

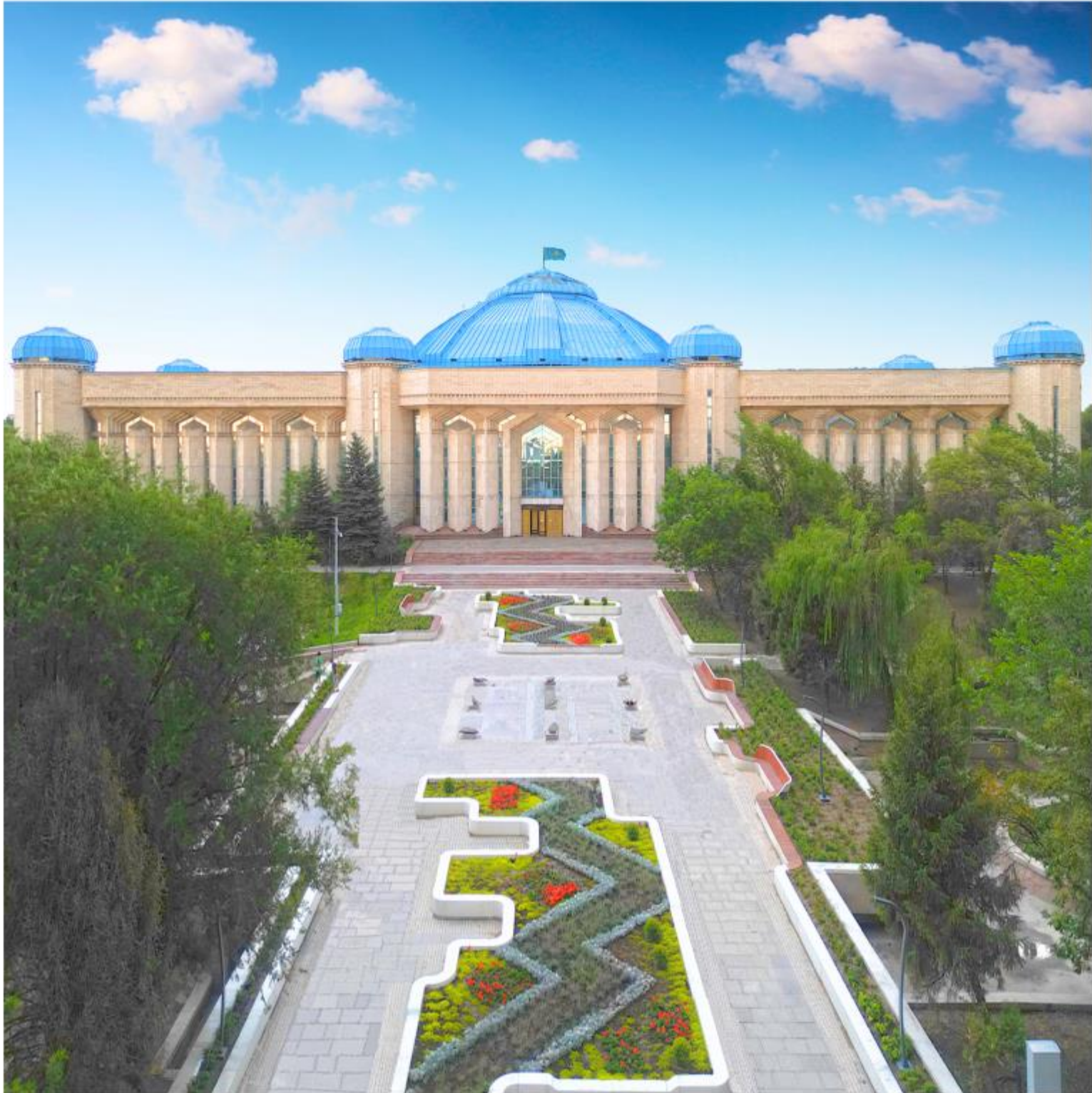
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SOME REMARKS ON THE *ULUS* (PEOPLE) OF JOCHIAS SEEN BY THEIR CONTEMPORIES

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

This paper will examine how the Jochid *ulus* (in the sense of people) were identified in the sources composed in the Turko-Mongol states of the Mongol and post-Mongol periods. More specifically, it will conduct a brief but broad-range examination of Ilkhanid, Timurid, Shibanid Uzbek, Crimean Tatar, Ottoman, and "Kazakh" sources in order to investigate the nature of Jochid *ulus* identity as understood by their contemporaries. The thesis that this paper will defend is that the Jochid people, who were identified as *Jochi eli* as well as *Uzbek*, *Tatar*, and *Toqmaq* in various sources, were viewed as one and the same people by their contemporaries, and that the modern Kazakhs, whose ancestors were identified with these group identities in the sources, are the most representative descendants of the Jochid *ulus*. As a result of the study, the author focused on different opinions regarding the history of the development of the Zhoshi *ulus* and unified historical data relating to the period of existence of the *ulus*.

Materials and Methods. In the course of writing the article, such general methods as sorting, collecting, systematizing, comparing and conducting an examination of data related to the history of the Zhochi *ulus* were used. Among them, the historical similarity of data from a scientific point of view was highlighted by systematizing and comparing the functions performed by the descendants of Jochi in governing the country.

Keywords: *Ulus* Jochi, Horde, Turkic-Mongolian, Chagatai language, khan, sultan, Kipchak, Kazakh, Shaybanids.

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ЗАМАНДАСТАР КӨЗІМЕН ЖОШЫ ҰЛЫСЫ (ХАЛҚЫ) ТУРАЛЫ КЕЙБІР ЕСКЕРТПЕЛЕР

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Аңдатпа. Қазіргі тарихнамада Алтын Орда деген атпен белгілі Жошы ұлысы XIII ғасырдың ортасында моңғолдар Дешті Қыпшақ пен орыс княздіктерін жаулап алғаннан кейін құрылған Батыс моңғол мемлекеті. Ол «Жошы ұлысы» деп Шыңғыс ханның (1206-1227 ж.ж.) үлкен ұлы Жошының (1225 ж. өл.) ұрпақтары басқарғандықтан аталды.

Мақалада моңғол және одан кейінгі кезеңдегі түркі-моңғол мемлекеттерінде жазылған дереккөздердегі Жошы ұлыстарына (ұлыс – халық дегенді білдіреді) замандастырының көзқарасы мәселесі қарастырылады. Сол замандастарының Жошы ұлысының болмыс табиғатына қатысты түсінігін зерттеу мақсатында илхандық, тимуридтік, Шибан-өзбек, Қырым-татар, Осман және «қазақ» деректеріне кішігірім, бірақ кең ауқымды зерттеу жүргізілді. Бұл мақаланың негізгі тезисі – әртүрлі деректерде Жошы елі, өзбектер, татарлар, тоқмақ деп аталған Жошы ұлысының халқын замандастары бір халық деп есептеген. Сонымен қатар дереккөздерде ата-бабалары осы халықпен сәйкестендірілген қазіргі қазақтар Жошы ұлысының негізгі мұрагерлері болып табылады. Жұмыстың нәтижесінде автор, Жошы ұлысының даму тарихына байланысты әртүрлі

пікірлерге тоқталып, ұлыстың өмір сүрген кезеңіне қатысты тарихи деректерді бір жүйеге келтірген.

Зерттеу материалдары мен әдістері. Мақала жазу барысында Жошы ұлысы тарихына қатысты деректерді жинақтау, жүйелеу, сұрыптау, салыстыру, сараптама жасау сияқты жалпыға ортақ әдіс-тәсілдер қолданылды.

Тірек сөздер: Жошы ұлысы, орда, түркі-моңғол, шағатай тілі, хан, сұлтан, қыпшақ, казак, шибанидтер.

Сілтеме жасау үшін: Джю-Юп Ли. Замандастар көзімен Жошы ұлысы (халқы) туралы кейбір ескертпелер // MUSEUM.KZ. 2024. №2 (6). 52-59 бб. DOI 10.59103/muzkz.2024.06.07

НЕКОТОРЫЕ ЗАМЕЧАНИЯ ОБ УЛУСЕ (НАРОДЕ) ДЖУЧИ ГЛАЗАМИ СОВРЕМЕННИКОВ

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Аннотация. В первой половине XIII века результате завоевания Дашт-и Кыпчака и русских княжеств монголами эти территории вошли в состав западно-монгольского государства, именовавшегося в источниках Улусом Джучи, в современной историографии – Золотой Ордой. Первое наименование он получил, поскольку этим улусом Монгольской империи правили потомки старшего сына Чингисхана (годы правления 1206-1227) Джучи (ум. 1225).

В статье анализируются сведения источников, написанных в пределах тюрко-монгольских государств монгольского и послемонгольского периодов, об идентификации народа Улуса Джучи (улус как люди). В частности, автором изучены сведения широкого круга средневековых ильханидских, тимуридских, шибанидско-узбекских, крымско-татарских, османских и казахских источников о том, как воспринимали современники идентичность населения Улуса Джучи. Автором обосновывается тезис о том, что встречающиеся в различных источниках обозначения населения Улуса Джучи такие как Джучи эли (Жошы елі), узбеки, татары и токмаки используются для всего населения и они подразумевают один и тот же народ. Кроме того, по мнению автора, современные казахи, предки которых идентифицировались с этими групповыми идентичностями в источниках, являются наиболее представительными потомками Улуса Джучи. В результате проведенного исследования автор остановился на различных мнениях относительно истории развития Улуса Джучи и унифицировал исторические данные, касающиеся периода существования улуса.

Материалы и методы исследования. В ходе написания статьи использовались такие общие методы, как сбор, систематизация, сортировка, сравнение и проведение экспертизы данных, связанных с историей Улуса Джучи.

Ключевые слова: Улус Джучи, Орда, тюрко-монгольский, чагатайский язык, хан, султан, кыпчак, казах, шибаниды.

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Introduction. The Ilkhanid View of the Ulus of Jochi. The Ilkhanid Mongol view of the ulus of Jochi is well presented in the *Jāmi‘ al-tavārikh*, the universal history written in Persian by Rashīd al-Dīn (d. 1318) in the early fourteenth century. Rashīd al-Dīn refers to the Jochid people as *ulūs-i Jūchī*, which he divides into “Batu’s ulus (ulūs-i Batu)” and “Orda’s ulus (ulūs-i Orda)”. Rashīd al-Dīn adds that Batu commanded half of Jochi Khan’s troops while Orda commanded the

other half [Thackston, 1998]. Importantly, Mayqī (Bāyqū), whom the modern Kazakhs view as their ancestor, is mentioned in the *Jāmi‘ al-tavārīkh* as one of the four commanders (amīrs) given to Jochi by Chinggis Khan [Qazaqstan tarihy turaly Moñğol derektemeler, 2006]. Mayqī later commanded the right wing of Batu’s army [Thackston, 1998].

The ulus (people) of the Jochid state began to be called Uzbek from the reign of Uzbek Khan (r. 1313–41) [Joo-Yup Lee, 2016]. Accordingly, the Ilkhanid historian Ḥamd Allāh Mustaufī Qazvīnī refers to the army of Uzbek Khan that invaded the Ilkhanate in the mid-fourteenth century as Uzbeks (Uzbakiyān) and calls the Jochid state “the kingdom of Uzbek (mamlakat-i Uzbek)” in his Persian history *Tārīkh-i guzīda* [Tizengauzen, 1941]. Qazvīnī’s son Zain al-Dīn, who added the description of the events that took place in Iran between 1341 and 1390 to the *Tārīkh-i guzīda*, also designates the Ulus of Jochi ruled by Jānī Beg Khan (r. 1342–57), son of Uzbek Khan, as “the Ullus of Uzbek (ulūs-i Uzbek)” [Tizengauzen, 1941: 97].

The Timurid View of the Ulus of Jochi. Like the Ilkhanid historians, the Timurid historians referred to the people of the Jochid state as ulūs-i Jūchī and Uzbek. In addition, they used the term *Toqmaq* as the designation of the Jochid *ulus*. Notably, the *Ẓafar-nāma* by Sharaf al-Dīn ‘Alī Yazdī (d. 1454), completed in 1425 and dedicated to Ibrāhīm Sulṭān (r. 1415–35), son of Shāhrukh and grandson of Temūr (r. 1370–1405), uses both ulūs-i Jūchī and Uzbek for the Jochid nomads, including the Kazakh ancestors, that is, the nomads of the eastern Qipchaq Steppe. For instance, Yazdī relates that when Temūr crossed the Syr Darya and invaded the Qipchaq Steppe, the Jochid ruler Urus Khan (r. ca. 1368–78) brought together “all the Jochid people (tamām-i ulūs-i Jūchī)” in response [Sharaf al-Dīn ‘Alī Yazdī, 1957]. Yazdī also writes in the *Ẓafar-nāma* that “some of the Uzbek people (ba‘ẓī ulūs-i Uzbek)” were pillaged during Temūr’s campaign in “the right wing of the Ulus of Jochi Khan (ulūs-i dast-i rāst-i Jūchī khān)” [Sharaf al-Dīn ‘Alī Yazdī, 1957: 541]. Elsewhere, Yazdī refers to the envoys dispatched to Temūr by Edigū (d. 1419) and Temūr Qutluq Khan (r. 1397–99), who became the new rulers of the Jochid Ulus after Toqtamīsh Khan’s downfall, as “the Uzbek envoys (īlchiyān-i Uzbek)” [Sharaf al-Dīn ‘Alī Yazdī, 1957: 34].

Other Timurid historians also used both ulūs-i Jūchī and Uzbek to refer to the Jochid nomads. Nizām al-Dīn Shāmī, who composed another *Ẓafar-nāma*, the earliest known history of Temūr, which he wrote in Persian in 1404 at the order of Temūr himself, refers to the Jochi realm as “the Uzbek domain (vilāyat-i Uzbīk)” in his work when describing a Jalayir amīr who revolted against Temūr and fled to Urus Khan [Tauer, 1937]. Similarly, Mu‘īn al-Dīn Naṭanzī refers to the throne of the western wing of the Jochid state, which Urus Khan had captured, as “the Uzbek throne (takht-i Uzbek)” in his *Muntakhab al-tavārīkh-i Mu‘īnī*, [Aubin, 1957] a general history from Creation to 1413–14, written in Persian in 1413–14 for Shāhrukh (r. 1405–47), son of Temūr. Describing the conquest of the Ulus of Jochi by Temūr, Naṭanzī states that “the entire capital of the Uzbeks was destroyed by the Chaghatay (majmū‘-i pāytakht-i uzbek dar zīr-i dast va pāy-i jaghatāy ‘āliyahā sāfilahā shud)” [J. Aubin, 1957: 349]. He also designates the domains of Temūr Malik, son of Urus Khan, as “the Ulus of Jochi (ulūs-i Jūchī)” in his work [Aubin, 1957: 427].

Timurid historians also used the term *Toqmaq* as a designation for the Jochid *ulus* [Gō, de Rachewiltz, Krueger, Ulaan, 1990]. For instance, Naṭanzī employs the term *Toqmaq* to refer to the armies of both Temūr Malik and Temūr’s protégé Toqtamīsh. He calls the army of the former “the *Toqmaq* troublemakers (būlghāūlān-i Tūqmāq)” and the army of the latter “the *Toqmaq* army (lashkar-i Tūqmāq)” [Aubin, 1957: 425–436].

Here, one should note that the *ulus* of Urus Khan and Toqtamīsh Khan, who were Jochid leaders from modern-day Kazakhstan, that is, the eastern Qipchaq Steppe, were not distinguished from the right wing Jochid ulus by Timurid historians. In other words, Timurid historians did not differentiate between the Kazakh ancestors inhabiting the eastern Qipchaq Steppe and their western counterparts residing in the western Qipchaq Steppe. The Shibanid Uzbek View of the Ulus of Jochi. The Shibanid Uzbek historians identified the Uzbeks with the ulus of Jochi. Notably, Ōtāmīsh Ḥājī, who wrote the *Tārīkh-i Dūst Sulṭān* or *Chingīz-nāma*, a history of the Ulus of Jochid, in Chaghatay Turkic in Khorezm in the 1550s, refers to the Jochid ulus as Uzbeks. He writes as

follows: Again, during the time of Berke Khan, the Uzbek people became Muslim. After that, they turned away from religion and became unbelievers. This time, Uzbek Khan became a Muslim. Since then, the Uzbek people have not abandoned Islam (Basa, Barkā Ḥān zamanında Özbeg ṭā'ifasī musulmān bolup erdilār. Olardın song yenä murtadd bolup kāfir bolup erdilār. Bu yol ki Öz Beg Ḥān musulmān boldi. Andin bärü Özbeg ṭā'ifasining Islāmī tağayyur tapmadı) [Kawaguchi, Nagamine, 2008].

Abū al-Ghāzī Bahādur Khan (r. 1644–63) attributes the origin of the designation Uzbek to Uzbek Khan in his *Šajara-i Türk*, a history of the Chinggisids up to the 'Arabshāhid Uzbek dynasty. He explains that Jochi eli became Uzbek eli after Uzbek Khan's reign as follows:

[Uzbek Khan] brought the *el* and *ulus* to the faith of Islam. Thanks to this possessor of good fortune, all the people had the honor of receiving the glory of Islam. It is after him that all the *el* of Jochi was called the *el* of Uzbek (el ulusni dīn-i islāmga körküzdi barča ḥalq ol šāhib-i davlatning sababindin šaraf-i islāmga mušarraf boldilar andin song barča Jochi elini Özbäk eli tidilär) [I. Desmaisons, 1970].

Just as the Timurid historians viewed the ancestors of the Kazakhs inhabiting the eastern Qipchaq Steppe and their western counterparts as one and the same Jochid people, Uzbek historians also viewed the Shibanid Uzbeks and the Kazakhs as belonging to the same Uzbek people. Notably, the Uzbek court historian Fażlallāh b. Rūzbihān Khunjī (d. 1521) writes in his *Mihmān-nāma-i Bukhārā*, which provides a first-hand account of Muḥammad Shībānī Khan's third campaign against the Kazakhs, that there are three branches (ṭāyifa) that “belong to the Uzbeks (mansūb bi-Uzbek).” The first is the Shibanids (Shibānīyān). The second is the Kazakhs (Qazāq), “who are, in strength and ferocity, well known throughout the world (ki dar quvva va ba's mashhūr-i āfāqand).” The third is the Manghit (Manfit [sic]), “who are the rulers of Astrakhan (ki īshān pādshāhān-i Hājji Tarkhān-and)” [Tārīkh-i pādshāhī-i Muḥammad Shībānī, 1962]. Khunjī thus states that “the Kazakhs are a branch of the Uzbeks (Qazzāq yik ṭāyifa az Uzbek-and)” [Tārīkh-i pādshāhī-i Muḥammad Shībānī, 1962: 171]. Although Khunjī does not mention the Crimean Tatars here, in all likelihood, he identified them with the Manghits. In short, the Shibanid Uzbek historians identified the Jochid *ulus* with the Shibanid Uzbeks, Tatars, and Kazakhs.

The Crimean Tatar View of the Ulus of Jochi. Unlike the Ilkhanid, Timurid, and Shibanid Uzbek historians, who used Uzbek as a new name of the Jochid *ulus*, the Crimean Tatar historians used, for the nomadic people of the Jochid realm (ulus-i Cüci), the term *Tatar*, which they also employed as a self-name. The term Tatar was a name that was used to denote the Mongols by the Muslim writers and the Rus' chroniclers when they first came into contact with the former. At some point, unlike their eastern Jochid counterparts (who used the self-name Uzbek), the Crimean Tatars adopted *Tatar* as a self-designation. The Crimean histories produced from the sixteenth century onwards and various diplomatic letters used Tatar as a self-appellation [Ünal, Gürülkan, 2013]. Notably, the *Es-Sebu's-Seyyar fi Ahbar-ı Mulük-ü Tatar*, a history of the Ulus of Jochi and the Crimean Khanate composed by Sayyid Muḥammad Rezā in 1737, refers to the Jochid people as Tatars. For instance, mentioning the conversion of the Jochid people to Islam during the reigns of Berke Khan and Uzbek Khan, it calls the former Tatars [Abduzhemilev, 2019]. Elsewhere, it refers to the Mongol army led by Hülegü's commander Kitbuqa, who was defeated by the Mamluks, as Tatars [Abduzhemilev, 2019: 87].

The *Umdat al-aḥbār* is another history of the Ulus of Jochi and the Crimean Khanate written by 'Abd al-Ghaffār Qırımī's in Ottoman Turkish in 1744, which provides insights into the Crimean Tatar view of Jochid *ulus*. Qırımī uses *Tatar* or the phrase “Mongols and Tatars” to designate the Crimean Tatars as well as the Jochid *ulus* in his work. For instance, he writes that Berke Khan “led all the Mongol and Tatar tribes to Islam and ruled for about 16 years (cümle tavāif-i Moğol ve Tatar'ı İslāma götürdü ale'l-ihtilāf on altı yıl han-ı alīşān olub...)” [Mirgaleyev, 2014].

Like the above-mentioned historians, Qırımī applies the term *Tatar* to both left and right wings of the Ulus of Jochi, without differentiating the two. He refers to Toqtamış Khan, the

Jochid ruler from the eastern Qipchaq Steppe, that is, modern-day Kazakhstan, and his army as Tatars, when describing his invasion of Transoxiana, which was under Temür's rule [I. M. Mirgaleyev, 2014: 68-92]. Importantly, Qırımī also identified the Tatars with the Uzbeks. Mentioning the Islamization of the Jochid people, he writes, "The Muslim Tatars were called the Uzbek people because of this reason (İslâm ehli olan Tatar'a Özbek Halkı dimesine bâis işbu sebebdir)" [Mirgaleyev, 2014: 55-75]. In short, Jochi's *ulus* (*ulus-i Cüci*), Uzbek, and Tatar were all regarded as the same people by Crimean Tatar historians.

The Ottoman View of the Ulus of Jochi. Like the Crimean Tatar historians, the Ottoman historians employed the term *Tatar* to denote the Jochid people. Notably, the Ottoman historian Muştafâ 'Ālī (d. 1600) used Tatar to denote the nomads of the Jochid realm in his universal history, *Künhü'l-ahbār*. For instance, he employs the term *Tatar* to refer to the Jochid people ruled by such khans as Batu, Urus, and Toqtamış, among others [Derya Örs, 2021]. Ālī also uses *Tatar* along with *Moğul* to denote the Mongols. He writes that the third volume of his work covers the history of the Tatar people (*kavm-i Tatar*), namely, the Chinggisids and Timurids (Āl-i Timur u Āl-i Cengizī) [Joo-Yup Lee, 2021].

Similarly, Evliya Çelebi (d. c. 1684), the celebrated Ottoman traveler, also used the name Tatar, which he applies to Temür and the Mongols, to refer to the people of the Jochid realm. For instance, he writes that "the Tatars of Hülegü, the Tatars of Chinggis Khan, the Tatars of Temür, and the Tatars of Toqtamış Khan once came to Crimea and left after assaulting and plundering it (*Hulāgū Tatarı ve Cingiz Hān Tatarı ve Timur Leng Tatarı ve Tohtamış Hān Tatarları Kırım'a gelüp nehb [ü] gâretler edüp gitmişlerdir*)" [Dağlı, Kahraman, Dankoff, 2000].

In short, the Ottoman writers such as Muştafâ 'Ālī and Evliya Çelebi regarded the nomads of the Jochid realm, including modern-day Kazakhstan, and the Mongols as belonging to the same Tatar people. The Mamluk View of the *Ulus* of Jochi. When the Mongols first appeared in the Islamic world in the early 13th century, Muslim writers generally referred to them as Tatars (*Tātār* or *Tatār*) or Mongols (*Mughūl*). They applied *Tatar* to the Chinggisid-led nomads of the Mongol states, which included the Ulus of Jochi (Golden Horde). Mamluk chroniclers followed this Muslim practice and referred to the Jochid *ulus* (as well as the Mongols) as Tatars. For instance, al-Malaṭī, a late Mamuk historian, refers to the ruler of the Ulus of Jochi as "the king of the Tatars in the Land of the Qipchaqs (malik al-tatār bi-Dasht Qibjaq)" [Umar 'Abd al-Salām Tadmurī, 2002]. Ibn Taghrībīrdī, a fifteenth century Mamluk historian, also refers to the ruler of the Ulus of Jochi as "the king of the Tatars (*ṣāhib al-Dasht wal-tatar*)" [Muḥammad Amīn, 2006].

Like the Ilkhanid and Timurid histories, some Mamluk histories also used the designation Uzbek to refer to the Jochid people/state from the fourteenth century. For instance, the Ulus of Jochi controlled by the Mongol military commander Mamay (d. 1380) is called "the territories of Uzbek (*bilād-i Uzbek*)" in the *Tārīkh al-duwal wa al-mulūk* [Sbornik materialov, 1884].

The "Kazakh" View of the *Ulus* of Jochi. Perhaps, the works of Muḥammad Ḥaidar Dughlāt (d. 1551) and Qādir 'Alī Bek Jalāyirī may tell us how the pre-modern Kazakhs viewed themselves as a Jochid *ulus*. Although the former was a member of the Chaghatyid *ulus*, the Dughlat, the tribe to which he belonged, has now become Ulu Jüz (Senior Horde) Kazakhs. The latter was a member of the Kazakh Jalayir tribe, also now belonging to the Ulu Jüz.

Muḥammad Ḥaidar uses the terms *ulūs-i Jūchī* and *Uzbek* when referring to the Jochid people of the Qipchaq Steppe in his *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, a history of the Moghul Khanate written in Persian in 1546. For instance, he refers to Abū al-Khair Khan (r. 1428–68), the progenitor of the Uzbek Khanate, as "the greatest ruler (*pādshāh*) of the Ulus of Jochi" ['Abbāsquṭlī Ghaffārī Fard, 2004]. Like the above-mentioned Uzbek historians, Muḥammad Ḥaidar regarded the Kazakhs of his time as *Uzbeks*. He refers to the Jochid nomads led by Jānībeg Khan and Girāy Khan, the founders of the Kazakh Khanate, not only as Kazakhs, but also as "*qazaq* Uzbeks (*Uzbek-i qazāq*)". Furthermore, praising 'Abd al-Rashīd Khan (r. 1533–60), the Moghul khan to whom he dedicated his work, for having achieved victory over the Kazakhs, Muḥammad Ḥaidar states that 'Abd al-Rashīd Khan "triumphed over the Uzbeks (bar Uzbek zafar yāft)" ['Abbāsquṭlī Ghaffārī

Fard, 2004: 187]. He also refers to the domain of (Jānībeg Khans' grandson) Tāhir Khan (r. 1523–33), that is, modern-day Kazakhstan as “Uzbekistan (*Uzbekistān*)” [‘Abbāsqulī Ghaffārī Fard, 2004: 541].

Similarly, Qādir ‘Alī Bek Jalāyirī refers to the Kazakh *ulus* as *Uzbeks* in his *Jāmi‘ al-tavārīkh*, a Chaghatay Turkic history, which he wrote as a continuation of Rashīd al-Dīn’s *Jāmi‘ al-tavārīkh* in 1602 and dedicated to Boris Godunov (r. 1598–1605). For instance, listing the names of such Kazakh khans as Jānībeg Khan and Barāq Khan, Jalāyirī relates that a certain Aḥmad Khan “is called Aqmat Khan by the Uzbeks (Özbākya Aqmat Ḥān tib eyürlär)” [Berezin, 1854]. Describing the left wing and the right wing of Urus Khan’s *ulus* called the Alach Thousand and the Qataghīn Thousand, respectively, Jalāyirī states that “these are the ones who have been Alach Thousand’s *aghās*. They are famous and well known in Uzbekya (bu Alaç mingining aḡasī bola kelgān bular turur. Özbākya arasında ma‘lūm mashhūr turur)” [Berezin, 1854: 171].

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

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

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

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

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

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