

Tarikh-i-Rashidi as a source on the history of Ulus Jochi

Albina A. Maxutova [*]

[*] L. N. Gumilyov Eurasian National University,
Astana, Republic of Kazakhstan. E-mail: albinaa.
maxutova@gmail.com

ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0009-0006-2578-7040>

Almaz S. Abildayev [**]

[**] Kh. Dosmukhamedov Atyrau University,
Atyrau, Republic of Kazakhstan. E-mail: Almaz_
Abildayev@outlook.com

ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0009-0007-8837-9316>

Abstract: The purpose of this study is to analyze the information from *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* regarding the history of the Golden Horde. The main material of the study was the complete translation of *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, carried out in the 1990s and revised in the 2010s. Five theses are proposed: the nomadic population of the Golden Horde; the number of nomads who migrated with Muhammad Sheibani; the identity of the Mogul Dughlat and Kazakh Dulat tribes; the fate of Juchid Buruj-Oglan, killed between 1472-1473, and the Kazakh population. According to *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, the number of Kazakhs reached one million people, but at some point, they completely disappeared from the face of the earth. But as the geopolitical situation changed, the Kazakhs returned to the historical arena. There was no physical disappearance of Kazakhs in the sixteenth century.

Keywords: Uzbeks; Moguls; Golden Horde.

Tarikh-i-Rashidi como fonte sobre a história de Ulus Jochi

Resumo: O objetivo deste estudo é analisar as informações de *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* sobre a história da Horda Dourada. O principal material do estudo foi a tradução completa de *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, realizada na década de 1990 e revisada na década de 2010. Cinco teses são propostas: a população nômade da Horda Dourada; o número de nômades que migraram com Muhammad Sheibani; a identidade das tribos Mogul Dughlat e Kazakh Dulat; o destino de Juchid Buruj-Oglan, morto entre 1472-1473, e a população cazaque. De acordo com *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, o número de cazaques atingiu um milhão de pessoas, mas em algum momento, eles desapareceram completamente da face da terra. Mas, à medida que a situação geopolítica mudou, os cazaques retornaram à arena histórica. Não houve desaparecimento físico de cazaques no século XVI.

Palavras-chave: Uzbeques; Moguls; Horda Dourada.

Introduction

The general research topic, goals and objectives of the planned work, theoretical and practical significance are specified. The most famous and authoritative publications on the topic under study are provided, unsolved problems are indicated. This section of the manuscript becomes an independent text. *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (History of Rashid) was written in the sixteenth century. The author of this work is Mirza Muhammad Haidar (1449-1551), who came from the Mogul tribe of Dughlat. Mirza Muhammad Haidar belonged to the ruling elite of Moghulistan. His ancestors since 1346 were the main tribe in Moghulistan. The beylerbeys of a given state were selected from among them. The Dughlat tribe was accorded many privileges. Since the time of Chagatai, they were the hereditary rulers of the Manglai-Sube ulus and subsequently the rulers of a part of eastern Turkestan. In addition to *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, Mirza Muhammad Haidar wrote a big poem, “Jahan Name”, in which, unfortunately, there is almost no original historical information.

In this study, ethnic identity is considered as a multidimensional notion that includes shared ancestry, cultural practices, language, historical narratives, political and geographic identities (Kuang et al., 2023; Zamora, Padilla, 2024). For example, the terms “Uzbek”, “Kazakh”, and “Mogul” are not just ethnic identifiers, but also political affiliations and geographical ties shaped by changing allegiances and power dynamics throughout time. The term “Uzbek”, as used in *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, refers to the nomadic population of the Golden Horde, which is synonymous with Tatars in various historical settings, but Kazakh is viewed as a political identity that originated during the time of tribal group fragmentation and reorganization (Wilson, 2022; Shershova, Chaika, 2024).

Kinship is another important notion that is studied not only in terms of biological ancestry, but also in terms of tribal connections and larger political alliances (Passmore et al., 2023; Ilchuk, 2024). The link between the Dughlat and Dulat tribes, for example, is investigated from both language and geographical perspectives. While prior historiography has established a link between these tribes, this research investigates the notion that their kinship was determined by political assimilation following the death of Mirza Muhammad Haidar Dughlat. These sophisticated understandings of ethnic identity and kinship are critical for investigating the social and political processes that shaped the evolution of Ulus Jochi and Moghulistan in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Tarikh-i-Rashidi is well known among scholars. Nevertheless, information from *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* not often becomes the object of close study. In 1969, in the preface to the translation of certain parts of *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, Yudin (2001) noted the importance of this source for the history of the region. Its importance was also noted by other researchers. Thus, Rakhmanov wrote “Despite the exceptional importance of this work as a source on the history of such

a vast region [...] the materials contained in it have not yet been fully utilised, as indicated by the scholars who studied it” (Tolstov, 1967, p. 42). According to the translators of this work, Urunbaeva, Dzhaliilovoj, Epifanovoj, “This is a unique primary source in the study of the past of the peoples of Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, East Turkestan (modern Xinjiang, People’s Republic of China), and partially Afghanistan, Tibet, India; it contains diverse and original material on the history of the Uzbeks, Kazakhs, Kyrgyz, Oirats (Kalmaks), and Uighurs, shedding light on their relationship in the Middle Ages” (Sultanov, 1997, p. 172). Along with *Majmu at-Tavarikh* (Sabitov, 2017), *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* is one of the main authentic sources on the history of the Moguls. The first translation of this work was carried out in the middle of the nineteenth century. Erskine, studying the history of Eastern Turkestan and Central Asia in the fifteenth-sixteenth centuries, quoted extracts from *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (Tolstov, 1967). In 1899, Scrine and Ross used data from *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* on the history of the Moguls and Moghulistan (Tolstov, 1967). Further, the study of *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* as a historical source was not intensive. In 1935, translations of individual parts from *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (Asfendijarov, Kunte, 1935) were published. The relevance of this source was voiced by Validi (1937).

Materials and methods

The works of Mirza Muhammad Haidar Duglati were also studied in the Uzbek SSR. Among the active scholars who studied this source, it is worth noting Ahmedov (1985) and Mukminova (1954). In addition, *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* was used to write the history of the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic (SSR) and other later versions of the academic history of Uzbekistan (Tolstov, 1967). In the Kyrgyz SSR, this work was also actively used in historical studies. Petrov (1961) used the information from *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* in his monographs. Furthermore, the information from *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* entered the academic history of the Kirghiz SSR. This information was actively used when writing the chapter “Feudal fragmentation in the Tien Shan in the second half of the 14th beginning of the 15th century”.

In addition, it is worth noting the importance of this source for the history of the Turkmens, as well as for the history of the Uighurs. In the Kazakh SSR, an emphasis was placed on the study of the biography of Mirza Muhammad Haidar Dughlat. Thus, Margulan (1941) “proclaimed” him the first Kazakh historian. His biography was studied by Mingulov (1965). Furthermore, Ibragimov, Mingulov, Pischulina and Yudin (1969) actively used *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* in their studies. Yudin (1965) used *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* to reconstruct the tribal composition of the Moguls.

In 1969, *Materials on the history of the Kazakh khanates of the XV-XVIII centuries* were published in Kazakhstan (Ibragimov et al., 1969). The collection contains comments and trans-

lations of extracts from *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*. The preface to the translation was written by Yudin, extracts from the first *daftar* (first volume) were carried out by Pischulina, and from the second, by Mingulov (Ibragimov et al., 1969). After the publication of the book, interest in this source has increased greatly (Bilyalova, 2018). Thus, between the 1970s and 1980s, based on the translation of excerpts from *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, the following papers have appeared: studies by Akimushkin (1970, 1984) on the relationship of Kazakhs and Uzbeks with the Moguls and on the chronology of the Chagataids' rule; studies by Sultanov (1971) on the emergence of the Kazakh Khanate time and the literary history of the monument; paper by Tumanovich (1973) about the Kyrgyz according to the data from *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*; a monograph by Pischulina (1977, 1981) on the territory of South-East Kazakhstan in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and her paper on the relationship of the Kazakh rulers with the Shibanids and the Mogul Chagataids.

The use of information from *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* by Sultanov (2017) and Ahmedov (1985) is worth noting individually. In 1988, the Uzbek orientalists Dzhahalilova, and Epifanova published their Russian translation of fragments from 12 chapters of *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (Sultanov, 1997). Subsequently, together with Urumbaeva, they were able to translate the entire *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* and publish it in 1996 (Haidar, 1996). In 1999, it was reissued in Almaty (Haidar, 1999) and it was reissued in Tashkent, in 2016 (Haidar, 2016). In 1997, Sultanov already commended the quality of the translation of this source.

In 1996, extracts from *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* concerning the history of the Kyrgyz were published in Bishkek (Dzhumanaliev, 1996). Yudin (2001) published a paper about the concept of *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*. An essay by Abuseitova and Baranova (2001) on *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* was also published. In addition to them, it is also worth noting the works of Kalieikova (2010), Zhemenej (2007), Zholdasbajuly (1999), Albani (2000), Syzdykova and Kadyrbaev (2017), Kumekov and Karibaev (2005), as well as Derbisali (1999, 2018a, 2018b).

Despite the abundance of historiography, it is worth noting that very few works are devoted to the consideration of *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* as a source on the history of Ulus Jochi. This study aims to analyze the question of the scientific value of the information from *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* on the history of Ulus Jochi. The main material of this study is the work of Mirza Muhammad Haidar Dughlat, which has already been translated into various languages. The main method of research will be internal critical analysis of the source regarding those episodes that touch upon certain issues of the history of Ulus Jochi. Next, the study will cite extracts from this source, give scientific comments to them, and show how this information confirms or refutes certain theses of various historians.

Results and discussion

Below there are five groups of information from *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* that can be useful for understanding certain aspects of the history of the Ulus Jochi.

Correlation of the terms “Uzbek” and “Tatar”

Notably, the term “Tatar” was mentioned in *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* only once, in Chapter 68. In the extract from *Ta’rih-i Jahangushay* (“History of the conqueror of the world”), Khoja Ata-Malik ‘Alaaddin Muhammad Juvaini, may Allah cover him with his forgiveness, describing Moghulistan, writes: “In *Ta’rih-i Jahangushay*, it is said that the original abode of the Tatars [as stated in the verse] was in the eastern steppes, beyond the Onon and Kerulen rivers, where they roamed in great numbers before being united under the rule of Chinggis Khan” (Haidar, 2016, p. 2). The following describes the points of residence of the Mongols. Initially, the author explains that the term “Tatar” is not his, and he writes it, as it was “said in the verse”. There are also several points worth highlighting here. Mirza Muhammad Haidar himself did not personally mention the term “Tatar”. The only time he used it goes back to Juvaini’s writing. Further, he actually equates the term “Tatar” with the ethnonym “Mogol” (“inhabitant of Moghulistan”). Further, Moghulistan is identical to the place where Genghis Khan and the Mogols came from, which is incorrect from the standpoint of modern knowledge about the localization of historical Mongolia and Moghulistan. It is also worth noting that instead of the term “Tatars” he uses the term “Uzbek” to denote the nomadic population of Ulus Jochi. This is especially evident in the following passage from Chapter 112: “Those places belonged as an iqta to Kasim Husayn Sultan, who was from the Uzbek sultans of Kefe and Crimea” (Haidar, 2016, p. 3). That is, some “Uzbeks” lived in the Crimea and the Kefe, although there is no such information in other sources.

In Chapter 24, Mirza Muhammad Haidar Dughlat writes that the Golden Horde Khan Urus was an “Uzbek”: “In that area, the high ear (Sahibkiran) was informed that Tuktamish uqlan was arriving, who, fearing the Uzbek Urus Khan, turned his face of hope to the threshold of the Sahibkiran’s world refugee [Sahibkiran]” (Haidar, 2016, p. 3; Sagynbayeva et al., 2019). Further, there are references to the country of Uzbeks: “Another group – Kaluchi, Bulgach and a number of other tribes – went to Abu-l-Khair in Uzbekistan” (Peacock, 2018, p. 155). This passage says that individual Mogul tribes went to Ulus Jochi, namely to the Golden Horde Khan Abul Khair, which indicates a certain mobility of the tribes of Ulus Jochi and Moghulistan, the ethnic differences between which were not so significant (Hautala, 2019; Tanase, 2018).

It should be noted that in Chapter 68, when the author describes the borders of

Moghulistan, he talks about such rivers as Ila (Ili), Emil, Irtish, Chulak, Narin. He also claims that Lake Balkhash (Kukcha Tengiz) was the border between Uzbeks and Moguls (Stănică, 2018). Furthermore, in the same chapter, the author notes that the Atil river flows in the possession of the Uzbeks (“among the Uzbeks it is known as Idil”) and it flows into the Kulzum (Caspian Sea). This once again confirms that the Uzbeks in the texts of *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* are identical to the “Golden Horde Tatars”. The author also wrote the following: “After the death of Abul-Khair Khan, the ulus of Uzbeks fell into disarray, great disagreements arose there and most [people] went to Kirai Khan and Janibek Khan, so that their number reached two hundred thousand people and they began to be called ‘Uzbek- Kazakhs’. The beginning of the reign of the Kazakh sultans went from 870 (1465-1466), and Allah knows best, and until 940 (1533-1534) the Kazakhs had complete power over most of Uzbekistan” (DeWeese, 2018, p. 110).

This passage is extremely important for understanding the history of the eastern part of the Jochi Ulus in the second half of the fifteenth century-early sixteenth century. Notably, the author himself was born at the turn of the century, and therefore his testimony about the events of the second half of the sixteenth century must be taken critically. The dating of the Kazakh Khanate’s appearance in 1465-1466 was previously criticized by Sultanov (2017), who believed that the main marker in this passage can be designated as “after the death of Abul Khair Khan”. Since the author was chronologically distant from this era, plus he himself expressed doubts about this date in the text (“and Allah knows best”), it is quite possible that Sultanov (2017) has more scientific weight here. At the same time, the figure of two hundred thousand Uzbek-Kazakhs is credible. Of particular interest is the date 1533-1534, with which the author marks the last peak of the Kazakhs’ power. After these years, the Kazakh Khanate actually disintegrated when some of its parts submitted to the Nogai Horde, the Central Asian Shibanids or the Mogul rulers. In the scientific tradition it is customary to consider the Uzbeks as the population of only the eastern part of Ulus Jochi, which is absolutely wrong according to sources, including from the standpoint of the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*’s author.

According to Yudin (2001, p. 72): “The population of both the Western and Eastern Dasht-i Kypchak was called Uzbeks, and not only the nomads of the Eastern Dasht-i Kypchak. The latter opinion is quite widespread among historians of Kazakhstan and Central Asia, but it does not correspond to reality”. That is, the information about Uzbeks in *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* is information about the Golden Horde Tatars, since the author used the term “Uzbeks” to address Golden Horde Tatars (Grinberg, 2018). In this regard, the question of the number of Uzbeks (“Golden Horde Tatars”) who moved to Central Asia together with the Shibanid prince Mohammed Sheibani becomes very important (Pow, 2019; Al Omari, 2020).

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

In historiography, there were quite many discussions about the number of Uzbeks who, together with Mohammed Sheibani, left for Central Asia. Thus, for example, the classical scholar of Kazakhstani oriental studies Pischulina (1977) considered that their number was not high. Another luminary of oriental studies, Sultanov (2017) believes that the number of Uzbeks who resettled in Central Asia went from forty to sixty thousand soldiers. Assuming that their resettlement was with their families, then the number of Uzbeks who left for Central Asia with Mohammed Sheibani ranged from 240 up to 360 thousand people. Sabitov (2015) believed that the number of Uzbeks among Mohammed Sheibani was ten thousand soldiers (or fifty thousand people).

Thus, two standpoints were formed about the number of Uzbeks who left the Jochi Ulus for Central Asia. This study suggests that both estimates are slightly inaccurate. Information from *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* is very helpful in this matter. In one of the chapters, it is written:

Shahibek khan took Bukhara and Samarkand, and his army from two hundred or three hundred [people] reached fifty thousand, and possibly even sixty thousand [...]. Shahibek Khan took the Khan prisoner and released him. He split off as many people as he could from the army of the khans, and thirty thousand Moguls were added to his Uzbek army (Haidar, 2016, p. 3).

Further, in another passage: “Shahibek khan told in secret to Emir Jan Wafa, one of my father’s friends and relatives, that he would not return from Khwarazm in any way until he made the conquest, and it is clear that the siege would last long. Today, there are about thirty thousand Moguls among the Uzbeks” (Serubayeva et al., 2015, p. 505). Here, based on the analysis of *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, it is evident that from 50% to 60% of the Muhammad Sheibani’s troops were not Uzbeks, but Moguls. At the same time, the Uzbeks were apparently the second-largest group in the composition of the Mohammed Sheibani’s troops. At the same time, after the death of Mohammed Sheibani, these Moguls left the Shibanids. As stated in Chapter 67, the Uzbek sultans had only twenty thousand troops left in 1511-1512, while the head of the Shibanids, Suyunch-Khoja-khan, had only seven thousand soldiers (Haidar, 2016). Thus, it can be argued that the thesis suggesting that about 240,000 to 360,000 nomads left the Golden Horde with Mohammed Sheibani is not true. This thesis contradicts the sources, including the information from *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (Favereau, 2018; Schamiloglu, 2018).

Relatedness of the Mogul tribe Dughlat and the Kazakh tribe Dulat

Mirza Muhammad Haidar Dughlat came from the Mogul tribe of Dughlat. The ancestors of this tribe were in the Chagatai ulus and owned the area of Manglai-Sube. In Kazakhstani historiography, it is widely believed that a part of the Mogul tribe Dughlat remained among the Kazakhs, where it is known as Dulat. Linguistic arguments are presented in favor of this point (names are similar). In addition, one of the important arguments here is that both tribes lived in close geographical locations, on the territory of the former Moghulistan. At the same time, it is worth noting one drawback of this concept. Mirza Muhammad Haidar Dughlat very often writes about the transitions of various Mogul tribes to the Uzbeks and Oirats. However, he never noted that the Dughlat tribe passed to the Kazakhs. If the author does not provide such information about his tribe, this fact is alarming. Although this case might have a reasonable explanation.

The only objection to the consensus on the identity of Dughlats and Dulats is the position of Sabitov (2015). It has been suggested that these tribes were merely “namesakes” and that the Dulats were part of the Uysun tribe of the Golden Horde. The question of whether the Uysun and Uysun refer to the same tribe remains open. The Uysun lineage is traditionally traced to the legendary Maiky-biy, often identified with Bayku-noyon from the Khushin clan, a contemporary of Chinggis Khan, Jochi, and Batu, and one of the four emirs-Karachi-beks in the Ulus Jochi. This study suggests that the concept of relatedness of Dughlats and Dulats is more accurate. It is worth making an amendment here. The transition of the Dughlats to the Kazakhs took place not in the fifteenth century-first half of the sixteenth century, but after the death of Mirza Muhammad Haidar Dughlat (Sakhiyeva et al., 2016). Therefore, there is not a single mention of such a transition in his chronicles. In Mogulia, the Dughlats lost their influence over time, it is quite possible to explain this by the migration of part of the Dughlat to the Kazakh Khanate (Sablin, Magier, 2023; Sakhiyeva et al., 2015). A decrease in the number of Dughlat in Mogulia due to their outflow to the Kazakh Khanate led to a decline in their influence (Qiu, 2018; Sartbekova et al., 2019).

Unique information about Buruj-Oglan, the son of Abul Khair Khan

In the chapter 46, there is a unique mention of the juchid Buruj-Oglan, who is identified there as the son of Abul Khair Khan. Yet, no other sources mention a son with such name among Abul Khair Khan’s children. To understand the uniqueness of this passage, it should be quoted in full:

After [the death] of Abu-l-Khair khan, his people and sons gathered around Buruj-Oglan, who was the eldest of the children of Abu-l-Khair khan. Since Kirai Khan and

Janibek Khan gained full strength, Buruj-Oglan stayed away from them and stayed within the [city] of Turkestan. When Buruj-Oglan heard the sound of a horn and saw six people with a banner, he jumped up to mount his horse. However, his equestrian and a horse were seized on the spot by the maids, and women jumped out of the house and seized Buruj-Oglan himself. At that moment, the khan arrived and ordered his head to be cut off and planted on a spear. Of those twenty thousand Uzbeks, few survived. The khan, having won the battle, settled in his camp, and when the next day the army gathered, he began to pursue them. Those of the surviving sultans of Abu-l-Khair Khan have fled (Haidar, 2016, p. 4).

Since Abul Khair Khan does not have a son with that name in other sources, many scholars began to consider various explanations for this contradiction. One of the main theories suggested that Buruj-Oglan was, in fact, the famous Bureke-Oglan, son of Yadiger Khan, who ruled with the Nogais. However, there is a contradiction here, Bureke-Oglan, according to other sources, was killed in a different way (by Mohammed Sheibani) and at a different time. There were no other explanations about this “son of Abul Khair Khan”. Thus, the contradiction between the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* and other sources concerning the children of Abul Khair Khan persists. Everything can be explained here if we assume that Buruj-Oglan was the nickname (*lakab*) of the eldest son of Abul Khair Khan, who was named under a different name in the genealogical tables. That is, proceeding from the historical context and parallels in other sources, it can be assumed that Shaikh-Haydar was hiding under the name of Buruj-Oglan. He was the eldest son of Abul Khair Khan and was fighting for power in Ulus Jochi after his father’s death.

The number of Kazakhs in the composition Tarikh-i-Rashidi and their disappearance.

The number of Kazakhs in *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* varied greatly. In the beginning it is said that Dzhanibek and Kerey had two hundred thousand soldiers who joined them after Abul Khair Khan’s death. Further, under Kasym Khan, the number of Kazakhs increased to one million people. But after the death of Kasym Khan, the number of Kazakhs began to steadily decline, first to four hundred thousand, then to two hundred thousand, and, in the end, according to Mirza Muhammad Haidar Dughlat, there were no Kazakhs left on the face of earth. It is very interesting that very few researchers have somehow tried to explain this thesis using *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*. Thus, some pre-revolutionary authors admitted that there was no connection at all between the Kazakhs of Janibek and Kerey and the Kazakhs of Shigai and Yesim. By the middle of the sixteenth century, according to *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, there were no Kazakhs left at all. But this is only an uncritical perception of the informa-

tion from the primary source. Other scholars unwittingly argued about the physical destruction of Kazakhs, a kind of “medieval genocide”.

This study suggests that the sharp decline in the number of Kazakhs from one million to zero can be explained by two factors: 1) like many other ethnic terms, Kazakh was not an ethnonym, but a political name. That is, if the Golden Horde nomads recognized the power of the Nogai beys, they were called a Nogais. If nomads changed citizenship and became a subject of the descendants of Urus Khan, they were called Kazakhs or Uzbek-Kazakhs (Barrado-Timón, Hidalgo-Giralt, 2019); 2) a sharp reduction in the number of Kazakhs in this way should be interpreted not as the physical extermination of Kazakhs, but as a loss of sovereignty, when the former Kazakhs, recognizing the allegiance of the Nogais, Uzbeks and Moguls, ceased to be politically Kazakhs.

Final considerations

This article outlined the main theses about the value of *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* as a source on the history of Ulus Jochi. Among them, four groups of unique information can be distinguished, which allow taking a fresh look at the history of the Golden Horde.

The first group includes the information from *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* about the main ethnos of the Golden Horde – the Uzbeks. Judging by the context, they are synonymous with the ethnonym and political name of the Tatars, which was used to designate the nomadic population of the Golden Horde in Russian, European and Arab sources. The second group concerns the resettlement of nomads from Ulus Jochi and Moghulistan to Central Asia. During Soviet times, the thesis was spread about the resettlement of 240,000 to 360,000 nomads from the Golden Horde to Central Asia. But according to *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, this figure should be at least twice as low. According to the book, at least half of Mohammed Sheibani’s troops were Moguls. Thus, the old Soviet thesis should be revised in connection with the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*’s information into scientific circulation. Unfortunately, the book does not provide data on the resettlement of the Dughlats in the Kazakh Khanate, making this issue debatable. The idea was proposed to explain the absence of such information in *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*. The third group of unique information concerns Buruj-Oglan, the son of Abul Khair Khan. There is no other person with such a genealogy and name in other sources. The study suggests that Buruj-Oglan is Shaikh-Haydar Khan, the son of Abul Khair Khan. The fourth group of information relevant to this study is about the number of Kazakhs and the thesis that in a short time one million people disappeared from the face of the earth. This paradox was explained by the fact that when *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* was written, parts of the Kazakh Khanate had become part of the Nogai Horde, Moghulistan, and Shibanid possessions of the eastern part of the Ulus Jochi.

Tarikh-i-Rashidi is a unique source on the history of Central Asia, containing a large amount of unique information about the history of this region. Regarding the Golden Horde, excerpts from *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* provide new insights into the history of Ulus Jochi. In general, *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* is a unique historical source that must be used to reconstruct the history of the eastern part of the Ulus Jochi in the fifteenth century's second half and first half of the sixteenth century.

References

- ABUSEITOVA, Meruert Huatovna; BARANOVA, Yulia Grigorievna. *Written sources on the history and culture of Kazakhstan and Central Asia in the XIII-XVIII centuries*. Almaty: Daik-Press, 2001. Available at: https://books.google.com.ua/books/about.html?id=N0ZuA-AAAMAAJ&redir_esc=y. Accessed on: 11 Nov. 2024.
- AHMEDOV, Bo'riboy. *Historical and geographical literature of Central Asia, XVI-XVIII centuries: Written monuments*. Tashkent: Fan, 1985. Available at: https://www.academia.edu/45122953/82_1985. Accessed on: 11 Nov. 2024
- AKIMUSHKIN, Oleg Fedorovich. On the issue of foreign policy ties of the Mogul state with the Uzbeks and Kazakhs in the 30s XVI-60s XVII century. *Palestinian Collection*, v. 21, n. 84, p. 233-248, 1970. Available at: https://www.academia.edu/89863003/B_1970. Accessed on: 9 Nov. 2024.
- AKIMUSHKIN, Oleg Fedorovich. Chronology of the rulers of the eastern part of the Chagatai ulus: Tughluk-Timur-khan line. *East Turkestan and Central Asia: History, culture, connections*, v. 1, p. 156-164, 1984.
- AL OMARI, Khaled; AL SALAIMEH, Safwan; SAGIN, Musa. The general model of Golden Horde architectural décor. *International Journal of Engineering Research and Technology*, v. 13, n. 1, p. 74-79, 2020.
- ALBANI, Kozhabekly Bayzak. *Muhammad Haidar Dughlat*. Almaty: Atatek, 2000.
- ASFENDIJAROV, Sanzhar Seitzhafarovich; KUNTE, Pavel Andreevich. *The past of Kazakhstan in sources and materials: Collection 1 (V c. BC, XVIII c. AD)*. Almaty: Kazakh Regional Publishing House, 1935. Available at: <https://kazneb.kz/ru/bookView/view?brId=1151773&simple=true#>. Accessed on: 11 Nov. 2024.
- BARRADO-TIMÓN, David Antonio; HIDALGO-GIRALT, Carmen. Golden hordes or mere barbarians? Discourses on tourism, touristification, and tourismophobia in Madrid's Lavapiés neighborhood. *Boletín de la Asociación de Geógrafos Españoles*, v. 83, n. 2824, 2019.
- BILYALOVA, Gulmira Alimgazievna. Some aspects of the history of the formation of the Kazakh Khanate. *Peoples and Religions of Eurasia*, v. 1, n. 14, p. 9-15, 2018.
- DERBISALI, Absattar Bagisbaevich. *Muhammad Haidar Dughlat: Biographical bibliographic reference*. Almaty: M.H. Dughlat Public Foundation, 1999.
- DERBISALI, Absattar Bagisbaevich. *Muhammad Haidar Dughlat: Is an outstanding spiritual and scientific figure*. Astana: Corporate Foundation "Ruhani qundylyqtardy qoldau qory", 2018a.
- DERBISALI, Absattar Bagisbaevich. *Muhammad Haidar Dughlat: Biographical bibliographic reference*. Almaty: Oner, 2018b.
- DEWEESE, Devin. A Khwārazmian saint in the Golden Horde: Közlük Ata (Gözli Ata) and the social vectors of islamisation. *Revue des Mondes Musulmans et de la Méditerranée*, v. 143, p. 107-132, 2018.
- DZHUMANALIEV, Tynchbolot Dadyevich. *Reader on the medieval history of Kyrgyzstan XIII-XVIII centuries*. Bishkek: Kyrgyzstan, 1996. Available at: https://books.google.com.ua/books/about/html?id=Hb5W-PAAACAAJ&redir_esc=y. Accessed on: 9 Nov. 2024.

- FAVEREAU, Marie. How the mamluk sultan addressed the golden Horde's Khan: The form of letters and rules for their compilation. *Zolotoordynskoe Obozrenie*, v. 6, n. 1, p. 41-84, 2018.
- GRINBERG, Moshe. A Lithuanian embassy in the Golden Horde in 1348: The background and consequences. *Zolotoordynskoe Obozrenie*, v. 6, n. 3, p. 504-527, 2018.
- Haidar, Mirza Muhammad. *Tarikh-i Rashidi*. Tashkent: Fan, 1996. Available at: <http://flibusta.site/b/765234/read>. Accessed on: 11 Nov. 2024.
- Haidar, Mirza Muhammad. *Tarikh-i Rashidi*. Almaty: Sanat, 1999. Available at: <https://search.worldcat.org/title/Tarikh-i-Rashidi/oclc/1049057325>. Accessed on: 11 Nov. 2024.
- Haidar, Mirza Muhammad. *Tarikh-i Rashidi*. Tashkent: Fan, 2016. Available at: https://www.vostlit.info/Texts/rus14/Tarich_Rashidi_II/pred.phtml?id=1641. Accessed on: 9 Nov. 2024.
- HAUTALA, Roman. Comparing eastern and missionary sources on the Golden Horde's history. *Zolotoordynskoe Obozrenie*, v. 7, n. 2, p. 208-224, 2019.
- IBRAGIMOV, Sardor Khamdamovich et al. (ed.). *Materials on the history of the Kazakh khanates of the XV-XVIII centuries (extracts from Persian and Turkic writings)*. Alma-Ata: Nauka, 1969. Available at: <https://www.academia.edu/39844676/1969>. Accessed on: 9 Nov. 2024.
- ILCHUK, Sergiy. Impact of social exclusion on social identity: social-philosophical dimension. *Humanities Studios: Pedagogy, Psychology, Philosophy*, v. 15, n. 1, p. 149-158, 2024.
- KALIEKOVA, Maria Alexandrovna. *Muhammad Haidar Dughlat life and work*. Almaty: Atamura, 2010.
- KUANG, Lidian; GAO, Xingmei; LIU, Bingliang; WANG, Jianzhan. Research hotspots and frontiers of ethnic cultural identity: based on analysis of Web of Science database. *Frontiers in Psychology*, v. 14, n. 1276539, p. 1-12, 2023.
- KUMEKOV, Bulat Eshmukhambetovich; KARIBAEV, Islambek Bazarbayevich. *Muhammad Haidar Dughlat: History, personality, time*. Almaty: Aruna, 2005.
- MARGULAN, Alkey. Muhammad-Haidar: First Kazakh historian. *Literature and Art*, v. 4, p. 78-87, 1941.
- MINGULOV, Nikolai Nikolaevich. *Muhammad-Haidar Dughlat. Great scientists of Central Asia and Kazakhstan VIII-XIX centuries*. Alma-Ata: Kazakhstan, 1965. Available at: https://www.vostlit.info/Texts/Dokumenty/M.Asien/XVI/1500-1520/Istoriya_pobed/lit1.phtml?id=1450. Accessed on: 11 Nov. 2024.
- MUKMINOVA, Roziya Galieva. About some sources on the history of Uzbekistan at the beginning of the 16th century. *Proceedings of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Academy of Sciences of the Uzbek SSR*, v. 3, p. 136-137, 1954. Available at: https://www.academia.edu/103465825/82_1954. Accessed on: 11 Nov. 2024.
- PASSMORE, Sam et al. Kinbank: A global database of kinship terminology. *PLoS ONE*, v. 18, n. 5, e0283218, 2023.
- PEACOCK, Andrew. Islamisation in the Golden Horde and Anatolia: Some remarks on travelling scholars and texts. *Revue des Mondes Musulmans et de la Mediterranee*, v. 143, p. 151-164, 2018.
- PETROV, Konstantin Ivanovich. *On the history of the movement of the Kyrgyz in the Tien Shan and their relationship with the Oirats in the 13th-15th centuries*. Frunze: Publishing House of the Academy of Sciences of the Kirghiz SSR, 1961. Available at: <https://bilim.akipress.org/lib/book/557/ki-petrov-kistorii-dvizheniya-kirgizov-na-tyan-shan-i-ih-vzaimotnoshenij-s-oiratami-v-13-15-v-v-frunze-1961/>. Accessed on: 9 Nov. 2024.
- PISCHULINA, Klavdiya Antonovna. *South-East Kazakhstan in the middle of the XIV beginning of the XVI century (questions of political socio-economic history)*. Alma-Ata: Nauka, 1977. Available at: <https://www.academia.edu/45075628/1977>. Accessed on: 9 Nov. 2024.
- PISCHULINA, Klavdiya Antonovna. Kazakh khanate in relations with Moghulistan and Shaybanids in the last third of the 15th century. *Kazakhstan in the Era of Feudalism: Problems of ethnopolitical history*. Alma-Ata: Nauka, 1981. v. 1, p. 96-123.
- POW, Stephen. "Nationes que se tartaros appellant": An exploration of the historical problem of the

- usage of the ethnonyms Tatar and Mongol in medieval sources. *Zolotoordynskoe Obozrenie*, v. 7, n. 3, p. 545-567, 2019.
- QIU, Yingqi. Independent ruler, indefinable role understanding the history of the golden horde from the perspectives of the Yuan Dynasty. *Revue des Mondes Musulmans et de la Mediterranee*, v. 143, p. 29-48, 2018.
- SABITOV, Zhaxylyk. On the question of the composition of Sheibani-khan's troops. *Young Scientist*, v. 11, n. 91, p. 1160-1163, 2015.
- SABITOV, Zhaxylyk. "Majmu at-tavarih" as a source on the history of the Jochi Ulus. *Golden Horde Review*, v. 5, n. 3, p. 577-590, 2017.
- SABLIN, Syrym; MAGIER, Dariusz. The main trends in the use of documents in the Central State Archive of Scientific and Technical Documentation of the Republic of Kazakhstan. *Historia i Swiat*, v. 12, p. 359-378, 2023.
- SAGYNBAYEVA, Burul; SARTBEKOVA, Nurjan; TOLOKOVA, Elmira; AKZHOLOVA, Zulfiya. The Kyrgyz worldview in the story by ch. Aitmatov's "The white steamship" (1988). *Asia Life Sciences*, v. 1, p. 359-367, 2019.
- SAKHIYEVA, Farida; BERDIBAYEVA, Sveta; ATAKHANOVA, Gulzagira; BELZHANOVA, Aliya; BERDIBAYEV, Satybaldy. Features of the value orientations of Kazakhs living abroad. *Review of European Studies*, v. 7, n. 6, p. 317-324, 2015.
- SAKHIYEVA, Farida; BERDIBAYEVA, Sveta; KASYMOVA, Roza; SHAGYRBAYEVA, Mentay; SMATOVA, Clara; ORAZBAYEVA, Ayimbala. The study of axiological orientations of Kazakh diaspora, living abroad. *International Journal of Environmental and Science Education*, v. 11, n. 11, p. 4025-4039, 2016.
- SARTBEKOVA, Nurjan; RADZHAPOVA, Naarkul; AZHIBAYEVA, Aynura; UMARBEOVA, Anara; DZHUBAYEVA, Ayzada. History and development of arts and crafts of Kyrgyzstan. *Astra Salvensis*, supl. 1, p. 25-31, 2019. Available at: <https://astrasalvensis.eu/?mdocs-file=1724>. Accessed on: 11 Nov. 2024.
- SCHAMILOGLU, Uli. The rise of urban centers in the Golden Horde and the city of Ükek. *Zolotoordynskoe Obozrenie*, v. 6, n. 1, p. 18-40, 2018.
- SERUBAYEVA, Aurika; TURUNTAYEVA, Aikerim; ZHARKENOVA, Aigul; TULESHOVA, Lyazzat. Shokhan, explorer of the history of people in central Asia. *Anthropologist*, v. 22, n. 3, p. 504-509, 2015.
- SHERSHOVA, Tetiana; CHAIKA, Vladyslava. Cultural memory and memory culture. *Humanities Studios: Pedagogy, Psychology, Philosophy*, v. 12, n. 1, p. 188-195, 2024.
- STÄNICĂ, Aurel-Daniel. Presence of the Golden Horde at the mouth of the Danube (XIII-XIV centuries): the archaeological argument. *Revista Arta*, v. 14, n. 2, p. 51-65, 2018.
- SULTANOV, Tursun Ikramovich. Some remarks about the beginning of the Kazakh statehood. *Izvestiya AN KazSSR Public Series*, v. 1, p. 54-57, 1971.
- SULTANOV, Tursun Ikramovich. Revision on Mirza Muhammad Haidar: Tarikh-i Rashidi. Translated by A. Urunbaev, R.P. Dzhailova, L.M. Epifanova. *Vostok*, v. 6, p. 171-175, 1997.
- SULTANOV, Tursun Ikramovich. On the historiography of the ethnopolitical history of the Jochi and Chagatai Uluses. *Golden Horde Review*, v. 5, n. 1, p. 74-92, 2017.
- SYZDYKOVA, Zhibek Saparbekovna; KADYRBAEV, Alexander Shaidatovich. Scientists "in power" in the Muslim East: The era of the Chingizids. *Historical and Socio-Educational Thought*, v. 9, n. 2-3, p. 71-77, 2017.
- TANASE, Thomas. A Christian Khan of the Golden Horde? "Coktoganus" and the geopolitics of the Golden Horde at the time of its islamisation. *Revue des Mondes Musulmans et de la Mediterranee*, v. 143, p. 49-63, 2018.
- TOLSTOV, Sergey Pavlovich. *History of the Uzbek SSR*. Tashkent: Fan, 1967. Available at: <https://djuv.online/file/h7K0Xn4H3m5py>. Accessed on: 11 Nov. 2024.
- TUMANOVICH, Natalia Nikolaevna. The work of Mirza Muhammad-Haidar "Tarikh-i Rashidi" as a source on the history of the Kirghiz and Kyrgyzstan. In: KARAEV, Omurkul (ed.). *Arab-Persian sources about the Turkic people*. Frunze: Ilim, 1973, p. 60-98.
- VALIDI, Ahmet-Zaki. Turkish work by Haidar-

Mirza Dughlat. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, v. 8, n. 4, p. 985-989, 1937.

WILSON, Jack. The role of Nogai in the Golden Horde: A reassessment. *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, v. 75, n. 4, p. 609-637, 2022.

YUDIN, Veniamin Petrovich. On the tribal composition of the Moguls of Moghulistan and Mogulia and their ethnic ties with the Kazakhs and other neighboring peoples. *Izvestia of the Academy of Sciences of the Kazakh SSR*, v. 1, p. 52-65, 1965.

YUDIN, Veniamin Petrovich. *Central Asia in the XIV-*

XVIII centuries through the eyes of an orientalist. Almaty: Dyk-Press, 2001.

ZAMORA, Tatiana; PADILLA, Amado. Making sense of conflicting messages of multiracial identity: a systematic review. *Frontiers in Psychology*, v. 15, p. 1-12, 2024.

ZHEMENEJ, I. *Mr. Haidar Dughlat (1499-1551) was a historian and writer*. Almaty: Zerde, 2007.

ZHOLDASBAJULY, S. M.H. *Dughlat and the Kazakh Khanate in the XV-XVI centuries*. Almaty: Kazakh University, 1999.

Agradecimentos aos avaliadores Carolina Fortes e Edmar Checon de Freitas por seus pareceres para este artigo.