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## “TARIKH-I RASHIDI” AS A SOURCE ON THE HISTORY OF JOCHI ULUS (THE GOLDEN HORDE)

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**Abstract:** Annotation. The objective of this article is to study information from Tarikh-i Rashidi regarding the history of the Golden Horde. The main research material of the study was the complete translation of Tarikh-i Rashidi, carried out in the 1990s. The author put forward 5 different theses regarding the history of the Golden Horde. The first thesis concerns the nomadic population of the Golden Horde. According to Tarikh-i Rashidi, they were called Uzbeks. Based on the materials, these Uzbeks were the Golden Horde Tatars. The second thesis concerns the structure of army of Mohammed Sheibani. Based on the materials, 50-60% of the troops of Muhammad Sheibani were moguls, and there were about 20 thousand soldiers of the Golden Horde nomads. The third thesis concerns the relation of the Mogul tribe Duglat and the Kazakh tribe Dulat. Based on the materials, the Kazakh Dulats are the descendants of the Moghulistan Duglats. The fourth thesis concerns the origin of Buruj oylan. He was known as the son of Abulkhair Khan. Buruj oylan can be identified with Shaikh-Haydar, who really fought for power in the eastern part of the Ulus Jochi. The fifth thesis concerns the number of Kazakhs. According to Tarikh-i Rashidi, the Kazakhs completely disappeared from the face of the earth in 16th century. There is no physical disappearance of the Kazakhs. Different parts of the Kazakh Khanate submitted to different neighboring states and therefore they “politically” disappeared for a while, but as the geopolitical situation changed, the Kazakhs returned to the historical arena.

**Keywords:** Ulus Jochi, Uzbeks, Moguls, Tarikh-i Rashidi, Muhammad Mirza Duglat, Abulkhair Khan, the Golden Horde.

### INTRODUCTION

The general research topic, goals and objectives of the planned work, theoretical and practical significance, the most famous and authoritative publications on the topic are given under a study, also unsolved problems are indicated. This section of the manuscript becomes an independent text.

“Tarikh-i Rashidi” was written in the 16th century. The author of this work is Mirza Muhammad Haydar (1449-1551), who came from the Mogul tribe of Duglat. Mirza Muhammad Haydar belonged to the ruling elite of Moghulistan. His ancestors since 1346 were the main tribe in Moghulistan. Beklyaribeks of this state were selected from among them. Many privileges have been bestowed upon the Duglat tribe. Also, since the time of Chagatai, they were hereditary rulers of the Manglai Sube ulus and subsequently the rulers of a part of eastern Turkestan. Also, in addition to “Tarikh-i Rashidi” Mirza Muhammad Haydar wrote a large poem “Djahan Name”, in which, unfortunately, there is almost no original historical information.

“Tarikh-i Rashidi” is well known among specialists. But at the same time, despite this, information from “Tarikh-i Rashidi” did not often become an object of close study. In the preface to the translation of certain parts of “Tarikh-i Rashidi” by V.P. Yudin in 1969, he noted the importance of this source for the history of the region.

The importance of this source was also noted by other researchers. So V. Rakhmanov wrote: *“Despite the exceptional importance of this work as a source on the history of a vast region ... the materials contained in it have not yet been fully used, as indicated by the researchers who have addressed to it”* [31, p. 5].

As the translators (A. Urunbaev, R.P. Djalilova, and L.M. Epifanova) noted this work: *“This is a unique primary source in the study of the past of the peoples of Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, East Turkestan (present-day Xinjiang, China) and partially Afghanistan, Tibet, India; it contains varied and original material on the history of the Uzbeks, Kazakhs, Kyrgyz, Oirats (Kalmaks) and Uighurs, shedding light on their relationship in the Middle Ages”* [31, p. 8].

Along with Majmu at-Tawarikh [37], Tarikh-i Rashidi is one of the main primary sources on the history of the Moguls.

The first translation of this work was carried out in the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. V. Erskine, while studying the history of Eastern Turkestan and Central Asia of the 15<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> centuries, quoted excerpts from “Tarikh-i Rashidi”.

The first translations of parts of this work into Russian were carried out by V.V. Velyaminov-Zernov in 1864 [9]. After him, information from “Tarikh-i Rashidi” was used by A.N. Kuropatkin [22] and V.I. Masalsky [24].

In 1895, the orientalist N. Elias and D. Ross completely translated this source into English [49]. This translation was later reprinted more than once. After the release of this translation, V.V. Bartold, called “Tarikh-i Rashidi” as “perhaps the most curious monument of Muslim historical literature of the 16<sup>th</sup> century” [7].

And already in 1899, F.H. Skrine and E.D. Ross used data from “Tarikh-i Rashidi” on the history of the Moguls and Moghulistan.

Further, the study of “Tarikh-i Rashidi” as a historical source was not intensive. In 1935, translations of individual parts from “Tarikh-i Rashidi” were published [5]. In 1937, Ahmed-Zaki Validi Togan voiced his attitude to this source [48].

H.M. Elliot, while reconstructing the history of India, actively involved “Tarikh-i Rashidi” for his research.

The study of the work of Mirza Mohammed Haydar Duglati took place in the Uzbek SSR. Among the active scientists who have studied this source, it is worth noting B.A. Akhmedov and R.G. Mukminov [32]. Also, “Tarikh-i Rashid” was used to write the “History of the Uzbek SSR” and other later versions of the academic history of Uzbekistan.

In 1969, materials on the history of the Kazakh Khanates of the 15<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> centuries were published in Kazakhstan [25]. Comments and translations of extracts from “Tarikh-i Rashidi” were published in this collection. So the preface to the translation was written by V.P. Yudin, extracts from the first notes were carried out by K.A. Pishchulina, from the second notes was carried out by N.N. Mingulov. [25, p. 191-231].

After the publication of Materials on the history of the Kazakh Khanates, interest in this source has grown. So in the 1970s-1980s, on the basis of translation of excerpts from “Tarikh-i Rashidi”, articles by O.F. Akimushin on the relationship of Kazakhs and

Uzbeks with moguls [2, p. 233-248] and about the chronology of the Chagataids' reign [3, p. 156-164], articles by T.I. Sultanov about the time of the Kazakh Khanate [40] and the literary history of the monument [42], N.N. Tumanovich about the Kirghiz according to the data of "Tarikh-i Rashidi" [44], as well as the monograph by K.A. Pishchulina on the territory of South-East Kazakhstan in the 14<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> centuries [34] and her article on the relationship of Kazakh rulers with the Shibanids and Mogul Chagataids [35].

**DISCUSSIONS.** Below designated 5 groups of information from "Tarikh-i Rashidi" that can be useful for understanding certain aspects of the history of the Jochi Ulus.

1. Correlation of the terms "Uzbek" and "Tatar".

It is worth noting here that the term "Tatar" is mentioned in "Tarikh-i Rashidi" only once. Let's quote this passage: "Chapter 68. Extract from "Ta'rih-i Jahangushay" ("History of the conqueror of the world"), the manager of the divan of Khoja Atamalik 'Alaaddin Muhammad Juvayni, <may Allah cover him with his forgiveness>, who, describing Mogolistan, writes so: In "Ta'rih-i Jahangushai" it is written that the original abode of the Tatars [as it is said in the ayat]" [31 p, 498]. The following describes the places of residence of the Mongols.

Initially, the author explains that the term "Tatar" is not his, and he writes it, as it was "said in the ayat". There are also a few points worth highlighting here. Mirza Muhammad Haydar did not personally mention the term "Tatar". The only time he used it goes back to Juvayni's writing. Further, he actually equates the term "Tatar" with the ethnonym "Mogol" ("inhabitant of Mogolistan"). Further, Mogolistan is identical to the place where Genghis Khan and the Mughals came from, which is not true from the point of view of modern knowledge about the localization of historical Mongolia and Moghulistan.

Further, there are references to the country of Uzbeks: "Another group - Kaluchi, Bulgach and a number of other tribes - went to Abu-l-Khair in Uzbekistan". This passage says that individual Mogul tribes went to Ulus Jochi, namely to the Golden Horde Khan Abulkhair, which indicates a certain mobility of the tribes of Ulus Jochi and Moghulistan, ethnic differences between which were not so significant.

It should be noted that in the sixty-eighth chapter when the author describes the borders of Mogolistan, he talks about such rivers as Ila (Ili), Emil, Irtish, Chulak, Narin. He also claims that Lake Balkhash (Kukcha Tengiz) was the border between Uzbeks and Moguls.

Also in the same chapter, the author notes that the Atil River flows in the possession of the Uzbeks ("among the Uzbeks it is known as Idil") and it flows into the Kulzum (Caspian Sea), which once again confirms that the Uzbeks in the text of "Tarikh-i Rashidi" are identical to the "Golden Horde Tatars".

Since the author was chronologically distant from this era, plus he himself expressed doubts about his date in the text ("and Allah knows best"), it is quite possible that T.I. Sultanov have greater scientific weight here. At the same time, the figure of 200 thousand Uzbek-Cossacks is credible. Also interesting is the date of 1533-1534, with which the author marks the last peak of the Kazakhs' power. After these years, the Kazakh Khanate actually disintegrated when some of its parts submitted to the Nogai Horde, to the Central Asian Shibanids or Mogul rulers.

It is worth noting here that in the scientific tradition it is customary to consider the Uzbeks to be the population of only the eastern part of the Ulus Jochi, which is absolutely not true, from the point of view of sources, including from the point of view of the author of “Tarih-i Rashidi”.

2. Resettlement of Uzbeks (the “Golden Horde Tatars”) from Ulus Jochi (the “Golden Horde”) to Central Asia.

In historiography, there were quite a lot of discussions about the number of Uzbeks who, together with Muhammad Sheibani, left for Central Asia. So, for example, the classic of Kazakhstan oriental studies K.A. Pishchulina believed that their number was not high [1, p. 290].

Another leading figure of oriental studies T.I. Sultanov believes that the number of Uzbeks resettled in Central Asia was from 40 to 60 thousand soldiers [39, p. 20], and if we assume that their resettlement was with their families, then the number of Uzbeks who left for Central Asia with Mohammed Sheibani ranged from 240 to 360 thousand people [39 p. 21]. Zh.M. Sabitov believed that the number of Uzbeks of Mohammed Sheibani was 10 thousand soldiers (or 50 thousand people) [36].

Thus, two points of view were formed about the number of Uzbeks who left the Jochi Ulus for Central Asia. In our opinion, both estimates are slightly inaccurate. Information from “Tarikh-i Rashidi” is very helpful in this matter. So in one of the chapters it is written the following: *“Shahibek Khan took Bukhara and Samarkand, and his army from two hundred - three hundred [people] reached fifty thousand and, perhaps, even sixty thousand .... Shahibek Khan took the Khan prisoner and released him. He split off as many people as he could from the army of the khans, and thirty thousand Moguls were added to his Uzbek army”*.

Thus, it can be argued that the thesis about 240-360 thousand of the Golden Horde nomads went to Central Asia with Mohammed Sheibani is not true. This thesis contradicts the sources, including the information of “Tarikh-i Rashidi”.

3. Identity or not identity of the Mogul tribe of Duglat and the Kazakh tribe Dulat.

Muhammad Mirza Haydar Duglat came from the Mogul tribe of Duglat. The ancestors of this tribe were in the Chagatai Ulus and owned the area of Manglai-Sube.

In historiography of Kazakhstan, it is widely believed that a part of the Mogul tribe Duglat remained among the Kazakhs, where it is known as Dulat. Linguistic arguments are presented in favor of this point of view (names are similar). Also, one of the important arguments here is that both tribes lived in close geographical locations, on the territory of the former Moghulistan.

It is worth noting one drawback of this concept. Muhammad Mirza Haydar Duglat very often writes about the transitions of various Mogul tribes to the Uzbeks and Oirats, while he describes the distant times for himself. However, he never wrote that the Duglat tribe passed to the Kazakhs. If he does not give such information about his tribe, this fact is alarming. Although, this incident has a completely normal explanation.

Based on the materials, the point of view that Duglats and Dulats are identical is more correct here. At the same time, it is worth making an amendment here, based on the materials, the transition of the Duglats to the Kazakhs did not take place in the 15<sup>th</sup> - first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, but after the death of Muhammad Mirza Haydar Duglat, therefore there is not a single mention of such a transition in his chronicles. As you know, in Mogulia, the Duglats lost their influence over time; it is quite possible to explain this by

the transfer of a part of the Duglat to the Kazakh Khanate. The decrease in the number of Duglat in Mogulia due to their outflow to the Kazakh Khanate led to a decline in their influence.

4. Unique information about Buruj oglan, the son of Abulkhair Khan.

In the forty-sixth chapter, there is a unique mention of the Juchid Buruj oglan, who is named there the son of Abulkhair Khan. It should be noted that in other sources there are no children with this name among the sons of Abulkhair Khan.

*When Buruj oglan heard the sound of a horn and saw six people with a banner, he jumped up to mount his horse, [however] his equestrian, akhtachi and a horse, were seized on the spot by the maids and women jumped out of the house and seized Buruj oglan himself. At that moment, the khan arrived and ordered that his head be cut off and planted on a spear. Of those twenty thousand Uzbeks, few survived. The khan, having won the victory, settled in his camp, and when the next day the army gathered, he began to pursue them. Those of the sultans of Abu-l-Khair khan who survived just fled” [31, p. 134-135].*

Since Abulkhair Khan does not have a son with that name in other sources, many scholars began to consider various explanations for this contradiction. One of the main versions was the version about that. That this Buruj oglan is the famous Bureke oglan, the son of Yadiger Khan, who ruled with the help of the Nogais. There is one contradiction here, according to other sources Bureke oglan was killed in a different way (he was killed by Mohammed Sheibani) and at another time. There were no other versions about this “son of Abulkhair Khan”.

5. The population of Kazakhs in the work of Tarikh-i Rashidi and their disappearance.

The population of Kazakhs in Tarikh-i Rashidi varied greatly. In the beginning it is said that Zhanibek and Kerey had 200 thousand soldiers who came to them after the death of Abulkhair Khan. Further, under Kasym Khan, the number of Kazakhs increased to 1 million people. But after the death of Kasym Khan, the number of Kazakhs began to steadily decline, first to 400 thousand, and then to 200 thousand, in the end, according to Muhammad Khaidar Duglat, Kazakhs did not remain on earth at all.

It is very interesting that very few researchers at least somehow tried to explain this thesis from Tarikh-i Rashidi. Thus, some pre-revolutionary authors admitted that there was no connection at all between the Kazakhs of Zhanibek and Kerey and the Kazakhs of Shigai and Yesim, since by the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, according to Tarikh-i Rashidi, there were no Kazakhs left at all on earth. But here we see only an uncritical perception of the information of this primary source. Based on the materials, the sharp decline in the population of Kazakhs from one million to zero can be explained by the following factors:

5.1. Kazakh, at the time, like many other ethnic terms, was, first of all, not an ethnonym, but a political name. That is, if the Golden Horde nomad recognized the power of the Nogai biys, then he was called a Nogai. If he changed citizenship and became a subject of the descendants of Urus-khan, then he was called a Kazakh or an Uzbek-Kazakh.

5.2. A sharp reduction in the population of “Kazakhs” in this way should be interpreted not as the physical extermination of Kazakhs, but as a loss of sovereignty,



when the former Kazakhs, recognizing the citizenship of the Nogai, Uzbeks and Moguls, ceased to be politically Kazakhs.

**CONCLUSION.** Above, outlined the main theses about the value of Tarikh-i Rashidi as a source about the history of the Jochi ulus. Among them, four groups of unique information can be distinguished that allow us to take a fresh look at the history of the Golden Horde.

The second group of information includes information about the resettlement of nomads from Ulus Jochi and Mogulistan to Central Asia. In Soviet times, the thesis was spread about the resettlement of 240-360 thousand nomads from the Golden Horde to Central Asia. But judging by the data of Tarikh-i Rashidi, this figure should be at least twice as low. According to Tarikh-i Rashidi, at least half of Mohammed Sheibani's troops were moguls.

The third group of unique information includes information about Buruj oylan, the son of Abulkhair Khan. We do not find Jochi with such a genealogy and name in other sources. Therefore, this unique information needs explanation. From this point of view, Buruj oylan should be understood as Shaikh-Haydar-khan, the son of Abulkhair-khan.

Tarikh-i Rashidi is a unique source for the history of Central Asia. It contains a large amount of unique information about the history of this region. Regarding the Golden Horde, cited excerpts from Tarikh-i Rashidi, which allow us to see in a new way individual episodes of the history of Ulus Jochi. In general, Tarikh-i Rashidi is a unique historical source that must be used to reconstruct the history of the eastern part of the Jochi Ulus in the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> - first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> centuries.

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#### **«Тарих-и Рашиди» Жошы Ұлысы тарихының дерекнамасы ретінде**

**Аңдатпа.** Бұл мақаланың мақсаты - Тарих-и Рашидидің Алтын Орда тарихына қатысты мәліметтерін зерттеу. Зерттеудің негізгі материалы 1990 жылдары жүзеге асырылған және 2010 жылдары қайта қаралған Тарих-и Рашидидің толық аудармасы болды. Тарих-и Рашиди деректерін талдау нәтижесінде автор Алтын Орда тарихына қатысты 5 түрлі тезис ұсынды. Бірінші тезис Алтын Орданың көшпелі тұрғындарына қатысты. Тарих-и Рашидидің айтуы бойынша оларды өзбек деп атаған. Зерттелген материалдар бойынша бұл өзбектер Алтын Орда татарлары. Екінші тезис Мұхаммед Шейбанимен бірге қоныс аударған Алтын Орда көшпенділерінің санына қатысты. Зерттелген материалдар бойынша Мұхаммед Шейбани әскерлерінің 50-60%-ы моғолдар болған, ал Алтын Орда көшпенділерінің 20 мыңға жуық сарбазы болған. Үшінші тезис моғол тайпасы Дуглат пен қазақтың Дулат тайпасының сәйкестігі туралы мәселеге қатысты. Зерттелген материалдар бойынша қазақ дулаттары - Моғолстан Дуглатының ұрпақтары. Төртінші тезис Джохид Бурудж огланға қатысты. Ол Қара-Тоқайда 1472-1473 жылдары Моғолстан ханының қолынан қаза тапты. Тарих-и Рашидиде оны Әбілқайыр ханның ұлы деп атайды. Мақала авторының пікірінше, бұл Бурудж огланы Жошы Ұлысының шығыс бөлігінде билік үшін шынымен күрескен Шайх-Хайдармен анықтауға

болады. Бесінші тезис қазақтардың санына қатысты. Тарих-и Рашидидің айтуы бойынша, қазақтардың саны 1 миллионға жетті, бірақ бір сәтте қазақтар жер бетінен мүлдем жоғалып кетті. Қазақтардың жойылып кетуінің бірден-бір түсіндірмесі - Қазақ хандығының әр түрлі бөліктері әр түрлі көрші мемлекеттерге бағынады және сондықтан олар біраз уақыт «саяси» түрде жоғалып кетеді, бірақ геосаяси жағдай өзгерген сайын қазақтар тарихи аренаға қайта оралады. XVI ғасырда қазақтардың жоғалып кетуі болған жоқ.

**Кілт сөздер.** Жошы Ұлысы, өзбектер, моголдар, Тарих-и Рашиди, Мұхаммед Мырза Дуглат, Әбілқайыр хан, Алтын Орда.

### **«Тарих-и Рашиди» как источник по истории Улуса Джучи**

**Аннотация.** Целью данной статьи является изучение сведений из Тарих-и Рашиди касательно истории Золотой Орды. Главным материалом исследования стал полный перевод Тарих-и Рашиди, осуществленный в 1990-ых годах и корректурованный в 2010-ых годах. В результате анализа данных Тарих-и Рашиди автор выдвинул 5 разных тезисов касательно истории Золотой Орды. Первый тезис касается кочевого населения Золотой Орды. Согласно Тарих-и Рашиди их называли узбеками. По изученным материалам, данные узбеки это и есть золотоордынские татары. Второй тезис касается численности золотоордынских кочевников, которые переселились вместе с Мухаммедом Шейбани. По изученным материалам, 50-60 % войска Мухаммеда Шейбани составляли могулы, а золотоордынских кочевников было около 20 тысяч воинов. Третий тезис касается вопроса о тождестве могульского племени Дуглат и казахского племени Дулат. По изученным материалам, казахские Дулаты являются потомками могулистанских Дуглатов. Четвертый тезис касается джучида Бурудж оглана. Он погиб в Кара-тукае в 1472-1473 годах от рук могульского хана. В Тарих-и Рашиди он назван сыном Абулхаир-хана. По мнению автора статьи, данного Бурудж оглана можно отождествить с Шайх-Хайдаром, который действительно боролся за власть в восточной части Улуса Джучи. Пятый тезис касается численности казахов. Согласно Тарих-и Рашиди численность казахов доходила до 1 миллиона человек, но в какой-то момент казахи вовсе исчезли с лица земли. Единственным объяснением исчезновения казахов является то, что разные части Казахского ханства подчинились разным соседним государствам и поэтому они «политически» на время исчезли, но по мере изменения геополитической ситуации, казахи вернулись на историческую арену. Никакого физического исчезновения казахов в 16 веке не было.

**Ключевые слова.** Улус Джучи, узбеки, могулы, Тарих-и Рашиди, Мухаммед Мирза Дуглат, Абулхаир-хан, Золотая орда.

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