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JADWAL IN THE PARIS MANUSCRIPT OF THE *MUNTAKHAB AL-TAWĀRĪKH-I MU'ĪNĪ* AND TOPKAPI SARAYI MÜZESI KÜTÜPHANESİ, B. 411*

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Abstract. In this paper, we analyze the *jadwal* (table [of the dynasty]) in the Paris manuscript of Mu'īn al-Dīn Naṭanzī's *Muntahab at-Tawārīkh-i Mu'īnī* (hereinafter *MTM*) and the section of the Jochid Ulus in the manuscript Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, B. 411 (*Synoptic Account*, hereinafter B. 411), probably by the same author as the *MTM*, both of which have received little attention so far, comparing and examining the information contained in them, and reevaluate the problem of the «Aq Orda» and «Kök Orda» and characteristics of the *MTM*. As is well known, there are several problems with the information about the Jochid Ulus in the *MTM*, but from an analysis of this paper it becomes clear that its author did possess a lot of important information about the Jochid Ulus, more than can be found in the *MTM* text. On the other hand, it is assumed that the author did not have accurate information about the early history of the «Left Hand» (Ordoids). In addition, the author could have had more accurate information about the «Aq Orda» and «Kök Orda» at the time of writing the B. 411, but the information was already confused. A further comparison and study of the *jadwal* and the B. 411, as well as the *MTM* text will allow us to clarify the history of the information contained in them regarding the Jochid Ulus in the future.

Keywords: Muntakhab al-Tawārīkh-i Mu'īnī, *jadwal*, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, B. 411, Aq Orda, Kök Orda

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ДЖАДВАЛ В ПАРИЖСКОЙ РУКОПИСИ МУНТАХАБ АТ-ТАВАРИХ-И МУ'ИНИ И БИБЛИОТЕКА ДВОРЦА МУЗЕЯ ТОПКАПЫ, В. 411

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Аннотация. В статье анализируется *джадвал* (таблица [династии]) в Парижской рукописи *Мунтахаб ат-Таварих-и Му'ини* (Далее: *MTM*) Му'ин ад-Дина Натанзи и раздел Улус Джучи в рукописи Библиотеки дворца музея Топкапы, В. 411 (*Синоптический рассказ*), вероятно, того же автора, что и *MTM*, которым до сих пор уделялись мало внимания. Автор, сравнивая и исследуя содержащуюся в них информацию, пересматривает вопрос «Ак Орды» и «Кок Орды» и характер *MTM*. Как известно, существуют некоторые проблемы с информацией *MTM* об Улусе Джучи, но из рассмотрения этой статьи становится ясно, что его автор действительно владел большим, чем можно найти в тексте *MTM*, количеством важных сведений об Улусе Джучи. С другой стороны, предполагается, что автор не располагал точными сведениями о ранней истории левого крыла (Ордаидов). Автор мог иметь более обширные сведения об «Ак Орде» и «Кок Орде» на момент написания «В. 411», но эта информация не была точной. Более точное сравнение и изучение *джадвала* и «В. 411», а также текста *MTM* позволит в будущем прояснить историю содержащихся в них сведений об Улусе Джучи.

Ключевые слова: «Мунтахаб ат-Таварих-и Му'ини», *джадвал*, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, B. 411, Ак Орда, Кок Орда

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МУНТАХАБ АТ-ТАВАРИХ-И МУ‘ИНИДІҢ ПАРИЖДЕГІ ҚОЛЖАЗБАСЫНДАҒЫ ЖАДУАЛ ЖӘНЕ ТОПҚАПЫ САРАЙЫ МУЗЕЙІ КІТАПХАНАСЫ, В. 411

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Аңдатпа. Мақалада осы уақытқа дейін аз назар аударылған Муин ад-Дин Натанзидің *Мунтахаб ат-Таварих-и Му‘ини* (Бұдан әрі: *МТМ*) шығармасының Париждегі қолжазбасындағы жадуал ([Әулет] кестесі) және осы авторға тиеселі болуы мүмкін Топқапы сарайы музейі кітапханасындағы В. 411 (*Synoptic Account*) қолжазбасындағы *Жошы ұлысы* бөлімі талданады. Автор олардағы мәліметтерді салыстыра зерттей отырып, «Ақ Орда» мен «Көк Орда» мәселесін және *МТМ* сипатын қайта қарастырады. *МТМ* шығармасының Жошы ұлысы туралы мәліметтерінде зерттейтін біраз мәселелер бар екені бұрыннан белгілі, бірақ осы мақалада шығарма авторының шынымен Жошы ұлысы туралы, *МТМ* мәтінінде көрініс таппаған, көптеген маңызды мәліметтерге ие болғаны көрсетіледі. Сонымен қатар, автордың Жошы ұлысының сол қанатының (Орда ұрпақтарының) ерте тарихы туралы нақты мәліметтері болмаған деген болжам бар. Автордың «В. 411» қолжазбасын жазарда «Ақ Орда» мен «Көк Орда» туралы өте көлемді мәліметтері болуы мүмкін, бірақ оның ақпараттары нақты болмаған. *Жадуал* мен «В. 411» қолжазбасын және *МТМ* мәтінін кеңінен салыстыра зерттеу болашақта олардағы Жошы ұлысы туралы мәліметтердің тарихын анықтауға мүмкіндік береді.

Тірек сөздер: «Мунтахаб ат-Таварих-и Му‘ини», жадуал, Топқапы сарайы музейі кітапханасы, В. 411, Ақ Орда, Көк Орда

Сілтеме жасау үшін: Нагаминэ Х. Мунтахаб ат-таварих-и Му‘инидің Париждегі қолжазбасындағы жадуал және Топқапы сарайы музейі кітапханасы, В. 411 // MUSEUM.KZ. 2023. № 2 (1). 31-42 бб. DOI 10.59103/muzkz.2023.02.04

As is well known, Mu‘in al-Dīn Naṭanzī’s *Muntakhab al-Tawārīkh-i Mu‘īnī*, the Timurid historical source (comp. in 1414, hereinafter *MTM*) includes detailed information about the Jochid Ulus (Golden Horde), but at the same time contains some problematic descriptions, in particular, regarding the “Aq Orda” and “Kök Orda” (i.e. the “Right Hand” and “Left Hand”) of the Jochid Ulus.¹ However, the *jadwal* (table [of the dynasty]) of the “Kök Orda” and “Aq Orda” in the Paris manuscript of the *MTM* [*MTM*/Paris: 303b. See fig. 1], which was not included in Jean Aubin’s edition and did not receive sufficient attention, is quite interesting. According to Denise Aigle and Takushi Kawaguchi, the Paris manuscript includes twenty-eight *jadwals*, and the names of rulers and their fathers, length of rule, burial places, causes of death, and so forth are written there [Aigle, 1992; Kawaguchi, 2007: 124–125, 140–143].

Along with the *jadwal*, of great interest is the section of the Jochid Ulus in the manuscript Топкапы Сарайы Мүзеісі Күтүphanesi, В. 411 (*Synoptic Account*. Comp. circa 1413, hereinafter В. 411. See fig. 2), probably by the same author as the *MTM*, which has also received little attention so far (the Timurid section in the В. 411 is studied by Wheeler M. Thackston and Kawaguchi [Thackston, 1989: 237–246; Thackston, 2001: 88–98; Kawaguchi, 1995; Kawaguchi, 2007: 147–157; see also Binbaş, 2018: 177–178, n. 11]).² The section of the Jochid Ulus in the В. 411 contains a table similar to the *jadwal* and a short extract from the history of the Jochid Ulus (“Stratum of Jochi Khan’s lineage [*Ṭabaqa-yi ūlūgh-i Jūjī*

¹ *The Muntakhab al-Tawārīkh-i Mu‘īnī* — a revised version of the *Iskandar Anonymous* [Kawaguchi, 2007: 121–125; Binbaş, 2018: 177] — contains mistakes in the genealogy and length of rule of the Jochids [on this issue, see Нагаминэ, 2020: 537, n. 7, 8], and, in particular, confusion regarding the “Right Hand” and “Left Hand” of the Jochid Ulus, since the “Right Hand” is called “Kök Orda” and the “Left Hand” is called “Aq Orda” there, but it is actually thought to be the other way around [on this issue, see Ускенбай, 2013: 81–113; Kawaguchi and Nagamine, 2016: 175–177; Кушкүмбаев, 2020: 65–110].

² The title of this manuscript (В. 411) is unknown. The *Synoptic Account* is a tentative title given by Thackston to the Timurid section.

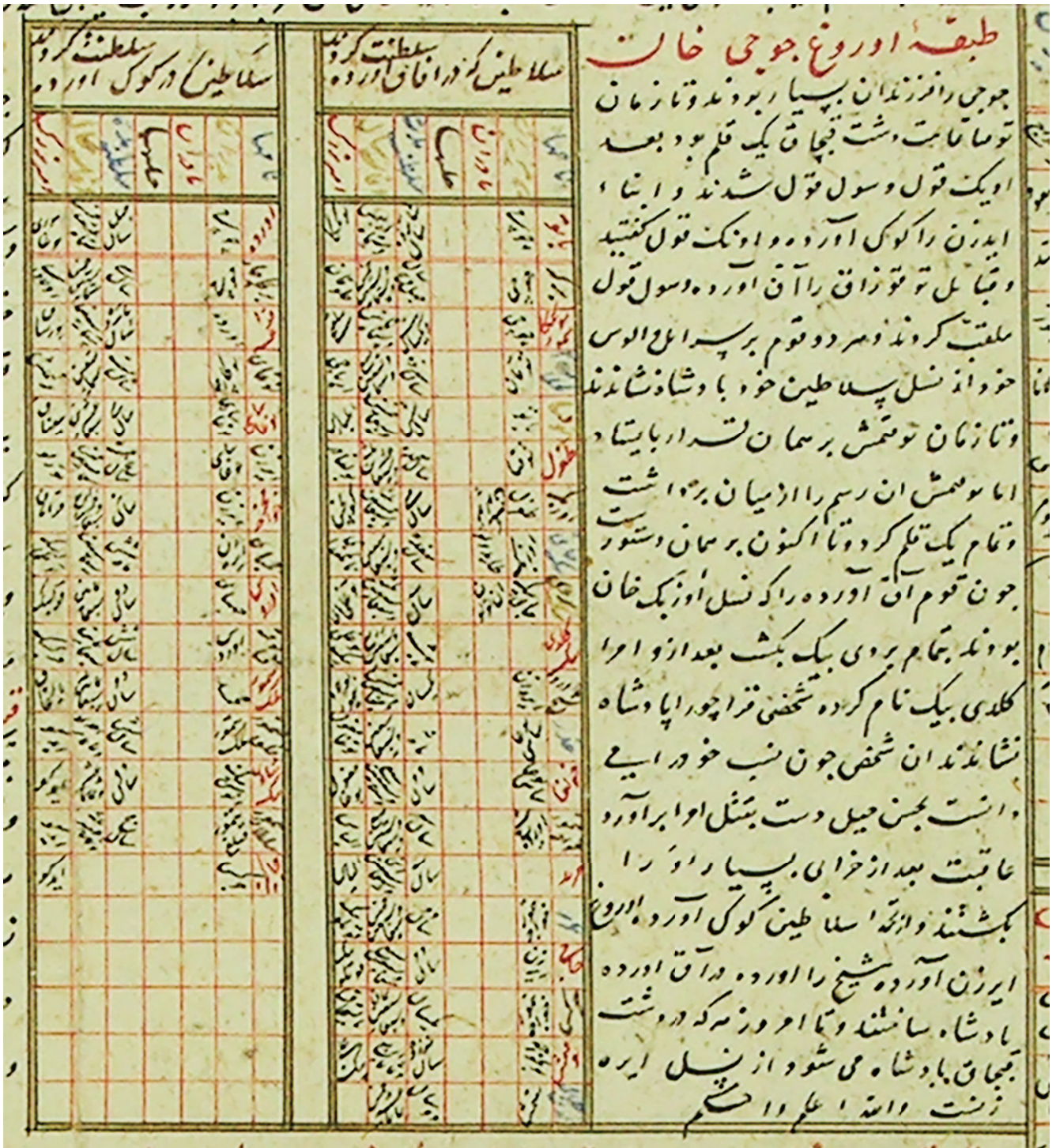


Fig. 2: Section of the Jochid Ulus in the B. 411

Khān]) similar to the *MTM* text. It is noteworthy that Evrim Binbaş points out that despite the fact “Aq Orda” is attributed to the Ordaids, and “Kök Orda” to the Batuids in the *MTM*, in the B. 411 “Aq Orda” is correctly attributed to the Batuids, and “Kök Orda” to the Ordaids [B. 411: 140b; Binbaş, 2018: 184–185, n. 28].¹ In this paper, we analyze the *jadwal* and B. 411, comparing and examining the information contained in them, and reevaluate the problem of the “Aq Orda” and “Kök Orda” and characteristics of the *MTM*.

1. *Jadwal*

In the *jadwal* of the “Kök Orda (*Kūk Ūrda*, i.e. “Right Hand”)” and “Aq Orda (*Āq Ūrda*, i.e. “Left Hand”)” [MTM/Paris: 303b], there are the following columns: “*laqabs*,” “names (*nām-hā*),” “fathers (*pidarān*),” “mothers (*mādarān*),” “features (*hilya-hā*),” “*amīr al-umarā*,” “lifetime (*muddat-i ‘umr*),” “length of reign (*muddat-i salṭanat*),” “year of death (*tārīkh-i wafāt*),” “cause of death (*sabab-i wafāt*),” and “burial places (*madfan-hā*).” Even though the *jadwal* contains mistakes and misunderstandings, it has interesting information that is not found in the *MTM* text. In addition, it is noteworthy that some of the information (“*laqabs*,” “*amīr al-umarā*,” and so forth) is consistent with other historical sources (for example, Ötämish Hājjī’s *Chingīz-nama/Qara tavārīkh* [comp. in the mid-16th century]).² This shows that the author really possessed a lot of important information about the Jochid Ulus, more than can be found in the *MTM* text [Nagamine, 2019].

Now we consider the columns of «names», «fathers»,³ and «burial places»:⁴

Sulṭāns of the <i>Āq Ūrda</i>			Sulṭāns of the <i>Kūk Ūrda</i>		
burial places	fathers	names	burial places	fathers	names
Sighnāq ⁵	Sārī Būghā	Sāsī Būghā	Sarāy	Jūjī	Bātū
Sighnāq	Sārī Būghā	Īrazan	Sarāy	Jūjī	Barka
Sighnāq	Īrazan	Charkas/Jarkas ⁶	Sighnāq	Jūjī	Mūngkā Tīmūr
Sighnāq	Īrazan	Muḥammad (Mubārak) Khwāja	Sarāyjuq	Mūngkā Tīmūr	Tūdā Mūnkā
Sighnāq	Īrazan	Chīmbāy/Jimbāy	Sarāyjuq	Bātū	Tūqtā
Sighnāq	Chīmbāy	Ūrūs	Sarāy	Tūqtā	Tughrul
Sighnāq	Ūrūs	Tūqtāqiyā	Sarāy	Tughrul	Ūz Bak
Sighnāq	Muḥammad	Tīmūr (Tīmūr Bīk)	Sarāy	Ūz Bak	Jānī Bīk
Sighnāq	[blank]	Tūqtamīsh	Sarāy	Jānī Bīk	Birdī Bīk ⁷
Sighnāq	[blank]	[blank]	Sarāy	[blank]	Kirdī Bīk
Sighnāq Samarqand	Ūrūs	[blank]	people destroyed	Īrazan	Ūrda Shaykh

At the end of the Timurid section, the date of writing is 1413, but the exact date of writing the section of the Jochid Ulus is unknown.

¹ However, there is a discussion as to whether the branch called “Aq Orda” in the *MTM* was the Ordaids [see p. 32, n. 1]. The B. 411 [140b] also contains short extracts and tables about the four sons of Chinggis, including Jochi, and their descendants. They must be considered separately.

² Of particular interest are “*kūtan/kōtān* (bottom, ass) *khān*” [on this term, see Göncöl, 2021: 55, n. 4] in the *laqab* column of Berdibek and “*yalghān/yalghan* (false-)” in the *laqab* column of Keldibek. These “*kōtān khān*” and “*yalghan*” relating to Berdibek and Keldibek are found in the *Chingīz-nāma* [Nagamine, 2019: 43], as well as the first one — in the Kazan and Berlin manuscripts of the *Daftar-i Chingīz-nāma* (comp. in the 1680s) [Мустакимов, 2009: 123; DChN: 12b].

³ Some of the father-son relationships in the *jadwal* are not consistent with the actual or textual relationship (for example, see p. 37, n. 1, 7, 10). Some of the names are also spelled slightly differently than in the *MTM* text [Nagamine, 2019: 42].

⁴ The problem of the burial places of the Juchid Ulus is discussed in detail in a separate paper [Nagamine, 2022: 90–93]. It should also be noted that recent studies using radiocarbon dating have shown that the alleged mausoleum of Jochi in Ulytau, Kazakhstan, was built in the 14th century after the Islamization of the Jochid Ulus [Усманова и др., 2022: 76–77; Panyushkina et al., 2022: 328–329].

⁵ In the *MTM* text, “his (i.e. Sāsī-Būqā [Būghā]) tomb is in the God-protected Sāwrān” [MTM/Aubin: 88; Тулибаева, 2022: 65].

⁶ In the *MTM* text, the account (*dhikr*) of Cherkes (Charkas/Jarkas) is placed after the account of Hājjī of the “Kök Orda” [see p. 36, n. 3]; however, in the *jadwal*, Cherkes is mentioned not in the table of the “Kök Orda” rulers, but in the table of the “Aq Orda” rulers (moreover, as the third ruler).

⁷ Russian translation by V.G. Tizengauzen (*Iskandar Anonymous*), who did not have access to the Paris manuscript, does not contain accounts after Berdibek of the “Kök Orda” (and accounts after Jalāl al-Dīn of the “Aq Orda”) [MTM/Aubin: 86–87, 101–102; Тулибаева, 2022: 65, 69]. A new Russian translation based on Aubin’s edition was made by Zh.M. Tulibaeva [Тулибаева, 2022].

Sultāns of the <i>Āq Ūrda</i>			Sultāns of the <i>Kūk Ūrda</i>		
burial places	fathers	names	burial places	fathers	names
Sighnāq Sarāy	Tīmūr Qutlugh	Tīmūr Qutlugh	Sarāy	Sāsī Būghā	Khidr
Sighnāq Sarāy	[blank]	Shādī Bīk	fell in the desert	Sāsī Būghā	Khūlfā
Sighnāq in Shirwān	Tīmūr	Tīmūr Sultān	people destroyed	Ūrda Shaykh	Tīmūr Khwāja
Sighnāq Sarāy	Tūqtamīsh	Jalāl al-Dīn	in Sarāy	[blank]	Murīd
in Sarāy	Tūqtamīsh	[blank] ¹	Sarāy	Tīmūr Khwāja	‘Azīz
in Sarāy	Charkas	Chākīra ²	Sarāy	Īrazan	Hājji ³

It is interesting that Sarai is considered as the “burial places” of eleven rulers of the “Kök Orda” and five rulers of the “Āq Orda”; Sighnaq — one ruler of the “Kök Orda” and ten rulers of the “Āq Orda” (in addition, in the “burial places” columns of five rulers of the “Āq Orda,” Sighnaq is corrected for other cities); Saraijuq — two rulers of the “Kök Orda.”

Saraijuq is being discussed so far as the burial place of the Jochid Ulus [cf. Favereau, 2021: 116–118];⁴ it is pointed out that Sighnaq was the burial place of the “Left Hand” khans [cf. Нагаминэ, 2020: 537–538].⁵ As for Sarai, some historical sources associate Sarai with the place of the Jochid khans’ death and burial.⁶ In addition, archaeological research excavated several huge mausoleums and small tombs at the Lapas site, not far from the Selitrennoe site (i.e., Old or New Sarai);⁷ some researchers attribute them to the Jochid khans after the Islamization [Егоров, 1985: 117–118; Васильев, 2018].⁸

The information about the “burial places” in the *jadwal* seems to be related to the above, albeit not with everything. Of course, the reliability of the information should be considered separately, but at least it can be said that Sarai, Sighnaq, and Saraijuq were recognized as the “burial places” of the Jochid Ulus [Nagamine, 2022: 93].

2. B. 411

In the B. 411 table, there are the following columns: “names,” “fathers,” “mothers,” “features,” “length of reign,” “year of death (*sāl-i wafāt*),” and “*amīr al-umarā*.”⁹ Now we consider the columns of “names” and “fathers.”¹⁰

Sultāns who ruled in the <i>Kūk Ūrda</i>	Sultāns who ruled in the <i>Āq¹¹ Ūrda</i>
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¹ Probably, Jalāl al-Dīn is corrected, but the corrected name is not written. According to the *MTM* text, this may be Sultān Muḥammad [MTM/Aubin: 101; Тулибаева, 2022: 69].

² In the *MTM* text, Jabbār Berdi appears at the end of Chākīra’s account [MTM/Aubin: 102; Тулибаева, 2022: 69], and his account is placed at the end of the “Kök Orda” [see p. 36, n. 3]; but he does not appear in the *jadwal*.

³ In the *MTM* text, the accounts of Cherkes, Toqtamish, Jalāl al-Dīn, and Jabbār Berdi follow the account of Hājji [MTM/Aubin: 87; Тулибаева, 2022: 65].

⁴ According to Abu’l-Ghāzī’s *Shajara-yi Turk* (comp. in 1665), Toqto’a (Toqtagu, Tūqtā) and Janibek were buried in Saraijuq [Abu’l-Ghāzī: 174, 176] (However, A.V. Pachkalov believes that “instead of Saraijuq, Abu’l-Ghāzī’s mention] should be understood to mean the city of Sarai” [Пачкалов, 2009]); and according to Qādir ‘Alī Bek’s historiography (comp. in 1602), Qāsim (from the Kazakh Khanate) died in Saraijuq, and his tomb was in Saraijuq [Кадыр Али-бек: 110, 169]. The “burial place” of Toqto’a in the *jadwal* is consistent with the description of Abu’l-Ghāzī.

⁵ In the *MTM* text, “his (i.e. Īrazan) tomb is in the city of Sighnaq” [MTM/Aubin: 89; Тулибаева, 2022: 66]. Sighnaq continued to play the role of a construction site for the mausoleums of the rulers and saints even in the 16th century [cf. Нагаминэ, 2020: 543].

⁶ Batu died in Sarai [JT/Rawshan and Mūsavī: 736; JT/Thackston: 361], and Özbek died in New Sarai [СМИЗО: 254, 263, 445, 447]; according to Rashīd al-Dīn’s *Jāmi’ al-Tawārīkh* (comp. in 1310/1), “He (i.e. Berke) fell ill along the way and died. His coffin was taken to Sarai Batu and buried” [JT/Rawshan and Mūsavī: 1062; JT/Thackston: 518–519]. In particular, the “burial place” of Berke (Barka) in the *jadwal* is consistent with the description of the *Jāmi’ al-Tawārīkh*. Interestingly, Qutuqan (brother of Toqto’a), who converted to Christianity, was also buried at Sarai [Хаутала, 2019: 14–21]. Evliya Çelebi (17th century) also tells of burials in Sarai, albeit in a folklore way [Пачкалов, 2009].

⁷ On a discussion of the location of Sarai(s), see [Nagamine, 2022: 80–87].

⁸ They are considered as mausoleums of (Batu?) Berke, Özbek, Janibek, and Berdibek (according to V.L. Egorov), or Özbek, Tinibek, and other relatives (according to D.V. Vasil’ev).

⁹ Some columns of “length of reign,” “years of death,” and “*amīr al-umarā*” are not consistent with the *jadwal* or are out of place. All the “features” columns are blank. Only three people are written in the “mothers” columns: Tūlūn Bīk (mother of Özbek), Ṭāydūlū (mother of Janibek), and Āq Tūlūn (mother of Berdibek). In the *jadwal*, these three mothers are also written (there is another column where only سر is written as the “mother” of Sāsī Būghā), but Ṭūlūn Bīk is the mother of Janibek, Ṭāydūlū — of Berdibek, and Āq Tūlūn — of Keldibek [Nagamine, 2019: 43].

¹⁰ Unfortunately, the available image of the B. 411 is not clear and difficult to read in some places. More accurate readings will be the subject of future work.

¹¹ In the B. 411 table, *Āfāq*(?).

fathers	names	fathers	names
Chūchī (Jūchī)	Ūrda	Chūchī (Jūchī)	Bātū
Jūchī	Barkāchār	Jūchī	Barka
Ūrda	Qarāmsa(?)	Chūchī (Jūchī)	Mūngkā Tīmūr
Barkāchār	Nūqāy/Tūqāy	Tūqān ¹	Tūdā Mūnkā ²
Sārī Būghā	Sāsī Būghā	Bātū	Tūqtā(?) ³
Sāsī Būghā ⁴	Īrazan	Tūqtā	Tughrul
Īrazan	Muḥammad (Mubārak) Khwāja ⁵	Tughrul	Ūz Bak
Īrazan	Chīmbāy/Jīmbāy	Ūz Bak	Jānī Bīk
Chīmbāy	Ūrūs	Jānī Bīk	Birdī Bīk
Ūrūs	Tūqtaqiya	[blank]	Kildī Bīk
Muḥammad	Tīmūr Malik ⁶	Īrazan	Ūrda Shaykh
Tīmūr Malik ⁷	Tīmūr Qutluq (Qutluḡ) ⁸	Sāsī Būghā	Khīḍr
Ānūsh Bīk(?) ⁹	Shādī Bīk	Sāsī Būghā	Khūlfā
Tīmūr Qutluḡ ¹⁰	Tīmūr Sulṭān	Ūrda Shaykh	Tīmūr Khwāja
Charkas/Jarkas	Chākīra ¹¹	[blank]	Murīd
		Tīmūr Khwāja	‘Azīz
		Īrazan	Hājji
		Tīmūr Khwāja	Charkas ¹²
		Tūykhwāja ¹³	Tūqtamīsh
		(Tū)qtamīsh	Jalāl al-Dīn(?) ¹⁴

The B. 411 table is largely consistent with the *jadwal*, but there are some differences; and, rather, the B. 411 table is consistent with the *MTM* text and other historical sources in some places, more than the *jadwal* [see. p. 36, n. 9, p. 37, n. 1, 7, 10, 12]. The main difference is that the B. 411 table lists Orda (Ūrda), Berkecher (Barkāchār), Qarāmsa(?), and Nūqāy/Tūqāy in the “names” columns of the “Kök Orda” rulers (“Aq Orda” in the *jadwal*), who are not in the *jadwal* and the “account of the branch (*shu’ba*) of the *Āq Ūrda sulṭāns*” of the *MTM* text.

Strangely, Berkecher (b. Jochi) is listed here, who did not belong to the “Left Hand” (“Kök Orda” in the B. 411 table). Berkecher participated in the quriltai for the election of Ögödei and Güyük and in the quriltai on the Talas bank in 1269 as a representative of the Jochid Ulus [Muraoka, 1988: 179–180; Селезнев, 2009: 57]. Perhaps, such activity of Berkecher led the author of the B. 411 to mistake him for the “Left Hand” ruler.

Who is Qarāmsa(?) (b. Orda)? One possibility is that it could be a corrupted form of Qūrumshī, the third son of Orda.¹⁵ Qūrumshī is identified as Corenza, who, according to Carpini, roamed along the Russian side of the Dnieper (Neper) [Dawson, 1980: 55; cf. Akasaka, 2005: 192]; also, according to Tsuneaki Akasaka, the sons of Qūrumshī could be deeply involved in the war between Toqto’a and

¹ In the *jadwal*, Mūngkā Tīmūr; however, according to the *Jāmi’ al-Tawārīkh* and other historical sources, Tūqān/Tūqūqān (b. Batu) is the father of Mōngke Temūr (Mūngkā Tīmūr) and Töde Mōngke (Tūdā Mūnkā) [cf. Akasaka, 2005: 13–15 (reverse page)].

² This column is unclear, but probably Tūdā Mūnkā.

³ This column is quite unclear; in the *jadwal*, Tūqtā.

⁴ In the *jadwal*, Sārī Būghā.

⁵ In the *jadwal*, Cherkes is listed between Īrazan and Muḥammad (Mubārak) Khwāja [see p. 37, n. 12].

⁶ In the *jadwal*, Tīmūr; in the *MTM* text, Tīmūr Bīk [MTM/Aubin: 93–96; Тулибаева, 2022: 67]. On a discussion of the lineage of Tīmūr Malik/Bīk, see [Akasaka, 2005: 87–89].

⁷ In the *jadwal*, Tīmūr Qutluḡ; but in the *MTM* text, Tīmūr Bak/Bīk (Malik) [MTM/Aubin: 98; Тулибаева, 2022: 68].

⁸ In the *jadwal*, Tūqtamīsh and two [blank] are listed between Tīmūr Malik (Tīmūr) and Tīmūr Qutluq (Qutluḡ) [see p. 37, n. 12].

⁹ In the *jadwal*, [blank].

¹⁰ In the *jadwal*, Tīmūr; but in the *MTM* text, Tīmūr Qutluḡ [MTM/Aubin: 99; Тулибаева, 2022: 68].

¹¹ In the *jadwal*, Jalāl al-Dīn and [blank] are listed between Tīmūr Sulṭān and Chākīra [see p. 37, n. 12].

¹² In the *jadwal*, Cherkes (Charkas), Toqtamīsh, and Jalāl al-Dīn(?) are listed in the other “Orda” table (“Aq Orda” in the *jadwal*) [see also p. 37, n. 5, 8, 11]. However, the B. 411 table is consistent with the *MTM* text that these three follow Hājji [see p. 36, n. 3].

¹³ In the *jadwal*, [blank].

¹⁴ This column is quite unclear; in the *jadwal*, Jalāl al-Dīn.

¹⁵ In some parts of the *Jāmi’ al-Tawārīkh*, Qarāchār, the son of Ūdūr (b. Jochi), is erroneously described as the son of Orda [Akasaka, 2005: 160–162]; this is just a suggestion that Qarāmsa could be a mixed name of Qūrumshī and Qarāchār.

Nogay [Akasaka, 2005: 182–208].

Who is Nūqāy/Tūqāy (b. Berkecher)? There is no such person among the sons of Berkecher. Given that this person is placed before Sāsī Būghā, it is possible that this is Nogay (Nūqāy), the father of Sāsī Būghā in the *MTM* text [MTM/Aubin: 88; Тулибаева, 2022: 65]. However, in another place in the *MTM* text, Nogay is called “the son of Tātār, the son of Būūl (TWWK) (b. Jochi)” [MTM/Aubin: 73; Тулибаева, 2022: 61; Akasaka, 2005: 83]. It is not clear why the father of Nogay is Berkecher in the B. 411 table.¹

In addition, it is important here that the B. 411 table does not list the names of Qongqiran, Temür Buqa, Qonichi, and Bayan, who were the successors of Orda in the “Left Hand” according to the *Jāmi‘ al-Tawārīkh* [Allsen, 1987: 18–25; Akasaka, 2005: 145–149; Ускенбай, 2013: 125–146]. Namely, the absence of these names and the confusing information in the B. 411 table suggest that the author of the B. 411 (and possibly of the *MTM*) did not have accurate information about the early history of the “Left Hand” (Ordais). This lack of knowledge of the “Left Hand” is thought to have contributed to the confusion of the genealogy in the B. 411 and the *MTM* [see p. 32, n. 1; also Kawaguchi and Nagamine, 2016: 176, n. 18].

Finally, let us return to the problem of the “Aq Orda” and “Kök Orda.” The *MTM* (and the *jadwal*) call the “Left Hand (*sūl qūl, dast-i chap*)” the “Aq Orda,” and the “Right Hand (*ūng qūl, dast-i rāst*)” the “Kök Orda” [MTM/Aubin: 68–69, 81–82; Тулибаева, 2022: 60, 63];² however, as mentioned above, Binbaş points out that in the B. 411 “Aq Orda” is correctly attributed to the Batuids, and “Kök Orda” to the Ordais. Indeed, this can be confirmed from the B. 411 table (see above). The section of the Jochid Ulus in the B. 411 (circa 1413), apparently, was written earlier than the *MTM* or the *Iskandar Anonymous* (1414) [Kawaguchi, 1995: 157–159; Kawaguchi, 2007: 129, 138–139, 148; Binbaş, 2018: 177–178, n. 11; see also p. 32, n. 2],³ therefore, it can be assumed that the author had accurate information about the “Aq Orda” and “Kök Orda” at first, but somewhere on the way to writing the *MTM* there was some confusion.

However, the extract from the history of the Jochid Ulus (“Stratum of Jochi Khan’s lineage”) in the B. 411 tells us:

“Until the time of Tūqtā, Dasht-i Qipchāq was a single part. Later they became the Right Hand (*ūng⁴ qūl*) and the Left Hand (*sūl qūl*). **They called the descendants of Īrazan the *Kūk Ūrda* and the Right Hand** and named the family of TWQWZAQ(?)⁵ as **the *Āq Ūrda* and the Left Hand.**” “However, Tūqtamīsh abolished this custom and united the entire [Dasht-i Qipchāq].” “When Birdī Bīk killed the whole group of **the *Āq Ūrda*, who were the descendants of Ūz Bak Khān**, the *amīrs* after him named a certain *qārāchū* as Kildī Bīk and put [him on the throne of] the *pādshāh*.” After the murder of the false Kildī Bīk, “**among the branch of the *Kūk Ūrda sulṭāns*, the lineage of Īrazan, they brought Ūrda Shaykh and made [him] *pādshāh* in the *Āq Ūrda*.** To this day, those who become *pādshāh* in Dasht-i Qipchāq are of the descendants of Īrazan.”

The B. 411 extract agrees with the *MTM* text in many respects. However, the descendants of Īrazan are called the “**Kök Orda**,” as well as the “**Right Hand**”; and another group (the descendants of Ūzbek [Ūz Bak]) is called the “**Aq Orda**,” as well as the “**Left Hand**.” In other words, it is the same as the *MTM* in the sense that the “Kök Orda” is the “Right Hand” and “Aq Orda” is the “Left Hand.” Indeed, the author could have had more accurate information about the “Aq Orda” and “Kök Orda” at the time of writing the B. 411, but the information is already confused. Of course, it is possible that these are just mistakes or misunderstandings. Further study of this issue is necessary.

We have considered the information contained in the *jadwal* and the B. 411. As mentioned above, there are several problems with the information about the Jochid Ulus in the *MTM*, but its author did

¹ Besides, in the *jadwal* and the B. 411 table, the father of Sāsī Būghā is called Sārī Būghā.

² In the *MTM* text, the “Left Hand” is the “descendants of Nūqāy,” and the “Right Hand” is the “descendants of Tūqtā.” There is a discussion as to whether the “Left Hand” was Ordais after this period [see p. 32, n. 1].

³ The *MTM* was written in October 1414, and according to Kawaguchi, the *Iskandar Anonymous* was most likely written between early 1414 and July/August of that year.

⁴ In the B. 411 extract, *ūyg*(?).

⁵ Perhaps, it is a misnomer for Tūqtā [see also p. 38, n. 2].

possess a lot of important information about the Jochid Ulus, more than can be found in the *MTM* text. On the other hand, it is assumed that the author did not have accurate information about the early history of the “Left Hand” (Ordoids). In addition, the author could have had more accurate information about the “Aq Orda” and “Kök Orda” at the time of writing the B. 411, but the information was already confused. Of course, the reliability of these information should be considered separately, but a more accurate comparison and study of the *jadwal* and the B. 411, as well as the *MTM* text will allow us to clarify the history of the information contained in them regarding the Jochid Ulus in the future.

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