names of such Kazakh khans as Jānībeg Khan and Barāq Khan, Jalāyirī relates that a certain Aḥmad Khan “is called Aqmat Khan by the Uzbeks (*Özbākya Aqmat Hān tib eyürlār*) [41]”. Describing the left wing and the right wing of Urus Khan’s *ulus* called the Alach Thousand and the Qataghīn Thousand, respectively, Jalāyirī states that “these are the ones who have been Alach Thousand’s *aghās*. They are famous and well known in Uzbekya (*bu Alač mingining aḡasī bola kelgān bulār turur. Özbākya arasında ma‘lūm mashhūr turur*) [42]”.

In short, both Muhammad Haidar Dughlāt and Qādir ‘Alī Bek Jalāyirī viewed the Kazakhs and Uzbeks as belonging to the same Jochid *ulus*.

**Conclusion.** This paper has conducted a brief but broad-range examination of the Jochid identity as presented in various Ilkhanid, Timurid, Shibanid Uzbek, Crimean Tatar, Ottoman, and “Kazakh” sources composed in the Mongol and post-Mongol periods. The Jochid *ulus* (people) were referred to as *ulūs-i Jūchī* or *Jochi eli*, *Uzbek*, *Tatar*, and *Toqmaq* by their contemporaries. Although the designations *Uzbek* and *Tatar* are usually associated in modern scholarly literature with the *ulus* of Abū al-Khair Khan or the modern Uzbeks and the Crimean/Kazan Tatars, respectively, these two ethnonyms were, as demonstrated above, new generic designations attached to the Jochid *ulus*, who included the Kazakh ancestors, during the post-Mongol period.

Importantly, the Turko-Mongolian sources discussed above do not divide the Jochid *ulus* into “proto-Kazakhs” or “proto-(Shibanid) Uzbeks” or “proto-Crimean Tatars.” Furthermore, although the Jochid *ulus* later split into Shibanid Uzbeks, Kazakhs, and Crimean Tatars, among others, the latter groups were differentiated from each other only politically and not ethnically in the sources. In other words, they were viewed as one and the same people, that is, the same Jochid *ulus* by their contemporaries.

However, the modern descendants of the Jochid *ulus*, namely, the modern Crimean/Kazan Tatars, Uzbeks, and Kazakhs, among others, have now become different nations. The modern Uzbeks came into existence in 1924 when the Soviet Union created the new Uzbek nation, made up of not only the original Shibanid Uzbeks, but also sedentary Iranic-speaking elements. The modern Uzbeks speak Qarluq Turkic, a Turkic language related to Chaghatay Turkic, not Qipchaq Turkic, which was the *lingua franca* of the Jochid *ulus*. Furthermore, the modern Uzbeks view Temūr/the Timurids (and the Qarakhanids), not the Shibanid Uzbeks or the Jochid *ulus* as their progenitors. The modern Crimean Tatars are a mix of the original Tatars and various sedentary elements of Crimea, who were descended from the Goths, Greeks, Italians, Armenians, Alans, and Anatolian Turks, among others. The modern Crimean Tatars mostly speak a hybrid Turkic language (not Qipchaq Turkic) and are experiencing a process of language loss. In contrast, the modern Kazakhs speak Qipchaq Turkic, consist of the tribes and clans that descend from the Ulu of Jochi or the Mongol empire, and view themselves as heirs of the Ulu of Jochi. Consequently, one may argue that the modern Kazakhs are the most representative heirs of the Jochid *ulus*.

#### References:

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2. The Ulu of Jochi was also called the *Dasht-i Qipchāq*, or the *Qipchaq Steppe*, which was the mediaeval Islamic name for the vast steppe region that stretches from Ukraine in the west to Kazakhstan in the east. For a detailed study of the names of the Ulu of Jochi, see Ilias A. Mustakimov, “Ulu Dzhuchi

- *Zolotaya Orda: Nazvaniya Gosudarstva v Srednevekovykh Istochnikakh*,” *Туркологические исследования* 5, no. 1 (2022): 20-46.

3. The term *ulus*, originally a Mongolian word, had two meanings: “people (subject to a certain ruler)” and “state.” For the term *ulus*, see Erich Haenisch, *Manghol un niuca tobca'an* (Yüan-ch'ao pi-shi), *Die Geheime Geschichte der Mongolen aus der chinesischen Transkription* (Ausgabe Ye Teh-hui) im mongolischen Wortlaut wiederhergestellt, vol. 2, *Wörterbuch zu Manghol un niuca tobca'an* (Yüan-ch'ao pi-shi) (Leipzig, 1937; repr., Wiesbaden: F. Steiner Verlag, 1962), p. 163.

4. In this paper, the term *Shibanid Uzbek* denotes the Jochid people who conquered Transoxiana and Khorasan at the turn of the sixteenth century and formed the nomad elite in Central Asian oases.

5. Rashīd al-Dīn Faḡlallāh Hamadānī, *Jāmi' al-tavārīkh*, ed. Bahman Karīmī (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Iqbāl, 1367/1988), pp. 506–7; Rashiduddin Fazlullah, *Jami'u't-tawarikh* (Compendium of Chronicles): A History of the Mongols, trans. W. M. Thackston, 3 pts. ([Cambridge, Mass.]: Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, Harvard University, 1998-99), p. 348.

6. Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmi' al-tavārīkh*, p. 408; Rashiduddin, *Jami'u't-tawarikh*, 279. For the identification of Bāyqū with Mayqī Biy by Kazakh historians, see “Köne türikter men qazaqatar žaiyndağy Moñğol fol'klorlyq derektemeleri,” in *Derektemeler men murağattyq qūzattar*, trans. and ed. M. A. Qūl-Mūhammed and others, *Qazaqstan tarihy turaly Moñğol derektemeler 3* (Almaty: Dayk, 2006), p. 144. Mayqī Biy is presented in Mashkhur Zhusup Kupeev's version of the Alasha Khan legend as someone who played an important role in the foundation of the first Kazakh state as Alasha Khan's guardian. For the version of Alasha Khan legend collected by Mashkhur Zhusup Kupeev, see Zh. O. Artykbaev, *Materialy k istorii pravyyashchego doma Kazakhov* (Almaty: Galym, 2001), pp. 16–17.

7. Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmi' al-tavārīkh*, p. 132; Rashiduddin, *Jami'u't-tawarikh*, 93.

8. See Joo-Yup Lee, *Qazaqliq, or Ambitious Brigandage, and the Formation of the Qazaqs: State and Identity in post-Mongol Central Eurasia* (Leiden: Brill, 2016), pp. 121–24.

9. Zain al-Dīn b. Ḥamd Allāh Mustaufī Qazvīnī, “Tārīkh-i guzīda,” in *Sbornik materialov, otnosyashchikhsya k istorii Zolotoy ordy*, Vol. 2, *Iz vlecheniya iz persidskikh sochineniy*, trans. and ed. V. G. Tizengauzen (Moscow and Leningrad: Izd-vo Akademiya nauk SSSR, 1941), pp. 221–22 (text), p. 95 (trans.).

10. Zain al-Dīn, “Tārīkh-i guzīda,” p. 226 (text), p. 97 (trans.).

11. Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī, *Zafar-nāma: Tārīkh-i 'umūmī mufaḡḡil-i Irān dar daura-i Tīmūrīyān*, ed. Muḡammad 'Abbāsī (Tehran: shirkat-i saḡāmī-i chāp-i rangīn, 1336/1957), 1:206.

12. Yazdī, *Zafar-nāma*, 1:541.

13. Yazdī, *Zafar-nāma*, 2:34.

14. Nizām al-Dīn Shāmī, *Histoire des conquêtes de Tamerlan intitulée Zafarnāma*, par Nizāmuddīn Šāmī, vol. 1, *Texte persan du Zafarnāma*, ed. F. Tauer (Prague: Oriental Institute, 1937), p. 71.

15. Mu'īn al-Dīn Naṡanzī, *Muntakhab al-tavārīkh-i Mu'īnī*, ed. Jean Aubin (Tehran: Khayyam, 1336/1957), p. 93

16. Naṡanzī, *Muntakhab al-tavārīkh-i Mu'īnī*, p. 349.

17. Naṡanzī, *Muntakhab al-tavārīkh-i Mu'īnī*, p. 427.

18. The seventeenth-century Buddhist Mongolian chroniclers employed the term *Toymay* for the nomads of the Qipchaq Steppe. For instance, in his *Erdeni-yin Tobci*, Ssanang Ssetsen refers to the nomads of the Jochid Ulus during the reigns of Esen Taishi (r. 1439–55) and the Kazakh khan Ḥaqq Naṡar (r. 1538–80) as *Toymay* without distinction. See Ssanang Ssetsen, *Erdeni-yin Tobci* ('Precious Summary'): A Mongolian Chronicle of 1662, ed. M. Gō, I. de Rachewiltz, J. R. Krueger, and B. Ulaan, vol. 1, *The Urga Text* (Canberra: The Australian National University, 1990), p. 113, 141, 142. In mentioning the names of several Jochid khans, Lubsangdanjin, the author of the *Altan Tobci*, also designates both the Uzbek khan Muḡammad Shībānī and the Kazakh khan Ḥaqq Naṡar as *Toymay*. Lubsangdanjin, *Altan Tobci: eine mongolische Chronik des XVII. Jahrhunderts von Blo bzan bstan 'jin*, ed. Hans-Peter Vietze and Gendeng Lubsang (Tokyo: Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, 1992), p. 90.

19. Naṡanzī, *Muntakhab al-tavārīkh-i Mu'īnī*, p. 425, 336.

20. Ötämiš Ḥājī, *Čingīz-Nāma: Introduction, Annotated Translation, Transcription and Critical Text*, trans. and ed. Takushi Kawaguchi and Hiroyuki Nagamine, *Studia Culturae Islamicae* 94 (Tokyo: Research Institute for Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, 2008), p. 86 (49a-b).

21. Aboul-Ghāzi Béhādour Khān, *Histoire des Mongols et des Tatares*, trans. Petr I. Desmaisons (St. Petersburg: 1871–1874; repr., Amsterdam: Philo, 1970), pp. 174–75 (text), p. 18 (trans.).

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41.

23. Khunjī, *Mihmān-nāma-i Bukhārā*, p. 171.

24. *In medieval Europe, Tatar was distorted to “Tartar,” a name that depicts the Mongols as coming from Tartarus (hell).*

<sup>25.</sup> *For the Crimean Tatar diplomatic letters, see Uğur Ünal and Kemal Gürülkan, Osmanlı belgelerinde Kırım Hanlığı: Crimean Khanate in Ottoman Documents (Istanbul: T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, 2013).*

<sup>26.</sup> Seyid-Mukhammed Rıza, *Sem' planet v izvestiyakh o korolyakh tatarskikh*, vol. 1, *Transliteratsiya*, ed. R.R. Abduzhemilev (Kazan: Institut istorii im. SH. Mardzhani AN RT, 2019), pp. 93–94.

<sup>27.</sup> Seyid-Mukhammed Rıza, *Sem' planet v izvestiyakh o korolyakh tatarskikh*, p. 87.

<sup>28.</sup> Abdulgaffar Kyrymi, *Umdet al-Akhbar*, vol. 1, *Transkripsiya, facsimile*, ed. I. M. Mirgaleyev (Kazan, Russia: Institut istorii im. SH. Mardzhani AN RT, 2014), p. 67; vol. 2, *Perevod*, trans. Yu. N. Karimovoy and I. M. Mirgaleyev (Kazan, Russia: Institut istorii im. SH. Mardzhani An RT, 2018), p. 48.

<sup>29.</sup> Abdulgaffar Kyrymi, *Umdet al-Akhbar*, pp. 1:92, 2:68.

<sup>30.</sup> Abdulgaffar Kyrymi, *Umdet al-Akhbar*, pp. 1:76, 2:55.

<sup>31.</sup> Gelibolulu Mustafa Âlî, *Kühü'l-ahbâr*, ed. Derya Örs (Istanbul: Bilnet Matbaacılık ve Yayıncılık A.Ş., 2021), vol. 3, pp. 606–8.

<sup>32.</sup> Gelibolulu Mustafa Âlî, *Kühü'l-ahbâr*, vol. 1, p. 69. *Temür was regarded as a Mongol by his contemporaries including the Ottomans. On Temür's Mongol identity, see Joo-Yup Lee, “The Timurid View of the Mongols: An Examination of the Mongol Identity of the Timurids.” Iran Namag 6, nos. 3–4 (2021): 200–16.*

<sup>33.</sup> Evliya Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, ed. Yücel Dağlı, Seyit Ali Kahraman, and Robert Dankoff (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2000), vol. 7, p. 251.

34. 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ ibn Khalīl ibn Shāhīn al-Zāhirī al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal fī Dhayl al-Duwal*, ed. 'Umar 'Abd al-Salām Tadmurī (Beirut and Şaydā: Al-Maktaba al-'Aşriyya, 2002), 2:332. *This English translation is quoted from Koby Yosef, “Cross-Boundary Hatred: (Changing) Attitudes towards Mongol and ‘Christian’ Mamlūks in the Mamluk Sultanate,” in The Mamluk Sultanate from the Perspective of Regional and World History: Economic, Social and Cultural Development in an Era of Increasing International Interaction and Competition, ed. Reuven Amitai and Stephan Conermann (Göttingen: Bonn University Press, 2019), p. 180.*

35. See Yūsuf Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Manhal al-Şāfi wal-Mustawfā ba'da al-Wāfi*, ed. Muḥammad Amīn (Cairo: Al-Hay'a al-Miṣriyya al-'Āmma lil-Kitāb, 1984–2006), 4:107. *This English translation is quoted from Yosef, “Cross-Boundary Hatred,” p. 183n221.*

36. Ibn al-Furāt, “*Tārīkh al-duwal wa al-mulūk*,” in *Sbornik materialov, odnosyashchikhsya k istorii Zolotoy ordy*, vol. 1, *izvlecheniya iz sochineniy arabskikh*, trans. and ed. V. G. Tizengauzen (St. Petersburg: 1884), p. 339 (text), p. 350 (trans.).

37. Muḥammad Ḥaidar Dughlāt Mīrzā, *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, ed. 'Abbāsquṭī Ghaffārī Fard (Tehran: Mīrās-i Maktūb, 2004), pp. 119–120.

38. Muḥammad Ḥaidar Dughlāt, *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, p. 187.

39. Muḥammad Ḥaidar Dughlāt, *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, p. 187.

<sup>40.</sup> Muḥammad Ḥaidar Dughlāt, *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, p. 541.

<sup>41.</sup> Qādir 'Alī Bek Jalāyirī, *Sbornik letopisei: Tatarskii tekst, s russkim predisloviem*, ed. I. Berezin (Kazan, 1854), p. 164.

42. Qādir 'Alī Bek Jalāyirī, *Sbornik letopisei*, p. 171.

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2. *The Ulus of Jochi was also called the Dasht-I Qipchaq, or the Qipchaq Steppe, which was the mediaeval Islamic name for the vast steppe region that stretches from Ukraine in the west to Kazakhstan in the east. For a detailed study of the names of the Ulus of Jochi, see Ilias A. Mustakimov, “Ulus Dzhuchi - Zolotaya Orda: Nazvaniya Gosudarstva v Srednevekovykh Istochnikakh,” Тюркологические исследования 5, no. 1 (2022): 20-46.*

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4. In this paper, the term *Shibanid Uzbek* denotes the *Jochid* people who conquered *Transoxiana* and *Khorasan* at the turn of the sixteenth century and formed the nomad elite in *Central Asian oases*.
5. Rashid al-Din Fazlallah Hamadani, *Jami' al-tavarikh*, ed. Bahman Karimi (Tehran: Intisharat-i Iqbal, 1367/1988), pp. 506–7; Rashiduddin Fazlullah, *Jami'u't-tawarikh* (*Compendium of Chronicles*): A History of the Mongols, trans. W. M. Thackston, 3 pts. ([Cambridge, Mass.]: Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, Harvard University, 1998-99), p. 348.
6. Rashid al-Din, *Jami' al-tavarikh*, p. 408; Rashiduddin, *Jami'u't-tawarikh*, 279. For the identification of Bayqu with Mayqi Biy by Kazakh historians, see “Kone turikter men qazaqtar zaiyndagy Mongol fol'klorlyq derektemeleri,” in *Derektemeler men muragattyq quzattar*, trans. and ed. M. A. Qul-Muhammed and others, *Qazaqstan tarihy turaly Mongol derektemeler 3* (Almaty: Dayk, 2006), p. 144. Mayqi Biy is presented in Mashkhur Zhusup Kupeev's version of the Alasha Khan legend as someone who played an important role in the foundation of the first Kazakh state as Alasha Khan's guardian. For the version of Alasha Khan legend collected by Mashkhur Zhusup Kupeev, see Zh. O. Artykbaev, *Materialy k istorii pravyyashchego doma Kazakhov* (Almaty: Galym, 2001), pp. 16–17.
7. Rashid al-Din, *Jami' al-tavarikh*, p. 132; Rashiduddin, *Jami'u't-tawarikh*, 93.
8. See Joo-Yup Lee, *Qazaqliq, or Ambitious Brigandage, and the Formation of the Qazaqs: State and Identity in post-Mongol Central Eurasia* (Leiden: Brill, 2016), pp. 121–24.
9. Zain al-Din b. Hamd Allah Mustaufi Qazvini, “*Tarikh-i guzida*,” in *Sbornik materialov, otnosyashchikhsya k istorii Zolotoy ordy*, Vol. 2, *Iz vlecheniya iz persidskikh sochineniy*, trans. and ed. V. G. Tizengauzen (Moscow and Leningrad: Izd-vo Akademiya nauk SSSR, 1941), pp. 221–22 (text), p. 95 (trans.).
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12. Yazdi, *Zafar-nama*, 1:541.
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16. Naʿanzi, *Muntakhab al-tavarikh-i Mu'ini*, p. 349.
17. Naʿanzi, *Muntakhab al-tavarikh-i Mu'ini*, p. 427.
18. The seventeenth-century Buddhist Mongolian chroniclers employed the term *Toymay* for the nomads of the *Qipchaq Steppe*. For instance, in his *Erdeni-yin Tobci*, Ssanang Ssetsen refers to the nomads of the *Jochid Ulus* during the reigns of *Esen Taishi* (r. 1439–55) and the *Kazakh khan Haqq Nazar* (r. 1538–80) as *Toymay* without distinction. See Ssanang Ssetsen, *Erdeni-yin Tobci* ('*Precious Summary*): A Mongolian Chronicle of 1662, ed. M. Go, I. de Rachewiltz, J. R. Krueger, and B. Ulaan, vol. 1, *The Urga Text* (Canberra: The Australian National University, 1990), p. 113, 141, 142. In mentioning the names of several *Jochid khans*, *Lubsangdanjin*, the author of the *Altan Tobci*, also designates both the *Uzbek khan Muhammad Shibani* and the *Kazakh khan Haqq Nazar* as *Toymay*. *Lubsangdanjin, Altan Tobci: eine mongolische Chronik des XVII. Jahrhunderts von Blo bzan bstan 'jin*, ed. Hans-Peter Vietze and Gendeng Lubsang (Tokyo: Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, 1992), p. 90.
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24. In medieval Europe, *Tatar* was distorted to “*Tartar*,” a name that depicts the Mongols as coming from *Tartarus* (hell).
25. For the *Crimean Tatar* diplomatic letters, see Ugur Unal and Kemal Gurulkan, *Osmanlı belgelerinde Kırım Hanlığı: Crimean Khanate in Ottoman Documents* (Istanbul: T.C. Basbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Muudurlugu, 2013).
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31. Gelibolulu Mustafa Ali, *Kunhu'l-ahbar*, ed. Derya Ors (Istanbul: Bilnet Matbaacılık ve Yayıncılık A.Sh., 2021), vol. 3, pp. 606–8.
32. Gelibolulu Mustafa Ali, *Kunhu l-ahbar*, vol. 1, p. 69. Temur was regarded as a Mongol by his contemporaries including the Ottomans. On Temur's Mongol identity, see Joo-Yup Lee, "The Timurid View of the Mongols: An Examination of the Mongol Identity of the Timurids." *Iran Namag* 6, nos. 3–4 (2021): 200–16.
33. Evliya Kelebi, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, ed. Yucel Dağlı, Seyit Ali Kahraman, and Robert Dankoff (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2000), vol. 7, p. 251.
34. 'Abd al-Basit ibn Khalil ibn Shahin al-Zahiri al-Malati, *Nayl al-Amal fi Dhayl al-Duwal*, ed. 'Umar 'Abd al-Salam Tadmuri (Beirut and Şayda: Al-Maktaba al-'Aşriyya, 2002), 2:332. This English translation is quoted from Koby Yosef, "Cross-Boundary Hatred: (Changing) Attitudes towards Mongol and 'Christian' Mamluks in the Mamluk Sultanate," in *The Mamluk Sultanate from the Perspective of Regional and World History: Economic, Social and Cultural Development in an Era of Increasing International Interaction and Competition*, ed. Reuven Amitai and Stephan Conermann (Göttingen: Bonn University Press, 2019), p. 180.
35. See Yusuf Ibn Taghribirdi, *al-Manhal al-Şafi wal-Mustawfa ba'da al-Wafi*, ed. Muḥammad Amin (Cairo: Al-Hay a al-Miṣriyya al-'Amm lil-Kitab, 1984–2006), 4:107. This English translation is quoted from Yosef, "Cross-Boundary Hatred," p. 183n221.
36. Ibn al-Furat, "Tarikh al-duwal wa al-muluk," in *Sbornik materialov, otnosyashchikhsya k istorii Zolotoy ordy*, vol. 1, *izvlecheniya iz sochineniy arabskikh*, trans. and ed. V. G. Tizengauzen (St. Petersburg: 1884), p. 339 (text), p. 350 (trans.).
37. Muḥammad Ḥaidar Dughlat Mirza, *Tarikh-i Rashidi*, ed. Abbasquli Ghaffari Fard (Tehran: Miras-i Maktub, 2004), pp. 119–120.
38. Muḥammad Ḥaidar Dughlat, *Tarikh-i Rashidi*, p. 187.
39. Muḥammad Ḥaidar Dughlat, *Tarikh-i Rashidi*, p. 187.
40. Muḥammad Ḥaidar Dughlat, *Tarikh-i Rashidi*, p. 541.
41. Qadir Ali Bek Jalayiri, *Sbornik letopisei: Tatarskii tekst, s russkim predisloviem*, ed. I. Berezin (Kazan, 1854), p. 164.
42. Qadir Ali Bek Jalayiri, *Sbornik letopisei*, p. 171.