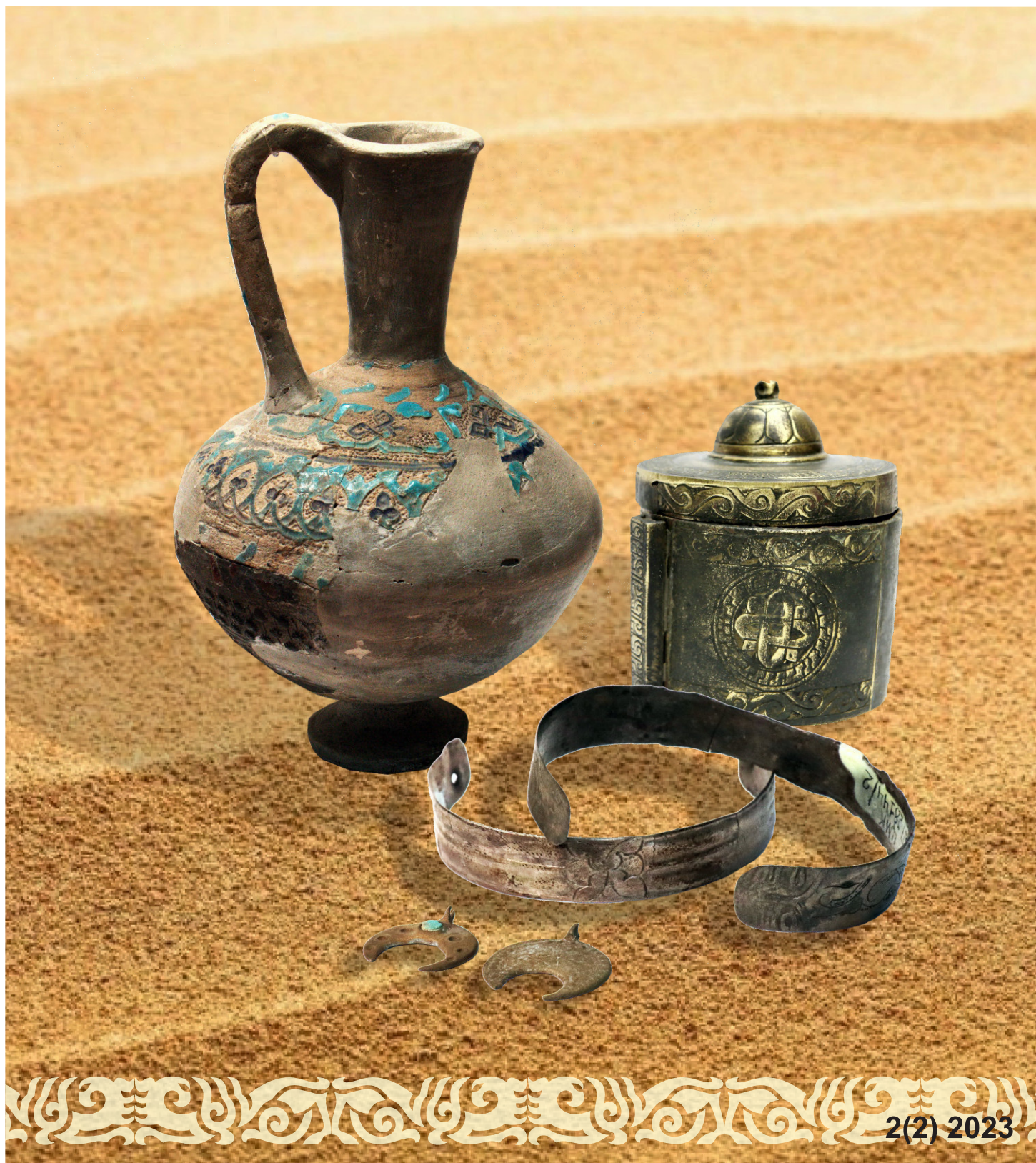


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ҚАЗАҚСТАН РЕСПУБЛИКАСЫ МЕМЛЕКЕТТІК ОРТАЛЫҚ МУЗЕЙІ

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ЦЕНТРАЛЬНЫЙ ГОСУДАРСТВЕННЫЙ МУЗЕЙ РЕСПУБЛИКИ КАЗАХСТАН

MINISTRY OF CULTURE AND SPORT OF THE REPUBLIC OF KAZAKHSTAN
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Халықаралық ғылыми-тәжірибелік конференция

МАТЕРИАЛДАРЫ

Алматы, 22 желтоқсан 2022 ж.

МАТЕРИАЛЫ

Международной научно-практической конференции
«ЭВОЛЮЦИЯ ГОСУДАРСТВЕННОСТИ ЧИНГИЗИДОВ
НА ПРОСТОРАХ ВЕЛИКОЙ СТЕПИ»

Алматы, 22 декабря 2022 г.

MATERIALS

International scientific-practical conference
«EVOLUTION OF THE STATEHOOD OF CHINGIZIDS
IN THE EXPANSES OF THE GREAT STEPPE»

Almaty, December 22, 2022

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THE HISTORY OF ULŪS JŪJĪ KHĀN IN THE MUNTAKHAB AL-TAVĀRĪKH-I MU'ĪNĪ

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Abstract. It is known that some issues in the history of Ulūs Jūjī Khān of the 13th – 15th centuries remain debatable. The *Muntakhab al-Tavārīkh-i Mu'īn* is well known to the scholars of Kazakhstan, as it has become the source of ongoing discussion regarding the lineage of Urūs Khān, the founder of the dynasty of Kazakh Khāns. The work of Mavlana Mu'īn al-Dīn Natanzī contains numerous information about the structure of the ulūses, and the structure of the Turkic and Mongolian troops. In this work, the author provides original information on the use of Mongolian and Turkic terms. However, until now, much valuable information from the source has not been put into academic discourse and has not been involved in scientific research on the history of the Golden Horde.

The work *Muntakhab al-Tavārīkh-i Mu'īn* has been preserved in two original editions. The first edition was devoted to Iskandar b. 'Umar Shaykh (786-818/1384-1415), the grandson of Amīr Tīmūr. Subsequently, this edition became known as the *Anonymous Iskander*. The second edition of the work is known as the *Muntakhab al-Tavārīkh-i Mu'īn*.

The principle of historicism and source study methods of historical research were used in this article, with scientific and theoretical approaches developed by domestic and foreign orientalists to study oriental manuscript sources. In particular, the methods of critical selection and systematization.

In the process of researching handwritten historical works, the content analysis method was used. By means of horizontal and vertical cross-references, a comparatively critical analysis of historical texts containing information on the history of the Golden Horde, revealed from the *Muntakhab al-Tavārīkh-i Mu'īn* and other primary sources, was carried out. First of all, two editions of the work *Muntakhab al-Tavārīkh-i Mu'īn* were subjected to source study. In the course of comparative analysis, changes introduced by Mu'īn al-Dīn Natanzī in the second edition of his work were revealed and analyzed.

Keywords: Ulūs Jūjī Khān, Mu'īn al-Dīn Natanzī, *Muntakhab al-Tavārīkh-i Mu'īn*, source study, arabic-script manuscripts.

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«МУНТАХАБ АЛ-ТАВĀРĪХ-И МУ'ĪНĪ» ШЫҒАРМАСЫНДАҒЫ ЖОШЫ ХАН ҰЛЫСЫ ТАРИХЫ

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Аңдатпа. XIII-XV ғғ. Жошы хан ұлысы тарихына қатысты кейбір мәселелі сұрақтардың бар екендігі баршамызға мәлім. «Мунтахаб ал-таварих-и Му'ини» Қазақстан ғалымдарына жақсы таныс, өйткені қазақ хандарының әулетінің негізін қалаушы Орыс ханның шежіресіне қатысты сүрелі пікірталастың дереккөзі болып табылады. Мавләнә Му'ин ал-Дин Натанзі еңбегі ұлыстар, түркі және моңғол әскери құрылымы туралы көптеген мәліметтерді қамтиды. Шығарма авторы моңғол және түркі терминдерін қолдану туралы түпнұсқалық мәліметтер келтіреді. Дегенмен, осы уақытқа дейін дереккөздің көптеген құнды мәліметтері ғылыми айналымға енгізілмеген және Алтын Орда тарихы бойынша жүргізілген ғылыми зерттеулерде қолданылмаған.

«Мунтахаб ал-таварих-и Му'ини» шығармасы екі авторлық редакцияда сақталған. Бірінші редакция Әмір Темір немересі Ескендір б. 'Умар-Шайхқа (786-818/1384-1415) арналған.

Нәтижесінде, бұл редакция «Аноним Искандар» деген атаумен белгілі болды. Шығарманың екінші редакциясы «Мунтахаб ал-таваріх-и Му'йні» ретінде белгілі.

Мақала бойынша зерттеу жүргізуде шығыс қолжазбалары деректерін зерттеу мақсатында отандық және шетелдік шығыстанушылар тарапынан ұсынылған ғылыми-теориялық амалдарды пайдалану негізінде тарихи зерттеулердің деректанулық әдістері және тарихилық ұстанымы қолданылды. Соның ішінде, сыни талдау және жүйелеу әдістері. Тарихи шығармалар қолжазбасын зерттеу барысында контент анализ әдісі қолданылды. Горизонтальді және вертикальді түйіспе сілтеме (crossreference) амалы арқылы «Мунтахаб ал-таваріх-и Му'йні» және басқа түпнұсқалардан анықталған Алтын Орда тарихына қатысты тарихи мәтіндерге салыстырмалы-сыни талдау жүргізілді. Бірінші ретте, «Мунтахаб ал-таваріх-и Му'йні» шығармасының екі редакциясына деректанулық талдау жасалынды. Салыстырмалы талдау жасау барысында Му'йні ал-Дін Натанзі еңбегінің екінші редакциясына енгізілген өзгерістер айқындалды.

Тірек сөздер: Жошы хан ұлысы, Му'йні ал-Дін Натанзі, Мунтахаб ал-таваріх-и Му'йні, деректану, арабографиялық қолжазбалар.

Сілтеме жасау үшін: Тулибаева Ж.М. «Мунтахаб ал-таваріх-и Му'йні» шығармасындағы Жошы хан ұлысы тарихы // MUSEUM.KZ. 2023. № 2 (1). 43-55 бб. DOI 10.59103/muzkz.2023.02.05

ИСТОРИЯ УЛУСА ДЖУДЖИ ХАНА В СОЧИНЕНИИ «МУНТАХАБ АЛ-ТАВАРІХ-И МУ'ЙНИ»

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Аннотация. Как известно, всё еще остаются дискуссионными некоторые вопросы в истории Улұса Джұчй хана XIII – XV вв. «Мунтахаб ал-таваріх-и Му'йні» хорошо известен ученым Казахстана, так как стал источником продолжающейся дискуссии относительно родословной Урұс хана, основателя династии казахских ханов. Труд Мавләнә Му'йні ал-Дйна Натанзі, содержит многочисленные сведения об устройстве улусов, о структуре тюркских и монгольских войск. Автор в сочинении приводят оригинальные сведения об употреблении монгольских и тюркских терминов. Тем не менее, до сих пор, многие ценные сведения источника, не вводились в научный оборот, и не привлекались для научных исследований по истории Золотой Орды.

Сочинение «Мунтахаб ал-таваріх-и Му'йні» сохранилось в двух авторских редакциях. Первая редакция была посвящена Искандару б. 'Умар-Шайху (786-818/1384-1415), внуку Амйра Тймұра. Впоследствии данная редакция стала известна под названием «Аноним Искандара». Вторая редакция сочинения известна как «Мунтахаб ал-таваріх-и Му'йні».

В работе над статьей были использованы принцип историзма и источниковедческие методы исторических исследований, с использованием научно-теоретических подходов, разработанных отечественными и зарубежными востоковедами для изучения восточных рукописных источников. В частности, методы критического отбора и систематизации. В процессе исследования рукописных исторических сочинений был использован метод контент анализа. Путём горизонтальных и вертикальных перекрестных ссылок (crossreference) был осуществлён сравнительно-критический анализ исторических текстов, содержащих сведения по истории Золотой Орды, выявленных из «Мунтахаб ал-таваріх-и Му'йні» и других первоисточников. В первую очередь источниковедческому анализу были подвергнуты две редакции сочинения «Мунтахаб ал-таваріх-и Му'йні». В ходе проведения сравнительно-сопоставительного анализа были выявлены и проанализированы введенные Му'йні ал-Дйном Натанзі изменения во вторую редакцию своего труда.

Ключевые слова: Улұса Джұчй хана, Му'йні ал-Дйн Натанзі, Мунтахаб ал-таваріх-и Му'йні, источниковедение, арабографические рукописи.

Для цитирования: Тулибаева Ж.М. История Улұса Джүджді хана в сочинении «Мунтахаб ал-таварїх-и Му‘їнї» // MUSEUM.KZ. 2023. № 2 (1). С. 43-55. DOI 10.59103/muzkz.2023.02.05

Introduction.

Since 795/1393, Fars (Southern Iran) as a specific possession belonged to the sons of ‘Umar Shaykh. In accordance with the tradition established by Amīr Tīmūr (771-808/1370-1405), at the courts and with the support of the Timurids, court historiographers created works dedicated to the ruling dynasty. The historical work *Muntakhab al-Tavārīkh-i Mu‘īnī*, one of the early Timurid works, was written by order of the ruler of Fars, Iskandar b. ‘Umar Shaykh (around 812-817/1409-1414), grandson of Amīr Tīmūr.

By words of researchers, in Fars during the reign of Iskandar b. ‘Umar Shaykh was written a historical work under the conditional name *Synoptic Account* [Synoptic Account; Thackston, 1989]. The only copy of this work made on 21 Rabi al-Awwal 816/June 21, 1413, has been preserved (Ms. B.411) in the Istanbul Museum of Topkapı Palace. According to researchers J. Woods [Woods, 1990: 46] and E. Binbash [Binbaş, 2016: 187], Mu‘īn al-Dīn Natanzī may be the author of the anonymous work *Synoptic Account*. The scientists’ hypothesis is based on a comparative analysis of the content of the text of this work with the text of the first edition of *Muntakhab al-Tavārīkh-i Mu‘īnī*. Both writings were written in support of the policies and ideology pursued by Iskandar b. ‘Umar Shaykh.

The first edition of *Muntakhab al-Tavārīkh-i Mu‘īnī* was completed in Shiraz in 816/1413, and the author wrote the second edition in 817/1414. Both editions of the *Muntakhab al-Tavārīkh-i Mu‘īnī* by Mu‘īn al-Dīn Natanzī are dedicated to the general history, from the “creation of the world” to the events of 807/1405.

In the course of the research, five copies of the lists of the first edition of the work, stored in the manuscript funds of Russia (St. Petersburg), Great Britain (London), Iran (Tabriz and Mashhad), were analyzed. Research of the lists of manuscripts showed that the surviving lists have various types of damage, omissions, individual sheets of text are missing, and the numbering of chapters in the lists does not match. The description of all surviving copies of the handwritten lists of the work was considered in the article devoted to the history of the appearance of two editions of the work Mu‘īn al-Dīn Natanzī [Tulibayeva, Tulibayev, 2021].

In the spring of 817/1414 Iskandar b. ‘Umar Shaykh was dethroned. Mu‘īn al-Dīn Natanzī revised his work and made some changes to the content of the text. In particular, in the first edition of the work ‘Umar Shaykh, the father of Iskandar, separate sections in the chapters were devoted. However, not all of these sections were included by the author in the second edition. Sections under the names: Mention of the conquest of Kāshghar amīrzāde ‘Umar Shaykh and The performance of amīrzāde ‘Umar Shaykh against Qamar al-Dīn were not included in the second edition of the work. The second version of the work was completed on 22 Rajab 817 / October 7, 1414, and has survived to this day in a single copy.

Discussion.

The *Muntakhab al-Tavārīkh-i Mu‘īnī* was studied by several generations of researchers [Collection of materials, 1941: 126-138; Materials on the history of the Kirghiz, 1973: 112-127; Materials on the ethnic history, 2003: 102-136]. However, there are still conflicting points of view regarding this work [Allsen, 1985; Schamiloglu, 1986; Kostyukov, 2007].

Academician V.V. Barthold expressed his critical attitude to the information of Mu‘īn al-Dīn Natanzī back in the 20s of the last century [Barthold, 1968: 139]. A well-known archaeologist and specialist in the numismatics of the Golden Horde G.A. Fedorov-Davydov, noting gross errors in the work of Mu‘īn al-Dīn Natanzī about the rule of Chingizidz, at the same time claimed that the source contains complete information about the left wing of the Juchids [Fedorov-Davydov, 1973: 139-140]. We can also agree with the statement of the Hungarian historian Istvan Vasary that the work of Mu‘īn al-Dīn Natanzī is actually the only source describing the history of the Eastern Desht-i Qibchāq for the period from 1310 to 1360 [Vásáry, 2009: 374].

The researchers of this source are unanimous in their assessment that the description of the historical events of the 13th – the 15th centuries is the most original part of this work. Given this circumstance, the French orientalist Jean Aubin published in 1957 in Tehran the text of individual chapters from the first and second editions of the work [Muʿīn al-Dīn Natanzī, 1336/1957: 1-492]. This book was republished in 2004 [Muʿīn al-Dīn Natanzī, 2004: 1-454].

Muʿīn al-Dīn Natanzī and his work *Muntakhab al-Tavārīkh-i Muʿīnī*.

The only thing known about the author of the work Muʿīn al-Dīn Natanzī, his life, and court service is that he was a Seistani [Storey, 1972: 339], a Shiite [Woods, 1987: 89] and was in the service of the Timurids [Binbaş, 2016: 187]. Muʿīn al-Dīn Natanzī was the first court historiographer who included the history of the Timurid dynasty in the general history of the world. Subsequent Timurid historians, when writing general histories, adhered to this structure of presentation of the material.

There is still no consensus among researchers regarding the sources used by Muʿīn al-Dīn Natanzī when writing his historical work. As Jean Aubin states in the preface to the publication of the text of the manuscript [Muʿīn al-Dīn Natanzī, 1336/1957], Bloche was mistaken in believing that *Muntakhab al-Tavārīkh-i Muʿīnī* is completely based on information from the work of Rashīd al-Dīn Fazlallāh *Jamʿ al-tavārīkh*. According to Jean Aubin, in the work of Muʿīn al-Dīn Natanzī, when describing the same historical period, there is information that is missing from Rashīd al-Dīn Fazlallāh. Muʿīn al-Dīn Natanzī, in his work, says that he is going to write the second volume as a continuation of this work, dedicated to the history of the reign of Iskandar b. ʿUmar Shaykh. However, the second volume was never written.

According to John Woods, a professor at the University of Chicago, Muʿīn al-Dīn Natanzī did not use data from the work *Zafar-nāme* by Nizām al-Dīn Shāmī in his work, in opinion of the researcher, the author had access to the same sources on which the first Timurid historian relied. This point of view differs from the assumption of V.V. Barthold that Muʿīn al-Dīn Natanzī was familiar with the work of Nizām al-Dīn Shāmī [Woods, 1987: 92].

In the course of a comparative analysis of the information of Muʿīn al-Dīn Natanzī with the data of the work of Nizām al-Dīn Shāmī, discrepancies were revealed in the presentation of the history of the first campaign of Amīr Tīmūr to Desht-i Qipchāq. One should highlight some of these differences:

1) Narration about the offensive of the troops of Tūqmāq in Māwarāʾ al-nahr.

Muʿīn al-Dīn Natanzī provides additional information about the battle that took place [Muʿīn al-Dīn Natanzī, 1336/1957: 336-351] between the Juchids and the Timurids, and about the events that followed this battle, which are absent from Nizām al-Dīn Shāmī [Collection of materials, 1941: 110-118].

2) Narration about the arrival of Tūqtāmīsh in Turkistān.

Preparation for the battle, the night attack of Amīr Tīmūr, and subsequent events by the authors of the works *Muntakhab al-Tavārīkh-i Muʿīnī* [Muʿīn al-Dīn Natanzī, 1336/1957: 340-343] and *Zafar-nāme* are presented in different versions [Collection of materials, 1941: 111-112].

3) Campaign of Amīr Tīmūr to Desht-i Qipchāq.

The writings present various dates for the beginning of the campaign. According to Muʿīn al-Dīn Natanzī: 10 Safar 793/January 17, 1391 [Muʿīn al-Dīn Natanzī, 1336/1957: 344], according to Nizām al-Dīn Shāmī: 15 Safar/January 22, 1391 [Collection of materials, 1941: 112].

4) Description of the four-day hunt organized by Amīr Tīmūr.

The *Muntakhab al-Tavārīkh-i Muʿīnī* [Muʿīn al-Dīn Natanzī, 1336/1957: 344] and *Zafar-nāme* [Collection of materials, 1941: 113] presents various versions of the description of the hunt that took place.

5) The story of the formation of the Timurid army before the battle with the Juchids.

The historical chronicles of Muʿīn al-Dīn Natanzī [Muʿīn al-Dīn Natanzī, 1336/1957: 348] and Nizām al-Dīn Shāmī [Collection of materials, 1941: 116] presents various versions of the description of the formation of troops before the battle, as well as the names of their leaders.

6) Description of the events that took place after the defeat of the Juchids.

The story of Muʿīn al-Dīn Natanzī about the events that followed the battle [Muʿīn al-Dīn Natanzī, 1336/1957: 349-350] is missing from the work *Zafar-nāme*.

It should also be added that the authors of the works *Muntakhab al-Tavārīkh-i Muʿīnī* and *Zafar-nāme* write separate geographical names in various versions. For example, the name of the mountain Ulytau: according to Muʿīn al-Dīn Natanzī: Ulūghtāq, according to Nizām al-Dīn Shāmī: Ūlūgh Dāgh. There are various names for the two crossings. according to Muʿīn al-Dīn Natanzī: Būr-kijik and Chāpmā-kijik [Muʿīn al-Dīn Natanzī, 1336/1957: 345], in Nizām al-Dīn Shāmī: Būr-kichid and Chāpmā-kichid [Collection of materials, 1941: 114].

The *Muntakhab al-Tavārīkh-i Muʿīnī* is a primary source in the research of various historical terms [Vásáry, 2021: 467-470]. For example, the author speaks of such land holdings as *yūrt-i aslī* – the original ancestral possession [Muʿīn al-Dīn Natanzī, 1336/1957: 71], *yūrt-i qadīm* - inherited possession [Muʿīn al-Dīn Natanzī, 1336/1957: 70], *yūrt* – granted or conquered possession [Muʿīn al-Dīn Natanzī, 1336/1957: 75].

The work *Muntakhab al-Tavārīkh-i Muʿīnī* is a valuable source on the history of relations between Chingizids and Timurids with the local dynasties of Southern Iran. When presenting the history of the Fars dynasties, the author reports on the existence and operation of *yarligs* of Chingizids: Menkū Qāān, Arghūn Khān, Ghāzān Khān, Sultān Muhammad Uljāytū Khān, Abāqā Khān [Muʿīn al-Dīn Natanzī, 1383/2004: 28, 30, 32, 34, 55].

Ulūs Jūjī.

The work *Muntakhab al-Tavārīkh-i Muʿīnī* contains original material on the history of the Jūjī Ulūs, the structure and control of the ulūs, the use and application of laws (*yāsā*) and ancient customs (*yūsūn*) [Tulibayeva, 2022: 58-70]. The ideological and family ties between the Chingizids and the Timurids predetermined the special interest of the Timurid historiographers in the description of the four ulūses of the Chingizids.

The well-known Hulaguid historiographer Rashīd al-Dīn Fazlallah (645-718/1248-1318) created a sample description of the history of the Chingizids, which was included in the general history of the Muslim world. All subsequent generations of Muslim historians mainly relied on the data of the work *Jāmʿ al-tavārīkh*. Muʿīn al-Dīn Natanzī generally adheres to the same scheme of presenting historical events, but at the same time he singles out and draws the attention of readers to certain historical events that took place in the Chingizid ulūses.

Outlining a brief history of the Chingizids and using the format of a table, Muʿīn al-Dīn Natanzī dwells in more detail on the period of history when two independent rulers ruled in the Chingizids Empire. For example, the information *Muntakhab al-Tavārīkh-i Muʿīnī* about the relationship between Bātū Khān and the qāāns of the original yurt of Jīnkiz Khān. Muʿīn al-Dīn Natanzī describes Bātū Khān and Mungkā/ Menkū Qāān as equal rulers in the Mongol Empire. The author emphasizes the fact that Bātū Khān enjoyed influence and authority as the ruler of the Ulūs Jūjī. The work also contains a detailed account of the relationship between the influential Nūqāy/Nūqā and Tūqtāy/Tūqtā Khān [Muʿīn al-Dīn Natanzī, 1336/1957: 75-81].

Muʿīn al-Dīn Natanzī uses the term state (*mamlakat*) to describe the Ulūs of Jūjī. The author of the work, outlining the history of the reign of Chingizids, pays special attention to the established tradition of nomination and appointment of the ruling Khān in the ulūses. It should also be noted that in the work, individual historical events are told by Muʿīn al-Dīn Natanzī in a different version, different from other Timurid court historiographers.

In the writings of Muslim historiographers, when describing the Ulūs of Jūjī, much attention was paid to stories about the successful conquest campaigns of the Chingizids. Muʿīn al-Dīn Natanzī was one of the first Timurid court historians who drew attention to the relationship between the Chingizids ulūses, to the traditions and customs that they adhered to in governing the state [Tulibayeva, 2022].

In the preface to *Tabaqe-yi avlād-i Jūjī Khān*, Muʿīn al-Dīn Natanzī summarizes the main content of this chapter. The history of Ulūs Jūjī is narrated by Muʿīn al-Dīn Natanzī on the basis of a description of

the order of succession of supreme power among the Chingizids. As the author himself writes: this order is observed and fixed, they will be detailed in this table [Tulibayeva, 2022: 60].

Mu'īn al-Dīn Natanzī tells about the long-standing laws and customs of Chingizids [Mu'īn al-Dīn Natanzī, 1336/1957: 71, 99], where any violation of the prescribed rules was punished according to the strict rules of *yāsāq*: *yāsāq-i mugūl va tūrā' qāhira-yi Jīnkiz Khānī*.

According to the author of the work, if the established order of succession was violated, then Chingizids and his descendants were deprived of the right to supreme power. Mu'īn al-Dīn Natanzī quotes the words of Bātū Khān: ...when the sons of Uktāy, contrary to the words of their father, disobeyed Shīrāmūn and deviated from the long-standing laws and customs, and without consulting with relatives the youngest daughter of Jīnkiz Khān, whom he loved most of all children and [known] under the nickname Jāūrsājān, was killed without any reason? Therefore, they are unworthy to be a qāān [Mu'īn al-Dīn Natanzī, 1336/1957: 71].

The preface says that Bātū, according to the *yarlīgh* of Jīnkiz Khān, guarded the border of the countries of the northern quarter, and since he was responsible for this *ulūs*, he tried hard [Mu'īn al-Dīn Natanzī, 1336/1957: 68; Tulibayeva, 2022: 60].

All the sons of Jīnkiz Khān received certain land holdings with their population, as well as a certain number of regular troops. They became rulers in their *ulūs*, and could manage part of the Mongol Empire. In the section that tells about the reign of Bātū Khān, Mu'īn al-Dīn Natanzī draws attention to the fact that when Bātū Khān died, Mungkā Qāān handed over the throne of the *ulūs* to his son Sartāq, who was recognized as the heir during his father's lifetime [Mu'īn al-Dīn Natanzī, 1336/1957: 71].

Over a long period, there were changes in the very legal system that existed in the Golden Horde. An interesting fact is that Mu'īn al-Dīn Natanzī, speaking about the reign of Tughrul (737/1336-37), the son of Tūqtāy (around 689-712/1290-1312), he established good rules and revived good traditions [Mu'īn al-Dīn Natanzī, 1336/1957: 82].

During the research of the source, information was revealed about the Chagataids who sought protection and patronage from the khāns of the Golden Horde during the infighting in the *Ulūs* of Jaqatāy. Mu'īn al-Dīn Natanzī writes that *shāh-zādes* were so distant from each other that they did not even exchange greetings. Some of the *shāh-zāde* found refuge in Khitāy, others resorted to the patronage of the Ūzbek *Ulūs*, and some went to the countries of the descendants of Tūlūy [Mu'īn al-Dīn Natanzī, 1383/2004: 85].

In his work Mu'īn al-Dīn Natanzī talks about the application of the rules in the *Ulūs* of Jaqatāy, which were established by Bātū Khān. For example, when describing the reign of Tūqā-Tīmūr b. Barāq says that he ruled the state by what was in the rules of kingship, and he again restored the order (*tūrā*) that existed under Bātū" [Mu'īn al-Dīn Natanzī, 1383/2004: 86].

Mu'īn al-Dīn Natanzī provides important information about the relationship of the Chingizids with the *amīrs*, the leaders of large tribal associations, who took an active part in the internecine war of the Chingizids, and also played a prominent role in government [Mu'īn al-Dīn Natanzī, 1336/1957: 70, 75, 79, 85, 90, 92, 101].

Chingizids, in the struggle for supreme power, relied on the military support of the leaders of large tribal associations. In this regard, representatives of the tribal nobility could dictate their will to the khān's entourage. In this regard, the words of Nūqāy cited by Mu'īn al-Dīn Natanzī are interesting: I have a decree of Sāyīn Khān that if someone in his family and *ulūs* breaks the law and creates disorder in the *ulūs*, having asked about it, we are obliged to bring people's hearts closer to each other [Mu'īn al-Dīn Natanzī, 1336/1957: 75-76].

In the section on the reign of Tūdā-Mūngkā, it is reported about the unrest in the *Ulūs* of Jūjī Khān, about the flight of Tūqtāy, the son of Mengkū-Tīmūr from the *ulūs* and his appeal for help to the influential emir Nūqāy. Mu'īn al-Dīn Natanzī elaborates on the relationship between Tūqtāy and Nūqāy. With the help of tricks and cunning, Nūqāy helped Tūqtāy seize the throne of *Ulūs* Jūjī Khān. In the next section,

which was devoted to the history of the reign of Tūqtāy, the reasons for the emergence of his enmity in relations with Nūqāy are outlined.

Difficult relations between Tūqtāy and Nūqāy were even more aggravated when the sons of Nūqāy seized separate territories that belonged to Tūqtāy. In a military confrontation, Nūqāy was defeated and died. According to Muʿīn al-Dīn Natanzī, after these events, the Ulūs of Jūjī Khān was divided into Kūk Ūrda and Āq Ūrda [Muʿīn al-Dīn Natanzī, 1336/1957: 68-69].

The Timurid works *Synoptic Account* and the first edition of *Muntakhab al-Tavārīkh-i Muʿīnī* are the earliest historical works that have survived to this day, in which the above terms were used to describe the internal structure of the Ulūs Jūjī. In the scientific literature, there are still opposing points of view regarding the terms Āq Ūrda and Kūk Ūrda [Vásáry, 2009: 371-385]. In his article, the American historian Thomas Allsen notes that these terms in the sources of the 13th and the early 14th centuries are not mentioned [Allsen, 1985: 6]. To this, we can add that the terms Āq Ūrda and Kūk Ūrda do not occur until the beginning of the 15th century.

Muʿīn al-Dīn Natanzī gives an example from the history of the Chingizids Empire, when one of its four ulūses, in turn, consisted of two equal territorial associations: Āq Ūrda and Kūk Ūrda. According to E. Binbash, Natanzī in the first edition, as well as in *Muntakhab al-Tavārīkh-i Muʿīnī*, mixed up the terms Āq Ūrda and Kūk Ūrda, but in the *Synoptic Account* he uses them correctly [Binbaş, 2018: 184].

The well-known Khiva historiographer Abū al-Ghāzī Khān Chīngīzī Khwārazmī made some additions regarding Kūk Ūrda and Āq Ūrda. In his work *Shajara-yi turk va mughūl*, the author emphasizes that the throne place [ulūs] of Jūjī Khān was located on the land of Desht-i Qipchāq, which is called Kūk Ūrda. When mentioning the Āq Ūrda, he notes that the control of this country was transferred by Mengkū-Tīmūr Khān to Bahādūr Khān b. Shībān Khān [Aboul Ghāzi Bèhâdour Khān, 1871: 173].

The historical work of Muʿīn al-Dīn Natanzī contains important information about the role of the rulers of the Jūjī Ulūs in the spread of Islam in the Chingizid ulūses. Mirza Ulugbek in *Ulūs-i arba-yi Chīngīzī*, referring to historical chronicles, writes that Berke Khān was a Muslim from birth [Tulibayeva, 2011]. Muʿīn al-Dīn Natanzī, unlike Mirza Ulugbek, does not mention that Berke Khān was a Muslim [Muʿīn al-Dīn Natanzī, 1336/1957: 72-74]. However, when describing the events related to the conflict between Hūlākū Khān and Bālāqān, the son of Shībān, Berke Khān calls Bālāqān unbeliever [Muʿīn al-Dīn Natanzī, 1336/1957: 73].

Unlike other Timurid historiographers, Muʿīn al-Dīn Natanzī pays special attention to the father of Ūzbek Khān. According to the author, Tughrul b. Tūqtā, was a fair and intelligent Muslim. He adhered to the rules and customs of Muslims. His son, Ūzbek Khān, was very pious and strict in the affairs of Islam, he followed the Sunnah of the Prophet [Muʿīn al-Dīn Natanzī, 1336/1957: 82-83].

The reign of Ūzbek Khān has yet to be sufficiently studied. In the sources, we meet different points of view of the authors on his origin, coming to power, and the time of his reign. Muʿīn al-Dīn Natanzī, in his essay, writes that Ūzbek Khān reigned fairly and generously for thirty years, and before his reign, Desht-i Qipchāq was a place of unbelief and heresy. By order of Ūzbek Khān, Muslim dwellings of charity and places for prayer were created.

When describing the history of the reign of the sultāns of the Ulūs Āq Ūrda, Muʿīn al-Dīn Natanzī emphasizes that Īrzan, the son of Sāsī-Būqā, despite the fact that the degree of his dignity was equal to the greatness of Ūzbek Khān, he still obeyed him. According to the author of the essay, Īrzan was a very intelligent, educated, and pious sovereign. Most of the madrassah, Khānaqs, mosques and various Muslim charitable dwellings, located in Otrār, Sāurān, and Bārchikend are his posts [Muʿīn al-Dīn Natanzī, 1336/1957: 88].

In the *Muntakhab al-Tavārīkh-i Muʿīnī* it is reported that Jānī-Bīk Khān, the son of Ūzbek Khān, directed all his efforts to create the well-being and welfare of Muslims. According to the author, Jānī-Bīk converted to Islam the entire territory of Ulūs Ūzbek, demolished all the pagan temples, and built many mosques and madrasas throughout the Ūrda. Every tradition in those countries that had similarities with the tradition of the population of Islamic countries, he applied it in his country. Muʿīn al-Dīn Natanzī

emphasizes that during the reign of Jānī-Bīk Khān, the sons of the amīrs of Desht-i Qipchāq strove for knowledge and research. In those days, each of them became an incomparable personality of his time, their excellent conclusion and talent is still the topic of conversation in meetings and disputes [Muʿīn al-Dīn Natanzī, 1336/1957: 83].

The children of the tribal elite, researching in the madrasah, received a Muslim education and adopted the Muslim faith. Later, in accordance with the established tradition in the nomadic environment, if the representatives of the clan nobility converted to Islam, then the whole clan voluntarily submitted to this decision and converted to Islam.

In times of infighting, the ruling Khāns of the Golden Horde often resorted to the patronage and protection of influential shaykhs. As an example, give the message of Muʿīn al-Dīn Natanzī about Shādī-Bīk Khān. Fearing for his life, Shādī-Bīk Khān fled to Derbend, where he was under the protection of Shaykh Ibrāhīm Derbendī. And although the powerful amīr Īdikū, having sent ambassadors, demanded his return, Shaykh Ibrāhīm refused to fulfill his order [Muʿīn al-Dīn Natanzī, 1336/1957: 99].

Chingizids and Timurids.

The *Muntakhab al-Tavārīkh-i Muʿīnī* contains original information on the history of relations between the Chingizids and the Timurids. All the most important historical events, such as the military campaigns of the ruling Chingizids Khāns, devastating mutual raids, their grave consequences for the population, descriptions of internecine clashes in the region, are reflected in the historical works of Muʿīn al-Dīn Natanzī.

According to the author of the essay, in the second half of the 14th century, the internal political situation in Māwarāʾ al-nahr, Mughūlistān, and Desht-i Qipchāq was unstable and extremely complex, which affected relations between neighboring states. Chingizids of the Ulūs Jūjī, who were defeated in the struggle for supreme power in the ulūs, found refuge in the possessions of the Timurids. To destroy the Chingizids, pretenders to the throne of Ulūs Jūjī, the new supreme Khān, who came to power, organized raids and military campaigns against the countries that sheltered the fugitives. Muʿīn al-Dīn Natanzī recounts in detail the story of Tūqtāmīsh ughlān, who in 778/1376, having been defeated in infighting, fled from the Ulūs Jūjī and asked for protection from Amīr Tīmūr [Muʿīn al-Dīn Natanzī, 1336/1957: 93]. With the military support of Amīr Tīmūr, Tūqtāmīsh ughlān in 780/1378 seized the khān's throne in Ulūs Jūjī [Muʿīn al-Dīn Natanzī, 1336/1957: 96].

In the 60s of the 14th century, Husayn Sūfī, the governor of the Juchids in Khwārazm, taking advantage of the internecine struggle of Chingizids, founded his own independent dynasty of rulers of Khwārazm. Then, taking into account the political fragmentation in the Jaghatāy Ulūs, he conquered and included part of its territory in his possession. As a result, during the period from 773/1372 to 789/1388, Amīr Tīmūr, having made a number of campaigns against Khwārazm, included it in the state of the Timurids [Muʿīn al-Dīn Natanzī, 1336/1957: 300-306, 340-344, 411-413, 427].

In Mughūlistān, in the confrontation between Chingizids and representatives of the tribal nobility, the victory was won by amīr Qamar al-Dīn, who independently ruled for about ten years. When Amīr Tīmūr was busy with military campaigns in Iran and Iraq, amīr Qamar al-Dīn periodically organized predatory raids on the cities and villages of Māwarāʾ al-nahr. In response to the devastating raids of the Mughūls, Amīr Tīmūr returned and made several military campaigns against Mughūlistān [Muʿīn al-Dīn Natanzī, 1336/1957: 296-300, 411, 413-414, 416-418, 419-420].

In 789/1387, Chingizids and the amīrs of Tūqmāq (Ulūs Jūjī), Mughūlistān and Khwārazm attacked Māwarāʾ al-nahr [Muʿīn al-Dīn Natanzī, 1336/1957: 336-340]. In 791/1389, Tūqtāmīsh Khān personally took part in the next campaign against Māwarāʾ al-nahr [Muʿīn al-Dīn Natanzī, 1336/1957: 340-344]. After the victory over Khwārazm, and Mughūlistān, Amīr Tīmūr, in 793/1391, made a campaign against the Ulūs Jūjī to take revenge on Tūqtāmīsh [Muʿīn al-Dīn Natanzī, 1336/1957: 344-351].

Among the historical events, described by Muʿīn al-Dīn Natanzī, the most doubtful section entitled: The mention of the arrival of Sultān Iskandar to the Great Horde and the circumstances of the appointment of his highness to guard the borders with Khitāy and Mughūlistān [Muʿīn al-Dīn Natanzī, 1336/1957: 432-435]. The section contains a story about the personal meeting of Amīr Tīmūr with his grandson

Iskandar, which took place in 800/1397-98 Ala-Tag. During the research of the source, a translation from the Persian language of this story was done:

(s. 432) Sultān Ghāzī after he sent the amīrzāde Shāhrukh to Samarkand, despite this, he had some fear for the calmness of Māwarā' al-nahr. Then he turned to the dignitaries of the state and the proclaimers of the authorities and demanded to clarify: when my deceased son from the Fārs was headed to the main headquarter, during the then most difficult situation that had taken place, behaved in such a way that a rebellion was not committed anywhere and not a single enemy dared to take even one step. All the amīrs and viziers, having fallen on their knees in front of the highest throne, spoke about the ingenuity and insight of Sultān Iskandar. Sultān Ghāzī was pleased with that young offshoot of the garden of glory and majesty and the new moon in the sky of valor, (s. 433) uttered the words of glorification and gratitude to the bounty of the Almighty. At the same time issued a decree in his name.

According to that decree issued by Hazrat Sultān, in the very first meeting, Sultān Ghāzī saw in his beautiful appearance signs of directness, domination, and rule, and in the manifestation of modesty and courage, in his rich manners, he definitely saw his youth. Without any delay, he entrusted to rule of the affairs of Māwarā' al-nahr to [Sultān Iskandar] his diligence and kindness.

According to the rules that are well known among the rulers, by the ability to govern and get the approval of the people in his glorious sultanship, he considered vast than their territories and higher than their thrones in that vast country. He wanted new family relations to form between him and other brothers and uncles on the paternal line; the kinship of the brothers became stronger through friendship and love; kinship in the state, which ramified after the second generation, was again restored and multiplied. Proceeding from such a good alliance and laudable efforts, Bīkīsī-Sultān, who was the beloved and beautiful [granddaughter] of His Majesty, he married Sultān Iskandar. For this reason, all the accumulated treasures of the state treasury and the property of the highest court were completely given in tribute to Her Highness.

Having shown sincere affection and respect [to Allah], turning to him from the heart and with all his strength, he showed his brightest inner respect for His Highest Majesty. In complete seclusion, showing sincere affection and respect for His Incomparable, he asked the owner of the secrets for his will when drawing up his testament of the throne for this Mahdī of Doomsday and the guide to the safe and peaceful to a safe and peaceful life. With all his heart and good intention (s. 434) he was zealous so that his prayer would be heard and satisfied. The salvation of his dear Yūsuf of Egypt from the envy of his brothers, the assassination of loved ones, and the evil eye of malicious people, he transferred to the protection and preservation of the Almighty.

After that, for some time, in gratitude to the indicated annunciation, he arranged royal feasts and receptions, where he showed signs of respect and honor to all the amīrs, commanders of the troops, and others close to the palace of the patron of the world. Then His Highness the Sultān, in accordance with the situation and the behavior of friends and enemies in an open and secret form, took the necessary measures and gave permission to [Sultān Iskander] to take his leave and sent him to rule Māwarā' al-nakhr.

When the news of the arrival of the happy cortege in the capital Samarkand came, all state dignitaries hurried to meet them with gifts and offerings. All respectable women of the great palace, respected āqā-khātūns because of the curtain of modesty, shahzade from highly respected families, considering his good arrival, took it for honor and glory and expressed gratitude to the Almighty.

Prior to the arrival of this cortege, there were false rumors of nearby enemies, to the extent that it was difficult for His Highness amīrzāde Shāhrukh to take a walk around Kānigil and gardens in the vicinity of Samarkand. When Sultān arrived, for an easy rest from the way, he stopped in the garden of the elder khatun. The enemies of the state fled...

Especially Qamar al-Dīn, who, having heard about this, fell into confusion (s. 435), after which he completely lost strength; Hīkisak ughlān, who joined Tūqtāmīsh Khān and found patronage in Ulūs Tūqmāq, who seized the territory of Yūnus to the borders of Turkistān was completely ruined.

His Majesty, both in the state assembly and in secret, raised the interest and inspired the amīrzāde Shāhrukh to rule state affairs, both in ordinary conversation and in serious conversations, he was reminded of the positive aspects of government. Partial courage, which is shown in his character, is the result of those efforts, which he himself often mentions.

The above story about a secret oral agreement is a vivid example of the distortion of historical events that took place in the Timurid state; it is absent in the writings of the official Timurid historiography. And besides, the author of the first edition himself did not include this section in the second edition of his work. An interesting fact is that in subsequent Timurid writings, there are references to various agreements on succession, which were drawn up in writing, in front of witnesses, and certified with the *Al-Tamga* seal [Tulibayeva, 2013: 110-117].

First, to determine the degree of reliability of the information the *Muntakhab al-Tavārīkh-i Muʿīnī*, the conditions and circumstances under which Timurid historical writings were written were studied. According to the tradition that developed at the Timurid court, the original version of the historical work was read aloud in the presence of the ruler so that he could check their content, and approve or reject the description of the events set forth there. If the ruler rejected the original version, the text of the work was re-edited or remained a draft.

As a rule, historical chronicles contained a preface, where the author usually indicated the reasons for creating his work and gave a dedication to the name of the ruler and patron. However, there is no preface in the surviving lists of manuscripts of the first edition. Perhaps the preface was destroyed by the author himself because of the changed political situation in Fars. Unfinished lists of manuscripts have survived to this day, but the full text of the first edition of the work of Muʿīn al-Dīn Natanzī has not yet been found.

According to the assumptions of J. Woods and E. Binbash, the preface to the first edition of the work contained a statement of the ideology and political principles of the Chingizids [Woods, 1987: 89-93; Binbaş, 2018: 174, 181]. According to these principles, every male member of a dynastic family had the same right to supreme power. However, in the first edition of the work, only two representatives of the Timurid dynasty are mentioned with the title *Mahdī* - Shāhrukh b. Amīr Tīmūr and Iskandar b. ʿUmar Shaykh. Outlining the history of the Timurid state, Muʿīn al-Dīn Natanzī, in the first edition of the work, states that after the death of Amīr Tīmūr, only Shāhrukh and Iskandar were equally legitimate contenders for religious and supreme power in the state.

The close attention of the court historiographer to the customs, rules, and laws of the Chingizids may be explained by the origin of Iskandar b. ʿUmar Shaykh. His mother, Malikat-aqa, was from the descendants of Jaghatāy Khān, belonged to the *Altyn Urug* (Golden kin) of Genghis Khān, and occupied a high position in society.

Among Kazakh historians, the work of Muʿīn al-Dīn Natanzī is of particular interest as one of the most important sources on the history of the Jūjī and Jaghatāy Ulūses. The historical work *Muntakhab al-Tavārīkh-i Muʿīnī* became the source of a long-standing dispute regarding the genealogy of Urūs Khān, the ancestor of the founders of the dynasty of Kazakh Khāns [Yudin, 1992: 67]. T.I. Sultanov, in his works, based on the data of this source, claims that Urūs Khān was a descendant of Ūrda-Ījen [Sultanov, 2001]. In 2013, the book by K.Z. Uskenbay, where arguments are given in favor of the same version [Uskenbay, 2013].

Muʿīn al-Dīn Natanzī voluntarily or unwittingly distorted the genealogy of Tukatimurid Urūs Khān, presenting his descendants as the direct heirs of the Ūrda-Ījen Ulūs. Be that as it may, the court historiographer did all this at the suggestion of his patron Iskandar b. ʿUmar Shaykh, who hatched ambitious plans for the sovereignization of his rule in the possessions of the central and southern parts of Iran subject to him, which at the same time were part of the Timurid Empire.

During his reign, Iskandar b. ʿUmar Shaykh began to mint his own coins, and his name began to be mentioned at Friday prayers. Having studied the inscriptions on the coins of Iskandar b. ʿUmar Shaykh, a researcher Evrim Binbash from the University of Bonn, divided them into five different types. The

inscriptions on the coins show that at different stages of his reign, Iskandar b. ‘Umar-Shaykh used various forms of inscriptions and titles of rulers in coinage. All mentioned coins of Iskandar b. ‘Umar Shaykh are minted in Yazd, however, none of them are dated. On the coins from the fifth group, there is the inscription “Two sultāns Sultān Shāhrukh Bahādur and Iskandar Bahādur headed their dual (equal) reign” [Binbaş, 2018: 189-190].

It can be assumed that it was during this period that Iskandar b. ‘Umar Shaykh, how did the plan to weaken the power of Shāhrukh b. Amīr Tīmūr. If unrest and rebellions begin in the Timurid Empire, as well as territorial disputes and military clashes with neighboring states, Shāhrukh will have to divide his troops. Part of the troops will be busy suppressing internal rebellions, the other part will be sent to protect the border territories. Military clashes with neighboring states for belonging to a certain part of the territory of Māwarā’ al-nahr and Turkistān will greatly weaken the military strength of Shāhrukh. After analyzing the internal and ideological policy pursued by Iskandar b. ‘Umar Shaykh, we came to the conclusion that the distortion of the genealogy of Urūs Khān is connected with these plans of Iskandar b. ‘Umar Shaykh.

According to the rules and customs of the Chingizids, the descendants of the Ūrda-Ījen could also claim that part of the territory of the Aq Ūrda, which turned out to be part of the Timurid Empire. The statement contained in the *Muntakhab al-Tavārīkh-i Mu‘īnī* that Urūs Khān and his children and grandchildren are the direct heirs of the Ūrda-Ījen Ulūs gave the latter this right.

The political and ideological actions carried out by Iskandar in Fars forced Shāhrukh in 816/1413 to launch a military campaign against him. In this military confrontation, Iskandar suffered a complete defeat in the spring of 817/1414. By order of Shāhrukh, Rustam b. ‘Umar Shaykh gouged out the eyes of his brother Iskandar. Then Shāhrukh sent Iskandar to his other brother Bāykarā. Iskandar was subsequently killed by Rustam for inciting his brother Bāykarā to revolt against Shāhrukh. Iskandar b. ‘Umar Shaykh lived 32 years.

Unfortunately, we do not have information about the fate of Mu‘īn al-Dīn Natanzī after 1414, when he completed work on the second edition of his work. The conducted source research analysis of the *Muntakhab al-Tavārīkh-i Mu‘īnī*, as well as the research of the circumstances of the appearance of two editions of the work Mu‘īn al-Dīn Natanzī [Tulibayeva, Tulibayev, 2021] showed that the creation of these two editions of the work was closely connected with the complex domestic political situation that had developed in the Timurid Empire after the death of its founder in 808/1405.

In 1415, Shāhrukh appointed his son Ibrāhīm-Sultān (796-838/1394-1435) as the ruler of Fars. At the order of Ibrāhīm-Sultān, court historiographers set about creating a new historical work dedicated to the Timurid dynasty. The writing of this work was entrusted to Sharaf al-Dīn ‘Alī Yazdī. The work was completed in 829 / 1424-25. The work was called *Zafar-nāme* (Book about Victories), and unlike the *Muntakhab al-Tavārīkh-i Mu‘īnī*, it was widely distributed, numerous copies of it have been preserved, which are currently kept in the manuscript collections of Europe and Asia.

Thus, the work *Muntakhab al-Tavārīkh-i Mu‘īnī* shows us how the political situation in the Timurid state could influence the ideological orientation of the content of the historical work and the reliability of certain information reported by the author. An analysis of the political situation in the Timurid state explains the historical situation in which Mu‘īn al-Dīn Natanzī was, the court historiographer of Iskandar b. ‘Umar Shaykh, as well as the method of presenting the material adopted by the author to implement the plan of his patron Iskandar b. ‘Umar Shaykh.

Conclusion.

Thus, the revealed material from the *Muntakhab al-Tavārīkh-i Mu‘īnī* on the history of Ulūs Jūjī Khān and its critical analysis show that this historical work contains valuable information on various aspects of the history of the Golden Horde. Mu‘īn al-Dīn Natanzī, relying on the materials of his sources, supplemented the description of the history of the Chingizid dynasty with new facts that differ from the presentation of these events in the writings of other Timurid historiographers.

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