The Socio-Political Phenomenon of Qazaqliq in the Eurasian Steppe and the Formation of the Qazaq People

by

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A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy Degree
Department of Near and Middle Eastern Civilizations
University of Toronto

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Abstract

This dissertation is concerned with the formation of the Qazaqs in the context of the custom of political vagabondage known as qazaqliq in post-Mongol Central Eurasia. More specifically, my study addressed the process whereby the Uzbek nomads inhabiting the eastern Dasht-i Qipchâq bifurcated into the Qazaqs and the Shibanid Uzbeks in the sixteenth century in consequence of the qazaqliq activities led by two rival Chinggisid families: the Urusids and the Abû al-Khairids.

Qazaqliq, or the qazaq way of life, was a form of political vagabondage that involved escaping from one’s state or tribe, usually from a difficult social or political situation, and living the life of a freebooter in a frontier or other remote region. The custom of political vagabondage was by no means an exclusively post-Mongol Central Eurasian phenomenon. It existed in other places and at other times. However, it was in post-Mongol Central Eurasia that it became a widespread socio-political phenomenon that it came to be perceived by contemporaries as a custom to which they attached the specific term, qazaqliq.

During the post-Mongol period, the qazaq way of life developed into a well-established political custom whereby political fugitives, produced by the internecine struggles within the Chinggisid states, customarily fled to frontier or other remote regions and became freebooters,
who came to be called *qazaqs*. Such Chinggisid and Timurid leaders as Muḥammad Shībānī and Temūr became *qazaqs* before coming to power.

The Qazaqs came into being as a result of the *qazaqlīq* activities of Jānībeg and Girāy, two great-grandsons of Uruś Khan (r. ca. 1368–78), and of Muḥammad Shībānī, the grandson of Abū al-Khair Khan (r. ca. 1450–70) that resulted in the division of the Uzbek Ulus into the Qazaqs and the Shibanid Uzbeks in the sixteenth century.

The Tatar and Slavic cossacks (Russian *kazak*, Ukrainian *kozak*) who appeared in the Black Sea steppe in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were the products of the *qazaqlīq*, or cossack phenomenon. Significantly, Ukrainian cossackdom led to the formation of the Ukrainian Hetmanate, which eventually contributed to the consolidation of a separate Ukrainian identity.
Acknowledgments

Above all, I will be forever indebted to my Doktorvater Victor Ostapchuk. His guidance and support have made my doctoral program most pleasurable and productive. He generously gave me access to his collection of sources. He helped me acquire a reading knowledge of modern and Ottoman Turkish. I benefited greatly from his lectures on the Ottoman and steppe empires. As an Ottomanist, he went out of his way and helped me pursue my thesis topic. His vast knowledge and expertise were essential to the progress I made on my dissertation. Without his painstaking supervision, this work would have remained full of flaws. I will do my utmost to convey my appreciation fully in time to come. I also express my heartfelt thanks to Ms. Halyna Ostapchuk for giving me the opportunity to taste the most delicious food on several occasions.

I am to the highest degree indebted to Professor Maria Eva Subtelny. My study on the Qazaq people and the qazaqliq phenomenon owes its origin to her encouragement and guidance. She was instrumental in helping me develop my thesis topic. Her comments and encouragements have always inspired me intellectually. She also unselfishly gave me access to her collection of sources. I have relied on her scholarly contributions in my study. The present study is a continuation of her study of the qazaqliq phenomenon. I would also like to express my gratitude to her husband Professor Orest Subtelny for reading the chapter of my thesis pertaining to the Ukrainian Cossacks.

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This work is dedicated to my wife, Hee-Jeung Lim, who has been a faithful companion during my own *qazaqlīq* days of thesis writing.
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**Vowels**

**Long**

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| ﻨٓ | ū | ū, ō | ū |
| ﻲٓ | ī | ē, ī | ī |

**Diphthongs**

| ﻮَ | au | av, āv, ev | ev |
| ﻲَ |  āi | ay, āy, ey | ey |

**Short**

| ﺟَ | a | a, ā | a, e |
| ﺟُ | u | o, ō, u, ū | o, ō, u, ū |
| ﺟِ | i | e, ī, i  | i, i |
Introduction

1 Thesis Statement

This dissertation concerns the formation of the Qazaqs, the ancestors of modern Kazakhs, in the sixteenth century. More specifically, my study addresses the process whereby a group of Uzbek fugitives, led by Jānībeg and Girāy, two leaders of Chinggisid lineage, underwent a period of vagabondage and brigandage at the eastern limits of the Dasht-i Qipchāq in the second half of the fifteenth century and developed into a new nomadic people called Qazaqs throughout the sixteenth century.

The current study explores the formative period of Qazaq history in the context of the custom of political vagabondage known as qazaqlīq in post-Mongol Central Eurasia. Qazaqlīq, or qazaq way of life, was a form of political vagabondage that involved running away from one’s state or tribe, usually from a difficult social or political situation, and living the life of a freebooter in the frontier or remote regions. While the practice of brigandage and vagabondage

1 The spelling Kazakh is used only when referring to the people of Kazakhstan after the creation of the Kazakh Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic in 1925.

2 The term Central Eurasia is used in this study to refer to the vast landlocked area stretching from Manchuria to the Danube. Importantly, it includes Central Asia which is used as a synonym for Transoxiana and adjacent regions in this study.

3 I have adopted Stephen Dale’s rendering of the term qazaqlīq as “political vagabondage.” Concerning its meaning, I follow Maria Eva Subtelny, who defines it as “the period of brigandage that [qazaqs] spent, usually as a young man, roaming about in some remote region on the fringes of the sedentary urban oases, usually after fleeing from a difficult social or political situation.” See Stephen F. Dale, The Garden of the Eight Paradises: Babur and
did exist in the pre-Mongol period and outside Central Eurasia throughout history, it was in post-Mongol Central Eurasia that it became such an important and widespread phenomenon that it acquired a name, i.e., *qazaqliq*, and became perceived as a custom by contemporaries unlike in other places and at other times. Furthermore, in post-Mongol Central Eurasia the custom of political vagabondage played an important role in the formation of new polities and identities.

The importance of the *qazaqliq* phenomenon in post-Mongol Central Eurasia is well attested by the use of the term *qazaq* in various contemporary written sources to refer to the political vagabonds who fled their own states or tribes to live the life of a freebooter in the frontier or remote regions. Such notable political figures of post-Mongol Central Eurasia as Temür, Toqtamīsh, Abū al-Khair Khan, Sultān-Ḥusain Bayqara, Muḥammad Shībānī Khan, and Babur, who became political vagabonds at some point in their political careers, were referred to as *qazaqs* in the contemporary sources.⁴

The formation of the Qazaqs began with the political vagabondage or *qazaqliq* activities of two Jochid *sulṭāns* Jānībeg and Girāy, who in ca. 1459–60, along with the tribes they led, deserted the Ulus of Uzbek, a successor state of the Jochid Ulus, better known as the Golden Horde, that ruled over the Qipchaq steppe, in order to escape the oppressive rule of its khan, Abū al-Khair. According to the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, the single most important source for the early history of the Qazaqs which was written by Muḥammad Ḥaidar Dughlāt in the mid-sixteenth

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⁴ Chapter one will be devoted to the examination of the historical usage of the term *qazaq*.
century, the Qazaqs grew out of the Uzbek fugitives who became steppe vagabonds in the frontier regions of the Ulus of Uzbek. Similarly, the legend of Alash Khan, the Qazaq oral tradition that narrates the origin of the first Qazaq polity, depicts the first Qazaqs as a group of vagrant nomads who spent a period of exile in the steppe after being separated from their nomadic state.

Specialists in Central Eurasian studies generally agree that the Qazaqs came into being when the Uzbeks led by Jānībeg and Girāy separated from the Uzbeks of Abū al-Khair Khan in the mid-fifteenth century and founded the Qazaq Khanate. However, apart from reiterating this rather simple explanation of the origin of the Qazaqs, historians have not fully addressed the following questions that pertain to the rise of the Qazaqs: what were the historical meanings of the Turkic term qazaq?; what were the origins and nature of the qazaqlīq phenomena that emerged in post-Mongol Central Eurasia?; what were the impacts of the qazaqlīq activities of Jānībeg and Girāy on the formation of the Qazaqs and the division of the Uzbeks and the Qazaqs?; what were the relations between Turkic qazaqlīq phenomenon and the Turkic and Slavic cossackdom in the Black Sea steppe region?; and finally, what common features of state formation did the Qazaqs share with the Ukrainian Cossacks (Kozaks)?

I was drawn to the study of the Qazaqs of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries because their descendants have remained active up to the present, forming the few remaining direct descendants, along with modern Mongols, of the Inner Asian nomads that constituted the tribal populations of the great nomadic empires such as those of the Xiongnu, the Türks, and the Mongols. In addition, the Qazaqs are the direct descendants of the Turkic nomads of Qipchaq origin, who assumed leading roles in military and political affairs of the medieval Islamic world and founded several Turkic dynasties, including the Mamlūk sultanate of Egypt.
Furthermore, I became interested in conducting a careful analysis of the qazaqliq phenomenon, a rather forgotten or neglected subject matter, in examining the formation of the Qazaqs because such founders of the Central Eurasian empires and states as Temür, Muḥammad Shibānī Khan, and Babur, as well as Jānībeg and Girāy, were described as experiencing a period of qazaqliq before coming to power.

This dissertation does not follow the conventional approach to the study of the origin of the Qazaqs, which attributes the origin of the Qazaqs simply to the formation of the Qazaq Khanate. Instead, this study explains the emergence of the Qazaqs as a separate nomadic people not only in the context of the qazaqliq phenomenon, but also in relation to the development of the Shibanid Uzbeks, i.e., the ancestors of the modern Uzbek people.

Therefore, this study will enhance scholarly understanding of the evolution of the Qazaqs and the qazaqliq phenomenon, both of which to date have not received sufficient scholarly attention. It will also shed light on the important role the institution of qazaqliq played in the process of state formation in post-Mongol Central Eurasia. Finally, some insights into the development of the Shibanid Uzbeks and the Ukrainian Cossacks, the two other qazaq-related peoples, will also be provided in this study.

2 Review of the Literature: The Formation of the Qazaqs

The modern study of the formation of the Qazaqs began during the Russian colonization of Kazakhstan. One of the pioneers in this field was Chokan Valikhanov, an ethnic Qazaq and the father of Qazaq ethnography and historiography. In a letter presented to the Russian Orientalist I. N. Berezin, Valikhanov expressed the view that the Qazaqs were formed from the union of
various Turkic and Mongol tribes of the Jochid Ulus that had started to disintegrate in the late fourteenth century. More specifically, drawing on Qazaq oral traditions he collected, Valikhanov suggested that the Qazaqs evolved from a group of steppe vagrants who led a life of qazaqs (kazachestvovat) in the steppe north of Syr Darya River after fleeing from famine and the cruelty of their ruler named Abdullah or Abdul-Azis Khan in the late fourteenth century.

In the 1920s, the Bashkort Turkologist Zeki Velidi Togan conducted a study of the origin of the Qazaqs, which would be included in his book titled Bugünkü Türkili (Türkistan) ve yakın tarihi published in 1947. Like Valikhanov, he argued that the origins of the Qazaqs lay in the Jochid Ulus, which was made up of tribes of Turkic and Mongol origin. He suggested that the Qazaqs emerged as a result of the division of the Jochid Ulus into the Shibanid Uzbeks, the Noghays, and the Qazaqs. In his work, Togan also offered an explanation of the term qazaq, defining it primarily as a political leader and his followers who separated themselves from their society or state and went into political exile in the steppe or mountains. Significantly, Togan argued that this term was accordingly applied to Jānībeg and Girāy’s Uzbeks that separated themselves from the main body of the Uzbek confederation and underwent a period of vagabondage.

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7 A. Zeki Velidi Togan, Bugünkü Türkili (Türkistan) ve yakın tarihi (İstanbul: Arkadaş, İbrahim Horoz ve Güven Basımevleri, 1942), 28–41.
The correlation between the early Qazaqs and the qazaqliq phenomenon has also been acknowledged by some Western scholars. In an article titled “Kasakentum, eine soziologisch-philologische Studie,” Annemarie von Gabain noted that Jānībeg and Girāy, like Temūr, Babur, and Muḥammad Shībānī Khan, underwent a period of political exile as qazaqs before coming to power. Quoting Muḥammad Ḥaḍar Dughlāt’s Tārīkh-i Rāshīdī, Wolfgang Holzwarth discussed briefly how the ethnonym qazaq became attached to the group of Uzbeks who had separated from the main body of the Uzbeks at the turn of the sixteenth century. More recently, the important role the institution of qazaqliq played in the evolution of the Central Asian states has been emphasized by Maria Eva Subtelny in her work Timurids in Transition: Turko-Persian Politics and Acculturation in Medieval Iran.

During the Soviet era, Soviet historians presented a different interpretation of Qazaq ethnogenesis, emphasizing the autochthonous development of the Central Asian nationalities. They thus asserted that the modern Qazaqs descended from all the nomadic peoples that had inhabited the steppe of Kazakhstan from the Bronze Age. For instance, the Istoriya Kazakhskoy SSR, published in Almaty in 1979, stated that the ethnogenetic process of the Qazaqs began with the ancient Indo-European peoples such as the Saka (Scythians), the Usun, and the Massagetae.

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10 Subtelny, Timurids in Transition, 29–32.

The Soviet Kazakh historians also suggested that the ethnic basis of the Qazaq nation was formed before the Mongol invasion of the Qazaq steppe, thereby downplaying the Mongol contribution to the makeup of the early Qazaq tribal confederation. The development of the Qazaq people was even described as the Qazaq people’s struggle for liberation from the Mongol feudal lords.12

After Kazakhstan declared independence in 1991, Qazaq historians began placing greater emphasis on the Qipchaq origin of the Qazaqs and on the role of the Chinggisid leadership in the development of the Qazaq Khanate. However, the official Kazakh historiographies basically reiterate the Soviet interpretations of Qazaq ethnogenesis. The Istoriya Kazakhstana s drevneyshikh vremen do nashikh dney, published by the Kazakh Academy of Sciences in 1993, and other more recent works also maintain the view that the Qazaqs descend from all the nomadic peoples that have inhabited the steppe of Kazakhstan from the Bronze Age, such as the Saka (Scythian), the Usun, the Xiongnu, the Türks, and the Qipchaqs.13 Qazaq historians also

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13 A. Kozybaev and others, eds., Istoriya Kazakhstana s drevneyshikh vremen do nashikh dney (Almaty: Izdatel’stvo Dauir, 1993), 131; Bakhytnur Otarbaeva, “A Brief History of the Kazak People,” Nationalities Papers 26, no. 3 (1998): 421–32; K. Ryspaev, Istoriya Respubliki Kazakhstan (Almaty: Bilm, 2002), 13–15. Modern Kazakh historians identify the ancient Usuns with the modern Kazakh Uysyn tribe belonging to the Senior Horde (Ūl Yüz). However, Chokan Valikhanov describes the Uysyn as an ancient Mongol tribe whose name also became the designation of the whole Senior Horde. See Chokan Valikhanov, “Predaniya i legendy bolshoy Kirgiz-Kaysatskoy ordy,” 455. In several Ilkhanid and Central Asian sources, the Ushin or Hushin tribe is recorded as a
suggest that the ethnic basis of the Qazaqs was formed before the Mongol invasion, while acknowledging the fact that the process of Qazaq ethnogenesis was completed in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In her article on Qazaq historiography, M. Kh. Abuseitova states that the ethnic and linguistic basis of the Qazaq nation was formed during the Türkic and Qipchaq period (9th–12th centuries) and that the Qazaqs adopted the name Qazaq with the formation of the Qazaq Khanate.\(^\text{14}\) Similarly, Tursun I. Sultanov, who emphasizes the role of the Chinggisid leadership in the history of Inner Asia and Kazakhstan,\(^\text{15}\) also argues that the indigenous Turkic Qipchaqs who had assimilated the Mongol minority in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries formed the ethnic substratum of the Qazaqs.\(^\text{16}\)

Consequently, Qazaq historians of both the Soviet and post-Soviet periods, who underline the autochthonous development of the Qazaqs, do not regard the period of qazaqlıq that the Qazaqs underwent in the second half of the fifteenth century and its impact on the later Qazaq history as the key factors in the evolution of the Qazaq people.


\(^{16}\) S. G. Klyashtornyi and T. I. Sultanov, Gosudarstva i narody Evraziyskikh stepey: Drevnost’ i srednevekov’ye (Saint-Petersburg: Peterburgskoye Vostokovedeniye, 2000), 208–9. Other Qazaq historians also minimize the role of the Mongol ethnic components in the Qazaq ethnogenesis, arguing that the indigenous Turkic tribes of Kazakhstan assimilated the Mongols who were insignificant in numbers. Ryspaev, Istorya Respubliki Kazakhstan, 77; Kozybaev, Istorya Kazakhstana, 136–37.
There has been a steady stream of publications on Qazaq history in China where the Qazaqs form one of the ethnic minority groups. However, the Chinese interpretations of the origin of the Qazaqs are somewhat influenced by their motivation to establish a close tie between the Han Chinese dynasties and the ancestors of the Qazaqs. Most Chinese historians regard the Wusuns (Usuns), a nomadic people that resided in northwestern China and formed an alliance with the Han dynasty against the Xiongnu in the first century B.C., as the earliest ancestors of the Qazaqs. Jahef Mirzahan and Xifa Xu, for instance, trace a clear line of descent for the modern Qazaq Uysyn tribe from the Wusuns. 17

Recently, revisionist views have also appeared in Chinese historiography. Acknowledging the fact that the modern Uysyn tribe is of Mongol origin, not of ancient Wusun origin, Boquan Qian and Rui Feng trace the origins of the Qazaqs not only to some ancient nomadic peoples that resided in western China, but also to the Qipchaq and Mongol tribes. 18 However, they too attempt to link the ancestors of the Qazaqs to some ancient peoples that either inhabited northwestern China or entered into a vassal-overlord relationship with the Chinese dynasties. For instance, they both argue that the Qazaqs descend from the western Türks and the Tiele even though such a connection remains speculative. 19 More recently, Shi-min Geng has


published an article dealing with the formation of the Qazaq Khanate and the origin of the Qazaqs. In this article, Shi-min Geng virtually repeats the traditional Soviet interpretation of Qazaq ethnogenesis by arguing that the Qazaqs were formed from the admixture of different nomadic peoples, such as the Saka (Scythian), the Uusun, the western Türks, the Qipchaqs, and the Mongols, although he adds that the Qipchaq elements formed the nucleus.²⁰

The Chinese interpretations of the origin of the Qazaqs have been criticized by Linda Benson and Ingvar Svanberg in their co-authored work *China’s Last Nomads: The History and Culture of China’s Kazaks*, which deals with the Qazaqs of China. Both authors argue that linking ancient tribes to modern Qazaq tribes is purely conjectural. Instead, they suggest that the development of the Qazaqs began with the formation of the Qazaq Khanate, which was one of the successor states of the Mongol Empire.²¹

The Western contribution to the study of the Qazaq history has not been substantial even though there has been an upsurge in the publication of works devoted to the politics of modern Kazakhstan in the last two decades. Among the works in Western languages, Jiger Janabel’s doctoral dissertation titled “From Mongol Empire to Qazaq Jüzder: Studies on the Steppe Political Cycle” is the most detailed study of the formation and development of the Qazaq Khanate. Janabel argues that the ethnic Qazaqs evolved from the Jochid Ulus as a result of the centuries-long nomadic cycle, which he divides into two phases: the first was the unification of the Central Eurasian nomads into one political unit—the Mongol Empire, and the second was its


gradual disintegration into smaller polities.\textsuperscript{22} However, Janabel does not attach particular significance to the period of \textit{qazaqliq} that the early Qazaqs underwent in the second half of the fifteenth century. Janabel’s work is also impaired by the limited range of the primary sources he utilized.

The Qazaqs are also the subject of several articles. Particular mention should be made of the article by Beatrice Forbes Manz. In an article dealing with the effect of the multi-ethnic empires on the formulation of identity, Manz touches on the topic of the formulation of Qazaq identity. According to Manz, the Qazaq identity emerged as a result of the divisions of the Turko-Mongolian ruling group of the former Mongol Empire from the fifteenth century onwards. More specifically, the Qazaqs arose when the nomad confederation of the Jochid Ulus split into the Uzbeks who chose closer relations with the settled population of Transoxiana, and the Qazaqs who retained a nomadic way of life in the Qipchaq steppe.\textsuperscript{23}

Turkish historians have also demonstrated interest in the history of the Qazaqs, which they regard as part of the larger history of the Turks. Rather than reaffirming Togan’s view, they emphasize the Turkishness of the Qazaqs and use the term “Qazaq Turks” to refer to the Qazaqs. Muhabay Engin regarded the Qazaqs as one of the Turkic groups that were ruled by the Chinggisids.\textsuperscript{24} The same view is shared by Zeyneş Ismail who, in his \textit{Kazak Türkleri}, describes the Qazaqs as one branch of the Qipchaq Turks that disintegrated into the Qazaqs, the Uzbeks,

\textsuperscript{22} Jigger Janabel, “From Mongol Empire to Qazaq Jüzder: Studies on the Steppe Political Cycle (13\textsuperscript{th}-18\textsuperscript{th} Centuries)” (PhD diss., Harvard University, 1997).


\textsuperscript{24} Muhabay Engin et al., eds., \textit{Kazak ve Tatar Türkleri} (Istanbul: Boğaziçi Yayınları, 1976), 40–41.
the Bashkurts, and the Noghays. Mehmet Saray, author of *Kazak Türkleri tarihi: Kazakların uyansığı*, even argues that the Qazaqs evolved from a group of Turks who deserted their “Uzbek Turkish” leader Abū al-Khair when he failed to protect them from the “Oyrat Mongol” onslaught. In sum, Turkish historians, who equate the formation of the Qazaqs with the revival of the Turkish peoples, do not pay much attention to the nature of Qazaq identity or to the role of the qazaqliq phenomenon in the formation of the Qazaqs.

In contrast, some Mongolian historians emphasize the role of the Mongol tribes in the formation of the Qazaqs, who currently constitute the largest minority group in Mongolia. For instance, N. Ishjamts argues that the major tribal components of the Qazaqs in the sixteenth century were the Naymans and the Kereits, whom he regards as Mongol tribes subdued by Chinggis Khan in the thirteenth century. At the same time, most Mongolian historians tend to reiterate the Soviet interpretations of Qazaq ethnogenesis. Kh. Nyambuu, in his *Mongolin Ugsaatani Zuin Udirtgal* (Introduction to Mongol ethnography), considers the Qazaqs to be the descendants of all the nomadic peoples that inhabited Kazakhstan from the Bronze Age, such as the Scythians, the Usuns, the Alans, and the Qipchaqs. Mukhamadi Khurmetkhan, a member of the Mongolian Academy of Historical Sciences, also shares the same view in his monograph on

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Qazaq history and culture. Interestingly, the five-volume *Mongol ulsyn tüükh* (The history of Mongolia) published by the Mongolian Academy of Historical Sciences in 2003, identifies the modern Qazaq tribe Uysyn with the ancient Wusun, not with the Mongol Uushin tribe that can still be found among the Inner Mongolians.

The history of the Qazaqs is receiving growing scholarly attention in Japan where a great deal of scholarship has focused on the Mongol Empire. Japanese historians explain the emergence of the Qazaqs as a result of the breakup of the Jochid Ulus, regarding the Qazaqs as the direct heirs of the Jochid Ulus. In his monograph on the successor states to the Jochid Ulus, which draws on Chaghatay and Persian sources, Tsuneaki Akasaka describes the Qazaqs as the direct descendants of the left wing of the Jochid Ulus. Noda Jin, who utilizes Manchurian documents in his study of the Qazaq jüzs, or hordes, and their relations with the Qing Dynasty, also maintains the view that the Qazaqs evolved from the left wing of the Jochid Ulus, whose first ruler was Urus Khan, the great grandfather of Jānībeg and Girāy. More recently, Hiroyuki Nagamine has published an article titled “Rethinking the foundation of the ‘Qazaq Khanate’:


From the left hand of the Ulus-i Jūchī to the ‘Qazaq Khanate’,,” which draws on Qādir ʿAlī Bek Jalāyirī’s *Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh* and other Central Asian sources. In this article, Hiroyuki Nagamine argues that the Qazaq Khanate should be regarded as a successor state to the left wing of the Jochid Ulus which was ruled by the Urusid branch of the Jochid lineage, rather than as a new qazaq state.33

To sum up, previous scholarship on the formation of the Qazaq people has been somewhat hampered by ideological constraints and nationalist paradigms in Soviet and post-Soviet Kazakhstan and Communist China. On the other hand, Western scholarship, while providing a more balanced view, has not paid sufficient scholarly attention to the role that the qazaqliq phenomenon played in the formation of new identities in post-Mongol Central Eurasia. Consequently, a comprehensive study of the formation of the Qazaqs in the context of the qazaqliq phenomenon is long overdue.

### 3 Sources

This dissertation utilizes a wider range of original sources than have been used in previous discussions about the formation of the Qazaqs or the nature of the qazaqliq phenomenon. The major primary sources that are used in this study can be categorized into Uzbek, Moghul, Timurid, Ilkhanid, Tatar, and Chinese, the latter being those based on the dynasties or regions in

which they were composed. While Moghul and Uzbek histories written in Chaghatay Turkic or Persian provide the most detailed information on the early history of the Qazaqs, Ilkhanid, Timurid, Tatar, and Chinese histories also offer a substantial amount of information pertinent to the formative period of the Qazaqs, qazaqlïq and qazaqlïq-type activities that occurred in the Central Eurasian steppe, and the history of the Jochid Ulus and the Uzbek Ulus, from which the Qazaqs originated. This dissertation will draw on these somewhat disparate and fragmentary sources and provide a comprehensive study of the socio-political phenomenon of qazaqlïq and the formation of the Qazaqs.

3.1 Histories of the Moghuls and the Uzbeks

The Tārīkh-i Rashīdī, a history of the khans and Dughlāt amirs of the Moghul Khanate, the eastern branch of the Chaghatayi Ulus, written in Persian by Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥaidar Dughlāt in 1546 provides the single most detailed account of the early history of the Qazaqs, including the period of qazaqlïq the Qazaqs underwent. It describes the process whereby the Uzbek fugitives headed by Jānībeg and Girāy became known as Qazaqs and depicts the activities of the Qazaq khans up to the thirties of the sixteenth century. The Tārīkh-i Rashīdī also provides a description of the qazaqlïq activities of the Moghul rulers Vais Khan (1418–1421and 1425–1429) and Sulṭān Saʿīd Khan (1514–1533), enabling us to deepen our understanding of the notion of qazaqlïq.

Muḥammad Ḥaidar Dughlāt’s Tārīkh-i Rashīdī was continued by Shāh Maḥmūd b. Mīrzā Fāżīl Churās, who wrote the Tārīkh, a Persian history of the Moghul Khanate from 1428 to the late seventeenth century. The Tārīkh offers some information on the Qazaqs, who were in
alliance with the Moghul Khans. The *Tārīkh-i Kashgar*, a late Moghul history written in Kashgar Turkic by an anonymous author in the early eighteenth century, also contains information on the Qazaqs.

Another Persian source that offers indispensable information on the early Qazaqs is the *Mihmān-nāma-i Bukhārā* by Fażlullāh b. Rūzbihān Khunjī, which provides a first-hand account of Muḥammad Shībānī Khan’s third campaign against the Qazaqs that took place in 1508–9. It contains a great deal of information on the Qazaqs and the Dasht-i Qipchāq of the early sixteenth century. The Qazaqs are described by the author as infidel brigands. The common origin as well as the differentiation of the Qazaqs and the Shibanid Uzbeks is also noted in this work. The *Badāyi’ al-vaqāyi`* written by Zain al-Dīn Maḥmūd Vāṣīfī in the early sixteenth century also provides an account of `Ubaid Allāh Khan’s campaign against the Qazaqs, which is included in the section titled “the Book of Conquest of the Qazaqs” (*Fathnāma-i qazāq*).

The *Tavārīkh-i guzīda-i nuṣrat-nāma* is a history of the Chinggisids down to the formation of the Shibanid Uzbek dynasty written in Chaghatay Turkic by or for Muḥammad Shībānī Khan. The *Shībānī-nāma* is a history of Muḥammad Shībānī Khan written in Persian by Kamāl al-Dīn `Alī Bināʾī. Another history of the Shibanid Uzbek dynasty known as the *Shībānī-nāma* was written in Chaghatay Turkic by an anonymous author in Bukhara in the first quarter of the sixteenth century. These Shibanid Uzbek histories provide great detail about the *qazaqlīq* days of Muḥammad Shībānī Khan and Maḥmūd Sulṭān, who were forced to become political vagabonds after the death of their grandfather, Abū al-Khair. In these sources, the Qazaqs headed by Jānībeg and Girāy and later by their sons appear as the main enemy of the Shibanid Uzbeks.

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These Shibanid Uzbek histories also mention the qazaqliq days and the qazaq companions of Abū al-Khair Khan. Therefore, they are valuable primary source materials for reconstructing the early history of the Qazaqs and conceptualizing the nature of qazaqliq.

The **Zubdat al-āṣār** is a general history up to 1525, written in Chaghatay Turkic by ʿAbdullāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī Naṣrullāhī. The **Tārīkh-i Abū al-Khair Khānī** is another general history up to Abū al-Khair Khan and his descendants, written in Persian by Masʿūd Kūhistānī. These two histories, written in the first half of the sixteenth century in the Shibanid Uzbek khanate, include details about the constant warfare between the Qazaqs and the Shibanid Uzbeks. The **Zubdat al-āṣār**, along with the Shībānī-nāma, contains brief information on the qazaqliq days of the Timurid prince Sulṭān-Ḥusain Bayqara.

Some original information on the Qazaqs of the sixteenth century is also provided by the **Sharaf-nāma-i shāhī**, or ʿAbdullāh-nāma, which is a history of ʿAbdullāh Khan from his birth to 1587–8, written in Persian by Ḥāfiz Tanīsh Mīr Muḥammad Bukhārī. This history also contains the founding legend of the Uzbeks, which differed from that of the Qazaqs, as will be discussed in Chapter six. The **Bahār al-asrār fi manāqib al-akhyār** is an encyclopedic work composed in Persian by Maḥmūd b. Amīr Valī, who was commissioned by Naẓr Muḥammad Khān (r. 1606–42 and 1648–51), a Toqay-Timurid, or Astrakhanid, Uzbek ruler of Balkh, to write a general history beginning with Creation and culminating with the Toqay-Timurids. The sixth volume is

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devoted to the history of Moghulistan, the Qipchaq Steppe, and Transoxiana, which includes a great deal of information on the Qazaqs and the Shibanid and Astrakhanid Uzbeks. Importantly, it offers indispensable information on the qazaqlīq phase of Qazaq history that supplements the information provided in the Tārīkh-i Rashīdī by Muḥammad Ḥaider Dughlāt. The fourth section (fols. 235a–277a) of the sixth volume of the India Office manuscript contains the description of the role of plunder in the nomadic societies of Central Asia and of the rules regarding the distribution of booty, and the account of the nomadic tribes of the Dasht-i Qipchaq during the post-Mongol period.

The Uzbek histories written in Khorazm are also important for this study of the qazaqlīq phenomenon. The Tārīkh-i Dūst Sultān, or Chingīz-nāma, is a history of the Jochid Ulus, written in Chaghatai Turkic by Ətāmiş Əhjī in Khiva in the mid-sixteenth century. It survives only as a fragment covering the period up to the late fourteenth century. Particularly useful is the description of the qazaqlīq activities of Toqtamīsh and his struggle against Urus Khan, who was the great grandfather of Jānībeg and Girāy. The history is based on the oral traditions of the Dasht-i Qipchaq and thus provides some information not contained in other written Uzbek sources that follow the Perso-Islamic historiographical tradition. Two other Chaghatai Turkic histories were compiled in Khorazm: The Şajara-i Türk, a history of the Chinggisids up to the ‘Arabshāhid Uzbek dynasty, written by Abū al-Ghāzī Bahādur Khan; and the Firdaws al-Iqbāl, a history of the Qungrat Uzbek dynasty, written by Shīr Muḥammad Mīrāb Mūnīs in 1804. They

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offer important information on the genealogy of the Qazaq khans and the Qazaqs that came into contact with the Khivan Uzbekks in the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries. These two Khivan Uzbek histories, along with the Tārīkh-i Shāhrukhī, a chronicle of the Khoqand khanate, composed in Chaghatay Turkic in 1871–72 for Khudāyār Khān (r. 1845–75, with interruptions) by Niyāż Muḥammad b. Mullā ‘Ashūr, provide the account of the origin of the Uzbekks written in the context of the Perso-Islamic historiographical tradition.

The aforementioned Šajara-i Türk, the Tavārīkh-i guzīda-i nuṣrat-nāma, and the Sharaf-nāma-i shāhī are also important for their account of the origin of several Inner Asian tribes belonging to the Qazaq tribal confederacy. In terms of the tribal history of Inner Asia, they update the information provided by Rashīd al-Dīn’s Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh.

### 3.2 Ilkhanid History

For the history of the progenitors of the Qazaqs, we can look to the Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh, the celebrated universal history written in Persian by Rashīd al-Dīn in the early fourteenth century. Particularly useful are the sections covering the origin of Inner Asian tribes, some of which became major Qazaq tribes, and the history of the Ulus of Orda, the left wing of the Jochid Ulus, which later developed into the Qazaq khanate.

### 3.3 Timurid Histories

A number of Timurid histories are valuable primary sources for reconstructing the history of the Dasht-i Qipčaq prior to the rise of the Qazaqs. They provide important information on Urus
Khan, the great grandfather of Jānībeg and Girāy and founder of the Urusid lineage, and the Uzbek nomads of the eastern Dasht-i Qipchāq at the turn of the fifteenth century, that is, the direct ancestors of the Qazaqs. One of them is the Zafar-nāma, which is the earliest known history of Temür written by Nizām al-Dīn Shāmī in 1404 at the order of Temür himself. Shāmī’s Zafar-nāma was supplemented by several other Timurid histories including another history of Temür, the Zafar-nāma by Sharaf al-Dīn Ṭafī Yazdī, completed in 1425 and dedicated to Ibrāhīm Sulṭān, the son Shāhrukh. The two Persian Zafar-nāmas also contain one of the earliest references to the term qazaq in the sense of deserters or renegades. The Muntakhab al-tavārīkh-i Muʿīnī by Muʿīn al-Dīn Nāṭanzī is a general history from Creation to 1413–14, written in Persian in 1413-14 for Shāhrukh. It also provides a great deal of information on the nomads of the Dasht-i Qipchāq and the Jochid or Uzbek khans, including Urus Khan. Of particular importance for this study is its description of the qazaqlīq activities of Jabbār Berdī, a son of Toqtamīsh, which is one of the earliest references to the qazaq way of life.

The Bābur-nāma, an autobiographical memoir written in Chaghatay Turkic by Zāhir al-Dīn Muḥammad Babur in the first quarter of the sixteenth century contains a contemporary account of the Qazaq khans and the Qazaqs. It is an especially rich source for understanding the nature of the qazaq way of life as it describes the qazaqlīq of Babur in great detail as well as that of Sulṭān-Ḥusain Bayqara.

The contemporary account of the qazaqlīq days of Sulṭān-Ḥusain Bayqara is also contained in the Maṭlaʿ-i saʿdān va majmaʿ-i baḥrāin, which is a Timurid history covering the

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years between 1304 to 1470, written in Persian by Kamāl al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Razzāq Samarqandī. The importance of this work also rests in its description of a group of Uzbek soldiers who became *qazaqs* and plundered the Timurid territories, which testifies to the presence of the *qazaq* freebooters in the Dasht-i Qipchāq by the mid-fifteenth century.

Additional information on the early Qazaqs can be obtained from the last Timurid histories by Mīr Khvānd and his grandson Khvāndamīr. Mīr Khvānd’s *Tārīkh-i Raużat al-ṣafā* is a universal history of prophets, caliphs, and kings of Iran up to 1523 dedicated to his patron Mīr ‘Alīshīr Navā’ī. The *Tārīkh-i Ḥabīb al-siyar fī akhbār afrād-i bashar* by Ghiyāṣ al-Dīn Khvāndamīr is also a universal history from the earliest times down to 1524, which was dedicated to the Safavid governor of Herat, Ḥabīb Allāh Sāvajī. The seventh volume of the *Tārīkh-i Raużat al-ṣafā* and tome three of the *Tārīkh-i Ḥabīb al-siyar fī akhbār afrād-i bashar* provide a great deal of information on the early Qazaqs and the Shibanid Uzbeks, the two branches of the Uzbek Ulus.

### 3.4 Crimean and Volga Tatar Histories

The *Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh* by Qādir ʿAlī Bek Jālāyirī is important for this study of the early Qazaqs. This Chaghatay Turkic source, which is a continuation of Rashīd al-Dīn’s *Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh*, focuses on the history of the Jochid Khans. It was written in 1602 in the Kasimov Khanate and dedicated to Boris Godunov. It contains an abridged Chaghatay Turkic translation of Rashīd al-Dīn’s history of the Chinggisids, followed by several *dastāns* devoted to such Jochid Khans as Toqtamīsh, Abū al-Khair Khan, and Urus Khan. The *dastāns* devoted to Urus Khan and to Uraz Muḥammad Khan provide valuable information on the Qazaq khans and the Qazaq tribes.
Qādir ʿAlī Bek was a Qazaq from the Jālāyir tribe, this work is the only extant near-contemporary source written by a Qazaq, which enables us to understand the Qazaq view of their history.

The ʿUmdeṭʿū-l-ahbār is a Crimean chronicle written by a Crimean nobleman, Abd al-Ghaffār Qīrīmī, in Ottoman Turkish in 1744. Abd al-Ghaffār Qīrīmī utilized Ötámiş Ḥājī’s Tārīkh-i Dūst Sulṭān for the early history of the Crimean Khanate, i.e., the history of the Jochid Ulus. The ʿUmdeṭʿū-l-ahbār provides some information on Urus Khan, the great grandfather of Jānībeg and Girāy. It also contains an account of the qazaqlıq activities of Edigū, the founder of the Manghīt Ulus, and a certain Ḥasan Beg, a nobleman of the Cijivut tribe, which offers us an insight into the notion of qazaqlıq among the Crimean Tatars.

The anonymous Däftär-i Čingiz-nāmā is a history of the Volga Tatars compiled in the late-seventeenth century based on the oral traditions of the Qipchaq steppe. It contains descriptions of fictitious anecdotes about the qazaqlıq life of Chinggis Khan and Temūr. It thus provides a Volga Tatar perspective on the phenomenon of qazaqlıq.

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40 For this work see M. A. Usmanov, Tatarskie istoricheskie istochniki XVII– XVIII vv. (Kazan: Izdatel’stvo Kazanskogo Universiteta, 1972), 97–133.
3.5 The Standard Chinese Histories

The official Chinese histories are also significant as a source for the study of the *qazaqlîq* phenomenon. The biographies (*liè-chuán*) of the following official Chinese histories include sections on the northern barbarians, i.e., Turkic and Mongolic tribes, in which descriptions of various *qazaqlîq*-type activities can be found: the *Jinshu* (Book of the Jin), the *Weishu* (Book of the Wei), the *Beishi* (History of the Northern Dynasties), the *Suishu* (Book of the Sui), the *Jiu Tangshu* (Old book of the Tang), the *Xin Tangshu* (New book of the Tang), the *Jiu Wudaishi* (Old history of the Five Dynasties), the *Xin Wudaishi* (New history of the Five Dynasties), and the *Lia shi* (History of the Liao). The *qazaqlîq*-type activities of Mugulü, the founder of the Jou-jan or Rouran nomadic state, Tuyūhun, the eponymous founder of the Tuyūhun state, Afuzhiluo, the founder of Gaoche state in Xinjiang, Ashina, the legendary founder of the Göktürks, Zhuye Jinzhong, the leader of the Shatuo Turks, and Yelü Ta-shi, the founder of the Qara-Khitan state, are found in these histories.

The account of the Jou-jans, who grew out of a group of fugitives roaming the steppe like the early Qazaqs provided in the *Weishu*; Tonyukuk’s explanation of the strength of the Göktürks contained in the *Jiu Tangshu*; the account of the Türgesh leader Suluk with regard to his distribution of booty recorded in the *Xin Tangshu*; and the description of the Uyghur remnants who fled to the forests and became brigands after their state was destroyed by the Qirghiz contained in the *Jiu Tangshu* are particularly relevant to this study, since they furnish a valuable source for investigating the *qazaqlîq*-type activities that occurred in pre-Mongol Central Eurasia.

The *Ming shih-lu*, the imperial annals of the Ming dynasty, contains information on the diplomatic letter sent by Jänîbeg and Girây to the Ming emperor in 1452. This record is
important as it indicates that Jānībeg and Girāy, the first Qazaq khans, became politically active before the 1460s, a fact that is not mentioned in Central Asian sources.

3.6 Mongolian Sources

Like the Jāmiʿ al-tāvārīkh by Rashīd al-Dīn, the Secret History of the Mongols, provides an important source of information on the origin of a number of Qazaq tribes. The two seventeenth century Mongolian chronicles, Erdeni-yin Tobči by Ssanang Ssetsen and Altan Tobči by Lubsangdanjin, also provide some original information on the Jochid Ulus, the Uzbek Ulus, and the Qazaqs. The Mongolian chronicles use the term Toghmag for all these polities, which indicates that the nomads of the Dasht-i Qipchāq were regarded by the Mongols as belonging to the same stock during the post-Mongol period.

3.7 Diplomatic and Ethnographic Materials

In addition to the written histories mentioned above, some diplomatic and ethnographic materials were also utilized in my research. These materials include the Russian historical documents covering the years between 1481 and 1697, which were published under the title Istoriya Kazakhstan v russkikh istochnikakh, vol. 1, Posol’skiye materialy russkogo gosudarstva (XV-XVII vv.) in Almaty, Kazakhstan in 2005. The second volume of this work, Russkiye letopisi i ofitsial’nye materialy XVI – pervoy treti XVIII v. o narodakh Kazakhstana, comprises excerpts from the Russian chronicles that yield useful information on the Qazaqs of the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries.
The oral traditions concerning Alash Khan, the legendary founder of the three Qazaq hordes (Qazaq jūzs), collected by Russian and Qazaq ethnographers such as G. N. Potanin, Ch. Valikhanov, A. Levshin, and N. I. Grodekov in the nineteenth century were also utilized.

4 Definitions of the Term Qazaq

The term qazaq is perhaps first attested in the Codex Cumanicus, an early fourteenth century linguistic manual of Qipchaq Turkic, with the meaning “a guard.” The term qazaq (written as qāzāq) appears in a mid-fourteenth century Mamlûk Turkic-Arabic glossary. In this glossary,


42 Omeljan Pritsak argues that the term qazaq first occurred in this Turkic-Arabic glossary and he follows Martin Houtsma in maintaining that the work was written in 1245. See Omeljan Pritsak, “The Turkic Etymology of the Word Qazaq ‘Cossack,’” Harvard Ukrainian Studies 28, nos. 1–4 (2006): 238. However, as Barbara Flemming demonstrated, the date of the glossary is much later, probably 1343 and not 1245. See Barbara Flemming, “Ein alter Irrtum bei der chronologischen Einordnung des Tarğumān turkī wa ‘āğamī wa muğalī,” Der Islam 44 (1968): 226–29.
the Turkic word *qāzāq* is translated into Arabic as *al-mujarrad*. In the context in which it is mentioned, it denotes an individual who was without family or attachments, hence “alone,” “unattached.”⁴³ According to Peter B. Golden, the term *qazaq* also appears in the mid-fourteenth century Mamlūk dictionaries with the meaning “freed, free” or “bachelor, single” (*qazaq bašlı*). ⁴⁴

However, the term *qazaq* became widely used among the Turkic populations of Central Eurasia during the post-Mongol period in a variety of senses: a freebooter, a fugitive, a vagrant, etc. Modern Turkologists attached a number of meanings to the term *qazaq* accordingly. For instance, Wilhelm Barthold defines it as “free and independent man, vagabond, adventurer, etc” or “a man, separated from his state, tribe or race and forced to lead a life of an adventurer.”⁴⁵ Barthold also notes that in Russian the Turkic term *qazaq* acquired a wider range of meanings. It denotes “a person without his family and property, even when he did not lead the life of a vagabond or a brigand.”⁴⁶ Similarly, V. V. Radlov defines *qazaq* as “free man, independent, adventurer, wanderer” and *qazaqlıq*, a derivative of *qazaq*, literally meaning *qazaq* times or the

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⁴⁵ *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new ed., s.v. “Ḳazaḳ” (by Wilhelm Barthold and G. Hazai), 848; and Yudin, “K etimologii etnonima kazakh (qazaq),” 147.

qazaq way of life as “adventure, wandering around.” Gerhard Doerfer, who investigated the term qazaq employed in Turkic and Persian sources, defines it as “partisan, wandering robber, vagrant, who is not subject to a ruler permanently.”

The Turkologist Zeki Velidi Togan provides a more detailed definition of the term qazaq in his Bugünkü Türkili (Türkistan) ve yakınları tarihi. He defines qazaqs as the adventurers who withdrew to the mountains and wildmesses with a political aim as a result of a rebellion, leaving their society without a family (boydak) and sometimes together with their family, and wandered outside the control of the el and tribe (kabile) until they took control of governmental matters, taking advantage of an opportunity; the adolescent boys who became separated from their el in accordance with the practice of sending them out to the wilderness (sahra) in order to accustom them to life; and those who became separated from their el with the intention of ordinary brigandage. The Turkish scholar Isenbike Togan defines qazaqlığı as a retinue institution that functioned as a necessary stage between clan-tribal societies and states such as the Timurids and the Ottomans.

49 Togan, Bugünkü Türkili, 37. El is a Turkic word meaning “people” or “tribe” or “country.” According to Doerfer, el denotes “tribal group.” See Doerfer, Türkische und mongolische Elemente, 2:194.
50 Isenbike Togan, “Political, Cultural and Economic Relation between Central Asia and Turkey in the Period of Temur,” (paper presented at the Conference Amir Timur and His Role in History, Tashkent, October 24, 1996), 5.
The term qazaq appears in some Tatar sources in the form of the compound verb kazak čıkmak, or “to become a qazaq.” The definition of this expression has been provided by two Ottomanists, Halil İnalcık and Victor Ostapchuk, who emphasize the importance of this political action in Turkic nomadic societies. Halil İnalcık defines it as an action of “withdrawing to the steppes” in order to “wait for an opportune moment to overcome [one’s] rivals and regain power.” Victor Ostapchuk characterizes qazaqs as dissatisfied “individuals or groups who were outside the legitimate … authority” and kazak čıkmak as their action of leaving their state and “go[ing] out into the steppe with their followers to make their fortune.”

In the most recent scholarly literature, qazaqlığ is defined as “political vagabondage.” Stephen Frederic Dale defines qazaq as “a political vagabond” and qazaqlığ as “throneless, vagabond times” which political vagabonds such as Babur had to undergo, “wandering in the political wilderness, fighting for fortresses and kingdoms, or … trying to recover those they had lost.” Maria Eva Subtelny similarly defines qazaq as “freebooter, brigand, vagabond, guerrilla warrior, and cossack” and qazaqlığ as “the period of brigandage that such an individual spent, usually as a young man, roaming about in some remote region on the fringes of the sedentary urban oases, usually after fleeing from a difficult social or political situation.”

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54 See Subtelny, Timurids in Transition, 29. In this study, I will use the expression “political vagabondage” in a broader sense that encompasses vagabond activities that took place not only in “some remote region on the fringes of the sedentary urban oases” but also in other places of refuge in Central Eurasia.
chapter, I will survey the relevant sources and determine in what senses the term *qazaq* was actually used in post-Mongol Central Eurasia.

5 An Overview of the Dissertation Structure

The aim of this study is to examine the formation of the Qazaqs in the context of the *qazaqliq* phenomenon. The procedure of this investigation is reflected in the organization of my dissertation, which is divided into two parts, each consisting of three chapters. Part 1 is devoted to an examination of the *qazaqliq* phenomenon. Chapter one investigates the historical meanings of the term *qazaq* in the various contexts in which this term was used in both written historical sources and oral traditions. It will first look into Timurid, Moghul, and Uzbek histories and then examine Tatar and Muscovite sources as well as some Turkic oral epics. Chapter two will look into *qazaqliq*-type activities that occurred in the Central Eurasian steppe during the pre-Mongol period and the socio-political conditions of Central Eurasia in the post-Mongol period that gave rise to the *qazaqliq* phenomenon. It will first look into the *qazaqliq*-type activities such as flight, migration, and plundering that occurred in eastern Central Eurasia during the pre-Mongol period by drawing on the accounts of the northern barbarians included in the official Chinese dynastic histories. It will then discuss the socio-political conditions of Central Eurasia in the post-Mongol period that facilitated the spread of *qazaqliq* activities as well as the term *qazaq*. Chapter three is devoted to an examination of the *qazaq*-type bands and the cossack institutions that emerged in the frontier regions of Central Eurasia during the Mongol and post-Mongol periods. After investigating the *qazaq*-type bands that appeared in Khorasan and Anatolia from the second half of the thirteenth century onwards, it will examine the *qazaqliq* phenomenon, or cossackdom, that
appeared in the Black Sea steppe region in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The remainder of this chapter will provide a detailed discussion of Ukrainian cossackdom, which was the most significant cossack institution to emerge in the Black Sea steppe region.

Part two will be devoted to an examination of the formation of the Qazaqs based on the discussions on the institution of qazaqliq. Chapter four will examine the formation of the Qazaq Uzbeks and the Shibanid Uzbeks in connection with the qazaqliq activities of their Jochid founders: Jānībeg and Girāy on the one hand, and Muḥammad Shībānī Khan and Maḥmūd Sulṭān on the other. It will first provide a description of the history of the eastern Dasht-i Qipchāq from the mid-fourteenth century to the mid-fifteenth century. It will then describe the two conflicting and interrelated qazaqliq phases underwent by the afore-mentioned Jochid founders in the second half of the fifteenth-century. The rest of the chapter will describe the process whereby the two qazaq bands headed by these rival sultāns were transformed into two separate khanates and uluses, which established themselves in the steppe zone and oases of Central Asia, respectively. Chapter five will look into the division of the Ulus of Uzbek into the Shibanid Uzbeks and the Qazaqs and their separate designations. It will first investigate the origin and meaning of the name Uzbek, and demonstrate that Qazaq replaced Uzbek as the designation of the Qazaq Uzbeks. It will then examine other designations for the nomadic population of the Dasht-i Qipchāq in the post-Mongol era, namely, Turk, Moghul, Jochi Ulus, and Toqmaq, all of which were shared by the Shibanid Uzbeks and the Qazaq Uzbeks, in order to demonstrate that these two groups became divided into two separate nomadic peoples as a result of the emergence of the Qazaq identity. Finally, Chapter six will examine the legend of Alash Khan, the Qazaq oral tradition that narrates the origin of the three Qazaq jūzs, or hordes, in relation to the early history of the Qazaqs, including the qazaqliq phase they underwent in the second half of the fifteenth century. It will first introduce several different versions of the legend.
of Alash Khan that were collected in the course of the nineteenth century. Next, it will discuss how the qazaqlīq activities of Jānībeg and Girāy, as well as the political careers of Urus Khan (r. 1368–78) and Ḥaqq Naẓar Khan (r. 1538–1580) might be reflected in the legend of Alash Khan. The remainder of this chapter will be devoted to a discussion of the Perso-Islamic historiographical tradition that the Shibanid Uzbeks inherited from the Ilkhanids and the Timurids in order to demonstrate that the Qazaq Uzbeks and Shibanid Uzbeks became two separate peoples that differed not only in their self-designations but also with respect to their foundation myths and historical identities.
Chapter 1
The Historical Meanings of the Term Qazaq: An Examination of the Usages of the Term Qazaq in Written and Oral Sources of Post-Mongol Central Eurasia

From the mid-fourteenth century onwards, the Chinggisid uluses of the former Mongol Empire began to dissolve simultaneously. The Yuan dynasty was on the brink of collapse due to repeated internal strife and natural disasters. The Ilkhanate dissolved into several provincial dynasties, while the Chaghatay Khanate became divided into eastern and western realms. The Jochid ulus became engaged in an internecine struggle after the line of Batu came to an end in 1358. As a result, the absence of strong central authority and the tendency towards extreme political fragmentation became a common feature of Central Eurasia.

This fragmented world produced a steady stream of displaced rulers and political dissidents who had to experience a life of political vagabondage in their careers. In order to escape political difficulties or wait for an opportune moment to return or rise to power, these political vagabonds, along with their followers, separated themselves from their tribe or state, and wandered in the remote regions of the state or in foreign lands, acquiring their means of

55 The word ulus means “people (subject to a certain ruler)” or “state.” It was used to denote the appanages given to the sons of Chinggis Khan. For the term, see Erich Haenisch, Manghol un niuca tobca’an (Yüan-ch’ao pi-shi). Die Geheime Geschichte der Mongolen aus der chinesischen Transkription (Ausgabe Ye Teh-hui) im mongolischen Wortlaut wiederhergestellt, vol. 2, Worterbuch zu Manghol un niuca tobca’an (Yüan-ch’ao pi-shi) (Leipzig, 1937; repr. Wiesbaden: F. Steiner Verlag, 1962), 163.

living by raiding. Among the political figures who underwent such a period of political exile before coming to power in post-Mongol Central Eurasia were Jānībeg, Girāy, Temūr, Babur, and Muḥammad Shībānī Khan.\textsuperscript{57}

Among the Turkic population of post-Mongol Central Eurasia, the term \textit{qazaq} was used to refer to these political refugees who ventured into the steppes or some remote places of refuge and resorted to brigandage, either with the aim of returning or rising to power or with the aim of merely surviving, while the term \textit{qazaqliq} was used to describe the period of political vagabondage or the way of life such \textit{qazaqs} experienced.\textsuperscript{58} The term \textit{qazaq} gained wide currency in post-Mongol Central Eurasia and appears in various sources written in Persian, Chaghatay Turkic, Ottoman Turkish, Latin, Polish, and Russian in the sense of a freebooter or a fugitive, both of whom were essentially political vagabonds. This term is also found in a number of oral traditions of the Qipchaq steppe.

In this chapter, I will conduct a comprehensive study of the use of the term \textit{qazaq} in order to understand its historical meanings. I will investigate the various contexts in which the term \textit{qazaq} was used in both written historical sources and oral traditions. I will first look into Timurid, Moghul, and Uzbek histories written in Persian or Chaghatay Turkic and then examine Tatar sources written in various Turkic languages including Ottoman Turkish, and some Turkic oral epics. For the remainder of this chapter, I will investigate Muscovite sources and Polish chronicles (in Polish and Latin). Such an examination of the historical meanings of the term

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\textsuperscript{57} Gabain, “Kasakentum,” 162.

\textsuperscript{58} The word \textit{qazaqliq} is formed by adding -\textit{līq/-lik}, a suffix indicating occupation and length of time, etc, to the word \textit{qazaq}. For the suffix -\textit{līq/-lik}, see János Eckmann, \textit{Chagatay Manual} (Bloomington: Indiana University, 1966), 58.
qazaq will provide an understanding of the socio-political phenomenon of qazaqlīq itself as well as its historical significance.

1 Central Asian Histories

One of the earliest references to the term qazaq in the Central Asian sources appears in Sharaf al-Dīn ‘Alī Yazdī’s Zafar-nāma, the renowned history of Timur, completed in 1425. In the chapter that deals with Temūr’s fourth invasion of Moghulistan, it is stated that an entire military unit deserted Temūr’s son, ‘Umar-Shaikh, and joined the Moghuls led by Qamar al-Dīn. This unit is referred to as “hazāra-i qazāq” probably meaning a renegade unit of 1,000 soldiers. However,

apart from the fact that this military group denoted a renegade unit of soldiers, nothing much can be said as to who they were or what this term really meant in this passage.⁶⁰

In general, the authors of Timurid and post-Timurid Central Asia used the term qazaq in the sense of “brigand” or “vagabond.” One of these authors was Ötämiş Ḥājī, who wrote the Tārikh-i Dūst Sulṭān or Chingīz-nāma, a history in Chaghatay Turkic of the Jochid Ulus, written in Khorazm in the 1550s. The Tārikh-i Dūst Sulṭān gives an account of the qazaqlīq activities of Toqtamīsh, the future khan (r. ca. 1378–95) of the Jochid Ulus. According to this account, which was based on oral traditions of the Qipchaq steppe, Toqtamīsh sought refuge with Temūr when his father, a local Jochid ruler, was executed by Urus Khan, the ruler of the Jochid Ulus. Ötämiş Ḥājī summarizes the action taken by Toqtamīsh the following summer as follows: “In short, Toqtamīsh Oğlan became a qazaq and chased away the herd of (Urus) Khan’s people and raided his people … This aforementioned prince turned qazaq and started to do things in this manner” (al-qışṣa Toḥtamīş Oğlan qazaqlap yūrūp Ḥānnīng elīdīn yīlqī sūrēr erdīlēr vē el čapar ērdi ... Bu oğlan-i mazkūr qazaqlap yūrūp bu ṭarīqa īślār qīla başladi).⁶¹ Since Toqtamīsh’s next course of action after becoming a qazaq (qazaqlap yūr-) was plundering and raiding Urus Khan’s

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⁶⁰ Ashraf Akhmedov, the Uzbek translator of Yazdi’s Zafar-nāma translates “hazāra-i qazāq” as “qazāq thousand” and associates them with the Qazaqs even arguing that the formation of the Qazaqs began as early as the last quarter of the fourteenth century, i.e., long before the rise of the Qazaq Khanate in the second half of the fifteenth century. See Sharaf al-Dīn ‘Afi Yazdi, Zafar-name: Kniga pobed Amira Temura, trans. and ed. Ashraf Akhmedov (Tashkent: San’at, 2008), 82, 383.

⁶¹ Ötamiş Ḥājī, Čingīz-Nāma, fols. 55b–56a.
nomads in this account, it may be assumed that Ötämiş Ḥājī used the term qazaq to mean “a freebooter.”

The Timurid historian Muʿīn al-Dīn Naṭanzī, mentions the qazaq life of Jabbār Berdī, a son of Toqtamīsh, in his Muntakhab al-tavārīkh-i Muʿīnī. Muʿīn al-Dīn Naṭanzī relates that Jabbār Berdī “was wandering around like a qazaq in those border regions” (dar ān navāhī dar sūrat-i qāzāqī mī-gardad). He also states that Jabbār Birdī could increase his power by attracting new followers: “A group of people, ruffians and qazaqs have joined Jabbār Berdī, the son of Toqtamīsh and he too has gained power” (jamī az mardum va aubāsh va qāzāq bi Jabbār-Birdī bin Tūqtamīsh payvasta-and va ā niz quvvatī paydā karda-ast).

Perhaps, the most renowned Timurid prince who lived the life of a qazaq before coming to power was Sulṭān-Ḥusain Bayqara, effectively the last Timurid ruler of Khorasan (r. 1469–70 and 1470–1506). A number of references to his days of wandering are found in different Central Asian sources. The Muʿizz al-ansāb fī shajarat al-ansāb which is a genealogy of the families of Temür and Chinggis Khan written in Persian in 1426–27 and continued down to the end of the Timurids, refers to it as ayyām-i qazāqī, or “days of qazaqliq.”

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62 Interestingly, the passage “qazaqlap yürüp” is translated as “wandered and plundered” in the Japanese translation, whereas it is merely translated as “wandered freely” or “wandered leaderless” (başı boş gezip or başbos kalıp) in the Turkish translation. See Ötämiş Ḥājī, Čingiz-Nāma, 47–48; and Ötemiş Hacı, Çengiz-name, 65–66.

63 Naṭanzī, Muntakhab al-tavārīkh-i Muʿīnī, 87.

64 Naṭanzī, Muntakhab al-tavārīkh-i Muʿīnī, 102.

65 For a detailed study of Sulṭān-Ḥusain Bayqara’s qazaqliq days, see Subtelny, Timurids in Transition, 43–73.

66 Muʿizz al-ansāb fī shajarat al-ansāb, MS, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ancien fonds persan 67, fol. 158b; and Subtelny, Timurids in Transition, 43n3.
Kamāl al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Razzāq Samarqandī, the author of the Persian *Maṭlaʿ-i saʿdān va majmaʿ-i bahrain*, a Timurid history covering the period from 1304 to 1470, relates that “Mīrzā-Sūltān Ḫūsain who was a *qazaq* in the *Dasht-i Qipchāq* for a while, at that time, set out for Khorazm, and the *amirs* and the generals who were in this region could not withstand him even for one assault” (Mīrzā Sūltān-Ḥusain ki dar ʿтарaf-i Dasht-i Qipchāq muddatī qazāq būd darīn vilā bi-jānib-i khvārazm ʿazīmat nimūd va ʿumarāʾ va sardārān ki darīn ʿтарaf būdand yik ḫamlā tāb-i muqāvamat-i ē nayāvardand). The same event is also recorded in the *Raużāt al-jannāt fī ausāf-i madīnāt-i Herāt* as follows: “Mīrzā Sūltān-Ḥusain, who was wandering as a *qazaq* in the Qipchaq steppe, came to Khorazm at that time, and the generals and rebels of these regions could not withstand the assaults of his party” (Mīrzā Sūltān-Ḥusain ki dar Dasht-i Qipchāq qatrāq mī-gasht, darīn furṣat bi-khvārazm āmada, sardārān va gardān-kishān-i ēn navāḥi tāb-i ḫamlā-i maukīb-i ē nayāvardand).

Two early Uzbek histories also mention the *qazaqlīq* days of Sūltān-Ḥusain Bayqara. Kamāl al-Dīn ʿAlī Bināʾī, the author of the Persian *Shibānī-nāma*, a history of Muḥammad Shībānī Khan, also writes, “Sūltān-Ḥusain Mīrzā, having become a *qazaq*, raided along the frontiers of his countries” (*Sūltān-Ḥusain Mīrzā qazāq shoda bar aṭrāf-i mamālik-i ē tākht mī-

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69 The Chaghatay Turkic Zubdat al-ašūr, a general history up to 1525 written by ʿAbdullāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī Naṣrullāhī also relates: “For some time he wandered around in the border regions for 12 years as a qazaq” (nečä muddatlar qazaq yosunlug on iki yil ol navahida qazaq yürür). 70

In two other Chaghatay Turkic sources, the period of qazaq activity of Sulṭān-Ḥusain Bayqara is referred to as qazaqlīq. ʿAlīshīr Navāʾī (1441–1501), who was in the service of Sulṭān-Ḥusain Bayqara in Herat, mentions his overlord's qazaq days in his Majalis al-nafāʾis, calling it “ol ḥażratnīng qazaqlīqda.” 71 The distant nephew of Sulṭān-Ḥusain Bayqara, Zāhīr al-Dīn Muḥammad Babur also refers to qazaq days of Sulṭān-Ḥusain Bayqara as qazaqlīq in his autobiographical memoir. In the Bābur-nāma, Babur writes, “during his qazaqlīq, he (Sulṭān-Ḥusain Bayqara) once caused his horse to swim across the Gurgan River and soundly defeated a


70 ʿAbdullāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī Naṣrullāhī, Zubdat al-ašūr, MS, Tashkent, Institute of Oriental Studies, Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Uzbekistan, 5368, fol. 470b; and also see Subtelny, Timurids in Transition, 55n60.

71 Alisher Navoī, Mazholisun nafois [Majālis al-nafāʾ is], ed. Suīima Ghaniyeva (Tashkent: Üzbekiston SSR Fanlar Akademiyası nashrieti, 1961), 29. In the manuscript of the Majālis al-nafāʾ is preserved in the India Office Library, Sulṭān-Ḥusain Bayqara’s qazaq days are referred to as “ol ḥażratnīng farāqlīqda.” See ʿAlīshīr Navāʾī, Majālis al-nafāʾ is, MS, British Library, India Office, 2507, fol. 18a. It is not certain if ʿAlīshīr Navāʾī himself used the Arabic word farāq meaning “free, separation.” At any rate, in one of the two Persian translations of this work, this passage is translated as “in His Majesty’s qazaq days” (dar qazāqihā-i ʿān ḥażrat). See ʿAlī Shīr Navāʾī, Majālis al-nafāʾ is [The Majalis-un-Nafa’is[sic], “Galaxy of Poets,” of Mir ʿAlī Shir Nava’i. Two 16th Century Persian Translations], ed. Ali Asghar Hekmat (Teheran, 1323 H.S./1945), 23.
band of Uzbeks” (Qazaqliqlarda bir martaba Gurgan suyini uzdurup kechib bir papa Ozbagni yahshi basti).\textsuperscript{72}

Žahîr al-Dîn Muḥammad Babur himself was another renowned Timurid sovereign who experienced days of qazaqliq before coming to power and founding the Timurid state in India. In the Bâbur-nâma, Babur uses the term qazaqliq to refer to the throneless times he himself spent. For instance, regarding his marriage that took place before capturing Samarkand in 1500–1501, he writes “later during my qazaqliq, she came to Khodzhent and I married her” (Songra qazaqliqlarda Ḥujandqa keldi. Alip edim).\textsuperscript{73} After taking Kabul in 1504–5, he relates, “villages and fiefs were given to some of the beys and young warriors who came and were with me when I myself was undergoing qazaqliq days” (Özüm bilä qazaqliqlarda bilä bolup kelgän beglärgä və yigitlärgä ba ’zișiğa kent və tuyul dek berildi).\textsuperscript{74}

In his autobiography, Babur also uses the term qazaqliq to mean “raids or guerrilla warfare.” For instance, he writes, “this same winter some of the soldiers, unable to go with us on our raids, requested permission to go to Andizhan” (Ušbu qis sipâhilardin ba ’zişi bizing bilä qazaqliqlarda yürüy almay Andijanga barmaqqa ruhsat tilâdilâr).\textsuperscript{75} He also writes, “Some


\textsuperscript{73} Babur, Bâbur-nâma, 1:29; and Babur, Baburnama, trans. Thackston, 1:39.


\textsuperscript{75} Babur, Bâbur-nâma, 1:144; and Babur, Baburnama, trans. Thackston, 1:195
Moghuls separated from us at Osh and went to raid on the outskirts of Andizhan” (bir neçä Moğul Oşdin bizdin ayrılıp qazaqliqqa Andijannıng kirdığa kelğan egändürür).76

Babur also uses the term qazaq in connection with brave young men. For instance, he describes Tolun Khvāja from the Moghul ulus, who was loyal to him as being “a remarkably brave, qazaq young man” (‘ajab mardāna va qazaq yigit).77 Elsewhere, Tolun Khvāja’s soldiers are called “qazaq yigitlär.”78

The notion that Babur, Sultān-Ḥusain Bayqara, and other Central Asian political vagabonds may have possessed of qazaqlıq is epitomized in the narration of Abū Ṭalib al-Ḥusainī, who claimed to have translated a Turkic manuscript written by Temūr into the Persian work known as Malfuzāt-i Tīmūrī.79 In this sixteenth century pseudopigraphical work, the narrator relates that Temūr had three plans when he was attacked by the superior force of his political rival Ḥusain, the leader of the Qara’unas. The first was to become a qazaq, the second was to carry out a surprise attack on Ḥusain Mīrzā’s camp, and the third was to leave the country. Then the author qualifies becoming a qazaq in the following manner: “I should turn

76 Babur, Bābur-nāma, 1:158; and Babur, Baburnama, trans. Thackston, 1:213.

77 Babur, Bābur-nāma, 1:78; and Babur, Baburnama, trans. Thackston, 1:106.


Cossack, and never pass twenty-four hours in one place and plunder all that came to hand.”

This remark demonstrates that the *qazaqliq* activities differed from an ordinary military action or political emigration. More importantly, it reflects the typical Timurid experience of *qazaqliq* which often involved the life of a runaway, a vagabond, and a freebooter, a condition that resulted from social and/or political adversity.

On several occasions Abū Ṭālib al-Ḥusainī also uses the expression “*qazaq* manner” in the sense of guerrilla warfare and plundering. When Temūr and his ally Ḥusain Mīrzā faced the superior force of the Moghuls, Temūr wanted to divide his army rather than make a general engagement. However, according to Abū Ṭālib al-Ḥusainī, Ḥusain Mīrzā opposed this saying: “Do not let us separate, but let us advance in line, and attack the foe.” Temūr once again persuaded Ḥusain Mīrzā, although to no avail, saying: “It is not to our advantage to fight them thus; let us attack them in the Cossack manner.” Temūr later received a request for help from the people of Samarkand, which was besieged by the Moghuls. To this, according to Abū Ṭālib al-Ḥusainī, Temūr said: “I was, however, in two minds whether I should at once advance to the relief of Samerkund, and thereby preserve the property, the honor and lives of the Muselmāns, or whether I should make a night attack on the camp of the Jetes, and in the Cossack manner, lay

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80 I was unable to obtain the original Persian text and thus have relied on the following English translation. Abū Ṭālib al-Ḥusainī, *The Mulfuzāt Timūry, or, Autobiographical Memoirs of the Moghul Emperor Timūr, written in the Jagtay Turky Language, turned into Persian by Abu Talib Hussyny, and Translated into English by Charles Stewart*, trans. Charles Stewart (London: The Oriental Translation Committee, 1830), 111.


waste the country around them.” As it turned out, Temür entered Samarqand after learning that the Jetes, i.e., the Moghuls, had been severely weakened by plague and he did not have to resort to either alternative. In his later struggle against Ḥusain Mīrzā, Temür is said to have acted in “the qazaq manner”:

My brave generals approved of this opinion [of confronting the approaching army of Ḥusain Mīrzā]; but the governor and Aly Yusury being heartless, advised that we fortify Bokharā, and that I should, with a light army, in the Cossack manner, annoy the enemy, and that no doubt we should prove successful … After this arrangement, I quitted Bokharā, with my three hundred Cossacks, and advanced towards the enemy; when we approached their encampment, we seized a number of their horses and camels that were grazing, and I gave them to my people…

A Central Asian ruler who became a qazaq and lived the life of a runaway and vagabond before acquiring the throne was the Moghul ruler, Vais Khan (1418–1421/1425–1429), who was the maternal great grandfather of Babur. The Tārīkh-i Rashīdī, a history of the Moghul Khanate, written by Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥaidar Dughlāt in 1546, relates that young Vais Khān decided to become a qazaq because of his troublesome relationship with his paternal uncle Shīr-Muḥammad

83 Temür advanced on Samarqand after learning that the Jetes, i.e., the Moghuls had been severely weakened by plague. Abū Ṭālib al-Ḥusainī, The Mulfuzāt Timūry, 90.

Khān, who was the ruler of the Moghul Khanate.\textsuperscript{85} It relates that “when Sultan Vais Khān reached the age of discretion, he resented being near his uncle who was Shīr-Muḥammad Khān. He left him and went wandering around as a qazaq” (Sultān Vais Khān ... chūn bi ḥad-i tamyīz resīd dar javār-i ḍamm ki Shīr-Muḥammad Khān bāshad, būd. ān būdan-i ā-rā girān āmad. az vay muṣfāriqat nimūd va bi rasm-i qazāqī bar ṣṭraj bar āmad).\textsuperscript{86} Then “in the Moghul Ulus, every young man who was well-known and ambitious came to him” (dar ulūs-i mughūl har javānī ki mashhūr būd va dā ṭyamand, pīsh-i ū mī-raft).\textsuperscript{87} They then “wandered around the frontier regions of Shīr-Muḥammad in the manner of qazaqs” (bi-rasm-i qazāqī dar ḥudūd va ḫavāshī-i Shīr-Muḥammad Khān mī-gasht).\textsuperscript{88} ʿHaidar Dughlāt goes on to say, “Vais Khān kept raiding in this manner until Shīr-Muḥammad Khān died a natural death. The khanate was fixed to Vais Khān” (bi-al-jumla hamchunīn dāʾim dastburd mī-numūd tā Shīr-Muḥammad Khān bi-marg-i ṭabīʿ vafāt kard. khāniyāt bā Vais Khān qarār yāft).\textsuperscript{89} It should be noted here that

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\textsuperscript{86} Muḥammad ʿHaidar Dughlāt Mīrzā, Tārīkh-i Rashīdī, ed. ʿAbbāsqulī Ghaffārī Fard (Tehran: Mīrās-i Maktūb, 2004), 87.

\textsuperscript{87} Muḥammad ʿHaidar Dughlāt, Tārīkh-i Rashīdī, 87.

\textsuperscript{88} Muḥammad ʿHaidar Dughlāt, Tārīkh-i Rashīdī, 91.

\textsuperscript{89} This passage is from the manuscript N C–394 kept at the Asiatic Museum in St. Petersburg, which has been used in W. M. Thackston’s translation. See Mirza Haydar Dughlat, Tariikh-Rashidi: A History of the Khans of Moghulistan, trans. and ed. W. M. Thackston, 2 vols, Sources of Oriental Languages and Literatures, 37–38 (Cambridge, MA: Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, Harvard University, 1996), fol. 22b; In ʿAbbāsqulī Ghaffārī Fard’s edition, the passage is written as follows: “At any rate, Vais Khān kept terrorizing in this manner until Shīr-Muḥammad Khān died a natural death. The Khanate was fixed to Vais Khān” (bi-al-jumla
qazaqlïq activities could function as an effective means for a political underdog to survive in exile, attract new cohorts, and even topple his rival.

Sulṭān Saʿīd Khān (1514–1533) was another Moghul khan, who may have become a qazaq like Vais Khān. According to Muḥammad Ḥa’idar Dughlāt, Sulṭān Saʿīd Khān decided to become a qazaq in Moghulistan when he was defeated in battle by his brother Mansur: “When Sulṭān Saʿīd Khān emerged from the battlefield, he decided to spend his time as a qazaq in Moghulistan” (Sulṭān Saʿīd Khān chūn az jang-gāh bar āmad va khvud-rā qarār dād ki dar Mughulistān qazāqī karda bisar barad).90 However, Sulṭān Saʿīd Khān could not pursue this plan and instead joined his maternal cousin Babur in Kabul.91 Therefore, it may be assumed that Muḥammad Ḥa’idar Dughlāt differentiates the qazaq way of life from a mere act of fleeing. In Central Asia, qazaqlïq usually involved the life of a freebooter or a vagrant in remote regions.

Muḥammad Ḥa’idar Dughlāt, who was a liegeman of Sulṭān Saʿīd Khān, also mentions in his work that the latter had a good knowledge of the qazaq way of warfare: “In the affairs of government and administration, the conduct of war, whatever pertains to being a qazaq and night-raiding … in all of this, he was my master and patron” (dar umūr-i mulkī va muhim guzārī, kangāsh-i jang, az qazāqī va shab-ravī ... dar in hame ustād va murabbī-i man ū būd).92

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90 Muḥammad Ḥa’idar Dughlāt, Tārīkh-i Rashīdī, 167.
91 Muḥammad Ḥa’idar Dughlāt, Tārīkh-i Rashīdī, 167.
92 Muḥammad Ḥa’idar Dughlāt, Tārīkh-i Rashīdī, 9.
Another Central Asian sovereign who went through a qazaqlīq phase was Muḥammad Shībānī Khan, who conquered Transoxiana and Khorasan from the Timurids in the first decade of the sixteenth century. Uzbek histories such as Kamāl al-Dīn ʿAlī Bināʾī’s Shībānī-nāma, a history of Muḥammad Shībānī Khan, and the Tavārīkh-i guzīda-i nuṣrat-nāma, a history of the Chinggisids down to the formation of the Shībanid Uzbek dynasty, provide a detailed account of Muḥammad Shībānī Khan’s qazaqlīq days, in which, for nearly thirty years, he and his followers wandered around in the Dasht-i Qipchāq and Transoxiana, escaping from their enemies or seeking refuge with powerful rulers, and raiding other uluses in order to acquire provisions or their own fortresses.

While the Persian Shībānī-nāma does not use the terms qazaq or qazāqī when describing Muḥammad Shībānī Khan’s qazaqlīq days of wandering, the Tavārīkh-i guzīda-i nuṣrat-nāma, written in Chaghatay Turkic for (or by) Muḥammad Shībānī Khan refers to them as qazaqlīq. According to this history, Muḥammad Shībānī Khan and his cohorts “did not part company with each other in many wanderings or plundering expeditions during this qazaqlīq” (bu qazaqlīqda köp gardišlarda ayrılmajan turur).93 The Tavārīkh-i guzīda-i nuṣrat-nāma also calls Muḥammad Shībānī Khan and his followers qazaqs (qazaqlar) describing their migration during this period.94

The afore-mentioned Uzbek histories also mention the qazaqlīq days of Muḥammad Shībānī Khan’s grandfather, Abū al-Khair Khan (r. 1428–68), assigning a positive meaning and great importance to qazaqlīq. Kamāl al-Dīn ʿAlī Bināʾī starts the Shībānī-nāma by listing all the

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94 Tavārīkh-i guzīda-Nuṣrat-nāme, 322.
loyal bahadurs (hero, valiant warrior), amīrs (commander), who spent qazaq days with Abū al-Khair Khan, and to some of whom the position of dārūgah (governor) of Chimgi-Tura, the capital of Abū al-Khair Khan, was given.\footnote{Kubo, “Shaybānī-nāma,” 5.} These old qazaq companions are listed separately from “another group of amīrs of the great khan, who have come from every direction, after the conquest of the countries” (jamī dīgar az umarā-yi khān-i buzurg ki ba’d az fath-i mamālik az aṭrāf āmada-and).\footnote{Kubo, “Shaybānī-nāma,” 6.} More importantly, Binā’ī makes the qazaqlīq days a pre-state formation stage noting that “a group of amīrs who, at the time of [Abū al-Khair Khan’s] qazaqlīq sacrificed themselves and became the cause for the khan’s coming to power” (jamā’atī umarā ki dar zamān-i qazāqi ki jān sipārīhā karda-and va sabab-i daulat-i khānī shuda-and),\footnote{Kubo, “Shaybānī-nāma,” 5.} and that “this group, which was mentioned before, showed loyalty at the time of qazaqlīq and conquered the states” (in jamā’at ki sābiqā zikr yāft, dar zamān-i qazāqi vafūdarī namūda-and va mamālik gushūda-and).\footnote{Kubo, “Shaybānī-nāma,” 5.}

The Tavārīkh-i guzīda-i nuṣrat-nāma also enumerates those who fought alongside Abū al-Khair Khan during his qazaqlīq days and those who later received the position of dārūgah (governor) of Chimgi-Tura before those who joined Abū al-Khair Khan when his power was already established. Like the Shībānī-nāma, it relates that the qazaq companions “who drew the sword (for Abū al-Khair Khan) during the qazaqlīq became the cause of the khan’s power”\footnote{Kubo, “Shaybānī-nāma,” 5.}
(qazaqliqda qiliq basip ... sabab-i bu ḥanlar bular turur taqī davlat bir qarār bolğanda). 99 Abū al-Khair Khan’s qazaq companions are also depicted similarly in the anonymous Shibānī-nāma, another Chaghātay Turkic history of the Abū al-Khairid dynasty: “these are the ones who during the qazaqliq days drew their swords and became the cause of his power” (qazaqliqda qiliq ğapgan davlatqa sabab bolğan bular turur). 100

As such, the early sixteenth century Uzbek histories portray the qazaqliq days spent by Abū al-Khair Khan and his loyal followers as a pre-sovereignty or pre-state building stage bestowing a somewhat greater political significance to it while the Timurid sources discussed above tend to describe qazaqliq merely as a period of brigandage and vagabondage.

In post-Mongol Central Asia, the socio-political phenomenon of qazaqliq did not just involve the activities of individual qazaq leaders and their followers. According to Kamāl al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Razzāq Samarqandī, the Uzbek nomads of the Dasht-i Qipchāq at times became marauders and plundered Timurid territories: “Sometimes, a group of Uzbek soldiers would become qazāq and come to the domain of Māzandarān and commit robbery everywhere and then return” (gāhī jam ī az lashkar-i Uzbek qazāq shuda bi-vilāyat-i Māzandarān mi-āmadand va har


100 Berezin, Sheybaniada, 59.
jah dast andazī karda bāz- mīrafiand. Samarqandī elsewhere refers to these Uzbek freebooters as “qazaq Uzbeks” (Uzbek-i qazağ). It is not clear whether or not the qazaq Uzbeks Samarqandī mentions in his work were made up of deserters from Abū al-Khair Khan’s Uzbek polity. However, in the fifties or sixties of the fifteenth century, a large group of Uzbek nomads fled from Abū al-Khair Khan’s oppressive rule and became qazaqs. The Tārīkh-i Rashīdī, written by Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥaider Dughlāt in 1546, and the Bahr al-asrār fī manāqib al-akhyär, written by Maḥmūd b. Amīr Valī Balkhī in the mid-1630s, use the term qazaq in the sense of a vagabond and a brigand, respectively, and associate the origin of the Qazaqs or the name Qazaq with the period of qazaqlīq this group of Uzbek nomads underwent.

Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥaider Dughlāt explains how qazaq became the designation of the Uzbek nomads that broke away from the main body of the Uzbek Ulus headed by Abū al-Khair Khan:

Because they escaped and separated from the mass of their people at first and for a while remained destitute wandering aimlessly, they were called qazaqs and this nickname was fixed to them (chūn āshān avval az ān mardum-i bisyār gurīkhta judā

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101 Samarqandī, “Maṭla’-i sa’dain,” 258 (text), 199 (trans.).

102 According to Samarqandī, Shāhrukh ordered that every year some amīrs “should be informed about the armies from the direction of the Dasht-i Qipchāq and the qazaq Uzbeks” (az lashkar-i taraf-i Dasht-i Qibchāq va ǔzbekān-i qazağ bar khabar bāshand). Samarqandī, “Maṭla’-i sa’dain,” 259 (text), 199 (trans.).
On the other hand, regarding this same event, Maḥmūd b. Amīr Valī Balkhī posits another reason as to why the dissident Uzbeks acquired the name qazaq. He explains that the group of Uzbek nomads led by Jānībeg and Girāy, two Jochid leaders belonging to the Toqay-Timurid lineage, came to be called qazaqs because they escaped from their ruler, Abū al-Khair Khan, to a foreign land and engaged in brigandage in frontier regions:

Because, at the beginning of their arrival in Moghulistan, they spent their time plundering the Qalmaq and Qirghiz tribes and in the border regions engaged in stealing like wolves, the name qazaq was applied to that group (chūn dar ibtidā-yi vuṣūl bi-Mughūlistān rū zgār bi-tākh va tārāj-i aqvām-i Qalīmāq va Qirghīz mīguzarānīdand va dar ḥavāṣhi-i mamālik bi-gurg-rubāyī mashghūl būdand ism-i qazāq bar ān āvīfa iqlāq yāft).

In sum, before founding their own Qazaq Khanate, these qazaq Uzbeks also experienced the life of political runaways, vagabonds, and brigands, which are the typical elements of

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103 Muḥammad Ḥaidar Dughlāt, Tārīkh-i Rashīdī, 404.

qazaqlīq status mentioned in the pseudepigraphical work, *Malfuzāt-i Tīmūrī*, which, once again, provides the archetypical characterization of *qazaqlīq* for the pre-Qaza Khanate period.¹⁰⁵

2 Oral Epics of the Dasht-i Qipchāq and Tatar Historical Texts

The term *qazaq* also appears in the oral traditions produced by the nomadic peoples of the Qipchaq steppe. In the Noghay or Crimean Tatar oral epic of *Chora Batir* (Hero Chora), it is used in the sense of “a political runaway.” In the version collected by V. V. Radlov, Chora Batir, a young Tatar warrior of great valor, decides to become a *qazaq* after he becomes involved in a dispute with a khan and kills the khan’s liegeman, Ali Bey. Realizing that he can no longer stay in Crimea, he decides to leave for Kazan to fight the Muscovites who were then attacking the city saying:

I killed Ali Bey … one who has killed a commoner cannot remain, one who has killed a noble man cannot endure. A young man cannot remain here. I will become a *qazaq* and go to seven khans and Kazan … (*Äli bini öltürdüüm ... kara öltürgän tur’almay, törä*

As shown in this oral epic, among the Crimean Tatars, a *qazaq* may have denoted a person who left his own society due to some political reasons.\textsuperscript{107}

Another oral epic of the Dasht-i Qipchâq named “Qambar Batir (Hero Qambar)” uses the term *qazaqlïq* to describe the activity of its protagonist. This Qazaq oral epic, first recorded in Kazan in the mid-eighteenth century, narrates that Qambar Batir was discouraged to marry Nazym, the beautiful daughter of *bay* Azimbay, because of his poverty. However, when the khan of the Junghars, Maktum Khan, tries to marry Nazym forcibly, Qambar Batir decides to fight the Junghars, saying, “We will go to *qazaqlïq*, we will destroy the Qalmaqs” (*qazaqlïqqa baramïz, Qalmaqqa oyran salamïz ...*).\textsuperscript{108} According to the Russian commentary on this oral epic,


\textsuperscript{107} Interestingly, the Muscovites who invaded Kazan are also referred to as *qazaqs*, i.e., cossacks in this epic. Radlov, *Obraztsy narodnoy literatury severnykh tyurkskikh plemen*, 180.

qazaqlïq is translated as “difficult way” (trudnyy uezl).\textsuperscript{109} It should also be noted that both “Qambar Batir” and “Chora Batir” show that commoners with no aristocratic background, i.e., nomads not belonging to the Chinggisid or Timurid lines, also became qazaqs on their own initiative.

The term qazaq was also used to describe the qazaqlïq activities of Edigü, the renowned Manghït amïr, and Ḥasan Beg, a nobleman of the Cijivut tribe in the 'Umdet’ü-l-âhbar, a mid-eighteenth century Crimean chronicle written in Ottoman Turkish by Ḥabd al-Ghaflâr Qïrmï, a Crimean Tatar nobleman from the Shirin tribe.\textsuperscript{110} According to Ḥabd al-Ghaflâr Qïrmï, Ḥasan Beg became a qazaq when his father ʿAlî Beg, who was an amïr of the Cijivut tribe, was killed by the ruler of the Jochid Ulus for disobedience. Ḥabd al-Ghaflâr Qïrmï writes that Ḥasan Beg “became a qazaq and went to the side of the governor of Khorazm Aq Ḥuseyn, the son of his uncle Qânagadïy the Qongrat” (dayisi olan kümrât Kanagaday oğlu ak Ḥuseyn bey ki Ḥvârizm vâlisi idi aniñ yanına kazâq çikub gitti).\textsuperscript{111} In this account, Ḥabd al-Ghaflâr Qïrmï uses the expression kazâq çik- to describe Ḥasan Beg’s flight to his cousin for protection attaching the meaning of “a fugitive” to the term qazaq.

Ḥabd al-Ghaflâr Qïrmï also relates that Edigü, who claimed descent from the caliph Abû Bakr, “became a qazaq because he was ashamed of being in the service of the khan as a page. He

\textsuperscript{109} Auezov and Smirnova, ed., Kambar Batyr, 28n57.

\textsuperscript{110} Ḥabd al-Ghaflâr Qïrmï himself lists the Târîkh-i Düst Sulṭan Üzbêkî among the sources he utilized. Ḥabd al-Ghaflâr Qïrmï, Umdat ül-tevarikh, ed. Najîb ʿĂsîm, supplement to Türk Tarih Encümeni Mecmuası (Istanbul: AH 1343), 7. For the importance of this work as a source for the history of the Jochid Ulus, see Schamiloglu, “The Umdat ül-arbar,” 81–93.

\textsuperscript{111} Ḥabd al-Ghaflâr Qïrmï, Umdat ül-tevarikh, 44.
drove his horses and left the land of the khan” (ḡulām meşābesinde ḥidmetkārlīkdan ʿār eder olub kazāk çıldı ve ḥan cīvārīndan yılık sürdī gitti). In this reference, the term qazaq is used to describe Edigü’s separating himself from the ruler in order to gain his political autonomy.

The Epic of Edigü, a Noghay oral tradition widespread among the nomadic peoples of the Qipchaq steppe, also makes mention of the term qazaq in connection with Edigü. In this epic, Nūr al-Dīn, a son of Edigü, urges his father to become a qazaq saying: “Make yourself khan or raise me to the throne or take my life or I myself will kill you. Go away from my control. Go, become a qazaq” (ili khanom sebya utverdi, il menya na prestol vozvedi! Ili zhizn otnimi ty moyu, ili sam ya tebya ub’yu. Ukhodi ot moey ruki, ukhodi, ukhodi v kazaki). To this, Edigü replies: “Do not drive me to become a qazaq” (Ne goni menya v kazaki). The term qazaq in this epic is thus used in the sense of “an outcast” or “a vagabond.”

A Crimean Tatar chronicle, the Tārīḥ-i Sāḥib Girāy Hān, employed the term qazaq to denote some groups of wandering nomads that did not recognize the authority of the Crimean khan. In this mid-sixteenth century chronicle written in Ottoman Turkish, Kāysūnī-zāde Meḥmed Nidāʾī, better known as Remmāl Ḥoca, describes the followers of Bāḵī bey, a Manghīt amīr who revolted against Sahib Giray (r. 1532–51), the reigning khan of the Crimean Khanate, as qazaqs. He writes, “Because all the Azaq qazaqs were subject to him (Bāḵī bey) they moved

112 ‘Abd al-Ghaffār Qūrīmī, Umdat ʿul-tēvarikh, 57.

113 I was unable to obtain the original Turkic text and thus have relied on the following Russian translation. Idegey: tatarskiy narodnyy epos, trans. Semen Lipkin (Kazan: Tatarskoje knizhnoye izdatel’stvo, 1990), 207–209. The translator renders the term qazaq as “a wandering warrior” (stranstvuyushchyi voiny).

around together” (zīrā Azak ḳazaq cümlə aña təbi’ olub, bile yortarlardı).\textsuperscript{115} Similarly, an undated letter (ca. 1521) sent by Meḥmed Girāy Khan to the Ottoman sultan Süleyman (r. 1520–66) refers to a splinter group that was not under the authority of the Crimean khan as qazaqs.\textsuperscript{116}

The term qazaq in the sense of “an outcast” or “runaway” also appears in the accounts of Chinggis Khan and Temūr’s fictitious qazaq life contained in the anonymous Dāštār-i Čingiz-nāmā, the late-seventeenth century Volga Tatar history, which drew on the oral traditions of the Qipchaq steppe. Although these accounts are not based on historical facts, they allow us to understand the contemporary notion of the qazaq way of life. In the Dāštār-i Čingiz-nāmā, Chinggis appears as the son of Alan Qo’a who was impregnated by her deceased husband Duyin Bayan who returned in the form of a beam of light.\textsuperscript{117} Chinggis decides to become a qazaq and leaves his family and tribe with a couple of young followers after his elder brother Bodonchar attempts to eliminate him. This account runs as follows:

\begin{quote}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{117} In the \textit{Secret History of the Mongols}, Alan Qo’a is presented as the legendary female ancestress of Chinggis Khan. After the death of her husband, she was impregnated by a radiant being and gave birth to three sons including Bodonchar. After the death of Alan Qo’a, the elder brothers of Bodonchar divided the livestock among themselves, leaving nothing to Bodonchar. Realizing that he was not accepted as an equal family member, Bodonchar left his brothers and went to live in the wilderness alone. He returned home after making a fortune by pillaging a band of nomads he had befriended. See Igor de Rachewiltz, trans., \textit{The Secret History of the Mongols: A Mongolian Epic Chronicle of the Thirteenth Century}, 2 vols., Brill’s Inner Asian Library 7 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 1:2–8.
\end{itemize}
\end{quote}
He said, “My brothers have become my enemies and will follow me and kill me.”

Fearing for his life, he decided to become a qazaq and chose one or two or three young men and came to his mother Alanço (bu ağalarım mengä düşmän boldi mäni andib oltürürürdür deb başindin qorqub qazaq čiqib ketäyin teb kengäš etib bir eki üc yigit özünä ayartib anası Alançoğa kaldı).”118

Chinggis then lived in the wilderness before being invited and elected as khan by the beys who were dissatisfied with the oppressive rule of Bodonchar.119 This account shows that, among the Volga Tatars, the expression “to become a qazaq” (qazaq čiq-) was used to describe a socio-political action that involved leaving one’s own abode and becoming a vagrant.

Concerning Temür, the Däftär-i Čingiz-nämä relates that his father Taragay was brought to the court of Chaghatay khan because some soothsayers had told the khan that Taragay would bring danger to the kingdom. Temür was born a while later but soon became an orphan as both of his parents died. The Däftär-i Čingiz-nämä goes on to say that “after he became a man, he became a qazaq and went to the city of Shimaqi alone …In Shimaqi, he went to the pasture to look after goats” (er yetkändin song qazaq čiqib yalğuz Şimaqi šährigä bardı ... Şimaqi-da buzav kütmägä yalğa indi).120 Interestingly, in this account, Temür’s life as a qazaq involves his

118 Das Buch der Dschingis-Legende (Däftär-i Čingiz-nämä), ed. A. Mirkasym Usmanov and Mária Ivanics, Studia Uralo-Altaica 44 (Szeged: University of Szeged, 2002), 47.
119 Däftär-i Čingiz-nämä, 48–49.
120 Däftär-i Čingiz-nämä, 64.
migration to a region (šähr), as opposed to the wilderness, and his life as a herder rather than as a freebooter, thus giving a complex meaning to the term qazaq. Although the expression qazaq čiğ- is employed in a slightly different sense in the case of Temür, it should be noted that both Temür and Chinggis Khan’s qazaq activities depicted in the Dāftār-i Čingiz-nāmā involve the separation from one’s society and life as an independent person.

3 Muscovite and Polish Historical Literature

Starting from the mid-fifteenth century, the word kazak began appearing in Muscovite sources and the word kozak began appearing in Polish sources to denote qazaq. The Nikon Chronicle refers to a group of border guards based in Ryazan, who were probably of fugitive origin and who in 1444 fought on the Muscovite side against the Tatar invaders, as “the Ryazan cossacks” (kazaki ryazan’skia). The Tatar freebooters from Azov, Bilhorod (Aq Kirmān), etc, who were engaged in pillaging and kidnapping Muscovite envoys and merchants at the turn of the sixteenth

121 The term cossack instead of qazaq will be used when denoting the qazaq communities of the Black Sea steppe referred to as kazaks in Muscovite sources or kozaks in Polish and Ukrainian (Ruthenian) sources. The term cossack comes via the French term cosaque, which originated from the Ukrainian kozak. Cossack will be used with a lowercase c when used as a synonym for qazaqs, i.e., freebooters, vagabonds, fugitives, etc. For the cossack polities such as the Zaporozhian Cossacks or the Don Cossacks, cossack with an uppercase c will be used.

century, are also referred to as cossacks (kazaki) in Muscovite sources. Importantly, the term qazaq became the designation for several communities of freebooters and adventurers, including the Don Cossacks and the Zaporozhian Cossacks, that developed in the Black Sea steppe region throughout the sixteenth century, a topic to be discussed in Chapter three.

Furthermore, the military retinues of some Jochid émigré princes are designated as cossacks (kazaki) in Muscovite texts probably because of their freebooter or fugitive origin. For instance, in a letter sent to Mengli Giray, Ivan III calls the retinues of Mengli Giray’s brother Nūr Devlet Khan, who had come to him, cossacks (kazaki), and talking about their alliance against their common enemy, the Great Horde, he writes, “Whatever happens to you, I would like to send your brother Nūr Devlet Khan and the oghlans, princes, and cossacks all of them against the Horde” (a kakimi dely poydut na tobya, i mne by brata tvoyego Nurdowlata tsarya i ulanov i knyazey i kazakov vsekh otpustiti pod Ordu).

Similarly, according to Muscovite sources, the step-son of Mengli Giray, ʿAbd al-Laṭīf, who also emigrated to Muscovy, calls his own retinue cossacks (kazaki). He states: “I, ʿAbd al-Laṭīf Khān, to you my brother, Grand Prince Vasily Ivanovich of all Russia … together with my oghlans and princes and all of our cossacks, we firmly swear an oath” (Yaz Abdy-letif tsar tebe bratu svoyemu, velikomu knyazyu Vasil’yu Ivanovichyu vsea Rusii … s svoimi ulany i s knyazmi i vsemi s nashimi kazaki krepko

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Although it is not clear why the retinues of these Jochid émigré princes were referred to as cossacks (*kazaki*) in these Muscovite sources, it may be that, as has been pointed out by Craig Gayen Kennedy, these cossacks (*kazaki*) denoted “the young men who had broken with their families to serve the dynasts.”

The Muscovite writers also employed the term *kazak* to refer to individual political dissidents or runaways. For instance, Islām Girāy, who escaped to the Dasht-i Qipchāq after being ousted from the Crimean throne by his uncle Šāhīb Girāy, was referred to as *kazak* in Muscovite sources. Kuchum, the last ruler of the Sibir Khanate, who refused to recognize the suzerainty of Muscovy, was also called *kazak* in the Muscovite documents. Tsar Fedor himself wrote to Kuchum in 1597 mentioning that “you are nomadizing as a cossack in the steppe with not many of your own men” (*kazakom kochyuesh na pole ne so mn..... svoimi lyudmi*). Tsar Fedor also remarked in his letter that “our people having come to Sibir drove you away from the khanship and took the Sibir land and you became a cossack nomadizing” (*nashi lyudi prished v Sibir tebya s tsarstva sognali i sibirskuyu zemlyu vzyali a ty poshel v kazakikh kochevati*).
From the second half of the fifteenth century onwards, Polish-Lithuanian chroniclers also began using the Ukrainian word kozak in a variety of senses, which probably reflected the contemporary Tatar usage of the term. Jan Długosz, writing about the Tatar raid into Poland in 1469 remarked that the Tatar army had been “collected from fugitives, expellees, and robbers, whom they call in their language kozaks” (… exercitus ex fugitivis, predonibus et exulibus, quos sua lingua Kozakos appellant). This suggests that among the Tatars kozak signified “a fugitive” or “an outcast” or “a brigand.”

When, in 1504, a group of cossacks from Kiev and Cherkasy in Lithuanian service pillaged a group of Crimean merchants and envoys, the Grand Duke Alexander called them “propertyless people, cossacks” (bezimenyie ludy kozaki). Such a depiction of the cossacks is reminiscent of Muḥammad Ḥaḍar Dughlāt’s remark that the Uzbek fugitives led by Jānībeg and Girāy came to be called Qazaqs because they had been wandering in poverty (bī sāmān).

In 1516, Przeclaw Lanckoronski, the Polish military commander of Khmilnyk, raided the vicinity of Bilhorod with his cossack units. The Polish chronicler Marcin Bielski used the term kozactwo (qazaqlīq) in the sense of “raiding” or “guerrilla warfare” describing this event:

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(The hired soldiers) gathered at about that time, several hundred strong, and rode with Przeclaw Lanckoronski to practice cossack ways in the vicinity of Bilhorod. They captured Turkish and Tatar livestock and drove it home … It was only then that the cossackdom began in our country (… się zebrał dobytek turecki i tatarski, pędzili do domu … A natenczas się dopiero Kozacy u nas wszczęli). 132

Another Polish chronicler Maciej z Miechowa used term kazak in the sense of “a slave,” “a vagrant,” or “a freebooter” in his Tractatus de duabus Sarmatiis (A treatise on the two Sarmatias) written in 1517:

The field of Alania is widespread. It is a desert, in which there are no owners or residents, no laws, no stranger, no visitors. Sometimes only the kazaks pass by, searching for, in accordance to their way of life, someone to devour. Kazak is a Tatar word, but kozak in Ruthenian, meaning in Latin a slave, a hired man, a vagabond or a horseman: They live by booty and are not subordinate to anyone and they roam through the wide and empty steppes in detachments of three, six, ten, twenty, and sixty persons and more” (Stant campi Alaniae late profusi, tam Alanis, quam advenis possessoribus orbati ac deserti. Dumtaxat interdum Kazaci eam pertranseunt, quaerentes, ut moris eorum est, quem devorent. Kazak Thartaricum nomen est, kozak vero Rutenicum, valens

132 Marcin Bielski and Joachim Bielski, Kronika polska Marcina Bielskiego nowo przez Joachima Bielskiego syną jego wydana, ed. K. J. Turowski (Sanok, 1856), 990–91; Hrushevsky, History of Ukraine-Rus', 67n.65.
in lingua latina servilem, stipendiarium, grassatorem seu reytteronem: spoliis enim vivunt, nulli subiecti gregatim latissimos et vacuos campos tres, sex, decem, viginti, sexaginta etc numero percurrentes). 133

In sum, the term kazak/kozak began to be used in Muscovite and Polish historical literature from the mid-fifteenth century onwards to refer to the vagabonds, fugitives, expellees, brigands, and various cossack communities (both Turkic and Slavic) of the Black Sea steppe.

4 Conclusion: The Historical Significance of the Socio-Political Phenomenon of Qazaqliq

Qazaqliq or “political vagabondage” has been defined by Maria Eva Subtelny as “the period of brigandage that [qazaqs] spent, usually as a young man, roaming about in some remote region on the fringes of the sedentary urban oases, usually after fleeing from a difficult social or political situation.” 134 If remote places of refuge other than “the fringes of the sedentary urban oases” are also to be counted, such custom of political vagabondage indeed became a widespread phenomenon in post-Mongol Central Eurasia. This is attested by the numerous fugitive and

133 Matvey Mekhovskiy [Maciej z Miechowa], Traktat o dvukh Sarmatiyakh; Sokrovennoye skazaniye mongolov, trans. S. A. Kozin and A. I. Tsepkov (Ryazan: Aleksandriya, 2009), 151. The term qazaq with the meaning “a male slave” was used among the Karachay-Malkar Turks of the Caucasus region. See V. N. Kudashev, Istoricheskie svedeniya o kabardinskom narode (Kiev: Tipo-Lit. S.V. Kul’zhenko, 1913; repr., Nal’chik: El’brus, 1991), 160.

134 See Subtelny, Timurids in Transition, 29. Subtelny adopted Stephen Dale’s rendering of the term qazaqliq as “political vagabondage.”
freebooter activities, i.e., *qazaqliq* activities described in various historical sources produced during the post-Mongol period, which used the term *qazaq* in a variety of senses. Concerning its historical meanings, the term *qazaq* was generally used in Timurid and post-Timurid Central Asian sources in the sense of “a vagabond/wanderer” and/or “a brigand/freebooter.” In the western half of the Dasht-i Qipchaq, sources written in Turkic, Slavic, and Latin used the term for *qazaq* in a broader sense to denote a “political dissident,” a “fugitive/runaway,” a “vagabond/wanderer” and/or a “brigand/freebooter.”

The investigation of the various contexts in which the term *qazaq* was used in both written historical sources and oral traditions has demonstrated that the period of *qazaqliq* was ideally made up of three phases: in the first stage, a political dissident chooses to desert his own tribe or state in order to pursue survival or with the aim of returning or coming to power, an action which is appropriately reflected in the use of the term *qazaq*/kazak by the Tatar and Muscovite authors in the sense of a “dissident” or a “fugitive”; second, this political runaway wanders around and becomes engaged in brigandage in a frontier or a remote region; and third, as a charismatic *qazaq* leader, this political vagabond succeeds in mustering new followers and rises or returns to power. The Timurid and Uzbek definition of the term *qazaq* reflects these aspects of *qazaqliq*. These three phases are shown in the diagram 1.
Diagram 1. The Stages of *Qazaqliq*

In Central Eurasian nomadic societies, power shifts could take place swiftly because the nomads, being mobile warriors, could readily shift loyalty from one ruler to another whenever it benefited them. Therefore, charismatic *qazaq* leaders who offered leadership that promised the prospect of booty during their *qazaqliq* period could attract new followers or reunite former cohorts under their banner thereby increasing the strength of their *qazaq* warrior bands. For instance, according to Ötämiş Hājī, when Toqtamīsh became a *qazaq* and successfully raided the nomads of Urus Khan, young men from the tribes that had belonged to his ancestors, “came to him to become his nökär (companion) and began to assist him” (yigitlär barıp anga nökär bolup madat berä başladilar).”

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135 Leniency was an important qualification for such leaders. On this point, see Dale, *The Garden of the Eight Paradises*, 100. On the importance of reward, see Subtelny, *Timurids in Transition*, 31–32.

More importantly, a cohesive qazaq warrior band united around a charismatic leader could transform itself into a new state when its opponents were divided or fragmented during a period of political turmoil, such as a succession struggle. Toqtamîsh and his qazaq followers united the nomads of the Jochid Ulus after the death of Urus Khan. Similarly, the qazaq Uzbeks led by Jânîbeg and Girây, the two great grandsons of Urus Khan, also reunited the Dasht-i Qipchâq when the Uzbek Ulus disintegrated after the death of its ruler, Abû al-Khair Khan. A few decades later, the qazaq warrior band of Muḥammad Shībānî Khan, the grandson of Abû al-Khair Khan, conquered Transoxiana when the death of Sulţân-Aḥmad, the son of Sulţân-Abû Sa‘îd, led to the succession struggle among the Timurid princes.

In sum, the historical significance of the qazaqliq phenomenon lies in the fact that, for the political contenders of Central Asia and the Dasht-i Qipchâq, the period of qazaqliq served as an opportunity to accumulate or regain political power. Most of the prominent historical figures of post-Mongol Central Eurasia experienced a period of qazaqliq at some point in their political careers, and rose to power thanks to their loyal companions who survived, multiplied, and solidified during their qazaqliq.

Chapter one has examined various qazaqliq activities described in written and oral sources produced in post-Mongol Central Eurasia. However, even though the terms qazaq and qazaqliq came into use during the post-Mongol period, the political practices of flight, migration, and plundering, which constitute qazaqliq activities, had always existed throughout the history of Central Eurasia. Therefore, the following chapter will be devoted to the investigation of such qazaqliq-type activities that occurred in Central Eurasia during the pre-Mongol period.
Chapter 2
The Presence of Qazaqliq-Type Activities in pre-Mongol Central Eurasia and the Emergence of the Qazaqliq Phenomenon in the Post-Mongol Era

The previous chapter investigated the historical meanings of the term qazaq by examining various sources that employed this term. This investigation demonstrated that the term qazaq was widely used to designate a fugitive, freebooter, or vagabond and that the qazaq way of life became a well-established socio-political phenomenon in much of Central Eurasia during the post-Mongol period. In order to broaden and deepen our understanding of the qazaqliq phenomenon, Chapter two will look into the qazaqliq-type activities, that is, fugitive, freebooter, wandering activities performed by political vagabonds in the Central Eurasian steppes during the pre-Mongol period as well as the socio-political conditions of Central Eurasia in the post-Mongol period that facilitated the spread of qazaqliq activities and the term qazaq.

First, in Chapter two, I will look at qazaqliq-type activities, such as flight, migration, and plundering, that were performed by political vagabonds who sought to secure power or even survival in eastern Central Eurasia during the pre-Mongol period. The instances of such activities described in the accounts of the northern barbarians included in the official Chinese dynastic histories will be examined. Next, I will discuss the socio-political conditions in Central Eurasia during the post-Mongol period that gave rise to the qazaqliq phenomenon. I will then explain the reasons that led to the spread of the use of the term qazaq with the meaning “fugitive,” “freebooter,” and “vagabond” in post-Mongol Central Eurasia.

Despite the similarities between the qazaqliq-type activities of the pre-Mongol period and those of the post-Mongol period, this chapter will not propose that the former was the prototype
of the latter. Rather, it will maintain that even though the qazaqliq activities that occurred in post-Mongol Central Eurasia were based on the time-honored traditions of brigandage and vagabondage, qazaqliq was a new phenomenon that emerged from the socio-political conditions created in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries by the fragmentation of the Chinggisid states.

1 Qazaqliq-Type Activities Described in the Chinese Dynastic Histories

As demonstrated in Chapter one, in post-Mongol Central Eurasia, various social or political underdogs who fled from their original abodes and went to some remote regions where they engaged in brigandage came to be referred to as qazaqs. However, practices of flight, migration, and plundering existed in Central Eurasia before the terms qazaq and qazaqliq came into use. In this study, fugitive, freebooter, wandering activities performed by political vagabonds who sought to secure power or their survival will be referred to as qazaqliq-type activities. When forced to become fugitives, Central Eurasian nomads, being highly mobile horsemen and natural warriors, could readily flee from their tribes or their enemies, migrate to remote regions, and acquire provisions through plunder. Through these qazaqliq-type activities, political underdogs or displaced rulers could secure their own territories and/or return to power while the fugitive bands they led sometimes developed into a new state or even acquired a new identity. The official Chinese dynastic histories record several instances of such qazaqliq-type activities in the sections on the northern barbarians.
1.1 Fugitive Nomads

Among the many fugitives in pre-Mongol Central Eurasia, Mugulü, the founder of the Jou-jan or Rouran nomadic state, perhaps best deserves the name *qazaq*. According to the *Weishu* (Book of the Wei), around the year 277, Mugulü, who was a cavalryman serving in the army of the Tabgach, a nomadic people that would later found the Northern Wei Dynasty (386–538), escaped to the steppe in order to avoid capital punishment and became the leader of a band of fugitives:

The Juan-juans are the descendants of the Eastern Hu. Their clan name is Yujiulü. At first, in the late years of Shényuán (the founder of the Tabgach Dynasty), a plundering horseman captured a slave. His hair grew from the edge of his eyebrows. He had forgotten his name. His master named him Mugulü. Mugulü means bald headed. Mugulü and Yujiulü sound similar. Therefore, their descendants later adopted this as their clan name. When Mugulü became an adult, he was freed from slavery and became a cavalryman. During the reign of Mùdì, he was going to be beheaded for being late to an appointed day. He escaped and hid himself between the desert and the valley. He gathered around him fugitives and when their number reached one hundred, he joined the Hétülin tribe.¹³⁷

Like his near contemporary Mugulü, Tuyūhun, the eponymous founder of the Tuyūhun state, once became a fugitive or a vagrant. After quarreling over grazing land with his brother, who was the tribal leader of the Murong Xianbi, Tuyūhun left his abode in Mongolia and in 285 migrated westward with his tribesmen. This group of Xianbi vagrants reached northeastern Tibet and settled there. The *Jinshu* (Book of the Jin) records this event as follows:

Tuyūhun is the older step-brother of Murong Wei. His father Shegui divided the tribe and gave 1,700 families to him. After Shegui’s death, Wei succeeded him. When the horses of the two tribes fought, Wei said in anger: “Even though our deceased father had divided the tribe and made it separate, why did not you go far away and thus allowed the horses fight each other?” Tuyūhun said: “The horses are just animals and it is their nature to fight. How can you get angry with a person? Breaking up is very easy. I will leave you and go 10,000 li away.” … He went west and lived in the Yǐn Mountain. During the Yōngjiā Rebellions, he at last crossed the land of the Long and migrated westward.  

According to the *Wei shu* (Book of the Wei), Afuzhiluo, the founder of Gaoche state in Xinjiang, was a dissident vassal of the khan of the Jou-jan Dulun. In 487, opposing Dulun’s raids against the Northern Wei Dynasty, Afuzhiluo fled from Mongolia to Xinjiang with his Fufulu Gaoche tribe:

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In earlier days, the Fufuluo tribe was under Juan-juan suzerainty. When internal strife broke out among the Juan-juan during the reign of Dulun and the tribes became dispersed, Afuzhiluo of the Fufuluo tribe, together with his younger cousin Qióngqí, ruled over the Gaoche group of a dozen thousand yurts. In the eleventh year of Tàihuó, Dulun raided the frontier region. Afuzhiluo and others strongly advised against it but (Dulun) did not listen. He became angry and rebelled with his followers in the west. He became independent and proclaimed himself king after reaching the northwest of Qiánbú. ¹³⁹

Like the Gaoche, the Ashina Türks may also have originated from a group of fugitives. According to one version of the legends regarding the origin of the Göktürk, Ashina was the leader of a group of fugitives of mixed barbarian origin residing in Pingliang in eastern Gansu Province. ¹⁴⁰ According to the Suishu (Book of the Sui), when the Northern Liang Dynasty of Xiongnu origin centered in Pingliang was destroyed by the Northern Wei in 439, Ashina fled with 500 households to the Altai Mountains in Mongolia which was then under Jou-jan rule:

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¹³⁹ Weishu, 103:2310.

¹⁴⁰ According to another more mythical version of the Göktürk founding legend, the Ashina clan originated from a baby born to a she-wolf. Wei Zheng, Suishu (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2008), 84:1863.
Mountain (Jīnshān) for generations engaging in metalworking. The shape of the Golden Mountain resembled a helmet. As they called a helmet tūjué in their tongue, they adopted this as their designation.\footnote{\textit{Suishu}, 84:1863. The Northern Liang Dynasty was one of the dynasties of non-Chinese origin that dominated northern China for centuries after Liu Yuan, a Xiongnu leader founded the Han (later Former Zhao) Dynasty in Shanxi Province in 304.}

Yelü Ta-shi, the founder of the Qara-Khitan state (1132–1218) in Central Asia was like Ashina also the leader of a group of fugitives. When the Khitan Liao Dynasty (916-1125), which ruled over northern China and Mongolia, was overthrown by the Jurchen or Manchurian Jin Dynasty (1115-1234), Yelü Ta-shi, who was a member of the Liao ruling family, rallied the remnants of the Khitan state and fled to the steppe. Then after ten years of vagrancy and westward migration, these Khitan fugitives settled down in the Semirechye, or the Yeti-su, region seizing Balāsāgūn from the Qarakhanids. The author of the \textit{Qiu Chang Chun Xi You Ji} (Travels to the West of Qiu Chang Chun) describes Yelü Ta-shi’s migration as follows: “The king of that state was a descendant of the Liao. As the armies of the Jin destroyed the Liao, Ta shi Lin-ya, leading several thousand men, fled northward. After wandering for ten years, he finally reached this land.”\footnote{Zhichang Li, \textit{Changchunzhenren Xi You Ji Jiao Zhu}, ed. Guowei Wang (Beijing: Wen dian ge shu zhuang, 1940), 65.}

The leader of the Shatuo Türks, Zhuye Jinzhong was a renegade tribal leader like Afuzhiluo of the Gaoche. The Shatuo Türks, who remained a stateless people from the time of the collapse of the Western Türk Khaganate, were serving the Tibetans in Gansu Province in the
early eighth century. When the Tibetans wanted to resettle them in another region, Zhuye Jinzhong and his Shatuo Türks fled to China in 808. Since then the Shatuo Türks served the Tang Dynasty as border guards stationed in Shanxi province, which constituted the northern frontier zone of China. The Xin Tangshu (New book of the Tang) records this event as follows:

The Shatuo is a separate tribe of the Western Türk and a kind of Chuyue…. because there was a great desert called Shatuo, the Chuyue was called Shatuo Türk … Tufan (Tibet) used the Shatuo as a vanguard whenever they raided the frontier. When the Uyghur occupied Liangzhou, the Tibetans became suspicious of Jinzhong’s loyalty and conspired to relocate the Shatuo outside the Yellow River. The whole tribe became worried and fearful. … In the third year of Yuánhuó (808), the whole group, 30,000 yurts, migrated eastward along the Wūdéjiān Mountain. The Tibetans pursued them. They marched repeatedly fighting towards the Shimén along the Táo River … As the Shatuo were by nature strong and skilled in battle, Xīzhāo (who was the provincial governor) wanted to use them for the defense against the enemy. Thus he enriched them by buying cows and sheep and expanding livestock farming.\textsuperscript{143}

As demonstrated above, throughout the history of Central Eurasia, a number of political underdogs or dissidents could secure their survival and their own territories by fleeing their polity and migrating to some remote regions (see Map 1).

\textsuperscript{143} Ouyang Xiu and Song Qi, Xin Tangshu (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2003), 218:6153–55.
Map 1. Northern China and Mongolia, ca. 300–1100
1.2 Steppe Plunderers

Throughout the history of Central Eurasia, plundering served as an effective means for nomads to obtain provisions.\textsuperscript{144} The fact that the nomads were natural freebooters is well expressed in the observation of the Arabic prose writer of the ninth century al-Jāḥīẓ (b. ca. 776; d. 868–9) that for the Turks plundering was not a means to an end but rather an end in itself:

We noticed that when the Turks fight each other in their country, they do not fight for religion, nor for [religious] creed, nor for kingdom, nor for taxes, nor for group solidarity (ʿāṣabīya), nor for jealousy of their wives, nor for honor, nor for revenge, nor for sake of their motherland, nor for defense of their home, nor for wealth. They fight merely with the intention of obtaining their booty … The Turks prefer eating their fill by booty and seizure by violence over easily becoming a ruler. They do not enjoy any food other than those from hunting and plunder.\textsuperscript{145}

\textsuperscript{144} It should also be noted that the nomadic states of Mongolia commonly aimed at extracting supplies from China through raiding or by extracting tributes and trade privileges, a policy which Thomas Barfield has termed “the outer frontier strategy.” See, Thomas J. Barfield, \textit{The Perilous Frontier: Nomadic Empires and China} (Cambridge, Mass.: Basil Blackwell, 1989), 49–51.

The routine nature of plundering activities among the Central Eurasian nomads is also manifested in Tonyukuk’s explanation of the strength of the Göktürks. Opposing his overlord’s plan to build a walled city, Tonyukuk, a commander and statesman in the second Türk Khaganate (682–745), remarked that the cause of the military superiority of the Turks over the Chinese lay in their nomadic way of life, of which plundering activities were an integral part:

When Xiǎoshā wanted to build a rampart and construct Buddhist temples and Taoist monasteries, Tonyukuk said: “That is not right. The population of the Türks is small and is not even equal to one hundredth of the Tang’s. The reason why the Türks can always stand against the Tang is that we move about in search of grass and water, our abode always changes, we hunt for a living, and also we all learn how to fight. When we are strong, we send soldiers to plunder. When we are weak, we hide in mountains and forests. Even if the Tang soldiers are numerous, they are useless. If we build a fortress and reside in it, we are changing our old custom. We will lose our advantage all of a sudden. Then we will certainly become incorporated to the Tang in the future.”

The significance of the plundering activities among the Central Eurasian nomads also lay in the fact that the generous allocation of booty constituted an important condition for maintaining the leadership and coherence of a nomadic polity. The account of Suluk (d. 738), the kaghan of the Türgesh, recorded in the Xin Tangshu (New book of the Tang) shows how the distribution of booty could affect the loyalty of the nomadic subjects:

146 Liu Xu, Jiu Tangshu (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2002), 194a:5174.
A figure named Sūlù of the Chēbishīchuò, a separate tribe of the Tūqīshī, became khagan after rallying the remaining subjects … At first, Sūlù governed his subjects with love. He was diligent and frugal by nature. He gave all his booty from every battle to his subordinates. Therefore, many tribes gladly joined him and served him with all their strength … His expenditure increased day by day and what he had originally accumulated was all spent. He worried about the poverty of his later days and had nothing to rely on. Thus he gradually kept his booty for himself and stopped distributing it. His subordinates became subversive for the first time.\textsuperscript{147}

It was natural that the Central Eurasian nomads resorted to plundering, for which they were equipped and trained, in order to obtain provisions when placed in a difficult condition during flight or migration. For instance, the \textit{Jiu Tangshu} (Old book of the Tang) records that some of the remnants of the Uyghurs fled to the forests and became brigands after their state was destroyed by the Qirghiz:

There were still several yurts. They scattered and hid in the deep forests of several mountains. They pillaged other tribes. They all wanted to go westward and join Pánglè in Anxī. Pánglè had already proclaimed himself khagan, occupying several cities west of the desert (Gobi).\textsuperscript{148}

\textsuperscript{147} \textit{Xin Tangshu}, 215b:6067–8.

\textsuperscript{148} \textit{Jiu Tangshu}, 195:5215.
Likewise, the Qara-Khitans led by Yelü Ta-shi also accumulated wealth and power by plundering the peoples they encountered on their westward migration from northern China to the Semirechye region. The *Lia shi* (History of the Liao) records that his army “advanced 10,000 li, submitting several countries, and capturing innumerable camels, horses, cattle, sheep, and goods. The power of the armies increased day by day, and so did their valour.”  

On the other hand, Central Eurasian nomadic fugitives did not necessarily rely on plundering as a means of acquiring provisions. Like the émigré Tatars hired by Muscovy to fight off other Tatar invaders in the fifteenth century, the Shatuo Turks led by Zhuye Zhiyi’s family were employed by the Tang Dynasty as frontier guards. According to the *Xin Tangshu*, the Shatuo Turks were mobilized to repel the Uyghurs, the Tibetans, and the Tanguts, who raided China on several occasions. The author of the *Xin Tangshu* praised their role as border guards: “The Shatuo at first submitted to the Son of Heaven and served in the frontier region, shedding blood to assist the conquests for generations. They were always the best among the soldiers of the frontier.”

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150 *Xin Tangshu*, 218:6156
151 *Xin Tangshu*, 218:6166.
1.3 From Small Bands of Fugitives to New States and Identities

Throughout the history of Central Eurasia, the bands of fugitives that left their original abodes and sought to gain a foothold in remote areas often founded new states or even developed new identities. Yelü Ta-shi and his fugitive band transformed into a new revived state, the Qara-Khitan (1132–1218), which dominated Central Asia for nearly a century. About two centuries earlier, after the collapse of the Tang Dynasty, the descendants of Zhuye family and the Shatuo mercenaries had founded a new state in northern China called the Later Tang (923–36). The Fufulu tribe led by Afuzhiluo and the Xianbi vagrants led by Tuyühun also developed into new nomadic states that ruled over Jungharia in the fourth and fifth centuries and the northeastern Tibetan plateau from the mid-fourth century to the seventh century. In addition, the fugitive band led by Mugulü later annexed some Gaoche and Xiongnu tribes in Mongolia and developed into a new nomadic empire (330s–555) with a new identity named Jou-jan. Similarly, the Ashina clan that fled to southwestern Mongolia transformed into a strong nomadic entity that would later form the core of the Türk khaganates (550s–740s).

It should be noted that, following their qazaqliq-type stage, the two bands of fugitives led by Mugulü and Ashina developed new identities that were distinct from the larger nomadic entities to which they had belonged. Although their ethnic origin remains an open question, the Tabgach origin of Mugulü may have been recognized by the Jou-jan and the Northern Wei alike. According to the Weishu, Anagui (r. 520–552), the last khan of the Jou-jan, who once took refuge at the Northern Wei court, said the following to the Wei emperor, who agreed with him:
“My ancestors originate in the Great Wei (Northern Wei) … my ancestors nomadized in search of grass and in the end dwelt north of the desert (Gobi).”\textsuperscript{152}

At the same time, criticizing the aggressiveness of the northern barbarians, Wei Shou, the author of the \textit{Weishu}, describes the Jou-jan and the Northern Wei as distinct entities:

When it comes to the tribe like the Juan-juan, we cannot trace their roots even though they are the heirs of the Xiongnu. They are an ugly band of fugitives or convicts and developed from a small group into a large group. Like swirling winds and flying birds, they suddenly came and disappeared. Because of this, there were frequent disturbances in the capital and the soldiers were troubled.\textsuperscript{153}

In the same way, the Göktürks were differentiated from other nomadic Turkic groups, such as the Tiele, in the contemporary Chinese histories although there may have been various reasons for this. For instance, the \textit{Jiu Tangshu} (Old book of the Tang) differentiates the Türks from the Tiele, treating them in separate sections.\textsuperscript{154} The \textit{Jiu Tangshu} also records that “after the

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{152} \textit{Weishu}, 103:2299. The \textit{Weishu} also states that the Jou-jan descend from the Tung-hu (Eastern Barbarian). \textit{Weishu}, 103:2289. The Tabgach or Tuoba is considered to be a clan of the Xianbi, which descends from the Tung-hu, in the Chinese histories.
\item \textsuperscript{153} \textit{Weishu}, 103:2313–4.
\item \textsuperscript{154} For the Türk, see \textit{Suishu}, 84:1863–79; \textit{Jiu Tangshu}, 194a–b; and Li Yangshou, \textit{Beishi (History of the Northern Dynasties)} (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2003), 99:3285–302. For the T’ieh-le, see \textit{Suishu}, 84:1879–80; \textit{Jiu Tangshu}, 199b:5343–49; and \textit{Beishi}, 99:3303–4.
\end{itemize}
Türks became powerful, the Tiele gradually became dispersed and small in number."¹⁵⁵

Likewise, in the Chinese dynastic histories, the Türks are not associated with the Uyghurs, former members of the Tiele tribal union. Whereas the Shatuo tribe, which actually descends from the Chuyue tribe of the Western Türks, is referred to as “a separate tribe of the Western Türk” in the Xin Tangshu (New book of the Tang), the Uyghurs are on no occasion identified with the Türks.¹⁵⁶

Furthermore, although the Chinese dynastic histories, written in the pre-Mongol period, generally classify the nomadic peoples of Mongolia as the heirs of the Xiongnu or the Tung-hu (Eastern Barbarian), they attribute a rather ambiguous origin to the Jou-jan and the Göktürks, probably because of their descent from the fugitives of mixed or unknown origin.¹⁵⁷ For instance, the Nan Qishu (Book of Southern Qi) states that the Jou-jan were “mixed barbarians

¹⁵⁵ Jiu Tangshu, 199b:5343.

¹⁵⁶ For the Western Türkic origin of the Chuyue tribe, see Jiu Tangshu, 194b:5179; and Xin Tangshu, 215b:6055; for origin of the Shatuo, see Xin Tangshu, 218:6153; and for the origin of the Uyghur, see Xin Tangshu, 217a:6111. The Khitan and the Qay, who were proto-Mongolic-speaking tribes, are usually described as being of Tung-hu (Eastern Barbarian) origin. For the Tung-hu origin of the Qay, see Zheng Wei, Suishu, 84:1881; and Xin Tangshu, 219:6173. For the Tung-hu origin of the Khitan, see Xin Tangshu, 219:6167. However, attributing the Xiongnu origin to certain tribes should not be understood as classifying them as a Turkic group. The Khitan and the Qay are also described as being of Xiongnu origin in other Chinese dynastic histories. For the Xiongnu origin of the Qay, see Jiu Tangshu, 199b:5354; and Xiu Ouyang, Xin Wudaishi (New History of the Five Dynasties) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), 74:909. For the Xiongnu origin of the Khitan, see Juzheng Xue, Jiu Wudaishi (Old History of the Five Dynasties) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2003), 137:1827. Not surprisingly, the Xin Tangshu even associates the Shiwei, who were the progenitors of the Mongols, with the Turkic Tingling tribe. See Xin Tangshu, 219:6176.
outside the frontier region.” Both the Liangshu (Book of the Liang) and the Songshu (Book of the Song) attribute a Xiongnu origin to the Jou-jan, unlike the Weishu that associates them with the Tung-hu. Concerning the origin of the Göktürk, the Chinese dynastic histories associate them with either the Xiongnu or the remnants of a people living near the Western Sea or the mixed barbarians of the Pingliang city or the obscure Suo state located to the north of the Xiongnu.

In sum, throughout the history of pre-Mongol Central Eurasia, a number of nomadic states and peoples emerged as result of the qazaqliq-type activities of their forebears. Whereas the Xiongnu, the Türk, and the Mongol empires first appeared on the historical scene as a result of the successful military conquests of their founders, the Tuyühun state, the Jou-jan tribe, the Gaoche Khanate, the Ashina clan, the Shatuo state, and the Qara-Khitans state all came into being following the qazaqliq-type experiences of their founders, that is, through flight from their original group and migration. This demonstrates that the formation of new states and tribes as


159 Yao Cha and Yao Silian, Liangshu (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1973), 54:817; and Shen Yue, Songshu (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), 95:2357.

160 For the Xiongnu origin of the Türk, see Beishi, 99:3285, 3303. For their origin in the West Sea region, see Suishu, 84:1863; and for their origin in the Suo state, see Defen Linghu, Zhoushu (Book of the Zhou) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2003), 50:907–8.

161 The formation of new nomadic peoples in connection with migrations has been noted by Owen Lattimore. According to Lattimore, the Jou-jan, the Göktürk, and the Tuyühun all emerged as a result of the re-migration of the sedentarized nomads and frontiersmen into the steppe region. Owen Lattimore, Inner Asian Frontiers of China (Boston: Beacon, 1962), 527–28.
a result of some qazaqliq activities in post-Mongol Central Eurasia, which will be discussed in the following chapters, was by no means an unprecedented phenomenon.

2 The Emergence of the Qazaqliq Phenomenon and Diffusion of the Term Qazaq in Post-Mongol Central Eurasia

2.1 The Socio-Political Conditions that led to the Rise of the Qazaqliq Phenomenon in Post-Mongol Central Eurasia

In pre-Mongol Central Eurasia, the above-mentioned qazaqliq-type activities involving practices of flight, migration, and plundering served as an effective means of pursuing political power and they even functioned as a mechanism of state formation. However, during the pre-Mongol period, qazaqliq-type activities occurred as intermittent and isolated socio-political events with no designation of their own. In contrast, qazaqliq activities occurred as a much more customary and extensive phenomenon in Central Eurasia during the post-Mongol period. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the practice of qazaqliq became such a widespread phenomenon in the Dasht-i Qipchāq and Transoxiana that most of the state builders of these regions experienced it before coming to power. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, it also became a transcultural Eurasian phenomenon in which a large number of East Slavs took part. Importantly, whereas the qazaqliq-type activities of the pre-Mongol period were indistinguishable from simple acts of fleeing and plunder, the qazaq way of life in the post-Mongol period existed as a separate custom of political vagabondage.
The most important factor that gave rise to this *qazaqlūq* phenomenon in the Dasht-i Qipchāq and Transoxiana during the post-Mongol period was the intensification of internecine struggles within the Chinggisid states starting from the mid-fourteenth century. The fractured world of the post-Mongol period led both to the expansion of frontier regions over which states could exercise little control and to an increase in the number of political fugitives. It should be noted that when much of Central Eurasia was united under the Mongol Empire and when the regional Mongol states held undisputed authority over their domains, there was less opportunity and indeed less uncontrolled space (frontier and/or other places of refuge) for dissatisfied elements to take refuge in, i.e., to choose the *qazaq* way of life. However, the dissolution of the Jochid Ulus, the Chaghatay Khanate, and later the Timurid states in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries not only increased the number of political fugitives, but also created a power vacuum in Khorasan, Transoxiana and at both ends of the Qipchaq steppe, which in turn harboured the runaways from the fragmented polities.\(^\text{162}\) Therefore, between the second half of the fourteenth century and the first half of the sixteenth century, dissident or displaced leaders of the Chinggisid and Timurid lineages, such as Temür, Toqtamīsh, Abū al-Khair Khan, Sulṭān-Ḥusain Bayqara, Jānibeg, Girāy, Muḥammad Shībānī Khan, and Babur, underwent periods of political vagabondage in remote regions before coming to power.

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\(^{162}\) In his discussion of the tribal-state relationship between the state and the tribe, Thomas Barfild has shown that the Turkmen tribes residing in the frontier zone between Iran and Uzbekistan in the late nineteenth century could maintain political autonomy by employing a strategy of fleeing to the other side of the border in order to evade state control. Thomas J. Barfield, *The Nomadic Alternative* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1993), 114–15. This typical example shows that frontier regions or political no-man’s lands could serve political fugitives (*qazaqs*) as a refuge where they could remain autonomous and wait for an opportunity to make a comeback.
Another important factor that lay behind the emergence of the *qazaqlîq* phenomenon in the post-Mongol period was the centuries-long dominance of nomads in Central Eurasia, which reached its peak during the Mongol period and remained unchallenged after the disintegration of the Mongol empire. Being mobile horsemen and natural warriors, the nomads were potential *qazaqs*, i.e. they could swiftly become fugitives or frontier freebooters in times of political turmoil. Thus the widespread presence of these nomads in post-Mongol Central Eurasia meant that *qazaqlîq* or *qazaqlîq*-type activities could occur over a much wider area than during the pre-Mongol period. Meanwhile, the numerous *qazaqlîq* activities of the members of the Chinggisid and Timurid lineages may have been facilitated by the fact that their charisma was recognized by the nomad population of the Dasht-i Qipchāq and Transoxiana. That is to say, the members of these two clans, whose political legitimacy was based on strong dynastic traditions, could virtually monopolize the leadership of the *qazaq* bands that appeared in Central Asia. As is well known, notable *qazaq* leaders such as Sulṭān-Ḥusain Bayqara and Muḥammad Shībānī Khan belonged to the Chinggisid or Timurid lines. Therefore, defiant or displaced leaders of Chinggisid and Timurid descent may have found the *qazaq* way of life an accessible and appealing means of pursuing political power.

Furthermore, the acculturation of the East Slavic frontiersmen to nomadic lifeways following the centuries-long nomad dominance in Central Eurasia may also have contributed to the widespread occurrence of the *qazaqlîq* phenomenon in the post-Mongol period. In the course of several centuries, the East Slavic frontiersmen of western Eurasia adopted the steppe way of warfare through contacts with their nomad neighbors, which made them more steppe-adapted.\(^{163}\)

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\(^{163}\) On the cultural influence of the Turkic nomads on the Ukrainian Cossacks, see J. Kočubej, “Les éléments orientaux dans la culture et dans la vie quotidienne des cosaques ukrainiens,” in *Les Cosaques de l’Ukraine: Rôle*
This meant that by the turn of sixteenth century the pool of potential qazaqs had become greatly expanded. The Slavic qazaqliq phenomenon will be fully examined in the next chapter.

2.2 The Spread of the Use of the Term Qazaq in post-Mongol Central Eurasia

Perhaps the most notable qazaq in the history of Central Eurasia was the young Temür, the future conqueror of the western half of Central Eurasia. As a member of the Barlas tribe of the Chaghatayid Ulus, Temür began his political career as a subordinate of Tughlugh-Temür (r. 1351–63), the Moghul khan who invaded Transoxiana in 1361. From then until his rise to power in 1369, Temür underwent at least two extended periods of qazaqliq. Temür’s first period of qazaqliq began when he fled from Ilyas Khoja, the son of Tughlugh-Temür and governor of Transoxiana. In alliance with Amīr Ḥusain, the leader of the Qara’unas, Temür spent about three years roving around the remote regions in Khorasan including the Mākhān region near Marv fighting against the Moghuls. This period of exile ended when Temür, having gathered other refugees fleeing the Moghuls behind him, succeeded in expelling the Moghul invaders from

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164 The term Ulūs-i Chaghatāy was used as a designation for the Chaghatayid Khanate and later the Timurids. After the division of the Chaghatayid Khanate into the eastern and western sections in the mid-fourteenth century, the western Chaghatays still used this name as self-appellation whereas the eastern Chaghatays adopted the name Ulūs-i Moghūl.
Transoxiana and in 1364 placed Kābulshāh on the throne as a puppet khan. Temūr started his second period of qazaqlīq when he fled from his rival Amīr Ḥusain, the de facto ruler of Transoxiana. During this period of qazaqlīq, Temūr roamed around in Khorasan and Transoxiana struggling against the superior forces of Amīr Ḥusain. Temūr later went to Tashkent and received military assistance from the Moghuls, which facilitated the conclusion of a truce between him and Amīr Ḥusain in 1368. Temūr then succeeded in drawing more supporters to his banner and a year later defeated his rival. Temūr’s suzerainty was now recognized by the amīrs and the noyans of the Chaghatayid Ulus.

The examination of the references to Temūr and his descendants’ qazaq activities contained in various historical sources can provide a clue as to when the term qazaq became used as a designation for political vagabonds. One of the accounts of Temūr’s career as a brigand, a fugitive, and an unsparing leader is provided in the travelogue written in Spanish by Clavijo, the Castillian envoy who visited the court of Temūr in 1404:

Timur in his youth was wont to ride out with his four or five companions on foray, and one day they would lift a sheep and on another occasion a cow, taking these by stealth from the flocks of their neighbours. Then when home again Timur would make a feast of his booty, inviting his companions, and others would join for he was a man of heart

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166 Shāmī, Zafarnāma 1:46–51.
and very hospitable, dividing what he had with friends. Others now came to join his following until at length he had some three hundred horsemen under his command, and with these he would ride forth through the countryside plundering and robbing all who came his way: but next dividing all he took among those who rode with him. Thus he beset all the highways taking toll of the merchants he came upon … Then while Timur was thus living at the court of Samarqand matters fell out to his discredit, such that the Sultan came to regard him evilly; when commands for the death of Timur were issued who however was warned in time by friends. Timur therefore fled, he and his followers again became highwaymen on the roads, where one day they compassed the plundering of an immense caravan of merchants and were possessed of a large sum in booty. Timur then marched south coming to a province that is called Sistan where he plundered the people of their flocks of sheep and of their horse-herds, for this country is extremely rich in cattle.

The fifteenth-century historian Ibn ʿArabshāh (1392–1450), who was a near-contemporary of Temūr, also offers a description of Temūr’s qazaq activities, which vaguely reflects the latter’s experience as a charismatic leader of freebooters before coming to power:

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168 Sulṭān-Ḥusain Bayqara probably resorted to plundering caravans in order to support his qazaq band during his qazaqliq days. See Subtelny, Timurids in Transition, 54.

Others say that his father was a poor smith, but that he himself from his youth excelled in keenness of intellect and strength; but because of poverty began to commit acts of brigandage and in the course of these exploits was wounded and mutilated … The period of his complete dominion was therefore thirty-six years, and that without reckoning the time from his sedition and brigandage up to his gaining the throne. For after he had rebelled, he and his companions were ravaging the territories of Transoxiana with hostile and violent assaults on the people. Therefore all moved to drive them out and closed to them those habitations and places. Accordingly they crossed the Oxus, and when that tract was exhausted by brigandage, turned to the territory of Khorasan and particularly the borders of Seistan, nor could their raids in the huge deserts of Bavard and Makhan be counted … Then, they say, Timur fled to Transoxiana, and his forces were strengthened. For already his companions were joining him and his fellow-bandits and friends were again collecting round him.¹⁷⁰

Temür’s career as a freebooter was also known in Russia. The Nikon Chronicle describes in detail the process whereby Temür evolved from an outcast and bandit chief to a relentless empire builder:

About this Temir Aksak it is known that originally he was not a tsar, nor a son of a tsar, nor of the family of a tsar, nor a princelord, nor the nobility, but was from ordinary, poor people, from the Chaghatay Tatars (Zayatskiye Tatary), from the Samarkand territories (Samarkhiyskaya zemlya), from the Blue Orda beyond the Iron Gate; By occupation he was an ironsmith; by his temperament and behaviour, he was merciless, criminal, predatory, a telltale (yabednik), and a robber. Previously, he was the servitor of his lord but because he was mean spirited, he was dismissed by his lord. He did not have anything, nor food, nor clothes, and was stealing and robbing. When he was young, he stole a sheep from someone and then this person with his people chased him, beat him and broke his leg and his hip and cast him out, believing him dead, to be eaten by dogs. After some time he recovered and mended his leg with iron, and became lame and because of that he was called Temir Aksak. Temir is in Tatar iron and Aksak means a lame person and his nickname was Temir Aksak which means “Iron Lame” … He became a cruel and merciless robber. Some cruel and ruthless men and young people joined him always robbing and spilling blood. When their number became hundred they called him their chief robber (stareishii razboynik). When their number became thousand, they called him a prince. When their number increased more and many lands, many cities, many countries and realms were captured, then they called him tsar. And he started creating many armies, many battles, and much bloodshed….  

171 See Polnoye sobraniye russikh letopisey, vol. 11, Letopisnyy sbornik, imenuemyy Patriarshey ili Nikonovskoy letopis’yu (Prodolzheniye) (St. Petersburg: 1897; repr. Moscow: Yazyki russkoy kul’tury, 2000), 158. Even Sigismund von Herberstein, the envoy sent to Muscovy by Emperor Maximilian I in 1517, heard the following story about Temür’s qazaq activities from the Russians: “The Russians relate that this Themirassack was of obscure birth, and rose to this high degree of dignity by plunder; they say also that he was an extremely clever thief in his youth...”
In the Ottoman Empire, Temür was also known as an empire builder of qazaq origin. According to Carolus Gamberini, a Papal nuncio in Warsaw, the Ottomans feared the Ukrainian Cossacks because Temür, like the Ottomans, had grown from a freebooter to an empire builder:

The Tatars’ frequent incursions into Poland made it necessary to gather many men (exiles or mercenaries) in certain islands formed by the Dnieper (Boristene) opposite the Black Sea (Mar Maggiore) near Tatar territory. They raided their villages and fought so that Sigismund the First supported them. Today the Cossacks (Cosacchi) are the terror not only to the Tatars but of all the surrounding peoples. All the Turks themselves fear them, often saying that the Ottoman Empire had a similar beginning, and likewise the great Tamerlane, much celebrated by the historians.172

After the death of Temür, the Timurid state underwent a period of decentralization and repeated political turmoil throughout the fifteenth century. As a result, a number of Timurid princes, including Sulṭān-Ḥusain Bayqara and Babur, had to experience periods of qazaqlīq. After failing to take Marv from a relative of his in 1457, Sulṭān-Ḥusain Bayqara was forced to

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wander around Mākhan near Marv, Khorazm, and the Dasht-i Qipchāq for nearly a decade as a throneless prince. His last period of qazaqlīq ended when he seized Herat in 1469 after the death of his main rival Sultān-Abū Saʿīd. Similarly, his nephew Zāhir al-Dīn Muḥammad Babur had to live the life of a political vagabond after being ousted from Samarkand in 1501 by Muḥammad Shībānī Khan until his capture of Kābul in 1504. Babur’s period of wandering and struggle with the Uzbeks, however, lasted until 1526 when he founded a Timurid state in northern India after successfully rallying the dispersed remnants of the Timurids and the Moghuls.

Whereas neither the Timurid histories written in Persian in the early fifteenth century nor the above-mentioned non-Timurid sources explicitly refer to Temūr as a qazaq, the contemporary histories of Sultān-Ḥusain Bayqara and Babur, i.e., the sources written in the second half of the fifteenth century and after, use the term qazaq to denote the qazaqlīq days of these two Timurid princes. As discussed in Chapter one, the Persian sources such as the Muʿizz al-ansāb fī shajarat al-ansāb, the Matlaʾ-i saʿdain va majmaʾ-i bahrain, the Raużāt al-jannāt fī auṣāf-i madīnah-i Herāt, and the Shībānī-nāma employ the term qazāq, and the Chaghatay Turkic sources such as the Majalis al-nafaʾis, the Zubdat al-āsār, the anonymous Shībānī-nāma, and the Bābur-nāma use the term qazaqlīq or qazaq to refer to Sultān-Ḥusain’s days of wandering. Likewise, the Chaghatay Turkic Bābur-nāma and the Persian Tārīkh-i ḥabīb al-siyar use the terms qazaqlīq and qazāq, respectively, to describe Babur’s qazaqlīq activities.

Accordingly, unlike the Timurid histories written in the early fifteenth century, the sources written in the sixteenth century and after, such as the sixteenth century Malfuzāt-i Timūrī

173 For the discussion of Sultān-Ḥusain Bayqara’s periods of qazaqlīq, see Subtelny, Timurids in Transition, 52–60.
and the late-seventeenth century Dāftār-i Čingiz-nāmā employ the term qazaq to describe Temür’s career as a freebooter and an independent man, respectively.

Therefore, based on such uses of the term qazaq, the following conclusions can be made as to when the term qazaq in the sense of a political vagabond became widely used in much of Central Eurasia. First, it may be assumed that the widespread diffusion of the term qazaq did not occur in the fourteenth century. The term qazaq itself did exist in that century and most likely in earlier centuries as well, for it appears in the meaning of “guard” in the Codex Cumanicus. In this early fourteenth century multi-lingual dictionary for Qipchaq Turkic, Ghasal cosac is rendered as guayta in Latin and naubat in Persian. However, the fact that the term qazaq was not used in the Timurid histories written in the early fifteenth century to refer to Temür indicates that its use in the sense of a freebooter or a fugitive was probably not widespread in the fourteenth century. Besides, the qazaq-type bands, such as the Negūdār that became active in Khorasan from the second half of the thirteenth century, were not referred to as qazaqs in the contemporary sources, which also implies that the term qazaq was most likely not used in Central Eurasia to designate fugitives or frontier freebooters in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

Second, the term qazaq in the sense of a fugitive, freebooter, or vagabond gained widespread use throughout much of Central Eurasia probably in the fifteenth century. As shown in Chapter one, the term qazaq was used in the Timurid histories written in the early fifteenth century to refer to a renegade military unit (hazāra) that deserted a son of Temūr. Muʿīn al-

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174 See Codex Cumanicus, 100.
175 Yazdī, Zafar-nāma, 1:197; Shāmī, Zafarnāma 1:72; and Naṭanzī, Muntakhab al-tavārīkh-i Muʿīnī, 416.
Dīn Naṭanzī also refers to Jabbār Berdī, a son of Toqtamīsh, as qazaq in the sense of a vagrant in his Muntakhab al-tavārīkh-i Muʿīnī written in 1413–14. Recording an event that took place in 1444, the Nikon Chronicle calls a group of border guards in the service of Muscovy “Ryazan qazaqs” (kazaki ryazan’skia). Similarly, in his work compiled in the second half of the fifteenth century, Kamāl al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Razzāq Samarqandī refers to the group of Uzbek freebooters that raided the Timurid domains in 1440–41 as qazaqs.

Third, at the turn of the sixteenth century, the qazaq way of life itself was being perceived as a well-established custom of political vagabondage in the Dasht-i Qipchāq and Transoxiana. The qazaqlīq experiences of such state builders of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries as Sultān-Ḥusain Bayqara, Ǧānībeg, Girāy, Muḥammad Shībānī Khan, and Babur did not go unnoticed in various histories written in the first half of the sixteenth century. Furthermore, the Tārīkh-i Rashīdī and the Mulfuzāt-i Timūrī even provide an explanation of the characteristics of qazaq way of life, which suggests that qazaqlīq had become a rather formalized practice at that time.

If the term qazaq in the sense of a fugitive, freebooter, or vagabond came into widespread use in the fifteenth century, the primary cause of this diffusion must be that qazaqlīq itself became an extensive phenomenon in the Dasht-i Qipchāq and Transoxiana from the mid-fourteenth century onwards. That is to say, it was in the fifteenth century that the demand arose

176 Naṭanzī, Muntakhab al-tavārīkh-i Muʿīnī, 87.
177 See Polnoye sobraniye russkikh letopisey, 12:62.
178 Samarqandī, “Maṭla’-i sa’dain,” 258 (text), 199 (trans.).
179 See Muḥammad Ḥaider Dughlāt, Tārīkh-i Rashīdī, 404; and Abū Ṭālib al-Ḥusainī, The Mulfuzāt Timūry, 111.
for a specific designation for this widespread custom of political vagabondage. More specifically, those who became fugitives or frontier freebooters, such as the displaced rulers or the renegade nomads from Samarkand or Saray who had to wander into remote regions and the East Slavic peasants who ventured into the steppe, and those that were deserted or raided by these political vagabonds, for instance, the Timurid state, the Jochid uluses, the Muscovite state, and the Lithuanian state all needed a designation to refer to themselves or their antagonists from the fifteenth century onwards.

In addition, the Turkicization of the former Mongol ruling elites of the Dasht-i Qipchāq and Transoxiana throughout the fourteenth century may also have contributed to the spread of the term qazaq. It is unlikely that the Mongol ruling elites of thirteenth century Iran and Transoxiana used the term qazaq to designate the frontier freebooters in Khorasan, i.e., the Negūdār or the Qara’unas. Therefore, it may be assumed that the shared Turkic language used by the ruling elites of the Dasht-i Qipchāq and Transoxiana in the fourteenth century facilitated both the adoption and the diffusion of the Qipchaq Turkic term qazaq.

The view that the diffusion of the term qazaq took place as a result of the emergence of the qazaqlīq phenomenon itself in post-Mongol Central Eurasia can be corroborated by the lack of attestation of the term qazaq in the sense of a political vagabond in the Mamlūk sultanate. Even though this term appears in the mid-fourteenth century Mamlūk Qipchaq dictionary in the meaning of “free (unattached)” or “bachelor, single” (qazaq bašlı), the term qazaq in the sense of a freebooter or a vagrant is not yet reported in Mamlūk sources probably because the qazaqlīq phenomenon was uncommon in Mamlūk Egypt.180 Naturally, the region where the term qazaq

180 See Golden, “Migrations, Ethnogenesis,” 117n68.
would have gained wide currency was Dasht-i Qipchāq and Transoxiana where the socio-political phenomenon of qazaqliq emerged.

3 Conclusion

Throughout the history of pre-modern Central Eurasia, the practice of flight, migration, and plundering not only served as an effective strategy for achieving political survival and recovery, but also played an important role in the process of state building. These activities were part of the expected ways of life in times of crisis in Central Eurasian nomadic societies that were made up of highly mobile horsemen and natural warriors. It was as a result of the qazaqliq-type activities that Mugulü, Tuyühun, and Yelü Ta-shi founded the Jou-jan tribe, the Tuyühun state, and the Qara-Khitan state, respectively. The qazaqliq-type activities of Mugulü and Ashina even laid the foundation for the formation of new nomad groups—the Jou-jans and the Göktürks.

During the pre-Mongol era, qazaqliq-type activities occurred as isolated enterprises, which were not distinguishable from mere acts of fleeing, migration, and plunder. However, during the post-Mongol period, the qazaq way of life, although based on similar practices of brigandage and vagabondage, became the unique custom of political vagabondage in the western half of Central Eurasia when a large number of political fugitives, produced by the internecine struggles within the Chinggisid states that became intensified from the mid-fourteenth century, began to live the life of freebooters in the frontier and remote regions that had become political no-man’s lands as a result of the weakening of central authorities. In addition, qazaqliq became a trans-cultural Eurasian way of life and socio-political institution in the Black Sea steppe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries when a large number of East Slavs, having become
accustomed to the steppe way of warfare following centuries-long nomad dominance in Central Eurasia, also became qazaqs and went into the steppe in search of freedom and booty as will be discussed in Chapter three.

It should be noted that the custom of political vagabondage was not an exclusively post-Mongol Central Eurasian phenomenon. The practice of brigandage and vagabondage existed not only during the pre-Mongol period but also outside Central Eurasia throughout history. However, it was in post-Mongol Central Eurasia that the qazaq way of life became such an important and widespread socio-political phenomenon that it acquired a name, i.e., qazaqliq and became perceived as a political custom by contemporaries. It was also in post-Mongol Central Eurasia that the custom of political vagabondage, i.e., qazaqliq, came to play a decisive role in the formation of new polities and identities.

The diffusion of the term qazaq in the sense of a fugitive, freebooter, or vagabond should be understood in this socio-political context. In other words, the term qazaq, which had existed in earlier times, gained wide currency in fifteenth century Central Eurasia because it was during the post-Mongol period that the qazaq way of life itself became an extensive phenomenon in the Dasht-i Qipchāq and Transoxiana due to the socio-political conditions created by the fragmentation of the Chinggisid states.
Chapter 3
The Emergence of Qazaq-Type Groups and Cossack Institutions in Mongol and Post-Mongol Central Eurasia

Perhaps the best-known qazaqs of post-Mongol Central Eurasia are the Timurid leaders Temür, Sultan-Ḥusain Bayqara, and Babur, who experienced periods of political vagabondage in the Dasht-i Qipchāq and Transoxiana before coming to power. However, among the many qazaq-types and qazaqs who appeared on the historical scene during the Mongol and post-Mongol periods, there were also less well-known leaders and large groups of political fugitives whose qazaqliq activities led to the emergence of some qazaq-type formations such as the Qara’unas and qazaq, or cossack, formations, such as the Zaporozhian Cossacks. These qazaq-type and qazaq entities played an important role in the history of Mongol and post-Mongol Central Eurasia.

Chapter three will first investigate the qazaq-type bands that appeared in Khorasan and Anatolia from the second half of the thirteenth century onwards when the Mongol Empire started to disintegrate. It will then examine the qazaqliq phenomenon, or cossackdom, that appeared in the Black Sea steppe region, after it turned into a broad frontier region (the so-called “Wild Field”) as the Jochid Ulus began to disintegrate in the early fifteenth century.

The remainder of this chapter will provide a detailed discussion of Ukrainian cossackdom, which was arguably the most historically significant qazaq formation to emerge in the Black Sea steppe region. Its role in the creation of a Ukrainian Cossack polity as well as in the later development of modern Ukrainian identity will also be touched upon.
1 The Qazaq-Type and Qazaq Bands in Mongol and Post-Mongol Central Eurasia

As a result of the hostilities that broke out between the Mongol uluses in the second half of the thirteenth century, some qazaqliq-type activities took place in the frontier regions of the Mongol Empire that led to the formation of new tribes or identities, such as the Qara’unas, the Negüdär, and the Yasa’urī.

The Qara’unas were a band or bands of frontier freebooters that emerged in the second half of the thirteenth century in Khorasan, which formed the frontier region between the Ilkhanate, the Chaghatay Khanate, and India. This qazaq-type band originated from both the Mongol military units that were garrisoned on the Indian border and the Jochid troops that escaped from the Ilkhanids to this frontier region. The latter formed a section of the Qara’unas sometimes separately called Negüdāri. 181 Marco Polo, who passed through Iran on his way to the Mongol Yuan Dynasty, describes in his travelogue the Qara’unas as a group of brigands whose leader was called Negüdār:

And in this plain are several cities and villages and towns which have the ramparts of earth high and thick and high towers to defend them from their enemies the people

181 These Jochid fugitives originally came to Iran to take part in Hulegü’s military campaign in the Middle East. They fled to Khorasan and the frontier of Hindustan (sar-hadd-i Hindūstān) led by their Jochid commander Negūdār after a civil war broke out between Hulegü, the founder of the Ilkhanate, and Berke, the ruler of the Jochid Ulus, in 1262. Rashīd al-Dīn, Jāmiʿ al-tawārīkh, 526; Rashiduddin Fazlullah, Jami’u’t-tawarikh (Compendium of Chronicles): A History of the Mongols, trans. W. M. Thackston, 3 pts. ([Cambridge, Mass.]: Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, Harvard University, 1998-99), 362.
called Caraunas who are there in plenty; these are a most cruel and wicked race and robbers who go scouring the land and doing great harm. And why they are called Caraunas, which means to say as much as guasmul or mongrels in our tongue? Because long ago their mothers were Indian and their fathers Tartars (Mongols). And these people when they wish to scour the whole land and to rob, they make the whole day become dark like a dark night … These have a king and their king is called Negodar, a man of very great spirit.  

By the early fourteenth century, these frontier freebooters had developed into a new tribe. Khvāndamīr refers to the Qara’unas as “the most fearsome of the Mongol tribes” (lashkar-i Qarāūnās-rā ki bī-bāktarīn aqvām-i mughāl būdand) applying the term qaum, or tribe, to them. He also calls the Negūdāri who raided the Muzaffarid land an “evil tribe” (qaum-i bad). The Negūdāri remained active as a distinct tribe in Khorasan until the time of Muḥammad Shībānī Khan. On the eve of Temūr’s rise to power in Transoxiana, the


183 Khvāndamīr, Tārīkh-i Ḥabīb al-siyar, 3:121; and Thackston, Habīb’s-siyar, 1:68.

184 Khvāndamīr, Tārīkh-i Ḥabīb al-siyar, 3:276; and Thackston, Habīb’s-siyar, 1:160.

185 It was after his unsuccessful campaign against the Negūdāri and the Hazāra in Khorasan that Muḥammad Shībānī Khan, having disbanded his main army, had to confront, with a small force, the large army of Shāh Ismāʿīl Safavī in 1510. Khvāndamīr, Tārīkh-i Ḥabīb al-siyar, 4:392–93; and Thackston, Habīb’s-siyar, 2:547. Muḥammad Ḥaidar Dughlāt only mentions the Hazāra in this campaign, which may indicate that the Hazāra and the Negūdāri formed a single entity. Muḥammad Ḥaidar Dughlāt, Tārīkh-i Rashīdī, 362.
Qara’unas formed one of the major tribes of the Chaghatay Ulus.\textsuperscript{186} Amīr Qazaghān, who defeated and killed the Chaghatayid khan Qazan in 1346, was the leader of the Qara’unas.\textsuperscript{187} His grandson, Amīr Ḥusain, became the main rival of Temūr before the latter came to power.

Another tribe that constituted the Chaghatay Ulus in the mid-fourteenth century, along with the Barlās, the Süldüz, the Jalāyīr, etc, was the Yasa’ūrī.\textsuperscript{188} Like the Negūdāri, the Yasa’ūrī originated from a group of fugitives who underwent a period of exile in Khorasan. Their leader was a Chaghayid prince named Yasa’ur, who crossed the Amu Darya River and defected to the Ilkhanate in 1316 after quarrelling with his cousins Kābāk and Esān Buqan, the Chaghatayid ruler. Öljeitū (r. 1304–16), who was then the ruler of the Ilkhanate, welcomed Yasa’ur and allowed him to take up residence in the Badghis region.\textsuperscript{189} In 1318, after Öljeitū’s death, Yasa’ur rose in revolt against Öljeitū’s son Abū Saʿīd. However, this rebellion was unsuccessful and Yasa’ur met his death at the hands of his cousin Kābāk, who in 1320 resettled his families to Transoxiana.\textsuperscript{190} Despite the defeat and death of Yasa’ur, his refugee band later developed into a new tribe, the Yasa’ūrī, which was probably made up of Yasa’ur’s original troops and the people


\textsuperscript{187} “Qara’unas” even became the collective nickname for the western Chaghatays. According to Muḥammad Ḥaidar Dughlāt, the Moghuls or the eastern Chaghatays called their western counterpart by this name in a derogatory sense. Muḥammad Ḥaidar Dughlāt, \textit{Tārīkh-i Rashīdī}, 190.

\textsuperscript{188} Shāmī, \textit{Ẓafarnāma}, 1:15.


of Transoxiana whom Yasa’ur had captured during his exile and settled in Khorasan. The leader of the Yasa’urī and son of Yasa’ur, Qazan (r. 1343–46), became the last effective Chinggisid ruler of the Chaghatay Ulus. Qazan’s daughter Saray Malik became the principal wife of Temür.

During the Mongol and post-Mongol periods, there is evidence of qazaqliq-type activities among the Turkmen tribes of Anatolia, which at the time was the westernmost frontier province of the Ilkhanate. These Turkmen tribes, who had come to Anatolia during the Seljuk period or in the thirteenth century fleeing the Mongol invading armies, were engaged in raiding the Byzantine settlements in western Anatolia. Among them were included the progenitors of the Aq Qoyunlū or White Sheep polity. According to John Woods, the royal warband of the Aq Qoyunlū state originated from the bands of nomadic qazaq freebooters. In other words, a group of Turkmen fugitives developed into the nucleus of a new Turkmen state as a result of their qazaqliq-type activities on the Anatolian frontier.

As a matter of fact, the Ottoman state also had a somewhat similar origin. According to Isenbike Togan, prior to the founding of the Ottoman state, the early Ottomans formed a qazaq

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193 John Woods also argues that “a close parallel can be drawn between the rise of the Turkmen confederations of eastern Anatolia and the formation of the Tatar cossacks in the steppe north of the Caucasus…” see, Woods, *The Aqquyunlu*, 35.
band or a warrior society made up of a leader and his armed retinue. Colin Heywood even hypothesizes that the Ottoman emirate originates from a group of fugitives that had belonged to the ulus of the Jochid prince Nogay. At any rate, it is likely that the Ottomans were aware of their frontier raider origin. According to the Papal nuncio Carolus Gamberini, the Ottomans feared the Ukrainian Cossack raiders for they themselves had a similar beginning.

The transformation of fugitive bands into new tribes (qaum) like the Negüdäri and the Yasa’urī also took place in the frontier region between modern Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan during the post-Mongol period. The Qūrama, which formed a distinct ethnic group in Uzbekistan until the 1930s, probably had its origin in a group of Uzbek fugitives who had fled from the Manghit dynasty to the Syr Darya region. According to Timur Beisembiev, an amir of the Khitay tribe rebelled against the Manghit dynasty in 1745 but was defeated and fled with his followers to the valley of the Angren River, a tributary of the Syr Darya River, located to the south of Tashkent. Over the course of time, this group of fugitives, along with other Uzbek and Qazaq

194 Togan, “Political, Cultural and Economic Relation,” 5.

195 Colin Heywood speculates that this group of refugees came to Anatolia at the turn of the fourteenth century when Nogay’s ulus collapsed after the latter was defeated by the Jochid khan Toqta (r. 1291–1312) in 1299. Colin Heywood, “Filling the Black Hole: The Emergence of the Bithynian Atamanates,” in The Great Ottoman Turkish Civilisation, vol. 1, Politics, ed. Kemal Çiček, Nejat Göyünün, Ercüment Kuran, and Ilber Ortayli (Ankara: Yeni Türkiye, 2000), 109–14.

196 Litterae nuntiorum apostolicorum historiam ucrainae illustrantes (1550-1850), 1: 24; and Lassota von Steblau, Habsburgs and Zaporozhian Cossacks, 117.

197 Timur Beisembiev, “Migration in the Qoqand Khanate in Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries,” in Migration in Central Asia: Its History and Current Problems, Japan Center for Area Studies (JCAS) Symposium Series no. 9, eds., Hisao Komatsu, Chika Obiya and John S. Shoeberein (Osaka, Japan Center for Area Studies, 2000), 36–37. Unlike Timur Beisembiev’s explanation, the Qūrama tribe probably emerged before the eighteenth century. For
tribes, formed a new tribe acquiring the name *qūrama* meaning “sewn of (different) pieces.”

The Qūrama remained a transitional group between the Qazaqs and the Uzbeks, both culturally and linguistically, until it became incorporated into the modern Uzbek nation in the 1930s.

Ya’qub Bek (r. 1867–77), a former official of the Khanate of Khoqand (1709–1876), who led the Muslim rebellions against the Manchurian Qing Dynasty in 1867 and established a short-lived independent state in Xinjiang, was by origin a Qūrama.

It is unclear whether the Qūrama were referred to as *qazaqs* by the Manghit Uzbeks in the eighteenth century. However, the fugitives from the Tatar khanates and later from Poland-Lithuania and Muscovy who chose to live the life of free adventurers and freebooters in the Black Sea steppe region from the fifteenth century onwards, were indeed designated by their contemporaries as *qazaqs* (Russian *kazak*, Ukrainian *kozak*), i.e., cossacks. By the mid-sixteenth century, there were several such cossack entities in the Black Sea steppe: the Don Cossacks, the Zaporozhian Cossacks, the Aq Kirmān Cossacks (Bilhorod-Dnistrovs’kyi), etc.

The first cossacks had their origin in the renegade Tatars who were forced to live a wandering life in the Black Sea steppe, which after the dissolution of the Jochid Ulus

instance, the Qūrama appears in connection with some political events that took place in the Uzbek Khanate in the late seventeenth century in Muḥammad Yūsuf Munshī’s *Taṣkira-i Muqīm Khānī*, fols. 304a, 305a.


disintegrated into an anarchic and dangerous frontier region called Dikoye Pole, or Wild Field. These early Tatar cossacks actively engaged in brigandage in the frontier region. For instance, Jan Długosz speaks of their raid into Poland in 1469 as follows: “A large Tatar army collected from fugitives, expellees, and robbers, whom they call in their language kozaks, under the command of the Trans-Volgan khan Manyak, attacked the lands of the kingdom of Poland in three detachments” (Frequens Tartarorum exercitus ex fugitivis, predonibus et exulibus, quos sua lingua Kozakos appellant, collectus, sub duca Manyak cesaris ultra Wolhin, terras Regni Polonie trifariam partitus irrupit). 201

Ironically, the Tatar cossacks also performed a conflicting role as mercenaries. From the first half of the fifteenth century onwards, the émigré Tatar cossacks were employed by Muscovy and Poland-Lithuania as border guards against Tatar raiders. For instance, a document in Ruthenian dated 1561 mentions the names of twenty four Tatar Bilhorod (i.e., Aq Kirmān) cossacks, who were in the service of the Polish-Lithuanian ruler, Sigismund August. 202 The Nikon Chronicle also makes mention of the Ryazan cossacks (kazaki ryazan’skia), who in all likelihood were of Tatar origin, who fought against the Tatar invaders in 1444. 203 Muscovy’s policy of favoring the Tatars as border guards was also noted by M. Ambrosio Contarini, a Venetian ambassador to the Aq Qoyunlū ruler, Uzun Hasan, who visited Muscovy in 1476–78. Contarini writes about the Grand Duke and his Tatar border guards, who were probably of

201 Długossii, Annales seu Cronicae incliti Regni Poloniae, 243–44; and Hrushevsky, History of Ukraine-Rus’, 61.


203 See Polnoye sobraniye russikh letopisey, 12:62.
cossack origin, as follows: “It is his custom to visit the various parts of his dominions every year. He especially looks after a Tartar, in his pay, who commands, it is said, five hundred horsemen, to guard the frontiers of his territory from the incursions of the Tartars.”

By the early sixteenth century, the Tatar freebooters formed various cossack bands, such as the Azov Cossacks, the Aq Kirmān Cossacks, etc. The process by which a group of poverty stricken Noghay nomads turned into the Aq Kirmān Cossacks through plundering activities is well documented in the Ottoman Mühimme defterleri (Books of records of the Imperial Assembly of State) reporting the events between the years 1560 and 1574. According to the Ottoman documents, due to severe poverty a group of Noghay nomads, accompanied by some Crimean Tatar nomads, came to the Bucaq (southern Bessarabia) in late 1559 and early 1560. The sanjaq beg reported to the sultan that they were poor people with no weapons or horses, and without commanders and princes (serdarlari ve mirzalari). Later these propertyless nomads carried out a series of raids on the Polish and Ukrainian lands, including the Bar region, without the sultan’s permission. As a result, the Ottoman authorities began calling them qazaqs in the


205 For their cossack activities such as pillaging and kidnapping the envoys, see Pamyatniki diplomaticheskikh, 2:128, 231–34, 613. Sigismund von Herberstein, the envoy of the Holy Roman Empire sent to Muscovy in 1517, mentions in his work that a group of Tatars called Cosatszkii dwelt between Viatka and Kazan. Sigmund Herberstein, Notes upon Russia: Being a Translation of the Earliest Account of that Country, Entitled Rerum Moscoviticarum Commentarii (New York: B. Franklin, 1963), 2:76.


sense of bandits and irregular troops.\textsuperscript{208}

From the late fourteenth century onwards, cossack troops affiliated with Muscovy, Poland, and Lithuania more actively participated in various military operations, sometimes on their own initiative, including incursions into the Black Sea steppe. According to Muscovite chronicles, the cossacks in Muscovite service took part in a war against the Kazan Tatars in 1468 led by a Muscovite commander named Ivan Runo.\textsuperscript{209} In 1492, a group of cossacks from Kyiv and Cherkasy in Lithuanian service pillaged a group of Crimean merchants. The Grand Duke Alexander investigated this event and punished those involved after receiving complaints from the Crimean khan.\textsuperscript{210} In 1502–3, according to the letter sent by Mengli Giray to Muscovy, a group of Ukrainian Cossacks from the areas of Kyiv and Cherkasy (kievskie i cherkaskie kazaki; russkie kazaki) again raided the Crimean envoys using their boats.\textsuperscript{211} In 1516, the Polish military commander of Khmilnyk, Przeclaw Lanckoronski, raided the vicinity of Aq Kirmān with his cossack units. J. Bielski relates that the hired soldiers “gathered at about that time, several hundred strong, and rode with Przeclaw Lanckoronski to practice cossack ways in the vicinity of Bilhorod. They captured Turkish and Tatar livestock and drove it home; The Tatars and Turks caught up with them by Lake Vydoge, defeated them, and returned with booty. It was only then that cossackdom began in our country” (... się zebrawszy tego czasu kilka set z Przeclawem Lanckorońskim jechali w kozactwo pod Bilagród, zajęli dobytek turecki i tatarski, pędzili do

\textsuperscript{208} Berindei, “Le problème des Cosaques,” 343.

\textsuperscript{209} Günter Stökl, \textit{Die Enstehung des Kosakentums} (Munich: Isar Verlag, 1953), 61.

\textsuperscript{210} \textit{Stosunki z Mendli-Girejem}, no. 24; and Hrushevsky, \textit{History of Ukraine-Rus’}, 61–62.

\textsuperscript{211} \textit{Pamyatniki diplomaticheskikh}, 1:476; and Hrushevsky, \textit{History of Ukraine-Rus’}, 65.
domu; Tatarowie i Turcy pogoniwszy je u Widowego jeziora bili się z nimi, przemogli je naszy i z korzyścią się wrócili. A natenczas się dopiero Kozacy u nas wszczęli.\footnote{Bielski, \textit{Kronika polska}, 990–91; Hrushevsky, \textit{History of Ukraine-Rus’}, 67n.65.}

In addition to these military activities, according to the 1499 charter of the city of Kyiv, the cossacks from the Kyiv and the Upper Dnieper regions traveled downstream to the Lower Dnieper region to engage in frontier economic activities.\footnote{The 1499 charter of the city of Kyiv states: “If some Cossacks from the upper reaches of the Dnipro and from our environs go downstream to Cherkasy and farther, and if they acquire something there, they should give the palatine one-tenth of all that...” \textit{Akty, otnosiaschcieszia k istorii Iuzhnoi i Zapadnoi Rossii}, vol. 1, no. 170, vol. 2, no. 1; and Hrushevsky, \textit{History of Ukraine-Rus’}, 63.} Similarly, by the early sixteenth century, the cossacks in Muscovite service also began to wander about the Lower Don region. For instance, in 1502, Ivan III sent the Grand Princess of Ryazan, Agrippina, a letter forbidding the town Ryazan cossacks (\textit{gorodovikh ryazanskikh kazakakh}) from going to the Don “for the purpose of prowess” (\textit{v molodechestvo}).\footnote{Kazin, V. Kh., comp., \textit{Kazach’i voyska: Khroniki gvardeyskikh kazach’ikh chastey; Pomeshcheny v knige Imperatorskaya gvardiya}, ed. V. K. Shenk (St. Petersburg, 1912. Reprint, [Russia]: Dorval’, 1992), 5.}

An increased cossack presence in the Black Sea steppe throughout the first half of the sixteenth century is also attested in the letter sent by Muscovy to the Noghays in 1538. In response to the Noghay complaints about the cossack raids, Ivan IV claimed that they were victims of those raids:

Many cossacks go to the steppe: people of Kazan, Azov, and Crimea, and other unruly (\textit{balovni}) cossacks. And ours of the borderland (\textit{ukraina}) move around mixing with
them. And those people are thieves for you and also thieves and robbers for us (Na pole khodyat kazaki mnogye, kazantsy, azovtsy, krymtsy i inye balovni kazaki. A i nashikh ukrain s nimizh smeshavsya khodyat, i te lyudi kak vam tati, tak nam tati i razboyniki). 215

More importantly, in the course of the sixteenth century, two large cossack groups, largely recruited from fugitive peasants fleeing serfdom in Poland-Lithuania and Muscovy, emerged as autonomous socio-political entities along the lower Dnieper and the Don Rivers, respectively. Fugitives from Muscovy fled to the Don region, over which the Muscovite state could exercise no control, and developed into a separate cossack entity as shown in the letters exchanged between Ivan IV Vasilyevich and the Noghay Mirza Yusuf in 1549. The latter wrote complaining about the cossacks on the Don:

Your servants [headed by] a certain Sary-Azman already built towns in three or four places on the Don … Also, they lay in wait for our people and envoys and rob them (kholopi tvoy, nikhto Sary-Azman slovet, na Donu v trekh i chetyrekh mestakh goroda podelali ... Da nashikh lyudey i poslov steregut, da razbivayut). 216


To such complaints, Ivan IV explained that the Don Cossacks were actually made up of insubordinate fugitives from Muscovy:

Nobody from our cossacks is on the Don, but on the Don reside fugitives from our country … On the Don reside robbers without our knowledge … We tried earlier to destroy them but our people can’t reach them (nashikh kazakov na Donu net nikogo, a zhivut na Donu iz nashikh gosudarstv beglye lyudi … Na Donu zhivut razboyniki, bez nashego vedoma … My i prezhde posylali istrebit ikh, da lyudi nashi dostat ikh ne mogut).\(^{217}\)

The development of Ukrainian cossackdom in the lower Dnieper region in the mid-sixteenth century was initiated not only by the migration of fugitive peasants fleeing oppression and serfdom in Poland-Lithuania, but also by the activities of some noble adventurers who were responsible for the defense of the Polish-Lithuanian border regions against Tatar and Ottoman threats. The most notable figure in this development was prince Dmytro Vyshnevetsky, a starosta, or lower government official, of Cherkasy and Kaniv. With the Ukrainian Cossack units he organized, Dmytro Vyshnevetsky carried out military operations in the lower Dnieper region, (i.e., beyond the Dnieper rapids [za porohamy]), which included the construction of a fort on the island of Mala Khortytsia in the Dnieper River (ca. 1552). This fort was destroyed by the Crimean Tatars in 1558 but other Cossack strongholds were later constructed also beyond the Dnieper rapids. The military operations of Dmytro Vyshnevetsky and his Ukrainian Cossacks in

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\(^{217}\) Shenk and Kazin, Kazach’i voyska, 5.
the lower Dnieper region in the 1550s thus facilitated the subsequent penetration of the Ukrainian Cossacks into this region and the formation of the Zaporozhian Cossacks.218

Map 2. The Black Sea steppe, ca. 1500–1700

218 The name Zaporozhia was derived from the expression ‘beyond the rapids’ (za porohamy) referring to the place where the Zaporozhian Cossacks built their strongholds. According to Orest Subtelny, the Cossack strongholds probably existed in the 1550s and 1560s but the first historical Sich on the island of Tomakivka appears in the sources related to the years 1574 and 1583. See Orest Subtelny’s introduction to Lassota von Steblau, Habsburgs and Zaporozhian Cossacks, 32.
The Don Cossacks and the Zaporozhian Cossacks bore some similarities to the Central Asian *qazaqs*, such as the Qazaqs, and to *qazaq*-type groups, such as the Negüdäri, who originated from fugitive bands that were engaged in brigandage in the frontier regions of Central Eurasia. However, the *qazaqliq* phenomenon in the Black Sea steppe differed from that in Central Asia in that the main agents were East Slavic cossacks. In Central Asia, the participants in *qazaqliq* or *qazaqliq*-type activities were almost exclusively made up of Turkic elements. However, although the first cossacks who appeared in the Black Sea steppe were Tatars, East Slavic cossacks began to outnumber them from the early sixteenth century. The process of this development is not well documented. It may be conjectured that East Slavic frontiersmen, who adopted the steppe way of life just as the early American frontiersmen adopted the Indian way of life in the American wilderness, ventured into the steppe in great numbers, particularly in the case of the Ukrainian cossacks.219 Alternatively, East Slavic frontiersmen who adopted Turkic customs, including the steppe method of warfare, through joint activities and mingling with Tatar cossacks, became cossacks.220 The acculturation of Turkic and Slavic frontiersmen may have

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220 For instance, in 1493 Prince Bohdan Hlynsky raided the Crimean Tatars, together with a tsarevich named Öz Temir (Uzdemir) to retaliate against a Tatar attack. See *Pamyatniki diplomaticheskikh*, 1:194–96; and Hrushevsky, *History of Ukraine-Rus*, 70. Another theory of the origin of the Cossacks is provided by the Cossack historian A. A. Gordeev. Without providing any supporting evidence, A. A. Gordeev argues that the Cossacks descend from a pre-Mongol steppe people that acquired the name *kazak* after serving the Jochid khans as messengers. Andrey Andreevich Gordeev, *Istoriya Kazakov*, vol.1, *Zolotaya Orda i zarozhdeniye kazachestva* (Moscow: Parizh, 1968), 64–65.
made East Slavic Cossacks more steppe-adapted, which, in turn, facilitated their penetration into the steppe frontier. On this acculturation, G. Stökl remarked that:

No detailed statements can be made about the point in time at which contact and mutual influence of the Tatar and Slavic cossacks occurred … The coexistence and interaction of Slavic and Tatar cossacks that can be observed here explains the acquisition of the language and way of life of the Tatars by Slavs. Assimilation of Tatar groups undoubtedly occurred but when measured against the steady influx of Slavic groups, it was not decisive. 221

Although Turkic cossacks and Slavic cossacks both formed an integral part of the widespread socio-political phenomenon of qazaqlïq that appeared in post-Mongol Central Eurasia, it should be noted that the Don Cossacks, the Ukrainian Cossacks, and the Tatar cossack groupings underwent separate processes of formation as demonstrated in diagram 2.

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221 Günther Stökl, Die Entstehung des Kosakentums (Munich: Isar Verlag, 1953), 176–77. Judging by his name, Sary-Azman, the Don Cossack commander mentioned in the 1549 letter sent by Yusuf to Ivan IV, was probably a Tatar cossack.
2 The Rūs Qazaqlarī, or Zaporozhian Cossacks, and their Role in the Formation of the Ukrainian Cossack Hetmanate and the Modern Ukrainian Nation

Besides the qazaqliq activities of the two Uzbek clans in the second half of the fifteenth century, the Abū al-Khairids and the Urusids, the most historically significant consequence of the qazaqliq phenomenon in post-Mongol Central Eurasia was the career of Ukrainian cossackdom in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Ukrainian cossackdom played a significant role in the formation of a Ukrainian Cossack polity in the mid-seventeenth century, which later contributed to the development of modern Ukrainian identity.
2.1 Ukrainian Peasant Flight to the Steppe

The penetration of the Ukrainian Cossacks into the steppe region during the fifties of the sixteenth century, which increased the cossack presence in the Lower Dnieper region, resulted in the establishment of the Zaporozhian Sich.222 According to Mykhailo Hrushevsky, it was also from the mid-sixteenth century that Ukrainian cossackdom developed into a social phenomenon.223 A major driving force behind this development was the flight of Ukrainian serfs to the steppe to join the cossacks. The severity of Polish-Lithuanian serfdom is well described by Guillaume Le Vasseur de Beauplan, a French military engineer in Polish service:

The local peasants are in a very miserable state, being obliged to work, themselves and their horses, three days a week in the service of their lord, and having to pay him, in proportion to the land they hold, many bushels of grain, and plenty of capons, hens, goslings and chickens, specifically at Easter, Pentecost, and Christmas. What is more, they must cart wood for their lord, and fulfill a thousand other manorial obligations to which they ought not to be subject; besides these, money is extracted from them, as well as a tithe on their sheep, pigs, honey, and fruit of all kinds, and every third year (they must give up every) third ox. In short, since they must give to their masters what the

222 The Zaporozhian Sich is the name of the Cossack fortresses on the Dnieper River that formed the centers of the Zaporizhian Cossacks.

223 Hrushevsky, *History of Ukraine-Rus*, 79. According to Mykhailo Hrushevsky, from the end of the fifteenth century Ukrainians went into the steppes to engage in various activities. However, Mykhailo Hrushevsky argues that in the late fifteenth century and the first half of the sixteenth century, cossackdom did not yet constitute a social stratum. See Hrushevsky, *History of Ukraine-Rus*, 63–64.
latter choose to ask, it is no wonder that these wretches never accumulate anything, being subjected, as they are, to such harsh circumstances. However, that is still not all, for the lords have absolute power over not only their possessions, but also their lives, so great is the liberty of the Polish nobles (who live as if they were in paradise, and the peasants in purgatory). Thus, if it happens that these wretched peasants fall into the bondage of evil lords, they are in a more deplorable state than convicts sentenced to the galleys.  

At the same time, Beauplan also emphasized the independent minded nature of the Ukrainian Cossacks:

They greatly value their liberty, and would not want to live without it. That is why the Cossacks, when they consider themselves to be kept under too tight a rein, are so inclined to revolt and rebel against the lords of their country. Thus, seven or eight years rarely pass without a mutiny or uprising.  

Obviously, such love of liberty of the Ukrainian Cossacks and the restraint of serfdom imposed by Poland-Lithuania were incompatible with each other. For this reason, Ukrainian

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peasants, along with some dissatisfied townspeople, fled to the steppe in great numbers, as Beauplan describes:

It is this slavery which goads many of them to take flight, the most courageous of them fleeing to Zaporozhe, which is an area on the Borysthenes (Dnieper River) to which the Cossacks retreat. After having dwelt there for some time and having been at sea (i.e., on raids against the Ottomans), they are considered to be Zaporozhian Cossacks. Because of such flights, the numbers of the Cossack ranks swell enormously as is shown with sufficient evidence by the present revolt, in which the Cossacks, having defeated the Poles, rose some 200,000 strong and made themselves masters of an area more than 120 leagues and 60 wide.226

Whereas the development of Ukrainian cossackdom in the second half of the sixteenth century was fueled by the flight of the freedom-seeking Ukrainian people, the appearance of the first cossacks in the frontier regions of Ukraine may have resulted from the importation of Tatar émigrés by the Lithuanian state.227 According to M. Liubavsky, the first cossacks of the region were the Tatar prisoners or migrants who were given land in this region and employed by the Lithuanian government since the reign of the Grand Prince Vitovt to guard the frontier. Over the


course of time, Liubavsky argues, the East Slavs joined the Tatar cossack contingents and adopted the name cossack (i.e. kazak/kozak). The presence of Tatar cossacks in fifteenth century Ukraine may also be assumed from the fact that in 1445 Ulugh Muḥammad (Makhmet), who was one of the Jochid contenders for the throne of Saray and the future founder of the Kazan Khanate, summoned cossacks from Cherkasy.

The process whereby the Tatar cossacks were supplanted by the cossacks of Ukrainian origin is not well documented and thus remains open to speculation. J. Kočubej suggests that the first cossacks in Ukraine were of Turkic origin based on the fact that Ukrainian cossacks resembled the neighboring Oriental peoples in many traits. He adds that their resemblance did not arise from their geographical proximity or contacts but from their common Turkic origin. Kočubej believes that Ukrainians probably joined Turkic nomads, who were living with no rules as irregular bands of individuals who had separated from their tribes and clans. The Ukrainians then adopted the name cossack as a self-designation along with many practices from diverse Turkic peoples. Kočubej also mentions lexical borrowings, military organization,

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228 M. Liubavsky, Oblastnoye deleniye i mestnoye upravleniye Litovsko-Russkogo gosudarstva ko vremeni izdaniya pervogo Litovskogo statuta (Moscow, 1892), 529–32. Hrushevsky disagreed with the notion of the existence of such a colony of Tatar cossacks in the Kyiv region. See Hrushevsky, History of Ukraine-Rus', 56.

229 “The same spring, Tsar Makhmet and his son Mamutyak sent [someone] to Cherkasy [to summon] people and two thousand cossacks (kazaki) came to them.” See Polnoye sobraniye russkikh letopisey, vol. 23, Yermolinskaya letopis’ (St. Petersburg, 1910; repr., Moscow: Yazyki russkoy kul’tury, 2004), 151. Ulugh Muhammad had been ousted from Saray by Barāq Khan, the ruler of the eastern Dasht-i Qipchāq and father of Jānibeg and Girāy.


garments, hairstyle (*chub*), the musical instrument *kobza*, and so forth as examples of Oriental influence.\(^{233}\)

According to recent Y-Chromosome DNA testing, which traces a person’s patrilineal ancestors, however, the Kuban Cossacks, who descend from the Zaporozhian Cossacks, do not possess the Y-Chromosome haplogroup C3, which is commonly found among the Turkic and Mongolian populations of Central Eurasian steppe zone. Other Y-Chromosome DNA haplogroups such as R1a and I, commonly found among the Ukrainians, appear in high frequency among the Kuban Cossacks. This indicates that Tatar elements played virtually no role in the genetic formation of the Ukrainian Cossacks.\(^{234}\)

Regardless of whether or not there were Turkic elements in the early composition of the Ukrainian cossacks, one of the most significant aspects of Ukrainian cossackdom in the sixteenth century was its struggle against Turkic neighbors, i.e., the Tatars and the Ottomans. This characteristic of Ukrainian cossackdom is well attested in the 1586 report of Carolus Gamberini, a Papal nuncio in Warsaw:

> The Tatars’ frequent incursions into Poland made it necessary to gather many men (exiles or mercenaries) in certain islands formed by the Dnieper (Boristene) opposite the

\(^{233}\) Kočubej, “Les Éléments orientaux,”119–123. The Cossack hairstyle is reminiscent of that of the Yuwen Xiongnu tribe recorded in the *Weishu* (Book of the Wei): “People all have a jiānfā hairstyle. They cut their hair if it is more than several *chi* long only leaving the hair on the top of the head.” *Weishu*, 103:2304. One *chi* is about 0.296 cm.

\(^{234}\) Oleg Balanovsky et al., “Two Sources of the Russian Patrilineal Heritage in Their Eurasian Context,” *The American Journal of Human Genetics* 82 (2008): 242. Table 2 in this article shows the frequencies of the Y Chromosomal haplogroups in Russian populations.
Black Sea (Mar Maggiore) near Tatar territory … Other Cossacks supported by the King are those remaining in those islands under the command of a captain, to guard the place and observe the movements of the Tatars; these number only 1,500. There are also adventurers, of noble birth for the most part, who assemble from the adjoining regions to battle the Turks and the Tatars, returning to their own homes when it seems best. Of these there are some fourteen or fifteen thousand—well-armed, distinguished men who fear no danger, more eager for glory than for gain … There are mercenaries from every nationality: Poles, Germans, French, Spanish, and Italian; desperate men who, having committed various excesses could not live securely anywhere except in such a situation, where no human force could threaten them. Among them there is incredible loyalty.

As this report demonstrates, the growth of Ukrainian cossackdom was closely connected with the defense of the Ukrainian steppe frontier. As a matter of fact, the banding together of Ukrainians and others in the steppes into formidable warrior groups against nomad invaders had also occurred several centuries earlier. Guillaume de Rubrouck, the Franciscan envoy of King Louis IX of France, who traveled across the Black Sea steppe on his way to Mongolia in 1253, offers a description of these quasi-cossacks in his report:

On the road indeed between him (Sartaq) and his father (Batu) we experienced great fear. For their Ruthenian, Hungarian and Alanian slaves, of whom there is a very large

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number among them, band themselves together in groups of twenty or thirty and run away by night and they have bows and arrows, and whomsoever they come across by night they kill. By day they stay in hiding, and when their horses are tired they come during the night up to a large group of horses on the pasture lands and change their horses; they also take away one or two with them so that they can eat them when the need arises. And so our guide was very much afraid of meeting such men.\textsuperscript{236}

The Ukrainian Cossacks were called \textit{rūs qazaqs} by their main enemy, the Ottomans. For instance, the \textit{Mühimme Defterleri} uses the term \textit{mosqof qazaqları} for the Muscovite Cossacks and the term \textit{rūs qazaqları} for the Zaporozhian Cossacks.\textsuperscript{237} The term \textit{rūs} refers to geographic designation, i.e., the original Rus land, which is today’s Ukraine, as opposed to the term \textit{Mosqov}, which refers to the northeast periphery of Kievan Rus’.


\textsuperscript{237} See Chantal Lemercier-Quelquejay, “Une source inédite pour l’histoire de la Russie au XVIe siècle: les registres des \textit{Mühimme Defterleri} des Archives du Baş-Vekâlet,” \textit{Cahiers du Monde Russe et Soviétique} 8, no. 2 (1967): 339. However, \textit{rūs} was often used as a loose term denoting not only the inhabitants of Ukraine and the Zaporizhian Cossacks, but also the Don Cossacks and Muscovites. See Berindei, “Le problème des Cosaques,” 353.
2.2 The Cossack Way of Life in the “Wild Field”

In peacetime, the Ukrainian cossacks engaged in diverse economic activities. Beauplan relates that “in peacetime, hunting and fishing are the everyday occupations of the Cossacks.”  

Marcin Bielski, a Polish chronicler (1495–1575), gives a description of their fishing activities: “These people on the Nyz (a river which enters the Dnieper) live from their fishing. They dry the fish without salting it and then subsist from it during the summer. In the winter they disperse among the neighboring towns such as Kiev, Cherkasy, and others.”

However, the cossacks were no ordinary fishers or hunters. They claimed to be knights-errant wandering the steppe and the Black Sea region in search of adventure and booty. Like their counterparts in Central Asia, the cossacks engaged in brigandage. They were especially renowned as formidable sea-raiders. Writing in the second half of the sixteenth century, Marcin Bielski highly praises their sailing skills:

The Cossacks know these rapids so well that they can easily go through them on their leather boats which they call chaiky. They let them down the rapids by means of ropes or lines and pull them up in the same manner. It is exactly in this kind of boats that Rus’ once did such great harm to the Greek emperor. Sometimes, as the Greek historian Zonoras writes, Rus’ even came as far as Constantinople. It seems that even now the Cossacks would attempt to do the same if there were more of them. The Turks are

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238 Beauplan, A Description of Ukraine, 15.

239 Lassota von Steblau, Habsburgs and Zaporozhian Cossacks, 112. Ukrainian nyz (“lowland”) refers to the land beneath the Dnieper cataracts.
anxious that these lands remain empty and that the population not increase so that they may be safe in Constantinople.\textsuperscript{240}

The sea raids of the Zaporozhian Cossacks increased from the last decades of the sixteenth century. From the 1610s onwards, they were raiding all along the shores of the Black Sea using longboats called \textit{chaika}.\textsuperscript{241} As Marcin Bielski predicted, the Zaporozhian Cossacks later sailed down to Constantinople and plundered the Ottoman coastal regions. Beauplan describes their sea raiding activities as follows:

\begin{quote}
It is these people who often, (indeed) almost every year, go raiding on the Black Sea, to the great detriment of the Turks. Many times they have plundered Crimea, which belongs to Tatary, ravaged Anatolia, sacked Trebizond, and even ventured as far as the mouth of the Black Sea, three leagues from Constantinople, where they have laid waste to everything with fire and sword, returning home with much booty and a number of slaves, usually young children, whom they keep for their own service or give as gifts to the lords of their homeland…. They cross the sea in a miraculous fashion in wretched hand-built boats, whose form and construction I shall describe later.\textsuperscript{242}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{240} Lassota von Steblau, \textit{Habsburgs and Zaporozhian Cossacks}, 113.


\textsuperscript{242} Beauplan, \textit{A Description of Ukraine}, 11.
Although the Zaporozhian Cossacks were formidable sea raiders, according to Victor Ostapchuk they can be characterized as “a highly organized military confraternity,” unlike the Don Cossacks who can be defined as more of a “bandit-type” entity. As a matter of fact, Erich Lassota von Steblau, the Habsburg diplomat who visited the Zaporozhian Cossacks in 1594, referred to them as “the entire knightly company of Zaporozhians.” In their letter to the Habsburg emperor, the Zaporozhian Cossacks also called themselves “everyman of knightly calling” or “the entire knightly order of the free Zaporozhian Host.”

2.3 The Formation of the Ukrainian Cossack Polity and Its Legacy

The struggle of the Ukrainian cossacks against the oppression of the Polish state was another significant aspect of Ukrainian cossackdom from the second half of the sixteenth century. In 1648, as a result of this struggle, the Ukrainian cossacks, who had been living as a stateless people since the fall of Kievan Rus’ in the mid-thirteenth century, founded their own Cossack polity, referred to by historians as the Hetmanate. This political movement was brought into being by a registered cossack, Bohdan Khmelnytsky, who succeeded in bringing together the registered cossacks and the Zaporozhian Cossacks in a war against Poland. In 1654, after a

243 Victor Ostapchuk, The Ottoman Black Sea Frontier, 6.

244 Lassota von Steblau, Habsburgs and Zaporozhian Cossacks, 93.

245 Lassota von Steblau, Habsburgs and Zaporozhian Cossacks, 94–95.

246 The registered cossacks were the Ukrainian cossacks in the service of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. They constituted the cossack units of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth army. The registered cossack units were first created in 1572 by King Sigismund II Augustus.
series of victories over the Polish armies, the Ukrainian cossacks, in order to solidify their 
breakaway from Poland, signed a treaty with Muscovy. By this treaty, the cossacks obtained 
Muscovy’s protection while acknowledging the authority of the Muscovite tsar. The Right Bank 
of the Dnieper River was later re-incorporated into Poland but the Left Bank remained as an 
autonomous polity until the second half of the eighteenth century.

The formation of this Ukrainian Cossack polity in the mid-seventeenth century was a 
unique historical process in the history of cossackdom in the Black Sea steppe. It should be noted 
that the Russian cossackdom that evolved on the Don did not develop into a separate cossack 
state. Besides, although the Don Cossacks played an important role in the Russian expansion into 
Siberia, they remained an insignificant frontier entity in the process of state building in 
Muscovy.\(^{247}\) Cossackdom thus played no significant role in the formation of the Muscovite 
state.\(^{248}\) The development of the Muscovite state itself was rather influenced by Muscovy’s 
former Mongol overlords. It has been suggested that the Muscovite state in the sixteenth century 
owes much to its former Mongol suzerain state for its rise to power and the numerous political, 


\(^{248}\) It should be noted that the Don Cossacks did not possess a Muscovite identity. According to Aleksandr 
Rigel’man, the Don Cossacks whom he interviewed in the late eighteenth century could not say anything about their 
direct origin. They thought that they were not related to the people of Muscovy and that they became Russianized 
only after living in proximity with them. A Cossack expressed his non-Muscovite identity in the following manner: 
“I am not a Muscovite but Russian and only according to law and Orthodox faith and not by origin” (Ya, de, ne 
Moskal’, no Russkoy, i to po zakonu i vere Pravoslavnoy, a ne po prirode). Aleksandr Rigel’man, *Istoriya o 
Donskikh Kazakh* (Rostov-on-Don: Rostovskoye knizh. izd-vo, 1992), 17. In contrast, the Ukrainian Cossacks 
possessed a Ukrainian-Ruthenian identity. For instance, “Rus’,” “Ukraine,” “Little Russia (Malorossiya),” 
“Zaporozhian Army,” as well as Cossack” were all used as designations for the new Cossack state and its ipeople. 
military, and social institutions that made it strong. Furthermore, among the Muscovite secular rulers there even existed the view that Muscovy was a successor state of the Mongol state.

The historical importance of the Ukrainian Cossack state did not end with its abolition by the Russian Empire in 1783. The emergence of the Cossack Hetmanate, which had stopped the process of Polonization of the Ukrainian elite, also contributed to the development of a distinct Ukrainian identity, which would later inspire the Ukrainian national awakening in the middle of the nineteenth century.

A separate Ukrainian identity was manifested in the Cossack chronicles, among which those composed in the eighteenth century by Hryhorii Hrabianka and Samuil Velychko were the most influential. Zenon Kohut explains that Hryhorii Hrabianka and Samuil Velychko’s Cossack chronicles, which focus on the Cossack uprising led by Bohdan Khmelnytsky, “distinguish Ukraine from Muscovy and Ukrainians from Russians” employing designations


251 The differentiation between the Belarusians and the Ukrainians was accelerated by the formation of a separate Ukrainian Cossack state. Frank E. Sysyn, “The Khmelnytsky Uprising and Ukrainian Nation-Building,” *Journal of Ukrainian Studies* 17, nos. 1–2 (1992): 152.

252 Not all Cossack chronicles emphasized the distinctness of the Ukrainians from the Russians. The *Synopsis*, composed in 1674 and supporting political union with Muscovy stressed the closeness of Ukrainians and Russians seeking political union with Muscovy. Zenon E. Kohut, “The Question of Russo-Ukrainian Unity and Ukrainian Distinctiveness in Early Modern Ukrainian Thought and Culture,” in *Culture, Nation and Identity: The Ukrainian-Russian Encounter (1600–1945)*, ed. Andreas Kappeler et al. (Edmonton; Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 2003), 64–68.
such as *Rus’, Mala Rossiya, Ukraina*, etc to refer to Cossack Ukraine. The notion of Ukrainian separateness from the Russians is also expressed in the claim of Khazar ancestry by the Ukrainian Cossacks. Hrabianka’s chronicle connects the Ukrainian Cossacks to the Khazars, while Velychko’s chronicle compares the Cossacks to the Sarmatians. According to Frank E. Sysyn, the notion of the Khazar origin of the Cossacks claimed an ancient lineage for the “Cossack-Ruthenian” people, i.e., the Ukrainians, and emphasized their distinctiveness from the Russians.

In addition, according to Sysyn, these Cossack chronicles later influenced the *Istoriya Rusov*, written by an anonymous author in the second half of the eighteenth century, which also attributes Khazar descent to the Cossacks. The *Istoriya Rusov* in turn influenced “the Ukrainian national revival” in the nineteenth century.

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255 Sysyn, “Cossack Chronicles,” 603; Frank Sysyn, “The Image of Russia and Russian-Ukrainian Relations in Ukrainian Historiography of the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries,” in *Culture, Nation and Identity: The Ukrainian-Russian Encounter (1600–1945)*, ed. Andreas Kappeler et al. (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 2003), 127.

256 The Khazars are described as a branch of the Slavs in the *Istoriya Rusov*. Borschak, *La légende historique de l’Ukraine*, 28. According to Élie Borschak, whereas the Cossack chronicles simply argue that the Cossacks descend from the Khazars, the *Istoriya Rusov* describes the Khazars as a military caste organized like the Cossack army of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries making the rest of the population a tax paying class. That is, the *Istoriya*
Furthermore, according to Sysyn, the formation of modern Ukrainian identity was influenced by these Cossack chronicles. The Cossack chronicles emphasized the national and religious orientation of the 1648 uprising and such interpretations influenced the early nineteenth-century Ukrainian historians and poets. Sysyn also suggests that the designation “Ukraine,” the national cult of Khmel’nyts’kyi, and the myth of the Ukrainian Cossack nation—all of which are usually regarded as being created by the Romantics—had their origins in the Cossack chronicles composed in the eighteenth century. It was these texts, as well as folklore, that provided inspiration for the nineteenth-century Romantic movement in Ukraine.

In sum, it may be argued that the historical importance of Ukrainian Cossackdom lies not only in the role it played in the formation of the Cossack state in the mid-seventeenth century,

\[\text{Rusov} \text{ argues that the Ukrainian nobility and its privilege originate from the Khazar cavalry of the ninth century. Borschak, } \text{La légende historique de l'Ukraine, } 32. \]

\[257 \text{ Sysyn, “Cossack Chronicles,” 607n30.} \]

\[258 \text{ Sysyn, “Cossack Chronicles,” 604, 607. It should also be noted that the authors of the Cossack chronicles, i.e., the intellectuals of the Cossack state, were direct heirs of the Khmel’nyts’kyi’s Cossack uprising. Sysyn, “The Khmelnytsky Uprising and Ukrainian Nation-Building,” 166; Ivan L. Rudnytsky also points to the fact that it was among the descendants of the town Cossacks and the Hetmanate, who constituted the Left Bank nobility, that the Ukrainian cultural awakening began with the exception of Shevchenko, who was of peasant origin. Ivan L. Rudnytsky, “A Study of Cossack History,” } \text{Slavic Review } 31, \text{ no. 4 (1972): 874.} \]

\[259 \text{ Sysyn, “The Khmelnytsky Uprising and Ukrainian Nation-Building,” 166.} \]

\[260 \text{ Sysyn, “The Cossack Chronicles,” 604, 607.} \]
but also, to a certain degree, in the development of the modern Ukrainian nation in the middle of the nineteenth century. 261

3 Conclusion

Throughout the history of Central Eurasia, a number of new polities and identities came into existence as a result of the qazaqliq-type and qazaqliq activities of some ambitious political fugitives. During the pre-Mongol period, the Tuyūhun state, the Jou-jan tribe, the Gaoche Khanate, the Ashina clan, the Shatuo state, and the Qara-Khitan state were formed following the qazaqliq-type activities of their founders. Similarly, between the second half of the thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries, the Qara’unas, the Nikudāri, and Yasa’urū also came into being as a result of the qazaqliq-type activities of a Mongol garrison, a Jochid fugitive army, and a group of Chaghatayid renegades in Khorasan. Khorasan became the frontier region between the Mongol states in Iran and Central Asia after hostilities first broke out between them in the mid-thirteenth century. Furthermore, the Aq Qoyunlū and the early Ottoman states also originated from the Turkmens, many of whom came to Anatolia fleeing the Mongol invaders in the thirteenth century and became frontier freebooters.

261 In addition, Zenon Kohut argues that the Ukrainian Cossack state led to the formation of a pre-modern nation, i.e., the Little Russian identity, when, by the mid-eighteenth century, the Ukrainian elite of the Left Bank, who descended from Cossack officials, identified its inhabitants, land, and state with Little Russia. Kohut, “Ukrainian Nationbuilding,” 565, 569. Kohut regards the formation of this Little Russian identity as “a prelude for modern Ukrainian nationbuilding.” Kohut, “Ukrainian Nationbuilding,” 576. On the rather ambiguous role of the Little Russian identity in the formation of the Ukrainian national movement, see Kohut, “Ukrainian Nationbuilding,” 574–76.
True historical qazaq entities, or cossack groups, perhaps foreshadowed by the above mentioned qazaq-type bands, began appearing in the Black Sea steppe during the post-Mongol period when the Jochid Ulus gradually disintegrated into smaller states and tribal groupings throughout the fifteenth century. The Tatar fugitives from the dissolving Jochid Ulus became freebooters in the Black Sea steppe, constituting the first qazaq bands in this region. These Tatar cossacks were then followed by East Slavic fugitives and adventurers from Poland-Lithuania and Muscovy, whose participation in the qazaqlïq activities, made cossackdom an important socio-political phenomenon in western Central Eurasia. Throughout the sixteenth century, there existed several qazaq/cossack entities in the Black Sea steppe: the Aq Kirmän cossacks, the Zaporozhian Cossacks, the Don Cossacks, etc.

Ukrainian cossackdom occupies the most important place in the history of the cossack phenomenon in the Black Sea steppe because it led to the formation of the Cossack Hetmanate, which was the first polity that the Ukrainians, who had remained stateless for several centuries, established after the breakup of Kievan Rus’ state in the thirteenth century. This cossack state, considered a successor to the Kievan Rus’ by modern Ukrainians, came into existence in the mid-seventeenth century as a result of the 1648 cossack rebellion against Poland. Although it was later annexed to the Russian Empire, the Cossack Hetmanate contributed to the consolidation of a separate Ukrainian identity. The Ukrainian cossack phenomenon thus played a role in the final differentiation of the East Slavs into Belorussians, Russians, and Ukrainians, a process that had begun in earlier periods.

Ironically, it was the Muscovites, a new power that arose on the periphery of the former Kievan Rus’ state, not the Rus’, or Ruthenians (Rusyny), i.e., the Ukrainians, who represented the traditional center of Kievan Rus’, who became known as “Russians.” However, if we consider the fact that it was in the border region, i.e., ukraine, that some of the former inhabitants
of Kievan Rus’ became cossacks and created a military organization that eventually founded the Cossack state, the name “Ukraine” would seem to be fitting for the country.
Chapter 4
The Qazaqliq Activities of Two Rival Jochid Uzbek Clans in the Eastern Dasht-i Qipchāq and the Formation of Two Separate Uzbek Uluses at the Turn of the Sixteenth Century

The culmination of the qazaqliq phenomenon, which became a well-established custom of political vagabondage in post-Mongol Central Eurasia, occurred as a result of the qazaqliq activities of two rival Jochid Uzbek families during the second half of the fifteenth century in the eastern Qipchaq steppe. The first qazaqliq activities (ca. 1450–70) led by Jānībeg and Girāy, the great-grandsons of Urus Khan (r. 1368–78), and the second qazaqliq activities (ca. 1470–1500) conducted by Muḥammad Shībānī Khan and Maḥmūd Sulṭān, two grandsons of Abū al-Khair Khan (r. ca. 1450-1470), deserve special attention because they resulted in the division of the Uzbek nomads of the eastern Qipchaq steppe, who were known as the ulus, or people, of Jochi, into the Qazaq Uzbek ulus and the Shibanid Uzbek ulus. This development holds a major place in the history of Central Eurasia in that the Qazaq Uzbekks became the direct ancestors of modern Kazakhs, while the Shibanid Uzbeks came to constitute an important component in the formation of the modern Uzbeks.

Chapter four is devoted to an examination of the formation of the Qazaq Uzbek ulus and the Shibanid Uzbek ulus in connection with the qazaqliq activities of two competing Jochid families. I will first provide a brief description of the history of the eastern Dasht-i Qipchāq from the mid-fourteenth century to the mid-fifteenth century, focusing on the activities of the

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262 I have adopted the terms “Uzbek-i Qazāq” and “Uzbek-i Shībān,” which are used in the Tārīkh-i Rashīdī, to differentiate these two uluses. See Muḥammad Ḥaidar Dughlāt, Tārīkh-i Rashīdī, 187.
ancestors of Jānībeg and Girāy on the one hand, and Muḥammad Shībānī Khan and Maḥmūd Sulṭān on the other. I will then offer a detailed description of the two chronologically consecutive and interrelated qazaqlïq phases undergone by the aforementioned Uzbek sultāns in the second half of the fifteenth-century. The rest of the chapter will describe the process whereby the two qazaq bands headed by these rival sultāns were transformed into two separate khanates and uluses, which established themselves in the steppe regions and oases of Central Asia, respectively.

1 A Brief History of the Eastern Dasht-i Qipchāq from the Mid-Fourteenth century to the Mid-Fifteenth Century: The Rise and Fall of Two Prominent Jochid Lineages

Modern Kazakhstan, which corresponds roughly to the eastern half of the vast steppe region called Dasht-i Qipchāq, or the Qipchaq steppe, in the mediaeval Islamic sources, belonged to the left wing, or eastern wing, of the Jochid Ulus during the Mongol era. By the mid-thirteenth century when the partition of the newly conquered territories was made among Chinggis Khan’s sons, the Dasht-i Qipchāq was divided among the sons of Chinggis Khan’s eldest son, Jochi. While the western half of the Dasht-i Qipchāq formed an integral part of the patrimony of Jochi’s second son Batu, who was also recognized as the ruler of the whole Jochid Ulus, the eastern half of the Dasht-i Qipchāq became the ulus of Jochi’s eldest son, Orda. The patrimony of Orda, referred to in the contemporary sources as the “Ulus of Orda” (ulūs-i Orda), then formed the left wing of the Jochid Ulus, to which some other sons of Jochi, including Toqay-Timur,
belonged. In some Timurid sources, the Ulus of Orda was referred to as Āq Orda, or the White Horde, while Batu’s patrimony, which formed the right wing, or western wing, of the Jochid Ulus, was called Kök-Orda, or the Blue Horde. In contrast, in the Russian sources and the Turkic Tārīkh-i Dūst Sulṭān by Ötämiş Ḥājī, it was the Ulus of Orda that was correctly designated as Kök-Orda, or the Blue Horde.

Throughout the thirteenth and the first half of the fourteenth centuries, the princes of the left wing of the Jochid Ulus acknowledged the suzerainty of the princes of the right wing, i.e., Batu’s descendants, while maintaining their autonomy within the Jochid Ulus. This traditional suzerain-vassal relationship between the right wing of the Jochid Ulus and its left wing began to change when Batu’s lineage came to an end in 1359–60 and a long succession struggle broke out among the Jochid princes.

263 In the Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh by Rashīd al-Dīn, the eastern wing of the Jochid Ulus is called “Ulus of Orda” (ulūs-i orda) and the Jochid princes that belonged to it were called “princes of the left arm” (shahzādāgān-i dast-i chap). See Rashīd al-Dīn Fażlullāh Hamadānī, Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh, ed. Bahman Karīmī (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Iqbāl, 1367/1988), 506–7.

264 For instance, the right wing (dast-i rāst) of the Jochid Ulus is referred to as Kūk Orda, whereas that of the left wing (dast-i chap) is called Aq Orda in the Muntakhab al-tavārīkh-i Muʿīnī composed in the early fifteenth century. See Naṭanzī, Muntakhab al-tavārīkh-i Muʿīnī, 81–82.

265 For instance, Ötämiş Ḥājī refers to Batu’s ulus as Aq Orda and that of Orda as Kök-Orda. See Ötemiş Qaży, Šynğıys-name, ed. M. Q. Ābuseyitova, Qazaqstan tarihı turaly türk derektemeler 1 (Almaty: Dayk, 2005), 158. On the problem of this discrepancy, see Utemish-Khadzhi [Ötämiş Ḥājī], Chingiz-name, trans. and ed. V. P. Yudin (Alma-Ata: Gilim, 1992), 14–56.

By 1361, the line of Orda had also lost its prominence in the Ulus of Orda and the
descendants of Jochi’s thirteenth son, Toqay-Timur, obtained supremacy in the eastern Qipchaq
steppe. By 1366, one of these Toqay-Timurid princes, Mubārak Khvāja, minted his own coins in
Sighnaq, a right that had been reserved to the khans of the right wing of the Jochid Ulus.267
Furthermore, the eastern half of the Qipchaq steppe, a region peripheral to the traditional seat of
power at Saray, now emerged as the birthplace of some energetic leaders who gained control of
both halves of the Jochid Ulus. The first such leader was Urus Khan, a descendant of Jochi’s
thirteenth son, Toqay-Timur.268

268 In Central Asian sources, Urus Khan is presented as the ancestor of the Qazaq khans. For instance, in the
Tavārīkh-i guzīda-i nuṣrat-nāma, Burūndūq Khan is called “the descendant of Urus.” See “Taurih-i guzida-yi
nūsrat-name,” in Qazaqstan tarihy turaly türk derektemeler, vol. 1, XV–XIX Gasyrlar şyğarmalarynan üzindiler,
the history of the Qazakh khans is mentioned in the dāstān (history) devoted to Urus Khan. See Qādir ʿĀlī Bek
Jalāyīrī, Shornik letopisei: Tatarkii tekst, s russkim predisloviem, ed. I. Berezin (Kazan, 1854), 154–55; and Žalayyr
Qadyr-Ğali Bi, “Zamīg at-taurih,” in Qazaqstan tarihy turaly türk derektemeler, vol. 1, XV–XIX Gasyrlar
the ancestry of Urus Khan, Muḥammad al-Dīn Naṭanẓū and those who followed him regarded him as a descendant of
Orda, the eldest son of Jochi. See Naṭanẓū, Muntakhab al-tavārīkh-i Muḥīn, 68. However, many others, including
the compiler of the Muʿizz al-ansāb, the author of the Tavārīkh-i guzīda-i nuṣrat-nāma, and Abū al-Ghāzī Bahādur
Khān saw him as a descendant of Toqay-Timur. See Muʿizz al-ansāb fī shajarat al-ansāb, trans. and eds. M. Kh.
Abusetova and others, Istoriya Kazakhstana v persidskih istochnikakh 3 (Almaty: Dayk, 2006), 44; “Taurih-i
also differ in their view about the ancestry of Urus Khan. For instance, without providing any evidence, George
Vernadsky argues that Urus Khan’s descent from Orda is more reliable. See George Vernadsky, A History of Russia,
Urus Khan descended from Orda because his rise to the throne of the Ulus of Orda was unchallenged. See Janabel,
“From Mongol Empire to Qazaq Jüzder,” 36. However, recent studies by modern Kazakh scholars and István
Vásáry have demonstrated that the Toqay-Timurid descent of Urus Khan is far more plausible. See T. I. Sultanov,
After ascending the throne of the Ulus of Orda in 1361, Urus Khan led a major expedition through the Volga region and by 1374 united the right wing and left wing of the Jochid Ulus, becoming the first Jochid prince from the left wing to occupy the throne of the whole Jochid Ulus. Urus Khan, a contemporary of Temür, was powerful enough to be recognized by the Timurids as the legitimate inheritor of the throne of the Jochid Ulus. For instance, the Zafarnāma of Niżām al-Dīn Shāmī, written in the early fifteenth century, lists 25 khans of the Jochid Ulus, and Urus Khan is included among them.269

However, Urus Khan’s polity did not develop into a lasting dynasty equivalent to that of Batu because of the rise of an ambitious Jochid sultan named Toqtamīsh, who was another descendant of Toqay-Timur.270 When Urus Khan executed a Jochid local ruler of Mangīshlaq, Toy-Khvāja, who had refused to join him in his campaign against the right wing of the Jochid Ulus, the latter’s son Toqtamīsh fled from the Dasht-i Qipchāq and sought refuge with Temūr in 1376.271 Toqtamīsh was supplied with troops and money and appointed governor of Utrar and Sairam by Temūr. Toqtamīsh spent a while raiding the nomads of Urus Khan as well as rallying the former followers of his father.272 After a series of indecisive battles and defeats, Toqtamīsh

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269 Shāmī, Zafarnāma, 1:13.


272 Ötemis Qažy, Šyŋgys-name, 192.
succeeded in gaining the support of the majority of the nomads of the eastern Dasht-i Qipchaq
and in 1377 finally overthrew Urus Khan’s son and successor, Malik Temür.\footnote{Shāmī, Zafarnāma, 1:78.} In the following
year, just as Urus Khan had done before him, Toqtamīsh led an expedition against the western
wing of the Jochid Ulus, which was experiencing internecine warfare between Mamay and other
rival contenders to the throne of Saray. After defeating and ousting Mamay, he re-subjugated
Muscovy, becoming not only another prince from the left wing of the Jochid Ulus to capture the
throne of Saray, but also the first Jochid khan to unify the whole Jochid Ulus since the
succession struggle among the Jochid princes began a couple of decades earlier.

However, Toqtamīsh Khan, who by 1380 was ruling a vast nomadic empire, also failed to
found a lasting dynasty of his own in the Qipchaq steppe. He entered into war against his former
overlord, Temür, by invading the latter’s territories. In two major battles that took place in 1391
and 1395, respectively, Toqtamīsh Khan suffered crushing defeats at the hands of Temür and lost
all his territories. Toqtamīsh lived the rest of his life as a political vagabond. After the downfall
of Toqtamīsh Khan, Temür Qutluq Khan, another Toqay-Timurid prince, and his Manghīt amīr
Edigū, gained control over the Jochid Ulus. However, after Edigū’s downfall in 1411, both
halves of the Jochid Ulus were plunged into another succession struggle among the Jochid
princes who included the sons of Toqtamīsh and the descendants of Urus Khan.

The contender to the throne who emerged as the winner from this succession struggle in
the eastern Dasht-i Qipchaq was Barāq Khan, a grandson of Urus Khan. In 1420–21, Barāq Khan
went to Temür’s grandson Ulūg Beg, who was then the governor of Transoxiana, and asked for
his help in defeating his rivals. By 1424–25, Barāq Khan seized the throne of Saray by defeating
and ousting Ulugh Muḥammad, the future founder of the Kazan Khanate, who was then the ruler of right wing of the Jochid Ulus. In 1425–26, Barāq Khan sent a letter to Ulūg Beg and laid claim to Sighnaq, an important center of trade between the nomadic and sedentary regions which had belonged to his grandfather, Urus Khan. In the ensuing battle, Barāq Khan soundly defeated the Timurid army led by Ulūg Beg and plundered Transoxiana. By that time, Barāq Khan had probably become the most powerful ruler in the Qipchaq steppe. Naturally, a later Qazaq historian, Qādir ʿAlī Bek Jalāyirī, who wrote the Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh in the Kasimov Khanate in the early seventeenth-century, remembered him as a khan who “subdued all the neighboring

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274 Samarqandī, “Maṭlaʿ-i saʿdain,” 256 (text), 196 (trans.). According to George Vernadsky, Barāq Khan defeated his rivals between 1422 and 1424. See Vernadsky, The Mongols and Russia, 293; and Bertold Spuler, Die Goldene Horde. Die Mongolen in Russland. 1223-1502, 2nd ed. (Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz, 1965), 156–57. However, Ulūg Muḥammad was not completely defeated. The Mamlūk historian Badr al-Dīn al-ʿAynī writes that, by 1423, he was still the ruler of the Ulus of Jochi, who had been warring against Barāq Khan. Badr al-Dīn al-ʿAynī also records that Barāq Khan was as one of the three rulers of the Qipchaq Steppe (Dasht-i Qipchāq) by 1427. See Badr al-Dīn al-ʿAynī, “ʿIqd al-Jūmān,” in Sbornik materialov, otmosyashchikhsya k istorii Zolotoy ordy, vol. 1, izvlecheniya iz sochinieniy arabskikh, trans. and ed. V. G. Tizengauzen (St. Petersburg: 1884), 501–502 (text), 533–34 (trans.). In a letter sent to the Ottoman sultan Murat II in 1428, Ulugh Muḥammad claimed that he had succeeded in ousting Barāq Khan in the previous year. However, Ulugh Muḥammad also mentioned in the letter that Barāq Khan had taken the throne of the Ulus of Jochi in the previous years, which demonstrates that Barāq Khan had gained control of the western Ulus of Jochi after all. See A. N. Kurat, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivindeki Altın Ordu, Kırım ve Türkistan hanlarına ait yarlık ve bitikler (Istanbul: Bürhaneddin Matbaası, 1940), 8. Johann Schiltberger, a German captive who was in the Qipchaq steppe, serving a Jochid contender to the throne, also records that Barāq Khan was one of the three rulers of the Qipchaq steppe, who competed with Ulugh Muḥammad and Davlet-Berdi. See Johann Schiltberger, The Bondage and Travels of Johann Schiltberger: a Native of Bavaria, in Europe, Asia, and Africa, 1396–1427, trans. J. Buchan Telfer (London: 1879; repr. New York: Burt Franklin, 1970), 37.

uluses in a short time.”276 However, Baraq Khan also failed to found an Urusid dynasty, as he was killed by a rival in Moghulistan in 1428–29.277

Rule over the eastern Dasht-i Qipchaq then passed to Abū al-Khair Khan, who was a descendant of Shībān, the fifth son of Jochi.278 Abū al-Khair Khan first started his political career as a liegeman of another Shibanid prince, but in 1429 he was elected khan among the nomads of the eastern Qipchaq steppe, who had acquired the new name Uzbek probably in the latter half of the fourteenth century.279 In the following years, Abū al-Khair Khan subdued his rivals, invaded Khorazm, which was under Timurid jurisdiction, and in 1446 he annexed the regions in the lower and middle course of the Syr Daryā, including Sighnaq, which became his capital.280 By the mid-fifteenth century, Abū al-Khair Khan had united most of the nomads of the eastern Qipchaq steppe. According to Muḥammad Ḥaḍar Dughlāt, Abū al-Khair Khan was, at that time, the greatest ruler (pādshāh) of the Jochid Ulus, which was called Dasht-i Qipchāq.281 Abū al-Khair Khan also exerted his power beyond the Dasht-i Qipchāq when he led


277 Samarqandī, “Maṭla’-i sa’daín,” 258 (text), 198 (trans.).

278 In the Nusakh-i jahān-ārā, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Ghaffārī writes that Abū al-Khair Khan rose to power benefitting from the rivalries between the sons of Toqtamīsh and those of Urus Khan. Ghaffārī, “Nusakh-i jahān-ārā,” 271 (text), 212 (trans.).

279 The origin and meaning of the term Uzbek will be discussed in detail in chapter five.


281 Muḥammad Ḥaḍar Dughlāt, Ṭārīkh-i Rashīdī, 119–120.
his army to Transoxiana and defeatedʿAbdallāh Mīrzā, the son of Ulūg Beg, and in 1451 placed Sultān-Abū Saʿīd, who had asked him for help, on the throne of Samarqand.282

However, Abū al-Khair Khan’s polity began to weaken even before his death due to an invasion from the east. In about 1457, the Qalmaqs inflicted a severe defeat upon Abū al-Khair Khan’s army near Sīghnaq and plundered Turkistān.283 When Abū al-Khair Khan died in 1468, his old enemies attacked his son and successor Shaykh Ḥaidar and killed him. Abū al-Khair Khan’s nomadic empire then quickly disintegrated and his descendants remained scattered for the next three decades.

In sum, from the mid-fourteenth century onward, the eastern Qipchaq steppe, which corresponds roughly to modern Kazakhstan, became the birthplace of several competent Jochid leaders. While no Jochid prince from western Dasht-i Qipchāq gained full control of the whole Jochid Ulus, let alone the western half of it, the Toqay-Timurid rulers Urus Khan, Toqtamīsh Khan, and Barāq Khan, and the Shibanid ruler Abū al-Khair Khan succeeded one after another in creating their own nomadic empires in the Qipchaq steppe. Yet, neither they nor their immediate successors succeeded in preserving their newly created polities. However, in the course of a century-long succession struggle, two prominent Jochid lineages were formed in the eastern Qipchaq steppe: the Urusid and the Abū al-Khairid clans. A new generation of political leaders arose among them and succeeded in founding a lasting dynasty of their own at the turn of the sixteenth century.

2 Jānībeg and Girāy’s Period of Qazaqliq

2.1 Separation from Abū al-Khair Khan’s Uzbek Nomads

Abū al-Khair Khan was a powerful ruler who did not tolerate any opposition. Abū al-Ghāzī Bahādur Khān states in the Šajara-i Türk that “he was a person who made his friends laugh but made his enemies cry. Among his kinsmen sitting around him, there was no one at whom he did not shoot arrows and whom his arm did not reach” (düstlarnī küldürüp duşmanlarnī yağla tep yürüğän kişi erdi tört yanındaği olturgan qarindaşlarining hiç qaysına tiri ötməgən və qolı yetməgəni yoq erdi).²⁸⁴ Muḥammad Ḥaḍar Dughlāt also writes in the Tārīkh-i Rashīdī that “in those days, Abū al-Khair Khan completely dominated the Qipchaq steppe. The Jochid sultāns were oppressed” (dar ān ayyām Abū al-Khair Khān istīlā-yi tamām dar Dasht-i Qipchāq dāsht. Salātīn-i Juchī-nizhād mu’tarīz mī shud).²⁸⁵ Muḥammad Ḥaḍar Dughlāt goes on to say that Abū al-Khair Khan “wanted to eliminate, with complete farsightedness, any prince of the Jochid line from whom he smelled the scent of rebellion” (ba’zī az salātīn-i Juchī-nizhād, har kas ki az vay ravāyih-i fitna bi tamām dūrəndışhī istishmām mīnamūd, ān-rə mīkhvāst ki nāchīz gardənəd).²⁸⁶

Under such circumstances, two Jochid princes Jānībeg and Girāy, who were the sons of Barāq Khan, resented their subordinate status and decided to flee from their state, like many

²⁸⁵ Muḥammad Ḥaḍar Dughlāt, Tārīkh-i Rashīdī, 108.
²⁸⁶ Muḥammad Ḥaḍar Dughlāt, Tārīkh-i Rashīdī, 404.
other Central Eurasian figures had done in order to avoid difficult political situations.  

Maḥmūd b. Amīr Valī relates in his Bahr al-asrār fī ṭanāqib al-akhyār that the Toqay-Timurid princes Jānībeg and Girāy “left the circle of obedience and subordination and chose to leave their homeland. They took their hearts away from their inherited land and set foot on the path of exile. With a group of people who recognized their fate, they set out for Moghulistan” (pāy az dāyira-i īṭā‘ at va inqiyād birūn nihāda jalāy-i waṭan ikhtiyār nīmūdand va dil az mamlakat-i maurūsī bardāsht qa’dam dar ṭarīq-i ghurbat guzāshtand va ba ṭāyifa-i az qadarshināsān rāh-i Mughūlistān pīsh girifand).  

According to Muḥammad Ḥaidar Dughlāt, Jānībeg and Girāy fled from Abū al-Khair Khan with a few of his men and went to Moghulistan.  

Sources such as the Tārīkh-i Rashīdī or the Bahr al-asrār do not explain when Jānībeg and Girāy’s separation from Abū al-Khair Khan took place. It seems that it happened some time after the latter’s power waned as a result of the crushing defeat he suffered at the hands of the Qalmaqs in 1457. It should be noted that Jānībeg and Girāy’s flight from Abū al-Khair Khan may have taken place earlier than 1457 because the Mingshilu, or the Veritable Records of the Ming, the imperial annals of Ming dynasty, record that they sent envoys to the Ming court in 1451. However, as the record in the Mingshilu does not provide any direct evidence regarding

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287 Jānībeg and Girāy are referred to as “sons of Barāq Khan” in the Tavārīkh-i guzīda-i nūsrat-nāma. However, in the section where the genealogy of the Toqay-Timurids is given, only Jānībeg is presented as the son of Barāq, while Girāy is introduced as a great grandson of Urus Khan, thus making them distant cousins rather than brothers. See “Taurih-i guzida-yi nūsrat-name,” 24–25, 49.


289 Muḥammad Ḥaidar Dughlāt, Tārīkh-i Rashīdī, 404.

290 Their names, along with that of Esān Buqa, appear in the list several sulṭans of the western regions that sent envoys to the Ming court in 1451. Gaohua Chen, ed., Ming dái Hami Tulufan zi liao hui bian (Urumqi: Xinjiang ren
the year of Jānībeg and Girāy’s separation from Abū al-Khair Khan, it may be that by 1451 Jānībeg and Girāy were acting as autonomous princes with their own diplomatic initiatives.

The place Jānībeg and Girāy chose for their exile was Moghulistan, the eastern branch of the former Chaghatay Khanate. It was then ruled by the Chaghatayid khan Esān Buqa, who treated Jānībeg and Girāy well and settled them in the western frontier of Moghulistan. According to Maḥmūd b. Amīr Valī, Esān Buqa Khan regarded Jānībeg and Girāy’s arrival as a benefit (khayr) because his brother Yūnus Khan, a counterclaimant to the throne of Moghulistan, had just established himself near his western border with the support of the Timurid ruler Sulṭān-Abū Saʿīd. The pastureland Esān Buqa Khan gave Jānībeg and Girāy in western Moghulistan served as a buffer zone (vāṣīta) between his domain and that of Yūnus Khan.

It should be noted that Jānībeg and Girāy’s choice of destination and Esān Buqa Khan’s amicable reception reflected a long standing political relationship that had existed between the Jochid Ulus, the Timurid state, and Moghulistan throughout the previous century. Along with the enmity between Moghulistan and Transoxiana, there existed a kind of loose family alliance between the Abū al-Khairids and the Timurids, as well as a hostile relationship between the Timurids and Urus Khan’s family. As mentioned earlier, the Timurid ruler Sulṭān-Abū Saʿīd was

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min chu ban she, 1984), 110. Based on this information, Ho-Dong Kim argues that Jānībeg and Girāy’s flight to Moghulistan took place in the early 1450s. Hodong Kim, “15–16 segi jungangasia sinyumokjibdandeuleu donghyang [The new nomadic groups of Central Asia in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries],” Russia Yeongu 3, no. 1 (Seoul: 1993), 105.

291 Muḥammad Ḥaider Dughlāt, Tārīkh-i Rashīdī, 404.

able to gain control of the throne of Samarkand in 1451 thanks to the military assistance of Abū al-Khair Khan. Sulṭān-Ḫusain Bayqara, the Timurid ruler of Khorasan, also visited Abū al-Khair Khan in 1468 to seek his help and was treated well even though their joint military action did not materialize due to Abū al-Khair Khan’s death. In contrast, Temūr supported Toqtamīsh who fled from Urus Khan in 1376, and their joint military action caused the death of two of Urus Khan’s sons. Half a century later, Barāq Khan, the former protégé of Ulugh Beg, clashed with the latter over the ownership of Sighnaq and plundered Transoxiana, thereby prolonging the hostile relationship between the two families. Therefore, the formation of a new alliance between Jānībeg, Girāy, and Esān Buqa Khan in the face of a common enemy, the Timurids, should be viewed as a logical consequence of the political dynamics in fourteenth-century Central Asia.

2.2 Qazaqlïq in the Remote Regions and the Growth of the Qazaq Uzbek Ulus

After fleeing from Abū al-Khair Khan, Jānībeg and Girāy’s Uzbeks lived a life of political vagabondage and brigandage in the western part of Moghulistan, i.e., modern south-eastern Kazakhstan. According to the Tārīkh-i Rashīdī, these dissident Uzbeks who escaped and separated (gurīkhta judā shudand) from the mass of their people (mardum-i bisyār) wandered

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around destitute (bī sāmān va sargardān mī-būdand) and were given the designation qazaq. \footnote{294 \textit{Muḥammad Ḥaidar Dughlāt, Tārīkh-i Rashīdī,} 404.}

Maḥmūd b. Amīr Valī relates that because the Uzbeks led by Jānībeg and Girāy “spent their time plundering the Qalmaq and Qirghiz tribes and in the border regions engaged in stealing like wolves” (rūzgār bi-tākht va tārāj-i aqvām-i Qalīmāq va Qirghīz mīgusgarānīdand va dar ḥavāshī-i mamālik bi-gurg-rubāyī mashghūl būdand), the name qazaq was applied to them. \footnote{295 Maḥmūd b. Amīr Valī, \textit{Bahr al-asrār}, fol. 132a.}

These qazaq Uzbeks steadily grew in strength during the course of their qazaqlīq. Jānībeg and Girāy increased the number of their followers, providing refuge to “everyone, both rulers and soldiers, who turned against Abū al-Khair Khan” (\textit{har kas az shāh va sipāh ki az Abū al-Khair Khān mutanaffīr mīgashtand}). \footnote{296 Maḥmūd b. Amīr Valī, \textit{Bahr al-asrār}, fol. 132a.}

Abū al-Khair Khan’s death in 1468 and the ensuing succession struggle created a new opportunity for Jānībeg and Girāy. They began their counteroffensive against Abū al-Khayr’s son and successor, Shaikh Ḥaidar, as well as drawing under their banners a great number of the Uzbek nomads who were seeking a safe refuge.

Muḥammad Ḥaidar Dughlāt relates that, after the death of Abū al-Khair Khan, enmities broke out among the Uzbek people and everyone who could, fled for protection to Girāy Khan and Jānībeg Khan so that these khans became powerful. \footnote{297 Ḥāfīẓ Tanīsh Mīr Muḥammad Bukhārī, the compiler of the ‘Abdullāh-nāma, or \textit{Sharaf-nāma-i shāhī}, also relates that, after Abū al-Khair Khan’s death, “people turned toward destruction and a great crowd hurried to the Qazaq khans, who were also of Jochid origin, Jānībeg Khan and Girāy Khan. Bewildered, they found

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\footnote{294 \textit{Muḥammad Ḥaidar Dughlāt, Tārīkh-i Rashīdī,} 404.}
\footnote{295 Maḥmūd b. Amīr Valī, \textit{Bahr al-asrār}, fol. 132a.}
\footnote{296 Maḥmūd b. Amīr Valī, \textit{Bahr al-asrār}, fol. 132a.}
\footnote{297 Muḥammad Ḥaidar Dughlāt, \textit{Tārīkh-i Rashīdī,} 404.}
\end{flushright}
peace and repose there” (mardum... rây dar inhiṭāt āwardand va khalqī farāvān pīsh-i pādshāh-î Qazāq ki īshān nīz Jūchī-nizhād būdand Jānībeg Khan and Girāy Khan shitāftand va ānjā sarāsīma-vār ārām va qarār yāftand). While the followers of the Qazaq khans Jānībeg and Girāy, who provided stability in the midst of political turmoil, were growing in number, the polity of Abū al-Khair Khan’s son and successor, Shaikh Ḥaider, was disintegrating. According to the Tavārīkh-i guzīda-nuṣrat-nāma, during Shaikh Ḥaider’s reign, the Uzbek people “stopped to honor the virtue and nobility of the great begs and his good kinsmen and his power diminished day by day.…”

With the shift in the balance of power between the two groups, Jānībeg and Girāy were able to replace the weakened Abū al-Khairids as the new rulers of the eastern Dasht-i Qipchāq in the 1470s. They thus re-established the rule of the Urusid line in the former domain of their great-grandfather Urus Khan and their father Barāq Khan. After the deaths of Jānībeg and Girāy, their sons Burūndūq Khan and Qāsim Khan led the qazaq Uzbek ulus against the descendants of Abū al-Khair Khan, whom they succeeded in keeping out of the Dasht-i Qipchāq for good. By 1500, the authority of the qazaq Uzbek khans of the Urusid line was firmly established in the eastern Qipchaq steppe. The small group of dissident Uzbeks who had begun their qazaqlīq in the eastern frontier of the Dasht-i Qipchāq some twenty years earlier was


300 The Urusid descent of the Qazaq khans was probably well known to their neighboring states. For instance, a late sixteenth century Musovite letter mentioning the retinues of Kuchum, the last Sibir khan, refers to the Qazaq khans as the sons of Urus Khan (’Urus tzaryovym detyam’). See Sobraniye gosudarstvennykh gramot i dogovorov, 2:128.
transformed into a new state. The descendants of Jānībeg and Girāy formed the nucleus of the new khanate that lasted until the mid-nineteenth century when it was incorporated into the Russian Empire. They formed a class called *aq suyuq*, or White Bone, which remained the ruling elite of Qazaq society.\(^{301}\) After the death of Girāy Khan’s son Burūndūq Khan, the descendants of Jānībeg became the only Jochid lineage to retain the throne of the Qazaq Khanate.\(^{302}\)

3 *Qazaqlïq* Days of Muḥammad Shībānī Khan and Maḥmūd Sulṭān

3.1 Escape from Astrakhan

The rise of Jānībeg and Girāy to power in the eastern Dasht-i Qipchāq in the latter half of the fifteenth century coincided with the fall of the Abū al-Khairids. While, after the death of Abū al-Khair Khan and his successor Shaykh Ḥaidar, Jānībeg and Girāy were moving “from *qazaqlïq* status of ambitious brigandage to *istiqlāl*, or sovereignty,” to use Stephan Dale’s expression, the descendants of Abū al-Khair Khan became utterly dispersed.\(^{303}\) Among the scattered Abū al-

\(^{301}\) The Qazaq commoners belonged to the *qara suyuq*, or Black Bone, class.

\(^{302}\) In the letter sent to the Manchu Emperor in 1767, the Qazaq khan expressed the view that the Qazaqs descended from the three sons of Jānībeg Khan. See *Cin patšalyq däuiriniň mürağat qüzattary*, trans. and eds. M. Q. Ābuseyítova and others, Qazaqstan tarihy turaly qytay derektemeler 3 (Almaty: Dayk, 2006), 104. I am inclined to think that the seniority of the Ulu Jüz (Senior Horde) over the other two Qazaq Hordes, Orta Jüz (Middle Horde) and Kishi Jüz (Younger Horde) was recognized by the Qazaq nomads because the Ulu Jüz nomads descend from the Qazaq tribes that had participated in Jānībeg and Girāy’s *qazaqlïq*. Their present habitat in southeastern Kazakhstan is virtually identical with the region where the *qazaq* Uzbeks spent their *qazaqlïq* days.

Khairids were two grandsons of Abū al-Khair Khan—Muḥammad Shībānī Khan and Maḥmūd Sulṭān—whose father, Shāh Budāq, had died while they were still young. When the old enemies of Abū al-Khair Khan, including Ibaq Khan, the Shibanid prince of western Siberia, and Jānībeg and Girāy attacked and killed Shaikh Ḥaidar, the two brothers went to Hajji-Tarkhan (Astrakhan) which was under the control of their foster father. But in 1471 when Ibaq Khan laid siege to Hajji-Tarkhan, Muḥammad Shībānī Khan and Maḥmūd Sulṭān decided to leave the fortress and flee with their retainers, thus beginning their qazaqlīq that would last almost three decades.304

The small qazaq band that Muḥammad Shībānī Khan and Maḥmūd Sulṭān now led was made up of their loyal followers. According to the Shībānī-nāma, those cohorts who followed the two brothers were “forty old servitors, who, from generation to generation, have been foster-fathers and foster-brothers” (chihil nafar az bāyriyān-i qadīm ki pidar bar pidar ātāke va kökāltash būd).305 Out of these forty loyal cohorts, twenty belonged to the Qūshchī tribe that had served the Shibanids since the time of Shībān, the fifth son of Jochi according to the Tavārīkh-i guzīda-nūşrat-nāma.306 The two brothers and their followers then went to the province of Turkistān, which was under the Timurids, but had to flee again to Bukhara as Girāy Khan came with a large army to drive them off. They spent two years in Bukhārā before coming back to the Qipchaq steppe.

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304 In 1481, this same Ibaq Khan attacked and killed Ahmad Khan, the ruler of the Great Horde, who had just returned from the Ugra River after confronting the Muscovites. See Polnoye sobraniye russkikh letopisey, 12: 202–3.


3.2 The Period of Political Vagabondage and the Reunification of the Former Ulus of Abū al-Khair Khan

The period of political vagabondage of Muḥammad Shībānī Khan and Maḥmūd Sulṭān can also be characterized as a period of brigandage. When they ran out of provisions, they often resorted to raiding their neighbors. Before reaching Turkistān, after their escape from Hajji Tarkhan (Astrakhan), Muḥammad Shībānī Khan’s small qazaq band raided one of the amīrs of Aḥmad Khan, who was their enemy. In Turkistān, Shībānī Khan organized several raiding expeditions
against neighboring uluses in order to obtain provisions. Kamāl al-Dīn Ṭāhir Bināʾī writes in his Shībānī-nāma:

At that time, the provisions ran out in the camp. He sent ... with a group of brave warriors of the army to plunder the ulus. When they arrived at the ulus, they plundered so much that they gained a lot of property. They returned after having taken the property (dar ān hāl dar āvārd va āzūq tamām shuda būd ... bā jamʿī az dilāvārān-i lashkar bi-
tākht kardan bi-ulus firistādand. va chūn īshān bi-ulus rasidand chandānki tākht kardand, māl-i bisyār bi-dast uftād va māl-rā girifta bāz gashtand). 307

According to the Bahr al-asrār, Shībānī Khan and Maḥmūd Sulṭān were engaged in plundering activities in the steppe and wilderness near Sighnaq. 308 They also pillaged and raided some places belonging to Jānībeg and Girāy in Moghulistan. 309 In the Tavārīkh-i guzīda-i nusrat-nāma and the anonymous Shībānī-nāma, both written in Chaghatay Turkic, this period of wandering and brigandage undergone by the two grandsons of Abū al-Khair Khan is referred to as qazaqliq. The Tavārīkh-i guzīda-i nusrat-nāma relates that Muḥammad Shībānī Khan and his cohorts “did not separate from one another in many wanderings during this qazaqliq” (bu

The anonymous Shībānī-nāma similarly writes that Muḥammad Shībānī Khan’s qazaq band “did not separate from one another during their qazaqlīq” (qazaqlīqda ayrīlmağan turur).\(^{310}\)

The qazaqlīq phase of Muḥammad Shībānī Khan and Maḥmūd Sulṭān was also a period of struggle for survival against the relentless attacks of Jānībeg, Girāy, and their sons, who were determined to expel the two brothers from the Qipchaq steppe. As mentioned above, Muḥammad Shībānī Khan and Maḥmūd Sulṭān, who were staying in Turkistān, had to flee to Bukhārā because of the attack by Girāy Khan. On their way to Transoxiana, they were attacked again by Irānji Khan, the son of Jānībeg Khan, and as a result, most of their bahadurs and amīrs became scattered.\(^{312}\)

When Muḥammad Shībānī Khan and Maḥmūd Sulṭān returned from Bukhārā two years later and visited Mūsā Mīrzā of the Manghīt ulus, they were again attacked by the Qazaqs led by Jānībeg’s son Qāsim Sulṭān and Girāy’s son Burūndūq Khan. This time, Muḥammad Shībānī Khan’s qazaq band defeated their attackers with the help of the Manghīts.\(^{313}\) They were attacked again by Burūndūq Khan and Maḥmūd Sulṭān, the eldest son of Jānībeg, when they settled in Sighnaq after returning from the Manghīt ulus. After a long siege, Muḥammad Shībānī Khan, not being able to overcome numerical inferiority, had to depart for Mangīshlaq.\(^{314}\)

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\(^{310}\) Tavārīkh-i guződa-Nuşrat-nāme, 273.

\(^{311}\) Berezin, Sheymaniada, 63.


Muḥammad Shībānī Khan made a comeback when he was asked by the Timurid ruler Sulṭān-Aḥmad Mīrzā to join him in the campaign against Moghulistan, recalling the old alliance between Sulṭān-Abū Saʿīd and Abū al-Khair Khan. Muḥammad Shībānī Khan joined the expedition and led the advance party but decided to switch sides and joined the Moghul khan Sulṭān Maḥmud Khan instead, thereby contributing to the latter’s victory over the Timurid army. In return, Sulṭān Maḥmud Khan gave Muḥammad Shībānī Khan the town of Utrar after he captured it from the Timurids. Sulṭān Maḥmud Khan also sent a relief army to Muḥammad Shībānī Khan when the Qazaqs, led by Burūndūq Khan and the sons of Jānībeg, attacked Utrar.

Later, Muḥammad Shībānī Khan and Maḥmūd Sulṭān were attacked by the combined army of the Qazaqs and the Moghuls, who allied themselves to quell the growing strength of Muḥammad Shībānī Khan. But Muḥammad Shībānī Khan held out and the Qazaq khans finally gave up the idea of eliminating him. As a result, a truce, which included marriage alliances, was concluded between the two parties in 1500. Muḥammad Shībānī Khan and Maḥmūd Sulṭān survived a decades-long struggle against the Qazaq khans and succeeded in establishing a foothold in the Syr Daryā region.

For Muḥammad Shībānī Khan and Maḥmūd Sulṭān, who displayed their abilities as warlords during their war against the Qazaq khans, their qazaqliq phase was not just a period of political hardship, but also an opportunity to expand their qazaq band or their ulus. Just as Jānībeg and Girāy had attracted new supporters during their qazaqliq days, Muḥammad Shībānī Khan and Maḥmūd Sulṭān also rallied the Uzbeks, including the scattered followers of Abū al-Khair Khan, and steadily expanded their small qazaq band.

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In the *Shībānī-nāma*, Kamāl al-Dīn `Aflī Bināʾī describes how the number of Muḥammad Shībānī Khan’s followers, initially made up of forty men, began to grow when the two brothers and their loyal servitors escaped from Astrakhan and killed Ibaq Khan’s brother during their flight, revenging the death of their uncle, Shaikh Ḥāidar: “When this news reached all corners of the world, the young arrived from everywhere, and the experienced elders joined together in groups in full hope until the number of the warriors of victory reached one hundred and fifty” (*va chūn in khabar bi-’attrāf va aknāf-i ’ālam rasiḍ, az har jā javānān rasiḍā va pīrān-i kār-dīda bi-umīdvārī-i tamām fauj fauj mulhaq shudand tā ’’adad-i ’asākir-i nūsrat bi-ṣad va panjāh nafar rasiḍ*).\(^{316}\) When Muḥammad Shībānī Khan and Maḥmūd Sultān settled in Turkistān after this, Āq Sūfī Bahādūr brought the remainder of the Quschi tribe and joined their winter camp in Qarākūl, supplying a fresh force to Shībānī Khan’s *orda*.\(^{317}\) Thanks to this new supply of recruits, Muḥammad Shībānī Khan was able to organize the aforementioned raiding expeditions to neighboring uluses.

Furthermore, after Muḥammad Shībānī Khan and Maḥmūd Sultān with their small force defeated the large Qazaq army led by Qāsim Sultān, new followers joined them while they were visiting the Manghīt *ulus*. The *Tavārīkh-i guzīda-i nūsrat-nāma* relates: “Having seen and heard that in the battle he accomplished glorious deeds, and having realized that he would reach his goal in the end, from all directions came good kinsmen, men, and braves. Then four hundred people gathered.”\(^{318}\) Kamāl al-Dīn `Aflī Bināʾī also mentions in the *Shībānī-nāma* that *bahadurs*

\(^{316}\) Kubo, “*Shaybānī-nāma,*” 14.

\(^{317}\) Kubo, “*Shaybānī-nāma,*” 15; and Bināʾī, “*Shībānī-nāma,*” 101.

\(^{318}\) “*Tauarih-i guzïda-yi nūsrat-name,*” 28.
and amīrs joined Muḥammad Shībānī Khan until his army numbered four hundred.\(^{319}\) However, unlike the compiler of the *Tavārīkh-i guzīda-i nuṣrat-nāma*, Kamāl al-Dīn ʿAlī Bināʾī states that this event took place much later, when Muḥammad Shībānī Khan and Maḥmūd Sulṭān succeeded in repelling the allied forces of the Qazaqs, Timurids, and Manghīts after Muḥammad Shībānī Khan had helped Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khan defeat Sulṭān-Aḥmad Mīrzā’s forces. At any rate, both sources agree that after these new recruits arrived, Muḥammad Shībānī Khan set out to invade Khorazm.

After Muḥammad Shībānī Khan secured Utrar and added Sabrān and Yassī to his domain, he himself began to recruit new supporters. He sent for the sulṭāns and the amīrs who were the old servitors of Abū al-Khair Khan who were scattered around the Dasht-i Qipchāq and Chaghatayid ulus, i.e., the Timurids.\(^{320}\) According to the *Shībānī-nāma*, when the news of this recruitment of the sulṭāns and the amīrs became well known, people, including two of Muḥammad Shībānī Khan’s uncles, Sīyunch Khan and Kūchkūnchī Khan, came from everywhere in full hope, and as a result, “a very large group was found in a short time” (*dar andak zamānī jamʿiyat-i tamām bi-zuhūr payvast*).\(^{321}\)

Muḥammad Shībānī Khan’s qazaq warband greatly increased in strength when Muḥammad Shībānī Khan first captured Samarqand in 1500 on behalf of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khan who had failed to do so himself. According to the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, the Uzbeks joined Muḥammad Shībānī Khan from everywhere and by then his forces already numbered fifty

\(^{319}\) Kubo, “*Shaybānī-nāma*,” 37; and Bināʾī, “*Shībānī-nāma*,” 113.

\(^{320}\) Kubo, “*Shaybānī-nāma*,” 52–53; and Bināʾī, “*Shībānī-nāma*,” 122.

\(^{321}\) Kubo, “*Shaybānī-nāma*,” 53.
It should be noted that all these new recruits who gathered around Muḥammad Shībānī Khan, who was a successful qazaq leader, obviously became the source of manpower needed to conquer the Timurid states of Transoxiana and Khorasan.

### 3.3 The Conquest of the Timurid states and the Revival of the Abū al-Khairid State

While the small qazaq warband of Muḥammad Shībānī Khan was developing into a force of fifty thousand warriors, a succession struggle was under way among the Timurid princes of Transoxiana following the death of the three sons of Sulṭān-Abū Saʿīd in the mid-1490s. Muḥammad Shībānī Khan, who secured his northern frontier by concluding a truce with the Qazaq khan in 1500, embarked on the conquest of the Timurid state of Transoxiana. Just as Jānībeg and Girāy had seized the Dasht-i Qipchāq from the weakened Abū al-Khairids, Muḥammad Shībānī Khan, who was just a petty ruler of a few oasis towns in the Sīr Daryā region, captured the Timurid cities of Transoxiana one by one. In the course of seven years, he captured not only Samarqand, Bukhārā, and Khorazm from the Timurids, but also Tashkent and Ferghana from the Moghuls. Muḥammad Shībānī Khan completed his conquest of the Timurid states of Transoxiana and Khorasan when he captured Herat from the sons of Sulṭān-Ḥusain Bayqara in 1507. He then had his name and that of Abū al-Khair Khan read in the Friday sermon (khutba), signaling the revival of the Abū al-Khairid state.\(^{323}\)

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\(^{322}\) Muḥammad Ḥaidar Dughlāt, \textit{Tārīkh-i Rashīdī}, 154.

The Abū al-Khairid takeover of Transoxiana and Khorasan meant that the *qazaq* warband of Muḥammad Shībānī Khan and Maḥmūd Sulṭān had now become a new polity. It also meant that Muḥammad Shībānī Khan’s status had changed from *qazaq* to sovereign. Actually, Central Asian sources do not clearly state when the period of the *qaṣaqlīq* of Muḥammad Shībānī Khan and Maḥmūd Sulṭān ended. A clue to this can be found in the eighteenth century Uzbek history, the *Tazkira-i Muqīm Khānī*, which equates the end of their days of wandering with their conquest of Transoxiana. Muḥammad Yūsuf Munshī, the author of the *Tazkira-i Muqīm Khānī*, writes:

> For a while īl and *ulūs* became dispersed, wandering aimlessly in poverty until the *sulṭāns* reached the age of maturity. Together with their tribes and relatives, they placed the sort of courage on the path of conquering the state of Transoxiana and set out for it (*muddatī īl va ulūs mutafarriq va sargardān va bī sar-u-sāmān shudand tā sūltānān bī hadd-i tamyīz rasīdand. Bi ittiḥāq-i qabāyil va khvāshān pāy-i jalādat va dilāvarī dar rāh-i ṭalāb nihāda bi ‘azm-i taskhīr-i vilāyat-i māvarā ‘al-nahr ‘āzim shudand*).\(^{324}\)

Therefore, the conquest of the Timurid state in Transoxiana by Muḥammad Shībānī Khan and Maḥmūd Sulṭān, or more precisely, its beginning, may be regarded as the end of their period of *qazaqlīq*.

In the revived Abū al-Khairid dynasty, the former *qazaq* companions of Muḥammad Shībānī Khan constituted the nucleus of the state. The newly conquered territories were distributed as appanages to the Abū al-Khairid *sulṭans* who had joined Muḥammad Shībānī Khan

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in various stages of his qazaqlïq. For instance, Muḥammad Shībānī Khan took possession of Samarqand, while he assigned Bukhārā to his brother Maḥmūd Sulṭān, and Tashkent to his uncle Siyunch. Until the mid-sixteenth century, the Abū al-Khairid polity maintained a system of corporate or clan rule, in which the eldest member among the appanage holders succeeded to the throne. The Qūshchī tribe, whose members had constituted half of the qazaq warband that accompanied Muḥammad Shībānī Khan and Maḥmūd Sulṭān from the beginning of their qazaqlïq days, also enjoyed special privileges in the Abū al-Khairid state. For instance, according to the anonymous Shībānī-nāma, Köpek Bey of the Qūshchī tribe received an appanage (Khorazm), along with other Abū al-Khairid princes. The members of the Qūshchī tribe became hereditary ataliqs (chief amīr) throughout the sixteenth century including the reign of ʿAbd-Allāh Khan.


327 Berezin, Sheybaniada, 91.

4 The Consolidation of the Two Neo-Uzbek States in the Oases and Steppes of Central Asia

The newly established Abū al-Khairid dynasty nearly collapsed when Muḥammad Shībānī Khan was killed in battle against the Safavids led by the new ruler of Iran, Shāh Ismāʿīl Safavī, in 1510. By the end of 1511, most of the territories that had been conquered by Muḥammad Shībānī Khan fell to Shāh Ismāʿīl Safavī, Ẓahīr al-Dīn Muḥammad Babur, the future founder of the Timurid Mughal dynasty, and the Moghuls. However, under ʿUbayd Allāh Sultaṅ, the son of Maḥmūd Sultaṅ, the Abū al-Khairid princes, most of whom probably had spent the previous period of wandering and hardship together, repulsed their enemies and re-established their authority over Transoxiana in 1512. Their dominance remained unchallenged until the end of the dynasty at the end of the sixteenth-century.329

In the Qipchaq steppe, by 1511 Qāsim Khan, son of Jānībeg Khan, succeeded Burūndūq Khan as the new ruler of the Qazaq Khanate. During his reign, the Qazaq Khanate developed into a nomadic empire that stretched from the Altay Mountains in the east to the Yayīq River in the west. According to the Tārīkh-i Rashīdī, “Qāsim Khan brought the entire Dasht-i Qipchāq under his control (dar ḥīṭā-i žabt āvard) in such a way that after Jochi Khan no one had kept control like him. Such was the number of his army that it exceeded a million.”330 Babur also writes in his Bābur-nāma that “they say that among the Qazaq khans and sultaṅs no one kept the


330 Muḥammad Ḥaidar Dughlāt, Tārīkh-i Rashīdī, 405.
ulus under control like Qāsim Khan. His army numbered close to three hundred thousand
(Derlär kim Qazaq ḥan və sultənlarınınıng arasidda heč kim ol ulusnî Qāsim Ḥançə şabt qilgan eməstür. Çerigini üç yüz minggə yavuq eñarlar edı).”331 During the reign of Qāsim Khan, the
Manghîts, who occupied the central Qipchq steppe, were pushed further west.332

After the death of Qāsim Khan around 1521, however, the Qazaq Khanate experienced a
period of decline during the reigns of his son Mamâš Khan, and the two sons of his brother
Adîq Sultan—Tâhir Khan and Buydâsh Khan. The Qazaqs became so divided that Mîrzâ
Muḥammad Ḥâidar Dughlât remarks that after the year 940 (1533–34), “the Qazaqs became
totally uprooted” (qazāq biʿl-kull mustaʿsal shud).333 However, in the Tārīkh-i Ḥaḍarī, written
during the reign of Ḥaqq Nazâr, the Qazaqs are described as being “dispersed (parīshān)” rather
than “uprooted” (mustaʿsal).334 The Qazaq Khanate soon regained its supremacy over the eastern
Dasht-i Qipchâq during the long reigns of Qāsim Khan’s son Ḥaqq Nazâr (r. 1538–1580), and
the latter’s son Tavakkul Khan (1582-1598). The Urusid clan remained as the dynasts of the
Qazaq Khanate until the mid-nineteenth century.

331 Babur, Bābur-nāma, 1:18; and Babur, Baburnama, trans. Thackston, 1:23.
332 On the Qazaq aggressions against the Manghît ulus during the reign of Qāsim Khan, see A. Isin, Kazakhsłowe
333 Muḥammad Ḥâidar Dughlât, Tārīkh-i Rashīdī, 109.
334 See Ḥaḍar b. Ṭāhir b. Ḥusaynī Râzî, “Tārīkh-i Ḥaḍarī,” 274 (text), 215 (trans.).
In the mid-sixteenth century, the Abū al-Khairid dynasty entered a phase of inter-clan warfare that lasted until 1581. The Abū al-Khairid rulers of each appanage fought each other until 'Abd-Allāh Sūltān, who since 1561 had been the actual ruler of the appanage of Bukhārā, subdued all the other sultāns by 1581. 'Abd-Allāh Sūltān became khan (r. 1583–98) after his father Iskandar’s death in 1583, and from then on he embarked on the conquest of neighboring regions. During his reign, he captured Badakhshān from the Tmurid Mughals in 1584, and Khorasan from the Safavids by 1589. Khorazm was also annexed to his realm in 1594–95. Although 'Abd-Allāh Khan’s death and his son’s assassination in 1598 brought about the change of Uzbek dynasty from the Abū al-Khairids to the Toqay-Timirids, or Janids, in 1599, the Uzbek domination of Transoxiana remained unbroken for another two and a half centuries.

In sum, the Abū al-Khairid princes who had participated in the qazaqlīq days of Muḥammad Shībānī Khan and Maḥmūd Sūltān, and their descendants retained supremacy over Transoxiana throughout the sixteenth century, while the descendants of the two qazaq khans of Urusid lineage, Jānībeg and Girāy, ruled over the eastern Dasht-i Qipchāq well into the mid-nineteenth century. In other words, the two rival Uzbek groups that had experienced qazaqlīq consecutively in the second half of the fifteenth-century in the eastern Dasht-i Qipchāq

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developed into two separate states based in the oases and the steppe regions of Central Asia, respectively.

Diagram 3. The Genealogy of the Jochid Khans (Uzbek and Qazaq Khans)
5 Conclusion

The main argument of this chapter is that the Qazaqs, the ancestors of the modern Kazakhs, emerged as a new people at the turn of the sixteenth century as a result of the division of the Uzbek nomads and the formation of two separate Uzbek uluses. These developments had their origins in the qazaqlıq activities of the Uzbek nomads in the second half of the fifteenth-century, which were related to the rivalry and conflict between the two most prominent Jochid families of the eastern Qipchaq steppe in the fifteenth-century.

It has often been suggested that the Qazaqs arose when the nomad confederation of the Jochid Ulus split into those Uzbeks who chose closer relations with the settled population of Transoxiana, and the Qazaqs, who adopted a more nomadic way of life in the Qipchaq steppe. However, this study has demonstrated that the migration of the Shibanid Uzbeks to the sedentary oasis region of Central Asia and the establishment of the Qazaq Uzbeks in the Dasht-i Qipchāq did not result from ideological differences. Rather, their differentiation originates from the two interrelated but conflicting qazaqlıq experiences of the Uzbek nomads in the second half of the fifteenth-century. The selection of oasis versus steppe as their abodes was not the cause of their separation but the result of their division.

The correlation between the two consecutive qazaqlıqs of the Uzbek nomads in the second half of the fifteenth-century and the formation of the Qazaqs has not received proper attention by modern scholars. In general, modern historians are more interested in explaining the formation of the Qazaq Khanate as a result of the separation of the Uzbeks led by Jānībeg and

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Girāy from Abū al-Khair Khan, rather than examining the formation of the Qazaq ulus in relation to the more complex process that involved two qazaqlīq activities and the division of the Uzbek ulus. As will be further discussed in Chapter five, the formation of a separate Qazaq identity was the product of the qazaqlīq phenomenon that became a well-established custom of political vagabondage in post-Mongol Central Eurasia.
Chapter 5
The Formation of a Separate Qazaq Identity

The previous chapter examined the process whereby the consecutive qazaqliq activities of two prominent rival Jochid clans led to the formation of the Qazaq Uzbek ulus and the Shibanid Uzbek ulus, respectively, at the turn of the sixteenth century. The development of these two new uluses also resulted in the creation of separate identities among the nomads of the eastern Dasht-i Qipchāq that had been known as the Uzbek Ulus. While the Shibanid Uzbeks retained the designation Uzbek as a self-appellation, the Qazaqs, who had first separated themselves from the Uzbek Ulus ruled by Abū al-Khair Khan in the mid-fifteenth century, gained the new designation Qazaq. This split into the two Uzbek groups was perhaps the most important differentiation of identities that occurred in post-Mongol Central Eurasia as it played a major role in shaping the ethnic, and indeed, also political map of modern Central Eurasia.

Chapter five will look into the division of the Uzbek Ulus into the Shibanid Uzbeks and the Qazaqs with respect to their designations. More specifically, it will look into the formation of the Qazaqs as a separate nomadic people by examining the process whereby the designation of the Uzbeks led by Jānībeg and Girāy and their clan, changed from Uzbek to Qazaq. Chapter five will first investigate the origin and meaning of the designation Uzbek, and demonstrate how the designation Qazaq replaced the designation Uzbek as the designation of the Qazaq Uzbeks. It will then examine other designations for the nomadic population of the Dasht-i Qipchāq in the post-Mongol era, namely, Turk, Moghul, Jochi ulus, and Toqmaq, all of which were used by the Shibanid Uzbeks and the Qazaq Uzbeks, in order to show that these two groups became divided into two separate nomadic peoples following the emergence of the Qazaq identity. Since the qazaqliq activities of Jānībeg and Girāy were the original cause of the appearance of the Qazaq
Uzbeks and their designation Qazaq, Chapter five demonstrates that the phenomenon of qazaqlïq played a significant role in the formation of new uluses, as well as separate identities, in post-Mongol Central Eurasia.

1 The Designations of the Qazaq Uzbeks and the Shibanid Uzbeks

1.1 The Origin and Meaning of the Designation Uzbek

The nomads of the eastern Dasht-i Qipchāq who joined the two qazaq warrior bands led by Jānībeg and Girāy, and Muḥammad Shībānī and Maḥmūd Sulṭān, respectively, were collectively called Uzbek in the second half of the fifteenth century. Central Asian historians such as Abū al-Ghāzī Bahādur Khān and the author of the Shajarat al-attrāk, an abridgement of the Tārīkh-i arbaʿ ʿulūs by Ulūg Beg, traced the origin of the designation Uzbek to Uzbek Khan (r. 1313–41), the ruler of the Jochid Ulus. According to Abū al-Ghāzī Bahādur Khān, the people of the

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Jochid Ulus were called *Uzbek* after they were converted to Islam under Uzbek Khan. In the *Šajara-i Türk*, Abū al-Ghāzī Bahādur Khān relates:

He (Uzbek Khan) brought the *il* 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 *il* of Jochi were called the *il* of Uzbek (*el ulusnī dīn-i islāmğa körküzdî barča ḥalq ol şāhib-i davlatnîng sababîndîn şaraf-i islāmga muşarraf boldîlər andîn song barča Jochi elinï Özbâk elî tedîlîr*).340

The anonymous compiler of the *Shajarat al-atrāk* (and probably Ulûg Beg himself) provide a slightly different version of the story about the origin of the designation *Uzbek*. He relates:

When Sulṭān Muḥammad Uzbak Khān, along with his own *il* and *ulūs*, attained the blessing and favor of God, his Excellency Sayyid ʿAṭā brought all of them to the region of Transoxiana and those who stayed behind without the blessing of Sayyid ʿAṭā were designated *Qalmāq*, which means “those who remained behind.” The people who left in the company of Sayyid ʿAṭā and Sulṭān Muḥammad Uzbak Khān took the name of their

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commander and pādshāh, which was Uzbek, whenever anyone asked ‘Who is this newcomer?’ For this reason, from that time, the men who came were called Uzbek and the men who stayed behind became known as Qalmāq (chūn Sulṭān Muḥammad Uzbek Khān bā hamrāhī-i īl va ulūs-i khūd vāsil-i saʿādat va fażl-i ilāhī gardīda-and ḥaẓrat-i Sayyid ‘Atā tamāmī-i īshān-rā bi-jānīb-i diyār-i māvarā’ al-nahr āvard va az ānchī bi saʿādatānī ki ... ḥaẓrat-i Sayyid ‘Atā ... dar ānjā mândand mausūm bi-Qalmāq shudand ki bi-ma ‘nī-i mândanī bāshad va az āncha mardumī ki bi-rijaqtat-ī .... Sulṭān Muḥammad Uzbek Khān ‘āzim shuda mī-āmadand har kasī ki az īshān mī pursīda-and ki īn āyanda āst nām-i sardār va pādshāh-i khūd rā ki Uzbek būd mīγirīfand bidān sabab az ān zamān mardum-i āmada mausūm bi-Uzbek shuda-and va mardumī ki mānda-and Qalmāq garīdā-and).341

It is clear that, whether these accounts reflect historical events or not, the designation Uzbek began to be used as a term denoting the nomadic people of the Jochid Ulus during the reign of Uzbek Khan. The Ilkhanid historian Ḥamd Allāh Mustaufī Qazvīnī refers to the army of Uzbek Khan that invaded the Ilkhanate after the death of Abū Saʿīd Khan as “Uzbek” (Uzbakiyān) in his Tārīkh-i guzīda and calls the Jochid Ulus “the kingdom of Uzbek” (mamlakat-i Uzbek).342 Ḥamd Allāh Mustaufī 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 Jochid Ulus ruled by Jānī Beg Khan (r. 1342–57), the son of Uzbek Khan, as “the Uzbek Ulus” (ulūs-i Uzbak). Therefore, it may be assumed that the Jochid Ulus also became known as the Uzbek Ulus after Uzbek Khan’s reign.

The designation Uzbek was also used in the Mamluk sources and the Timurid sources to refer to the Jochid Ulus of the fourteenth century. For instance, in the Tārīkh al-duwal wa al-mulūk, the Jochid Ulus controlled by Mamay is called “the territories of Uzbek” (bilād-i Uzbak). The Timurid historian Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū also uses the designation Uzbek to describe the Ilkhanid amīr Chūpān’s invasion of the Jochid Ulus in 1324. He states in his work that amīr Chūpān “entered the Uzbek Ulus” (bi-ulūs-i Uzbak dar āmad).

It should be noted that the Timurid historians also regarded the Jochid Ulus ruled by Urus Khan, the ancestor of the Qazaq khans Jānībeg and Girāy as Uzbek. Describing a Jalāyir amīr who revolted against Temūr and fled to Urus Khan, Niẓām al-Dīn Shāmī refers in his Żafarnāma to the Jochid Ulus as “the Uzbek domain” (vilāyat-i Uzbīk). Similarly, in the Muntakhab al-tavārīkh-i Muʿīnī, Naṭanzī refers to the throne of the western wing of the Jochid Ulus, which Urus Khan captured, as “the Uzbek throne” (takht-i Uzbak).

343 Zain al-Dīn, “Tārīkh-i guzīda,” 226 (text), 97 (trans.).
345 Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, Zayl-i jāmi` al-tavārīkh-i Rashīdī, 117.
346 Shāmī, Żafarnāma, 1:71.
347 Naṭanzī, Muntakhab al-tavārīkh-i Muʿīnī, 93
The Timurid historians also identified the Jochid Ulus ruled by Toqtamīsh with the Uzbek Ulus. Describing the conquest of the Jochid Ulus by Temür, Naṭanzī states that “the entire capital of the Uzbeks was destroyed by the Chaghatay” (majmūʿ-i pāytakht-i uzbak dar zūr-i dast va pāy-i jaghatāy ʿalīhā sāfīhā shud).348 Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAlī Yazdī also writes in the Zafarnāma that “some of the Uzbek people” (baʿzī ʿulūs-i ʿUzbak), who were near the River Özi (Dnieper), were pillaged by Temūr’s amīr ʿUṣmān during Temūr’s campaign in “the right wing of the Ulus of Jochi Khan” (ulūs-i dast-i rāst-i Jūchī khān).349 Elsewhere, Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAlī Yazdī refers to the envoys dispatched to Temūr by Edigū and Temūr Qutluq Khan, who became the new rulers of the Jochid Ulus after Toqtamīsh’s downfall, as “the Uzbek envoys” (īlchiyān-i ʿUzbak).350

Naturally, the Jochid Ulus ruled by Abū al-Khair Khan, the grandfather of Muḥammad Shībānī Khan and Maḥmūd Sulṭān, was also called Uzbek. In the Tārīḵh-i Raużat al-ṣafā, Mīr Khvānd designates Abū al-Khair Khan, from whom Sulṭān-Abū Saʿīd sought military aid, as “the khan of the Uzbeks” (khān-i ʿUzbak).351 Mīr Khvānd’s grandson Khvāndamīr also refers in his Tārīḵh-i Ḥabīb al-siyar to the army of Abū al-Khair Khan that fought on Sulṭān Abū Saʿīd’s side against ʿAbdallāh Mīrzā, the son of Ulūg Beg, as Uzbek (Uzbekān).352

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348 Naṭanzī, Muntakhab al-tavāriḵh-i Muʿīnī, 349.
349 Yazdī, Zafarnāma, 1:541.
350 Yazdī, Zafarnāma, 2:34.
352 Khvāndamīr, Tārīḵh-i Ḥabīb al-siyar, 4:50; and Thackston, Habibu’s-siyar, 2:378.
In sum, the designation *Uzbek*, which is usually associated in modern scholarly literature with Abū al-Khair Khan and his descendants’ *uluses*, was merely the designation given to the Jochid Ulus after the reign of Uzbek Khan. It is not clear exactly when the designation *Uzbek* became fixed as the designation of the nomads of the eastern Qipchaq steppe, nor when it stopped being used for those of the western Qipchaq steppe. However, it should be noted that the nomads of the Jochid Ulus ruled by Urus Khan and Abū al-Khair Khan were called *Uzbek* without distinction. That is to say, the two bands of *qazaq* nomads led by Jānībeg and Girāy, and Muḥammad Shībānī Khan and Maḥmūd Sulṭān, respectively, were regarded as belonging to the same Uzbek *ulus*.

1.2 The Qazaq Uzbeks (*Uzbek-i Qazāq*) and the Shibanid Uzbeks (*Uzbek-i Shībān*)

The designation *qazaq*, which began to denote independent warriors or political vagabonds in post-Mongol Central Eurasia, was also employed by the mid-fifteenth century to refer to some specific groups of warrior bands and brigands in both halves of the Qipchaq steppe. The *Nikon Chronicle* makes mention of a group of border guards that joined the Muscovites in their battle against the Tatar invaders in 1444. In the *Nikon Chronicle*, this group of mercenaries, which was based in Ryazan, is referred to as “the Ryazan *qazaqs*” (*kazaki ryazan’škia*)." Around the same time, a group of Uzbek freebooters called “the *qazaq* Uzbeks” (*Uzbek-i qazāq*) appeared in the

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353 See *Polnoye sobraniye russkikh letopisey*, 12:62.
eastern Qipchaq steppe.\textsuperscript{354} Narrating the events that took place in 1440–41, Kamāl al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Razzāq Samarqandī states that “sometimes, a group of Uzbek soldiers would become qazāq and come to the domain of Māzandarān and commit robbery everywhere and then return” (gāhī jam ī azlashkar-i Uzbak qazāq shuda bi-vilāyat-i Māzandarān mī-āmadand va har jā dast andāzī karda bāz-mīraftand).\textsuperscript{355}

As mentioned earlier, the designation qazaq was also attached to the dissident Uzbeks led by Jānībeg and Girāy because they led a life of political vagabondage and brigandage in the eastern part of the Dasht-i Qipchāq in the second half of the fifteenth century. However, it should be noted that the qazaq Uzbeks led by Jānībeg and Girāy and their descendants were still viewed as Uzbeks by the following Central Asian writers without being differentiated from the Shibanid Uzbeks. Muḥammad Ḥaidar Dughlāt, who provides an explanation as to why these dissident Uzbeks acquired the designation Qazaq in the Tārīkh-i Rashīdī, is one of them. Ḥaidar Dughlāt refers to the Uzbeks led by Jānībeg and Girāy not only as Qazaqs, but also as “Qazaq Uzbeks” (Uzbak-i Qazāq), while he calls the Uzbeks headed by the Abū al-Khaīrid clan “Shibanid Uzbeks” (Uzbak-i Shībān).\textsuperscript{356} Furthermore, praising ‘Abd al-Rashīd Khan, the Moghul khan, to whom he dedicated his work, for having achieved victory over the Qazaqs, Ḥaidar Dughlāt states

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{354} Samarqandī, “Maṭla’-i sa’dain,” 259 (text), 199 (trans.).
\item \textsuperscript{355} Samarqandī, “Maṭla’-i sa’dain,” 258 (text), 199 (trans.).
\item \textsuperscript{356} Muḥammad Ḥaidar Dughlāt, Tārīkh-i Rashīdī, 187.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
that ‘Abd al-Rashīd Khan “triumphed over the Uzbeks” (bār Uzbak ẓafār yāfī). Ḥaidar Dughlāt also refers to Tāhir Khan’s domain as “Uzbekistan” (Uzbekistān).

Fażlullāh b. Rūzbihān Khunjī, the court historian of Muḥammad Shībānī Khan, also identifies the Qazaqs with the Uzbeks. In his Miḥmān-nāma-i Bukhārā, which gives an eyewitness account of Muḥammad Shībānī Khan’s third campaign against the Qazaqs in 1508–9, Khunjī relates that there were three tribes (ṭāyīfā) that “belong to the Uzbeks” (mansūb bi-Uzbak). The first was the Shibanids (Shibānīyān). The second was the Qazaqs (Qazāq), “who are, in strength and ferocity, well known throughout the world” (ki dar quvva va ba’s mashhūr-i āfāqand). The third was the Manghit (Manfit [sic]), “who are the rulers of Hājjī Tarkhān” (ki īshān pādshāhān-i Hājjī Tarkhān-and). Consequently, Khunjī argues that “the Qazaqs are a branch of the Uzbeks” (Qazzāq yik ṭāyīfā az Uzbak-and). Like Ḥaidar Dughlāt, he refers to the Shibanids and the Qazaqs as “Shibanid Uzbeks” (Uzbakān-i Shibānī) and “Qazaq Uzbeks” (Uzbakān-i Qazzāq), respectively. Khunjī deplores the fact that the Qazaqs and the Shibanids sell each other into slavery, treating their “own people” (qaum-i khūd) as war booty. He also identifies the two groups by relating that “there is constant strife and conflict among the Uzbek

357 Muḥammad Ḥaidar Dughlāt, Tārīkh-i Rashīdī, 187.
358 Muḥammad Ḥaidar Dughlāt, Tārīkh-i Rashīdī, 541.
360 Khunjī, Miḥmān-nāma-i Bukhārā, 171.
361 Khunjī, Miḥmān-nāma-i Bukhārā, 211.
362 Khunjī, Miḥmān-nāma-i Bukhārā, 42.
khans, especially among the Shibanid khans and the Qazaq khans” (miyān-i khānān-i Uzbak hamīsha munāza‘at va mujādala ast khūşūsan miyān-i khānān-i Shībānī va khānān-i Qazāq).\(^{363}\)

Interestingly, Qādir ‘Alī Bek Jālāyirī, who was himself from the Qazaq Jalāyir tribe, refers to the Qazaq ulus as Ōzbākya in the dāstāns of Urus Khan and Urāz Muḥammad Khan that provide a brief account of the Qazaq khans.\(^{364}\) For instance, listing the names of such Qazaq khans as Jānībeg Khan and Barāq Khan, who were the ancestors of Urāz Muḥammad, Jalāyirī states that Aḥmad Khan “is called Aqmat Khan by the Uzbeks” (Ōzbākya Aqmat Ḥān tep eyūrlār).\(^{365}\) Describing the left wing and the right wing of Urus Khan’s ulus called the Alāch Thousand and the Qataghīn Thousand, Jalāyirī states that “these are the ones who have been Alach Thousand’s aghas. (They are) famous and well known among the Uzbekya” (bu Ałač mingining ağaşi bola kelgān bular turur. Ōzbākya arasında ma’lüm mashhūr turur).\(^{366}\)

1.3 The Differentiation of the Qazaqs from the Uzbeks

To form a new tribe or ulus around a charismatic leader, often bearing the name of its founder, was a common phenomenon in post-Mongol Central Eurasia. The Qazaq Uzbeks and the Shibanid Uzbeks, who were led by two rival clans, also developed into two separate uluses, and

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\(^{363}\) Khunjī, Mihmān-nāma-i Bukhārā, 144.

\(^{364}\) See Qādir ‘Alī Bek Jalāyirī, Sbornik letopisei, 154–55, 162–171. Urāz Muḥammad Khan was appointed khan of the Kasimov Khanate by Boris Godunov around 1600.

\(^{365}\) Qādir ‘Alī Bek Jalāyirī, Sbornik letopisei, 164.

\(^{366}\) Qādir ‘Alī Bek Jalāyirī, Sbornik letopisei, 171.
were perceived as such by their neighbors. The Timurid prince Ẓahīr al-Dīn Muḥammad Babur, a contemporary of Qāsim Khan, always used the designation *Qazaq* when referring to the Qazaqs in his *Bābur-nāma*. For instance, Babur calls Qāsim Khan “the khan of the Qazaq ulus” (*Qazaq ulusînîng ḥanî*). The Muscovite sources also refer to the Qazaqs simply as Qazaqs (*Kazaki*) and to the Qazaq ulus as the Qazaq Horde (*Kazatskoy Orda*), probably in accordance with the Manghit (Noghay) or Qazaq designation of the Qazaqs. In 1519, it was reported to the Grand Prince Vasily Ivanovich that the Qazaq Horde (*Kazatskoy Orda*) was pressing the Noghays. In 1535, the Noghays reported to Muscovy that the Qazaqs (*Kazaki*) together with the Qalmaqs (*Kolmaki*) had attacked them. Again in 1569, it was reported that Ḥaqq Naẓar (*Aknazar*) of the Qazaq Horde (*Kazatskoy Orda*) and twenty other princes came to fight the Noghay orda (*Nogayskoy Orda*). The Safavid historian Ḥaydar b. ‘Alī Ḫusaynī Rāzī also attaches the designation *Qazaq* to the Qazaq khans in his *Tārīkh-i Ḫaydarī*. The Qazaq khans are referred to as “the sultâns of the Dasht-i Qipchâq who are well known as *Qazâq* (*salāfîn-i Dasht-i Qibchâq ki bi-Qazâq mashhûr-and*)”.

367 On the emergence of new tribes bearing the names of their founders in the Chinggisid world see Golden, “Migrations, ethnogenesis,” 118–19.


371 *Posol’skiye materialy russkogo gosudarstva (XV-XVII vv.*)*, 151.

372 Ḥaidar, “Tārīkh-i Ḫaidarī,” 274 (text), 215 (trans.).
Shāh Maḥmūd b. Mīrzā Fāżīl Churās, who wrote the *Tārīkh*, a Persian history of the Moghul Khanate, in the latter half of the seventeenth century as a continuation of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* by Ḥ ajdar Dughlāt, also differentiates the Qazaqs from the Shibanid Uzbeks. For instance, he refers to Ḥaqq Naṣar Khan as “Ḥaqq Naṣar Khān Qażāq,” and to ʿAbd-Allāh Khan as “ʿAbd-Allāh Khān Uzbāk.” Unlike Ḥ ajdar Dughlāt, who describes ʿAbd al-Rashīd Khan’s victory over the Qazaqs as the Moghuls’ triumph over the Uzbeks, Churās depicts it as the Moghul victory over “the Shibanids and the Qazaqs” (*Shībān va Qażāq*).373

The early Shibanid Uzbek historians also began using the designation *Qazaq* to refer to the Qazaq khans and the people they led. In the *Shībānī-nāma*, Kamāl al-Dīn ʿAlī Bināʾī seldom uses the designation *Qazaq* for the Qazaq khans but calls Jānībeg’s son Maḥmūd Sulṭān “Maḥmūd Sulṭān Qażāq” in order to differentiate him from his namesake, Maḥmūd Sulṭān, the younger brother of Muḥammad Shībānī.375 Although Fażullāh b. Rūzbihān Khunjī regards the Qazaqs as a branch of the Uzbeks, he also uses the term “Qazaq ulus (ulūs-i Qazzāq)” for the Qazaqs while employing the term “Shibanid ulūs (ulūs-i Shībānī)” for the Shibanids.376

Other later Uzbek historians used the term *Qazaq* more explicitly. In his *Zubdat al-āṣār*, ʿAbdullāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī Naṣrullāhī refers to the ulūs of Qāsim Khan that fought against


374 Churās, *Tārīkh*, fols. 47b (text), 156 (trans.). For some reason, the translator of the *Tārīkh* rendered “Shībān va Qażāq” as “the Shibanid Qazaqs” (*Shiban-kazaki*).

375 Kubo, “*Shaybānī-nāma,*” 26; and Bināʾī, “*Shībānī-nāma,*” 107.

the Shibanid Uzbeks led by Muḥammad Shībānī as Qazaqs. Similarly, Zain al-Dīn Maḥmūd Vāṣīfī provides an account of ʿUbayd Allāh Khan’s campaign against the Qazaqs in his *Badāyiʿ al-vaqāyiʿ* in a section titled “the Book of Conquest of the Qazaqs (*fatḥnāma-i qazāq*).” In this section, he uses the designation *Qazāq* and *Qazāqstān* to designate the nomadic people of the Qazaq khans and their domain. Ḥāfīz Tanish Bukhārī, who compiled the *Sharaf-nāma-i shāhī*, or *ʿAbbūllāh-nāma*, in the latter half of the sixteenth century, also differentiates the Qazaqs from the Uzbeks. For instance, he refers to Jānībeg and Girāy as “the Qazaq rulers” (*pādshāhān-i Qazāq*).

Likewise, Khvājam Qulī Bik Balkhī b. Qipchāq Khān, who wrote the *Ṭārīkh-i Qipchāq Khānī* in India in the early eighteenth century, distinguishes between the Qazaqs and the Uzbeks despite the fact that both groups were ruled by the same Toqay-Timurid dynasties from the end of the sixteenth century. For instance, he refers to Qāsim Khan and Muḥammad Shībānī Khan as Qazaqs and Uzbeks, respectively. The same holds true for the Qazaqs and the

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380 Ḥāfīz Tanish, *Sharaf-nama*, fol. 40b (text), 1:99 (trans.).

Uzbeks who formed an alliance in order to drive the Chaghatay army led by Aurangzeb out of Balkh.382

2 The Uniqueness of Qazaq Identity

The ascription of the designation Qazaq to the descendants of Jānībeg and Girāy and their followers signified that the Qazaqs had become a separate nomadic people that differed from the Shibanid Uzbeks. This becomes more clear if we consider the fact that the Qazaqs and the Shibanid Uzbeks also shared other designations used for the population of the Dasht-i Qipchāq, such as Turk, Moghul, Jochid ulus, and Toqmaq, which had existed before the two groups underwent their respective periods of qazaqlīq in the second half of the fifteenth century.

2.1 The Designation Turk

The designation Turk, which initially encompassed only the core tribes of the First and Second Türk Khaganates, went out of use as a self-appellation in the Mongolian plateau with the collapse of the Second Türk Khaganate.383 Accordingly, the designation Turk (Tūjué in Chinese) was not used as a term denoting other Turkic or non-Turkic tribes of Central Eurasia in the


383 Other Turkic and non-Turkic nomad tribes such as the Uyghur, the Qirghiz, and the Qitan that later occupied the Mongolian steppe retained their respective tribal names. For instance, the Uyghurs did not identify themselves with the Türks, whom they regarded as their enemies in their official inscriptions. See S. G. Klyashtorny, “The Terkhin Inscription,” Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae 36 (1982): 342, 345.
accounts of the northern barbarians included in the official Chinese dynastic histories. On the other hand, the designation Turk became used as a generic term for the Central Eurasian nomad tribes in the Perso-Islamic world. For instance, Muslim geographers such as Gardīzī and Marvazī describe all the northern peoples, including some Finno-Ugrian and Slavic peoples, as Turks.

The designation Turk, as a generic term for the Central Eurasian nomads, or rather as an antonym of the designation Tajik, meaning the sedentary Iranian population, continued to be used in Mongol and post-Mongol Iran and Central Asia. Most notably, Rashīd al-Dīn

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384 The Chinese dynastic histories only designate the members or the direct descendants of the First and Second Türk Khaganates as Turk. Other Turkic-speaking tribes such as the Tiele, the Uyghur, and the Qirghiz are not called Turks.

385 V. V. Barthold ascribes the spread of the name Turk to Muslim authors. See V. V. Bartol’d, Ocherk istorii turkmenskogo naroda, in V. V. Bartol’d, Sochineniya, vol. 2, pt. 1, ed. B. G. Gafurov, 545–623 (Moscow: Nauka, 1963), 553–54. Peter Golden on the other hand assumes that the name Turk was still used in the non-Islamic Turkic world after the fall of the Second Türk Khaganate independently from Muslim usage. Peter Golden, An Introduction to the History of the Turkic Peoples: Ethnogenesis and State-Formation in Medieval and Early Modern Eurasia and the Middle East (Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1992), 115–16.

386 See Sharaf al-Zamān Ṭāhir Marvazī, Sharaf al-Zamān Ṭāhir Marvazī on China, the Turks and India: Arabic text (circa A.D. 1120) with an English translation and commentary by V. Minorsky, trans. V. Minorsky (London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1942), 29–36; and A. P. Martinez, “Gardīzī’s Two Chapters on the Turks,” Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi 2 (1982): 109–217. It should be noted that Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī, the Qarakhanid scholar, who also uses the name Turk as a generic term, is following the Perso-Islamic tradition not the Central Eurasian steppe tradition. For he traces the origin of the Turks to a biblical figure Japheth, son of Noah, and also identifies Alp Er Tonga, the legendary hero of the Turkic epics, with Afrāsiyāb, the Turanian hero of the Iranian Shāh-nāma. See Maḥmūd al-Kāšgharī, Compendium of the Turkic Dialects (Dīwān Luğāt at-Turk), ed. and trans. Robert Dankoff, in collaboration with James Kelly, 3 pts. ([Cambridge, MA: Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, Harvard University], 1982–1985), 1:82–83, 2:225.

387 For the term Tajik in relation to the name Turk, see Subtelny, “The Symbiosis of Turk and Tajik,” 48–49.
Fażlullāh Hamadānī, the author of the Ḵāmiʿ al-tavārīḵh, which provides a most detailed description of the Central Eurasian nomad tribes, classifies all of them as Turk, including non-Turkic tribes such as the Mongols or the Tanguts. He also states that all these Central Eurasian tribes descend from the four sons of Dīb Bāqūy, the son of Noah’s son Japheth.388 The Timurid historian Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAlī Yazdī expands this notion in the prolegomena to his Zafarnāma by developing a genealogy of the Timurids and the Chinggisids that includes such mythical figures as Turk Khan, the son of Japheth, and the twin brothers Tātār and Mughūl, the great-great-great grandchildren of Turk Khan.389 According to this genealogy, the descendants of Mughūl Khan, i.e., the Mongols, are a branch of the Turks.

Naturally, the Uzbeks and the Qazaqs, both of whom were nomadic peoples, were also regarded as Turks by their contemporaries. Perhaps this perception is best reflected in the Genealogy of the Turks by Abū al-Ghāzī Bahādur Khān and the Genealogy of the Turks by the anonymous composer of the abridgement of Ulūg Beg’s Tārīḵ-i arbaʿ ʿulūs. Abū al-Ghāzī’s Genealogy of the Turks is a history of the Chinggisids from ancient times to the mid-seventeenth century entitled Šajara-i Türk. In this work, Abū al-Ghāzī includes brief genealogies of the Qazaq khans and the Uzbek khans. The names of the Abū al-Khairid khans such as Muḥammad Shībānī Khan and ʿAbd-Allāh Khan, and those of the Toqay-Timurid khans such as Urus Khan, Barāq Khan, Jānībeg Khan, and Qāsim Khan are listed in this genealogy of the Turks.390 Similarly, the abridgement of the Tārīḵ-i arbaʿ ʿulūs, which is also a history of the four

388 Rashīd al-Dīn, Ḵāmiʿ al-tavārīḵh, 25. Accordingly, Rashīd al-Dīn refers to the original Mongol tribes that had gathered around Chinggis Khan as “Mongol Turks (Atrāk-i Mughūl).” Rashīd al-Dīn, Ḵāmiʿ al-tavārīḵh, 112.


Chinggisid uluses, was entitled Shajarat al-attrāk, meaning “genealogy of the Turks.” A brief description of the reigns of Urus Khan and Baraq Khan, the two progenitors of the Qazaq khans, is also given in the section on the Jochid khans. The Uzbeks led by Uzbek Khan are depicted as Turks in the account regarding the origin of the designation Uzbek. The author of the Shajarat al-attrāk states that the Uzbeks and the people of Turkistān were able to unite with one another because of their common roots. This account runs as follows:

When they arrived in the region of Turkistān, due to the passage of time, the people of Turkic origin, who inhabited those lands, joined the Uzbek Ulus due to their close origin (va chūn bi- diyar-i Turkistān-zamin rasīda-and binābar murūr-i ayyām mardum-i turknizhād ki dar ān sarzamīnhā būda-and az jihat-i qarīb asli dākhil-i ulūs-i Uzbak shuda-and).392

The Shibanid Uzbek khans were also referred to as Türk by the Ottoman historian Muṣṭafa ‘Ālī. Although he seldom uses the designation Türk as a generic term in his work, Muṣṭafa ‘Ālī designates Chinggis Khan and the Uzbek khans as “the khaqans of the Turks” (ḥavākīn-i Türk) in his account of the Abū al-Khairid khans.393

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392 “Shajarat al-attrāk,” 266 (text).

2.2 The Designation *Moghul*

The designation *Moghul* originally encompassed the core tribes of Chinggis Khan. It excluded other Mongolic or Turkic tribes such as Jalayir, Oyirat, Kereyit, and Naiman. However, following the conquest of Mongolia and other parts of the Central Eurasian steppe by the Mongols, the scope of the designation *Moghul* was expanded. After mentioning that the designation *Tatar* had become a generic term for the Central Eurasian nomads due to the power and prestige of the Tatars, Rashīd al-Dīn describes in his *Jāmiʿ al-tawārīkh* how the designation *Moghul* similarly became a self-appellation of other Central Eurasian tribes. He relates:

In this time, because of the charisma of Chinggis Khan and his clan … other tribes of the Turks like Jalayir, Tatar, Oyirat, Öngüt, Kereyit, Naiman, Tangut, and others, each of which has its own specific name and special nickname, are proud to call themselves *Mongol* (*chunānki dar īn zamān ba-vāṣītat-i daulat-i Chingīz Khān va arūgh-i ī ... dīgar aqvām-i atrāk mānand-i jalāyir va tātār va uyrāt va unkūt va kirāyit va naymān va tangqūt va ghair ham ki har yik-rā ismī muʿayyin va laqābī makhsūs būda, jumla az rūy-i tafākhur khūd rā mughūl gūyand*).³⁹⁴

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In most of Central Eurasia including the Qipchaq steppe, the designation *Moghul* was seldom used as a political designation after the dissolution of the Mongol Empire in the mid-fourteenth century. However, the designation *Moghul* continued to be used in the sources as a term denoting the political traditions or even the identity of the Turkic nomad elites and their ancestors in post-Mongol Central Eurasia. For instance, the compiler of the *Muʿizz al-ansāb fī shajarat al-ansāb*, which is a genealogy of the Timurids and the Chinggisids, describes Temür as being of Mongol descent. Mentioning the ancestors and the tribe of Temür, he adds that “the chroniclers of the Turks, who are true in intellect, write that all the Mongol tribes descend from two persons who had gone to *Arkana Qutūqūn*” (*muʿarrijān-i atrāk-i sādiq al-ʿuqūl chunān taqrīr mīkunand ki tamāmat-i aqvām-i mughūl az nasl-i dau shakhšand ki dar Arkana Qutūqūn rafta būdand*). Naṭanzī, another Timurid historian, also associates Temūr with the Mongol tradition. Describing Temūr’s military campaign against Urus Khan, Naṭanzī writes that Temūr “threw … according to the Mongol custom and he returned” (*bar qāʿida-i sunnat-i mughūl sarā ān bi-andākht va bāz gardīd*).

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395 Even though the name *Moghul* continued to be used as a self-designation by the eastern branch of the *Ulus* of Chaghatay, it had a narrower meaning when compared to the name *Moghul* used in the Mongol era. According to Muḥammad Ḥāidar Dughlāt, it only denotes the Chaghatayid *ulus*. Mentioning Ulūg Beg’s work on the four Chinggisid *uluses*, he relates that “one of the four is the *Mughūl*. The *Mughūl* has become divided into two branches. One is the *Mughūl* and the other is the *Chaghatay* (az ulūs-i arbaʿ yīkā Mughūl ast. Va Mughūl bi-dau qism maqsūm shoda-ast. Yīkā Mughūl va dīgārī Chaghatay).” See Muhammad Ḥāidar Dughlāt, *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, 190.


The designation *Moghul* was used in connection to Temür by non-Timurid writers as well. The Tunisian historian Ibn Khaldūn calls Temür “the sultan of the *Mughul* and *Tatar,*” describing the meeting between himself and Temür.³⁹⁸ Similarly, the Ottoman historian Muṣṭafa ʿĀlī writes that Temür held a banquet according to “the Mongol custom” (*Mugūl āyīnī*) after his conquest of Anatolia.³⁹⁹ Muṣṭafa ʿĀlī also describes Temür as being of Mongol descent by explaining that he belongs to “the Tatar tribe called the *ulus* of Barlas” (*ulus-i Barlas nâm Tatar kabilesi*).⁴⁰⁰

The designation *Moghul* also seems to have been in use in the Crimean Khanate in the early sixteenth century. In a letter sent to the Polish king, the Crimean khan Meḥmet Girey (r. 1514–1523) styled himself as the king of the Mongols. He writes “the great khan of the Great Horde, the Qipchaq steppe, and all the Mongols, pādshāh Meḥmet Geray Khan” (*ulu ordenung ulu ḥanî Deşt-i Kîpçâk barça Moğul pâdšâhi Meḥmed Geray Ḥan*).⁴⁰¹

Similarly, the designation *Moghul* was also employed to designate another Chinggisid *ulus,* the Uzbek *Ulus.* For instance, Khvāndamīr writes that, with the support of Temür, Toqtamîsh mounted the throne in Sighnaq “according to the Mongol custom” (*marâsim-i..."

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Mughūl-rā ri āyat karda). Naṭanzī even refers to the amīrs of the Uzbek Ulus as Mongols. He relates that when Jalāl al-Dīn Sultān, the son of Toqtamīsh, gave complete power to the Tāzīks in his assembly, the Mongol amīrs became weak and seduced Jalāl al-Dīn Sultān’s brother to revolt against him.

The Uzbeks continued to use the designation Moghul after Muḥammad Shībānī Khan founded the Shibanid Uzbek Khanate. Muḥammad Shībānī Khan gives himself that name in a ghazal he wrote in Chaghatay Turkic. He writes “all the people are contained in me, but I am not contained in this people. The good and the evil are contained in me, but I am not contained among the Mongols” (Barča ulus mendā sīğar, men bu ulusa sīğmasam. Yaḥšī yaman mendā sīğar, men bu Moğula sīğmasam).

Some later Uzbek historians also used the designation Moghul to refer to the dynasties they served. Shīr Muḥammad Mīrāb Mūnūs, the author of the Firdaws al-Iqbāl, a history of the Qungrat Uzbek dynasty or the Khiva Khanate, describes the Qungrat tribe, to which his overlord belonged, as being one of “the Mongol tribes” (aqvām-i Moğul). Describing a privilege given to the Nayman and the Uyghur tribes among the Uzbek il, or people, Mūnūs adds that it

conformed to “the Mongol custom” (Moğul rasmi). Similarly, Maḥmūd b. Amīr Valī Balkhī refers to his master Naẓr Muḥammad Khān (r. 1606–42 and 1648–51), a Toqay-Timurid Uzbek ruler of Balkh, and the Uzbek dynasty itself as Mughūl. In his Bahr al-asrār fi manāqib al-akhyār, a work that includes a detailed history of the Shībanid and Toqay-Timurid Uzbeks, he named the section dealing with the Uzbek khans as follows:

On the description of the conditions of the Moghul khans from the appearance of the dawn of the blessed existence of Japheth, the son of Noah, peace be upon them both, to the happy days of his Excellency who has the rank of caliph, Naẓr Muḥammad Khān … (dar tauzīḥ-i aḥvāl-i khavāqīn-i Mughūl az badv-i ẓuhūr-i ṣubh-i vujūd-i mas’ūd-i Yāfīs ibn Nūḥ ḍayhīmā al-salām tā ayyām-i bā farjām-i ḥaẓrat-i khilāfat-rutbat Naẓr Muḥammad Khān ...). 407

Like Mūnīs, Amīr Valī Balkhī describes the Uyghur tribe as belonging to the Mongol tribe (omaq). 408 As a matter of fact, to Amīr Valī Balkhī, the designation Mughūl was just an old designation for the Uzbeks. Explaining the designations of the inhabitants of Turkistān, he writes:


408 Makhmud ibn Vali, More tayn, 17.
From the time of Japheth’s son, Turk, to the time of the reign of Mughūl Khān, the people of this land were called *Turks*. After the rule of Mughūl Khān over the tribes of that region, everyone in that country was called *Mughūl*. After … the reign of Uzbek Khan, the inhabitants of that land are called *Uzbek* until today (*Turk b. Yāfi ṣtā hangām-i zuhūr-i Mughūl Khān mardum-i īn sarzām-rā Turk guftand va ba’d az tasalluṭ-i Mughūl Khān bar aqvām-i ān Ḣudūd har ki dar ān mamlakat būd ā-rā Mughūl khvāndand va pas az … saltanat-i Uzbek Khān sukkān-i īn sarzām-rā tā īmrūz Uzbek mīguyand*).\(^{409}\)

Consequently, it is natural that the Qazaqs should also have been regarded as being of Mongol descent by Fażlullāh b. Rūzbihān Khunjī, who participated in Muḥammad Shībānī Khan’s campaign against the Qazaqs. In the *Mihmān-nāma-i Bukhārā*, Khunjī identifies the Qazaqs with the ancient *Tātārs*, i.e., the Mongols. His description of the Qazaqs runs as follows:

The terrible ferocity and violence of the army of the Qazaqs, who, previously, at the time of the appearance of Chinggis Khan, were called the army of the *Tātārs*, are well known and mentioned by the Arabs and the Persians (*sałat va ba’s-i shadīd-i ‘askar-i Qazzāq ki dar zamānhā-i sābiq ki bi ’ādī-i zuhūr-i Chingīz Khān būd, īshān-rā lashkar-i Tātār guftandī mashhūr va mażkūr-i alsina-i ‘arab va ‘ajam ast*).\(^{410}\)

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The Qazaqs themselves may also have shared the same idea about their ancestry, according to an account recorded by N. I. Grodekov in the late nineteenth century. Grodekov’s informant, a Qazaq named Sultān Qanaev, expressed the view that the Qazaqs descend from three hundred Mongols in the following manner: “There were two brothers: Moghul and Tatar. From the former originate the Qazaqs. The Moghuls fought against the Tatars and were defeated by them. Three hundred men escaped from the battle and began to call themselves the Three Hundred. They took refuge in a mountain. They multiplied there and went out to the steppe.”

2.3 Jochi Ulus

The designation Jochi ulus (ulūs-i Jūchī) and the designation Toqmaq were two other terms that were used to designate the nomadic population of the Dasht-i Qipchāq in post-Mongol Central Eurasia. The designation Jochi ulus (ulūs-i Jūchī), which literally means the people of Jochi, encompassed the nomadic population of Central Eurasia that had been brought under Jochid governance in the first half of the thirteenth century, just as the designation Chaghatay ulus (ulūs-i Jaghatāy) encompassed the Timurids and the Moghuls who descended from the nomadic subjects of Chaghatay Khan. Meanwhile, the designation Toqmaq was a term used by the

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412 Designating the Timurid realm as Chaghatay (Jaghatāy) was a common practice among the Timurid historians. For instance, Khvāndamīr relates that Temūr turned his attention toward Iran (mamlakat-i īrān) after consolidating his power in the Chaghatayid realm (mamlakat-i Jaghatāy) and the Ulus of Jochi (ulūs-i Jūchī Khān). See Khvāndamīr, Tārīkh-i Ḥabīb al-siyar, 3:430.
Northern Yuan Mongolian chroniclers and the Timurid historians to refer to the nomadic population of the Qipchaq steppe, i.e., the Jochid Ulus.

The Timurid historians used both the term *Jochi ulus* and the term *Toqmaq* to refer to the nomadic people of Urus Khan, the ancestor of the Qazaq khans. For instance, Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAlī Yazdī relates that when Temür gathered “the whole Chaghatayid Ulus” (*tamām-i ulūs-i Jaghatāy*) and crossed the Syr Darya River, Urus Khan also brought together “all the Jochid Ulus” (*tamām-i ulūs-i Jūchī*). Naṭanzī also designates the domain of Temür Malik, the son of Urus Khan, as “the Jochid Ulus” (*ulūs-i Jūchī*). Furthermore, Naṭanzī employs the term *Toqmaq* to refer to the armies of both Temür Malik and Toqtamīsh. He calls the army of the former “the *Toqmaq* troublemakers” (*būlghūlān-i Tūqmāq*) and the army of the latter “the *Toqmaq* army” (*lashkar-i Tūqmāq*). Naṭanzī also refers to the Jochid Ulus as “the Toqmaq Ulus” (*ulūs-i Tūqmāq*).

Likewise, the nomadic subjects of Abū al-Khair Khan, the ancestor of the Shibanid Uzbeks, are identified with the Jochid Ulus or *Toqmaq* in the sources. For instance, Khvāndamīr refers to Abū al-Khair Khan as “the pādıshāh of the Ulus of Jochi Khan” (*pādıshāh-i ulūs-i Jūchī*.

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Maḥmūd b. Amīr Valī calls the army that gathered around Abū al-Khair Khan “the *Toqmaq* army” (*sipāh-i tāq*).  

The seventeenth century Buddhist Mongolian chroniclers employed the term *Toqmaq* for the nomads of the Dasht-i Qipchāq irrespective of their self-designation. For instance, in his *Erdeni-yin Tobči*, Ssanang Ssetsen refers to the nomads of the Jochid Ulus during the reigns of Esen Taishi (r. 1439–55) and the Qazaq khan Ḥaqq Naẓar (r. 1538–1580) as *Toqmaq* without distinction. In mentioning the names of the Jochid khans, Lubsangdanjin, the author of the *Altan Tobči*, also designates both the Uzbek khan Muḥammad Shībānī and the Qazaq khan Ḥaqq Naẓar as *Toqmaq*.  

In sum, it should be noted that Urus Khan and Abū al-Khair Khan, and their followers, all belonged to the same nomadic population of the Dasht-i Qipchāq that was known as Jochid Ulus (*ulūs-i Jūchī*) and *Toqmaq* in Central Eurasia. The same holds true for the Shibanid Uzbeks and the Qazaqs.

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3 Conclusion

The Qazaq Uzbeks, led by Jānībeg and Girāy and their descendants, and the Shibanid Uzbeks, led by the Abū al-Khairid clan, originally belonged to the same ulus, or people, of Jochi that, after the reign of Uzbek Khan, became known as the Uzbek Ulus. Besides their common Uzbek ancestry, these two groups shared the same Turkic identity in the sense of nomadic identity as opposed to the Tajik, i.e., the sedentary Iranian identity; the same Mongol, or Chinggisid, political traditions; and the same Jochid identity as opposed to the Chaghatayid or other Chinggisid identities.
The main factors that lay behind the transformation of the two rival Uzbek clans and their followers into two separate uluses, or nomadic peoples, were the qazaqlïq activities of the notable members of the Urusid clan on the one hand and the Abū al-Khairid clan on the other during the second half of the fifteenth century in the eastern Qipchaq steppe. It was as a result of these two qazaqlïq phases that the Qazaq identity, which was basically an anti-Abū al-Khairid identity, was formed and became consolidated. The attachment of the designation Qazaq to the descendants of Jānībeg and Girāy and their followers was the consequence of this phenomenon. It may be assumed that without Jānībeg and Girāy’s qazaqlïq activities the nomadic people of the eastern Dasht-i Qipchāq would have retained the designation Uzbek. Likewise, without the qazaqlïq activities of Muḥammad Shībānī Khan and Maḥmūd Sulṭān and the establishment of the Abū al-Khairid dynasty in Transoxiana, the Qazaq Uzbeks would have remained as Uzbeks rather than adopting the designation Qazaq as a self-appellation. Therefore, the emergence of the Qazaqs as a separate nomadic identity may be explained as the outcome of the combination of the two consecutive qazaqlïq activities (ca. 1450–70 and ca. 1470–1500) led by Jānībeg and Girāy, and Muḥammad Shībānī Khan and Maḥmūd Sulṭān, respectively.

Interestingly, there is an irony in the division of the Uzbek Ulus into the Qazaqs and the Shibanid Uzbeks. Although the Qazaqs, who were ruled by the descendants of Jānībeg and Girāy, adopted a new designation, it was they who remained in the Qipchaq steppe, i.e., the center of the Uzbek Ulus, and who inherited the bulk of the Uzbek people. In contrast, the Shibanid Uzbeks, even though they retained the designation Uzbek, expanded their scope after migrating south from the steppe to the oases of Central Asia as they intermixed with the Chaghatayid ulus and coexisted with the sedentary Iranian population. This is perhaps reminiscent of the relationship between the Ukrainians and the Russians. The former eventually adopted a new designation but have remained in the former realm of Kievan Rus’. In contrast, even though the
Russians, formerly called *Moskal’*, adopted the designation *Rus’*, they arose on the peripheral regions of Rus’, i.e., in Muscovy, in close relationship with the Mongol dynasts, and later expanded their scope by incorporating the Tatar and Finnic populations. Importantly, both the Qazaqs and the Ukrainians underwent a *qazaqliq* stage in the process of state formation at both ends of the Qipchaq steppe.

In sum, the socio-political phenomenon of *qazaqliq* not only played an important role in the process of state formation in post-Mongol Central Eurasia, but also influenced the emergence of new political identities. If we consider the fact that another band of *qazaq* warriors led by Babur founded the Indian Timurid state and formed its nucleus in the first half of the sixteenth century, the *qazaqliq* activities conducted by the Central Eurasian political vagabonds between the mid-fifteenth and mid-sixteenth centuries should be regarded as a significant historical phenomenon that shaped the future not only of Central Eurasia but of South Asia as well.
The legend of Alash Khan is a Qazaq oral tradition that narrates the origin of the Qazaq tribal union known as the three Qazaq jūzs, or hordes, whose first leader was Alash Khan. As the legend of Alash Khan associates the formation of the first Qazaq ulus with a legendary figure called Alash, it can also be regarded as a myth of Qazaq origin. According to most versions of this oral tradition, the Qazaqs originate from a group of fugitives who selected Alaš, an outcast prince, as their first khan. Apparently, such an account of Qazaq origin does not conform to the historical reality, which is that the Qazaqs emerged from the group of Uzbek nomads headed by Jānībeg and Girāy who underwent a period of qazaqlïq in the eastern Dasht-i Qipchāq in the second half of the fifteenth century as discussed in Chapter four. It would, therefore, be

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421 The Qazaqs have traditionally been divided into three jūzs, or hordes. The Üly Jūz (the Great, or Senior, Horde) occupying southern Kazakhstan and the Semirechie; the Orta Jūz (the Middle Horde) in central and northern Kazakhstan; and the Kişi Jūz (the Small, or Younger, Horde) in western Kazakhstan. The jūzs are made up of a number of tribes, which are subdivided into clans. This tribal division still exists among the contemporary Qazaqs.

422 The name Alash has also been used as a synonym for the Qazaqs. Mukhamedzhan Tynyshpaev, a Qazaq historian of the early twentieth century, argues that the expression “Alti Alash (Six Alash)” probably began to be used since the reign of Tauke Khan (r. 1680–1718) to refer to the three Qazaq jūzs, and the Qarq-Qalpaq, the Qirghiz, and some other Qazaq tribes that submitted to Tauke Khan. See Mukhamedzhan Tynyshpaev, “Proiskhozhdeniye Kirgiz-Kazakov i istoriya obrazovaniya Kazaksogo khanstva,” (1925), reprinted in Mukhamedzhan Tynyshpaev, Istoriya Kazakhskogo naroda, ed. A. Takenov and B. Baygaliev, 132–88 (Almaty: Sanat, 2009), 184. In the Khoqand chronicle Tārīkh-i Shāhrukhī, for instance, the Qazaqs in their entirety are referred to as “Alti san Alash (six componants of Alash).” See T. K. Beisembiev, “Ethnical Identity in Central Asia and Kazakhstan in the 18th and 19th Centuries: According to the Khokand Chronicles,” Annals of Japan Association for Middle East Studies 6 (1991): 60. The short-lived independent Qazaq government (1917–1920) that was formed after the Bolshevik Revolution and the party that ran it were called the Alash Autonomy (Alash Autonomiyasy) and the Alash Orda, respectively.
worthwhile to investigate the extent to which the legend of Alash Khan reflects the history of the early Qazaqs. However, only a few specialists in Qazaq history, such as Aleksandr P. Chuloshnikov and Mukhamedzhan Tynyshpaev, have attempted to investigate the historical basis of the legend of Alash Khan since it was collected in the nineteenth century by Qazaq and Russian ethnographers such as Chokan Valikhanov, N. I. Grodekov, G. N. Potanin, M. Zh. Kupeev, and Aleksei I. Levshin.\(^{423}\)

This chapter examines the legend of Alash Khan in relation to the early history of the Qazaqs, including the *qazaqlïq* phase they underwent in the second half of the fifteenth century. It will first introduce several different versions of the legend of Alash Khan that were collected in the course of the nineteenth century. Next, it will discuss how the *qazaqlïq* activities of Jānībeg and Girāy, as well as the political careers of Urus Khan (r. 1368–78) and Ḥaqq Nazar Khan (r. 1538–1580) might be reflected in the legend of Alash Khan. The remainder of this chapter will be devoted to a discussion of the Perso-Islamic historiographical tradition that the Shibanid Uzbek, who shared a common ancestry with the Qazaqs, inherited from the Ilkhanids and the Timurids, in order to highlight the uniqueness of the Qazaqs’ own foundation legend.

The examination of the legend of Alash Khan will demonstrate the fact that the Qazaq Uzbeks and the Shibanid Uzbeks, who had become divided into two distinct polities at the turn of the sixteenth century, eventually developed into two separate uluses that differed not only in their self-designations but also in their historical identities.

1 The Legend of Alash Khan: A Tale of Qazaqliq

One of the most detailed versions of the legend of Alash Khan was recorded by the Qazaq historian Chokan Valikhanov. According to this version, the three Qazaq jüzs, or hordes, emerged from the vagrant nomads that had fled from a certain ruler of Turan called Abdullah Khan. These qazaqs formed a new state when they chose as their first khan an exiled prince named Alash, who was the abandoned son of Abdullah:

Very long, long ago, in Turan there was a king called Abdulla, but according to other (versions) Abdul-Azis-Khan. This king had a leprous son, thus named Alacha – blotchy faced. His father, following an old tradition of ousting all those who are afflicted with contagious diseases, banished his son. At the same time, many of his subjects, dissatisfied with the cruelty of Abdulla and driven by hunger, went into the steppe, which lies north of the Syr River, to the deserts of Karakum and Bursuq, and started to live the life of qazaqs (kazachestvovat). The brave and bold batyrs increased in number to 300 and gained fame, power, and wealth in a short time. Several years passed, calamities started: the band of qazaqs everywhere suffered continual defeats by their neighbors. The steppe vagabonds (vol’nitsa) suffered hunger, and a lack of leadership and disagreement among the members of the brotherhood led them to disorder and internecine strife. On top of misery, Abdulla himself, taking advantage of the situation,

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424 The word alacha is rendered as spotted, blotchy, patchy, motley, variegated, varicolored, etc by Gerhard Doerfer. Doerfer, Türkische und mongolische Elemente, 2:102.
started to search for them, and only the force of fortune saved them from the final
destruction. In such a deplorable course of events, a wise old man Alach (a foreigner, an
alien) among the two hundreds appeared, and made a speech so powerful and
convincing that the qazaqs proclaimed him their forefather and judge, and following his
advice, they invited the leprous son of Abdulla, Alacha, and made him khan. Thus the
steppe vagrants-qazaqs, having already established a well organized society, and in a
certain sense, a nation (natsiy), if this word can be applied to a nomadic people, were
named Alach or—by the number 100–Uch Alach (300) in commemoration of their
independence, sovereignty, and in special memory of their khan Alacha, and their
father-judge Alach. (Quite a clever combination of alachs). But despite the apparent
rebirth (vnestyee pererozhdenie), the neighbors and Abdulla himself, still saw them as
vagabonds-freebooters (brodyag-razboynnikov), and the name qazaq stayed with them.
Alach with Alacha and all 300 of them, taking advantage of hunger and diseases among
Abdulla’s people, made him acknowledge their independence in writing. This is how
Alach became a people and Alacha, their khan.\footnote{Valikhanov, “Kirgizskoye rodosloviye,” 126–27.}

Another version of the Alash Khan legend was recorded by N. I. Grodekov. According to
this version, the three Qazaq jüzs evolved from the three detachments of Uzbek border guards,
made up of bachelor horse riders. N. I. Grodekov writes as follows:
According to the legend widespread in the Syr Darya Region, the ancestor, that is, the first ruler of the Kirgiz, i.e., Qazaqs, was Alash, a contemporary of Alasha Khan, which is why the battle cry of all three *ordas*, is Alash. Alasha Khan sent three detachments of bachelor horsemen (*kholostoy nayezdnik*) from different Uzbek clans to the border region to guard his property. Staying there for a long time without wives, they tricked 300 *kibitok doly* (Gypsies or wanderers) into coming to them by telling stories about their wealth and they conspired with the wives to kill their husbands; and then took these women. The leaders of the three *ordas* after Alash were his three sons: the eldest—Bayshura, the middle—Dzanshura and the younger—Karashura. Having multiplied and become rich, the Kirgiz, i.e., Qazaqs, started to spread in all directions; they occupied: the Great Orda (Ulu Jüz), the south, near the inhabited places, the Middle Orda (Orta Jüz)—a place suitable for the pasturing of cattle, and the Younger Orda (Kishi Jüz)—a place bordering Russia.

A longer version of the legend of Alash Khan was recorded by G. N. Potanin. According to this version, the three Qazaq *jüzs* were formed when Alash, an abandoned prince and leader of freebooters, was joined by Uysun, Bulat, and Alchin, the three sons of Kotan, and elected khan:

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426 The modern Kazakhs were called “Kirgiz” or “Kirgiz- Kazakhs” by the Russians until 1925 in order to distinguish them from the Cossacks (Russian *kazak*, Ukrainian *kozak*). The Kirgiz were in turn called “Kara-Kirgiz.”

There was once a khan. This was near (the city of) Turkestan and it was at that time that Kotan, the forefather of the Kazak-Kirgiz people, i.e., Qazaqs, which consisted of 500 families, lived. The khan had no children from his first wife and that is why he took a second wife, a maiden, whom he captured somewhere; he took the second wife to have a son and heir. And in fact the second wife gave birth to a son, who was blotchy-faced (ala), i.e., he had birthmarks. The first wife of the khan became envious and angry. She started to tell the khan that he should get rid of such a successor since he was blotchy-faced and could spoil all the offspring, who would also come out variegated and therefore would not live in peace, and would not have harmony among themselves. She said to the khan that if he could not kill his son, he should get rid of him somehow. The khan consented to his wife’s conviction, took a chest, put some food into it, put his son inside it and placed the chest into the sea. The son had then already reached the age that he could take food. The chest drifted to the other side of the sea, and there a poor man (nishchiy) found the khan’s spotted son. He took the boy and raised him. The boy grew up and became a hero (bogatyr), a strong man. He gathered 100 different lads and started to go on raids (baramta) with them and have a good time.428 His father, the khan, found out about this, and wanted to see his son. He then sent to him the eldest son of a rich man, Kotan, named Uysun, with one hundred men. Uysun and his companions liked the free life of the spotted son of the khan so that they stayed there and did not return to the khan. Then the khan sent Bulat, the second son of Kotan, with one hundred men. And they also stayed around the khan’s son since they liked the free life. Then the khan sent Alchin, the third son of Kotan, with one hundred men. And they stayed there

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428 In Kazakh, the term barymta means a retaliatory plundering of an offender’s livestock.
too, attracted by the free life. All who gathered around the khan’s son started to ride around the steppe, raiding. They were bachelors and started taking as wives maidens of diverse peoples—Tatars, Kalmyks, and Russians, and from these three hundred men, who came with Kotan’s sons, descend the Kazak-Kirgiz. Since they took wives from different peoples, the Kazak-Kirgiz are of different facial types. They all decided to choose a khan, and since the blotchy-faced bogaty, their leader, was the khan’s son, they decided to choose him. In the old days, someone elected khan was raised on any kind of a good carpet but the Kazak-Kirgiz did not have such a carpet (did not produce them)—they were only able to make striped woven coverlets, today called alachi; they took this alacha and raised the khan’s blotchy-faced son on it and proclaimed him khan. After that, he was named Alasha Khan or Alacha Khan. From Uysun and his men started the generation of Ulu Jüz, i.e., the Senior Hundred; from Bulat and his men started the generation of Orta Jüz, i.e., the Middle Hundred; and from Alchin and his hundred men started the generation of Kishi Jüz, i.e., the Younger Hundred. From these generations started the Kazak-Kirgiz of the Senior, Middle, and Younger hordes. 429

The legend of Alash Khan collected by M. Zh. Kupeev presents a similar plot to that by Potanin except that it emphasizes the role of Mayqï Biy, the guardian of Alash. In this version, the three Qazaq jüzs are described as the descendants of the three hundred men led by Uysyn, Bulat, and Alshyn, who proclaimed Alash, an exiled prince, khan. This version goes as follows:

Mayky-bi was lame from birth, and rode in a two-wheeled cart (*dvukolka*), to which men were harnessed. Mayky-bi brought the blotchy-faced émigré to his people and arranged a great banquet on the occasion. After a while, he gave the blotchy-faced boy one hundred young men, led by his son Uysyn, to escort him and sent them to Saryarka (the legend talks of the areas like Ulytau, Kishitau, Karakengir, Sarykengir, etc). A soothsayer accurately determined that the boy was destined to become a ruler. Addressing them at parting, Mayky-bi said, “the khan must be just, his people—persistent and patient, and then they can sail on the ship on the black earth.” That was the beginning of the Qazaq people. The khan-father received the news about these developments. He wanted his son to return and sent an envoy to the elders Kotan, Kogam, Kondyger, Kobol, and Mayky, demanding the return of his son. To search for Alash and his people, he sent Bulat, the son of Kotan, into the steppe. He was accompanied by one hundred young men. Instead of bringing back Alash, those who had arrived succumbed to the blandishments, seduced by the free life of the steppe, remained in Saryarka. Kyzyl Arystan (the khan-father) did not lose hope and decided once again to persuade the elders to return his child. At that time, Alshyn, the son of Kogam, set out to the steppe with a hundred young men, together with thirteen respected elders. There is a saying among the Qazaqs that if the people reach the number of 313 men, no one can stand against them, even if the whole world were their enemy. This is how the number of the Qazaqs reached that figure. Having gathered together, the three hundreds placed the variegated boy on the *alash* (carpet) and proclaimed him khan. This happened on the mountain Ulytau. And they became a single people and became known worldwide. Since then, the descendants of the elder hundred,
led by Uysyn, were called the Senior Jüz. They agreed among themselves that the Senior Jüz should form a secure rear and provide the troops. The hundred that came to the Ulytau in the second place came to be called the Middle Jüz. During the time of military operations, they were required to be near the khan and protect him. And finally, those that came along with Alshyn, the son of Kogam, were named the Younger Jüz. Not sparing their lives, they were the first to throw themselves at the enemy. This was the beginning of the three Qazaq jüzs.\(^{430}\)

A different version of the legend of Alash Khan can be found among the seven oral accounts of Qazaq origin recorded by the Russian ethnographer Aleksei I. Levshin in the early nineteenth century. According to this legend, the Qazaq jüzs descend from the survivors of the three hundred men that participated in a failed attack on Bukhara led by their leader named Alacha:

Many Kirgiz-Kazaks think that they formerly constituted one and the same people with the Alat, or Siberian Tatars; that they separated from them because of internal disputes; that at first they were governed by several sultans; that later one of them named Alacha, gained power over all the others, became the chief of the people, and decided to attack Bukhara with 300 warriors; but he was defeated, taken prisoner with all who remained alive after the battle, and settled with them in Turkestan. Several years after that, he died; but after his death the captives preserved their former division in three

detachments, or three *sotnya*, one of which was called the Great, or Senior, Hundred (Ulu-Yuz), the other Middle (Urta-Yuz), and the third Small Hundred (Kichi-Yuz)…  

While the various versions of the Alash Khan legend differ in detail, the more complete versions recorded by Valikhanov, Potanin, and Kupeev depict the founding father of the Qazaqs as an exiled prince, who was joined and placed on the throne by his own tribesmen. Perhaps the prototype of the legend of Alash Khan can be found in the folklore productions of the nomads of the Dasht-i Qipchāq dating back to the pre-Mongol period. Gardīzī, a mid-eleventh century Persian historian and geographer, wrote down for the Ghaznavid court the following account of the origin of the Kimeks, a nomadic tribe that was residing in the Dasht-i Qipchāq at the turn of the eleventh century:

The origin of the Kimeks had been that the chief (*mihtar*) of the Tatars died and left two sons. The elder son seized the kingship and the younger son became jealous of his brother. The name of this younger brother was Shad. He made an attempt to kill his elder brother but could not and became worried about himself. There was a slave girl (*kanīzak*) and she was his lover. He took that girl and ran away from his brother. He arrived at a place where there was a great river, many trees, and abundant game. There he pitched his tent and settled down (*fīrūd āmad*). Every day this man and girl, the two together, would hunt and eat the meat of the game and they would make garments from

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the skins of sables, grey squirrel, and ermine until seven persons from the relative of the Tatars came near them. The first one was Imī; the second, Imāk; the third, Tatār; the fourth, Byāndur; the fifth, Khifchāq; the sixth, Lanīqāz; and the seventh, Ajlād. This folk (īn qaumī) had brought the horses of their lords (khudāvandān) to pasture. In those places where the horses were, there was no pasture left. Therefore, they came in search of grass to the region where Shad was. When the girl saw them, she came out and said “Irtish,” which means “alight.” That river was named Irtish for this reason. When this group of men recognized the girl, everyone dismounted and pitched the tents. When Shad returned, he brought a lot of game and entertained them. They stayed there until winter and because the snow came, they could not return. There was abundant grass in that place and they were all there. When spring arrived and the snow melted, they sent a person to the abode of the Tatars so that he may bring news of that tribe. When he arrived there, he saw that the whole area had been emptied. It became devoid of people because the enemy had come, plundered and killed all the people. The remnants, who had remained, came to him from the foot of the mountains. The man told about Shad and his own friends’ situation. All the men headed for the Irtish. When they arrived there, they greeted Shad as their ruler and held him in respect. Other people who heard this news began to come. 700 persons gathered. For a long time, they stayed serving Shad. Later when they multiplied, they spread to those mountains and formed seven tribes named after these seven persons we have mentioned.\(^{432}\)

There are some obvious parallels that can be drawn between the legend of Alash Khan and Gardīzī’s account of the Kimeks. They both tell the story of the exiled life of a prince, the joining of other tribesmen and their selection of the prince as their new leader, and the creation of new tribes. Therefore it may be assumed that the legend of Alash Khan reflects the folklore heritage of the pre-Mongol Qipchaq steppe. In fact the Qazaq Soviet Entsiklopediyaşy (Kazakh Soviet Encyclopedia), which reflects the official Soviet interpretation of the legend of Alash Khan, views Alash Khan as a mythical figure who united the ancient nomadic tribes of the Dasht-i Qipchāq in the pre-Mongol period.  

He is also viewed as being associated with Alanja, a figure who is mentioned as a descendant of Japheth in the Šajara-i Türk. Alanja appears to have been first introduced by the Timurid historian Sharaf al-Dīn ‘Alī Yazdī in the genealogy of the Chinggisids and the Timurids as the father of the twin bothers Tātār and Mughūl. Accordingly, the Qazaq Soviet Entsiklopediyaşy explains that Alash was also the name of the pre-Mongol Qazaq tribal union made up of the Oghuz, the Qipchaq, and the Qangli.  

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433 Qazaq Soviet Entsiklopediyaşy, s.v. “Alasha Han.”

434 Although the Qazaq Soviet Entsiklopediyaşy also cites the Jāmi’ al-tavārīkh by Rashīd al-Dīn, Alanja is not mentioned in this source.

435 See Yazdī, Zafar-nāma, fol. 17b.

436 Qazaq Soviet Entsiklopediyaşy, s.v. “Alash.” Citing the Kazakh Soviet Encyclopaedia, Jigger Janabel also states in his dissertation that the Alash tribal union existed in the Qipchaq Steppe (Dasht-i Qipchāq) in the pre-Mongol period Janabel, “From Mongol Empire to Qazaq Jüzder,” 186.
is also regarded as an ancient figure by some Qazaq amateur historians. For instance, Zh. O. Artykbaev identifies Alasha or Alacha with the afore-mentioned Alanja. Similarly, Mukhamet-Khalel Suleymanov argues, without providing any supporting evidence, that there have been several Alash Khans in the Qazaq history from the Türk Kaganate period.

However, it should be noted that no written sources attest to the existence of the Alash tribal confederation in the Dasht-i Qipchāq during the pre-Mongol period. Neither the Alash tribal confederation nor Alash Khan is mentioned in the Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh by Rashīd al-Dīn or in the Zafar-nāma by Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAlī Yazdī, both of which provide a detailed account of the ancient Turks. Furthermore, a critical examination of the Alash Khan legend and the sources relating to the early history of the Qazaqs reveals the fact that the basic plot of the Alash Khan legend depicts, albeit vaguely, the historical events of the post-Mongol period, including the political activities of Jānībeg and Girāy, or those of other members of the Urusid lineage. First of all, the name Alash in the form of Alacha appears in the Central Asian sources as the name of Sulṭān-Aḥmad Khan, the Chaghatayid ruler of the eastern half of the Moghulistan from 1487 to

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437 Artykbaev, Materialy k istorii pravyashchego doma Kazakhov, 7–8. The Timurid historian Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAlī Yazdī was the first to introduce Alanja in the genealogy of the Chinggisids and the Timurids as the father of the twin bothers Tātār and Mughūl. See Yazdī, Zafar-nāma, fol. 17b.


439 The Qazaq Sovet Entsiklopediyasy also identifies Alash Khan with, Ulash, a figure that appears in the Book of Dede Qorqut, an epic of the Oghuz Turks. See Qazaq Sovet Entsiklopediyasy, s.v. “Alash.” However, such identification is based on pure speculation.
In the Bābur-nāma, Ṣahīr al-Dīn Muḥammad Babur explains why Sulṭān-Ḥamd Khan, who was his maternal uncle, was called Alacha Khan and what this nickname meant:

The reason he was called Alacha Khan is as follows. They say that in the Qalmaq and Moghul language, *alachi* means killer; Because Sulṭān-Ḥamd Khan defeated the Qalmaq several times and killed many people, he was called Alachi, which through frequent repetition became Alacha, which through the Qalmaq and Moghul dialects, the meaning of *alachi* is a killer (*kushanda*), that is to say, the killer Khan (*khan-i alach*).

In his Tārīkh-i Rashīdī, Muḥammad Ḥaidar Dughlāt, who took refuge with Babur’s son Humāyūn following the defeat of the Moghuls by Muḥammad Shībānī Khan, also gives a similar explanation of Sulṭān-Ḥamd Khan’s nickname. According to Muḥammad Ḥaidar Dughlāt, Sulṭān-Ḥamd Khan acquired the nickname “Alācha Khān” after killing numerous Qalmaqs in several raids:

The Qalmaq called him Alāchī Khān. In the Moghul dialect (*ibārat-i mughūl*), the meaning of *alāchī* is a killer (*kushanda*), that is to say, the killer Khan (*khan-i alach*).

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441 Babur, Bābur-nāma, 1:17; and Babur, Baburnama, trans. Thackston, 1:22.
kushanda). This title (laqab) remained with the khan. People called him Alācha Khān. Now among the Moghuls, he is called Sultān-Aḥmad Khān. All the other tribes call him Alācha Khān.442

Sultān-Aḥmad Khan is also referred to as “Alacha Khan” in the Shibanid Uzbek sources. According to the Shībānī-nāma, Sultān-Aḥmad Khan was famous as Alācha Khān (Sultān-Aḥmad Khān ki bi-Alācha Khān shuhrat dāsht).443 Sultān-Aḥmad Khan is also called “Alācha Khān” in the Mihmān-nāma-i Bukhārā, the ‘Abdullāh-nāma, and the anonymous Shībānī-nāma.444 In sum, “Alacha Khan” was the nickname of Sultān-Aḥmad Khan, who was an early sixteenth century Moghul khan. Irrespective of whether Sultān-Aḥmad Khan can be identified with the Alacha Khan of the Qazaq oral tradition, he was a contemporary of the early Qazaqs.

The name Alach also appears as the name of a Qazaq military or tribal unit in the Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh written by the Qazaq writer Jālāyīrī in the early seventeenth-century. According to Jālāyīrī’s description of the right and left wings of Urus Khan’s ulus, Alach Thousand (Alač mingi) was the name of the left wing.445 It is not certain whether Alach was indeed the name of

442 Muḥammad Ḥaidar Dughlāt, Tārīkh-i Rashīdī, 156. For this reason, Shakarim Kudayberdy-uly, a Qazaq ethnographer of the early twentieth century, even argues that “Alacha” became the battle cry of the Qazaqs who fought against the Qalmaqs under the leadership of Sultān-Aḥmad Khan. See Shakarim Kudayberdy-uly, Rodoslovnaya tyurkov, kirgizov, kazakhov i khanskikh dinastii (Alma-Ata: SP Dastan, 1990), 47.


444 Khunjī, Mihmān-nāma-i Bukhārā, 146; Ḥāfīz Tanish, Sharaf-nama, fol. 43b (text), 1:104 (trans.); and Berezin, Sheybaniada, 89. However, in the anonymous Shībānī-nāma, his brother Sultān-Maḥmud Khan is also referred to as “Alača Khan.” Berezin, Sheybaniada, 95.

this military or tribal unit during Urus Khan’s reign or whether it became attached to Urus Khan’s left wing later, for instance, by the time Jālāyirī wrote the *Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh* in the early seventeenth-century. At any rate, it should be noted that the name Alash as a tribal name appears in the source in connection with Urus Khan, who was the great-grandfather of Jānībeg and Girāy.

As a matter of fact, Valikhanov’s discussion of the legend of Alash Khan indicates that Alash Khan may have been Urus Khan. Mentioning a Qazaq oral tradition which relates that the children of Alash Khan were killed by Temūr, Valikhanov assumed that Alash Khan became the first khan of the Qazaqs in the second half of the fourteenth century. It should be noted that it was Urus Khan who was the ruler of the Dasht-i Qipchāq when Temūr first marched into the Ulus of Jochi. Urus Khan’s son Qutlugh-Buqa was killed in a battle against Toqtamīsh, who was supported by Temūr. Furthermore, one of the accounts of the origin of the Qazaqs recorded by Levshin corroborates the speculation that Alash Khan was Urus Khan. According to this account, the three Qazaq jūzs originate with Urus Khan:

Other Kirgiz-Kazaks say that their ancestors, from the ancient times, formed one people of the Turkic tribes that became divided into three separate hordes only because its khan

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446 Valikhanov, “Kirgizskoye rodosloviye,” 122. Commenting on the legend of Alash Khan recorded by Valikhanov, Aleksandr P. Chuloshnikov also concludes that the Qazaqs emerged as a new people in the mid-fourteenth century. See Chuloshnikov, *Ocherki*, 275. Chuloshnikov also argues that the legend of Alash Khan talks about two different historical events: the formation of the Qazaqs in the fourteenth century and the reunification of the Qazaqs by Qāsim Khan in the early sixteenth century. Chuloshnikov, *Ocherki*, 277.

447 Shāmī, *Zafarnāma*, 1:75. Urus Khan died during the confrontation between the Uzbeks and the Timurid army in 1377. His son and successor, Toqtamīsh, also died around the same time. Temūr then defeated Temūr-Malik, another son of Urus Khan, enabling his protégé, Toqtamīsh, to gain ascendancy in the Qipchaq steppe. Shāmī, *Zafarnāma*, 1:76, 78.
Orus, or, as some call him, Ak-niyaz, distributed his realm to his three sons. Orus, or this Ak-niyaz, was at first, in their opinion, the commander of Nogay Khan, Ulyanty, who lived immediately after Tamerlane, around Ural, Ilek, and Or; but then he refused to obey Ulyanty, subdued several different branches of Turks and Mongols, became an absolute monarch over them, and took all the lands that now belong to his descendants.  

The first khan of the Qazaq jūzs is also referred to in this account as Ak-niyaz. Mukhamedzhan Tynyshpaev, a Qazaq historian of the early twentieth century, assumes that Alash Khan was Ḥaqq Naẓar, Jānībeg’s grandson, who re-united the Qazaqs in the second half of the sixteenth century. Tynyshpaev identifies this Ak-niyaz not only with Ḥaqq Naẓar but also with Alash Khan. He argues that the mausoleum of Alash Khan was built after the reign of Ḥaqq Naẓar Khan because the ‘Abdullāḥ-nāma does not mention it whereas it does refer to the adjacent mausoleum of Jochi twice in its description of ‘Abdullāḥ Khan’s expedition against Bābā Sulṭān, the Shibanid governor of Tashkent. In accordance with Tynyshpaev’s discussion, the mausoleum of Alash Khan, which is located in central Kazakhstan, is regarded by modern Kazakh scholars as having been erected sometime between the fourteenth and the sixteenth centuries. Tynyshpaev also identifies Alash Khan with Ḥaqq Naẓar on the grounds that Alash

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448 Levshin, Opisaniye kirgiz-kaysakskikh, 29.
449 Kudayberdy-uly, Podoslovnaya, 147.
450 Nusupbekov, Istoriya Kazakhskoy SSR 2:208–9; and Michael Fergus and Janar Jandosova, Kazakhstan: Coming of Age (London: Stacey International, 2003), 225. In contrast, the Qazaq Sovet Entsiklopediyasy states that the
Khan’s failed attack on Bukhara and his being taken prisoner mentioned in Levshin’s account are reminiscent of the Ḥaqq Nazar’s death following his failed attempt to conspire against Bābā Sulṭān.451

Apart from Urus Khan and Ḥaqq Nazar Khan, the legendary Alash Khan may also represent Jochi, the founder of the Ulus of Jochi, from whom the Qazaq khans descend. Mayqī Biy, who is presented in Kupeev’s version as Alash’s protector, was one of the amīrs of Chinggis Khan.452 In Rashīd al-Dīn’s Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh, Bāyqū, i.e., Mayqī is listed as one of the four amīrs who were given to Jochi.453 He later commanded the Right Wing of Batu’s army.454 In addition, according to Artykbaev, Jochi appears in some Qazaq oral traditions as the son of Alash Khan.455 Mukhamet-Khalel Suleymanov, the Qazaq amateur historian, also argues that the last Alash Khan was Jochi, who was called “Our Alash Khan (bizding Alash-Han).”456

mausoleum of Alasha Khan was constructed in the tenth and eleventh centuries. See Qazaq Sovet Entsiklopediyasy, s.v. “Alasha Han kumbezi.”


453 Rashīd al-Dīn, Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh, 408.

454 Rashīd al-Dīn, Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh, 132.

455 Artykbaev, Materialy k istorii pravyashchego doma Kazakhov, 31–46.

456 Suleymanov, Era Chingiskhana, 189.
However, irrespective of whether Alash Khan represents Urus Khan or Ḥaqq Nazar Khan or Jochi Khan, the legend of Alash Khan should be understood broadly as a historical narrative of the qazaqlïq phase of the early Qazaqs for several reasons: First, the legend of Alash Khan begins with the separation of a prince or a group of people from their own tribe or state, which can be considered the first stage of qazaqlïq. The more complete versions of the Alash Khan legend depict Alash Khan as an abandoned prince, i.e., a royal outcast, and the first Qazaqs as a group of people that chose to break away from their own ulus. This is most noticeable in Valikhanov’s version, which describes the initial members of the future Qazaq ulus as a group of fugitives that ran away from their state to the steppe “dissatisfied with the cruelty of Abdulla and driven by hunger.” In both Potanin and Kupaeev’s versions, the forefathers of the Qazaqs are described as a group of people, who, initially dispatched by their ruler to bring back Alash, chose to remain behind with him thus becoming separated from their original ulus. In Grodekov’s version, the first Qazaqs are not depicted as fugitives but as a group of horse riders detached from the main Uzbeks ulus, just like Jānībeg and Girāy’s qazaq Uzbeks themselves. Finally, Levshin’s version also depicts the first members of the Qazaq jüzs as a group of people separated from the Alat or Siberian Tatars due to internecine feuds.

Second, the legend of Alash Khan describes the Qazaq forefathers as leading a life of vagabondage and brigandage, which is the basic characteristic of qazaqlïq life. Valikhanov’s version, relates that many of Abdullah’s subjects started to live the life of qazaqs (kazachestvovat’) after fleeing their state. It also explains that their new name Qazaq was attached to them because they were regarded as vagabonds-brigands (brodyag-razboynik) by

their previous ruler Abdulla and their neighbours, which clearly indicates that the qazaqliq days of the Qazaq forefathers were characterized by wandering in the steppe and raiding their neighbors. Potanin’s version also relates that the Qazaq forefathers originated from the hundred young men who gathered around Alash and engaged in brigandage (baramta). It also adds that this group of freebooters was later joined by other members of their original ulus who favored their free life and that together they continued to ride across the steppe raiding.

According to Grodekov’s version, the Qazaq forefathers, who were originally a group of border guards, also became brigands when they undertook organized plundering activity, i.e., the capturing of women as their wives, which enabled them to emerge as a new ulus. Finally, the failed attack on Bukhara by Alash Khan mentioned in Levshin’s version may also be interpreted as a plundering raid.

Third, the legend of Alash Khan ends with the transformation of the qazaq band into a new state, which was also the consequence of Jānībeg and Girāy’s qazaqliq activities. Potanin and Kupeev’s versions both describe the process whereby a group of vagabonds attracted new followers and created a new khanate by placing Alash on the throne. In Valikhanov’s version, the leaderless Qazaqs select Alash as their first khan in order to overcome their lack of leadership and as a result develop into a new ulus or nation (natsiya) to use Valikhanov’s term.459

Although the Alash Khan legend contains the characteristics of the socio-political phenomenon of qazaqliq, it is not clear whether it refers specifically to the early Qazaqs. However, it should be noted that, after briefly describing the three Qazaq jūzs in a diplomatic


letter sent to the Manchu emperor in the mid-seventeenth century, Ablay Khan (r. 1771–81) states that, “we all are the descendants of Jānībeg Khan’s three sons (biz Žānībek hannyň üsūlynyň ürpaǵymyz).”\textsuperscript{460} If the Qazaqs of the mid-seventeenth century traced the origin of the three Qazaq jüz to Jānībeg Khan’s three sons, it may be inferred that the legend of Alash Khan, which explains the origin of the three Qazaq jüzs, essentially reflects the qazaqlïq period undergone by Jānībeg and Giräy in the eastern Dasht-i Qipchâq in the second half of the fifteenth century.

2 The Genealogy of the Shibanid Uzbeks

Unlike the Qazaqs, who created their foundation legend in the form of oral tradition, the Shibanid Uzbeks, centered in the oases of Central Asia, developed the account of their origin in the context of the Perso-Islamic historiographical tradition, which prevailed in post-Mongol Islamic Central Asia. Whereas the legend of Alash Khan only concerns the origin of the Qazaq tribal confederation, the Uzbek histories deal with the origin of the Turks in general and encompass a much longer period of time. They generally consist, on the one hand, of a Chinggisid genealogy which begins with Japheth, son of Noah, and the account of the origin of Inner Asian tribes, on the other.

What would become the foundation of the Shibanid Uzbek understanding of their ancient past was first recorded by the Ilkhanid historian Rashīd al-Dîn. In the Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh, Rashīd al-Dîn presents a Chinggisid genealogy which begins with the biblical figure Yāfâs (Japheth),

\textsuperscript{460} See Cin patşalyq däuirinin mûrağat qızattary, 104.
son of Nūḥ (Noah). In this genealogy, Yāfās, called Abūlja Khān by the Turks, appears as the ancestor of all the Turks and the Chinggisids. Rashīd al-Dīn also lists as Chinggis Khan’s ancestors figures such as Qiyan (Qiyān), who, along with Nūkūz (Nukūz), took refuge in a grassy plain (ṣahrā-i pur ʿalaf) called Ārgānā-qūn (Arkana-qūn) meaning a valley of wall (kamar-i sadd); an amīr named Bōrtā China (Būrtā Chiṅa); Alan Qo’a (Ālān Quvā), a female ancestor of Chinggis Khan, who was impregnated by a “radiant being” and gave birth to three sons, including Bodonchar (Būẕānchar); and Tūmina Khān, who was the father of Qabul Khān and Qāchūlī.

462 Rashīd al-Dīn provides information on the origin of the Turkic tribes in the first section of the Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh titled “On the history of the appearance of the tribes of the Turks and the account of their division into diverse tribes and a detailed explanation about the state of the ancestors and forefathers of each tribe … (dar bayān-i ḥikāyat-i ẓuhūr-i aqvām-i atrāk va kayfīyat-i inshiʿāb-i īshān bi-qabāʾil-i mukhtalifa va sharḥ-i hāl-i ābāʾ va ajdād-i har qaum bar sabīl-i kullī…”). In this section, Rashīd al-Dīn describes in detail the origin and characteristics of the Inner Asian tribes, which he classifies into the following four groups. The first group is called “the tribes of Oghuz (aqvām-i Ūghūz),” which consist of the twenty four branches of Oghuz, a descendant of Yāfās, who converted to Islam or monotheism, and other tribes that either sided with or were named by Oghuz such as the Uyghur, the Qipchaq, the Qanqli, etc.

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461 Elsewhere, Rashīd al-Dīn also states that all the nomadic Turks (Atrāk-i ṣahrā-nishūn) descend from the four sons of Dīb Bāqūy, the son of Abūlja Khān. Rashīd al-Dīn, Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh, 25.


The second group is called “the tribes of the Turks that are now called Mongol but in the older times each of which had its own specific name and each of which had a separate sovereign and a commander and which were separated from each other and remained as separate tribes (aqvāmī az atrāk ki īshān-rā īn zamān mughūl mīgūyand lakin dar zamān-i qadīm har yik qaum az īshān ʿalā al-infīrād bi-lughatī va ismī makhṣūs būda va har yik ʿalā-ḥidda sarvarī va amīrī dāshta va az har yik shaʿb va qabāʾ il-ī munshaʾ ib gashta mānand).”

Tribes such as the Jalayir, Tatar, and Oyirat are included in this group; the third group is “the Turkic tribes that have also had separate monarchs and leaders but who do not have a close relationship to the tribes mentioned in the previous division or to the Mongols yet are close to them in physiognomy and language (aqvāmī az atrāk ki īshān nīz ʿalā-ḥidda, pādshāḥī va muqaddamī dāshta-and lakin īshān-rā bā aqvām-i atrāk ki dar faṣl-i sābiq yād karda shudā va bā aqvām-i mughūl, ziyādat-i nisbatī va khvīshī qarīb al-ʿuhda nabūda, ammā bā shakl va zabān bā īshān nazdīk būda-and).” The tribes such as the Īngūt, the Naiman, the Kerayit, the Qirqiz, and the Tangut are included in this group; and the last group is called “the Turkic tribes that were anciently styled Mongol (aqvāmī az atrāk ki dar zamān-i qadīm laqab-i īshān mughūl būda...).” To this group belong the tribes and clans such as the Qunqirat (Qunghrat), the Manqut (Manghit), the Ushin, etc.

In his description of the Turkic tribes, Rashīd al-Dīn traces the origins of the tribes of Oghuz and the tribes belonging to the Mongols, whom he calls “Mongol Turks (Turk-i mughūl),” to the offspring or the allies of Oghuz Khan and to the descendants of Qiyan (Qiyān)

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465 Rashīd al-Dīn, Jāmiʿ al-tawārīkh, 47.
466 Rashīd al-Dīn, Jāmiʿ al-tawārīkh, 87.
467 Rashīd al-Dīn, Jāmiʿ al-tawārīkh, 111.
and Nüküz (Nuküz), who came out of Ärgänä-qun (Arkana-qūn), respectively. Rashīd al-Dīn does not clearly explain the origins of the second and the third groups of Turkic tribes in the Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh. However, judging from his remark that Oghuz Khan’s uncles and nephews who did not agree (muttafiq nabūdand) with him went to the east and became Mongols, Rashīd al-Dīn may have attributed the origin of the remaining Inner Asian tribes to the tribes that did not join Oghuz Khan.\footnote{Rashīd al-Dīn, Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh, 32.}

Rashīd al-Dīn’s account of the origin of the Turks and the Chinggisids was repeated by another Ilkhanid historian, Ḥamd Allāh Mustaufī Qazvīnī. Like Rashīd al-Dīn, Qazvīnī lists figures such as Yāfaṣ, who he says was also called Abūnja Khān, Qiyān (Qiyān), who entered Ärgänä-qun with Nüküz (Tuküz), Börtā China (Būrta Chīna), who was the leader of the Mongols when they left it, and Alan Qo’a (Alān Quvā), among the ancestors of Chinggis Khan in his Tārīkh-i guzīda.\footnote{Ḥamdullāh Mustaufī Qazvīnī, Tārīkh-i guzīda, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥusain Navāʾī (Tehran: Amīr Kabīr, 1339/1961; repr., Tehran: Amīr Kabīr, 1387/2009), 562–69.} However, Qazvīnī also adds a new figure named Mansak describing him as a son of Yāfaṣ and the ancestor of the Mongols.\footnote{Qazvīnī also adds that the Mongols call Mansak “Dīb Bāqū Khān.” Qazvīnī, Tārīkh-i guzīda, 562. Dīb Bāqū Khān is introduced as the son of Yāfaṣ and ancestor of the Turks in the Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh. See Rashīd al-Dīn, Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh, 30.} In regard to the origin of the Inner Asian tribes, Qazvīnī generally repeats Rashīd al-Dīn’s accounts but differs from the latter in that he describes the Mongols as an offshoot of the tribes of Oghuz (Ughūz).\footnote{Qazvīnī, Tārīkh-i guzīda, 562.}
The Japhetic genealogy of the Chinggisids developed by the Ilkhanid historians was adopted and expanded by the Timurid historian Sharaf al-Dīn ‘Alī Yazdī, who sought to enhance dynastic legitimacy of the Timurids, who had become the most powerful dynasts in Central Eurasia by the early fifteenth century. In the Introduction (muqaddima) to the Zafarnāma, Yazdī adds figures such as Turk and Mughūl to the genealogy of the Chinggisids and the Timurids. Instead of Dīb Bāqūy, Yazdī presents Turk as the son of Yāfās, whom he also calls Abū al-Turk.472 This Turk, who is described by Yazdī as the progenitor of the Turks, is not mentioned in the Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh. However, Maḥmūd al-Kāshgārī presented him as the son of Yāfās and ancestor of the Turks in his Dīwān Luğāt at-Turk, stating that “The Turks are, in origin, twenty tribes. They all trace back to Turk, son of Japheth, son of Noah.”473 In his work Yazdī introduces another figure named Mughūl, who had a twin brother named Tātār, as a descendant of Turk and common ancestor of Chinggis Khan and Temūr.474 Yazdī also differs from Rashīd al-Dīn in that he describes Oghuz (Ughūz) as a descendant of Mughūl and includes him among the ancestors of Chinggis Khan.475 Furthermore, Yazdī relates that the descendants of Mughūl, whom he refers to as Mongols, nearly became annihilated when they were heavily defeated by the descendants of Tātār, whom he calls Tātārs, and that only Qiyan (Qiyān) and Nūkūz (Nukūz), along with some female survivors, escaped to the Ārgānā-qūn (Arkana-qūn)

472 Yazdī, Zafar-nāma, fol. 16a. According to Yazdī, the Mongols descend from Turk. Whereas Qazvīnī presents Mansak, the son of Yāfās, as the ancestor of the Mongols, Yazdī makes him the progenitor of the Ghur, whom he describes as the enemy of the Turks. Yazdī, Zafar-nāma, fol.16b.

473 Maḥmūd al-Kāshgārī, Compendium of the Turkic Dialects, 1:82.

474 Yazdī, Zafar-nāma, fol. 17b.

475 Yazdī, Zafar-nāma, fol. 18a.
Yazdī also mentions figures such as Alan Qo’a (Alān Qū), Bodonchar Qa’an (Būzanchar Qān), and Tūmina Khān, all of whom are also mentioned in the Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh, as the common ancestors of the Chinggisids and the Timurids. In Yazdī’s version of the Turkic genealogy, the two lineages split in the generation of Tūmina Khān’s two sons, Qabul Khān and Qāchūlī Khān.

Yazdī’s version of the Japhetic genealogy was also adopted by Ulūg Beg, the author of the Tārīkh-i arbaʿ ulūs. In the genealogical account of the Chinggisids and the Timurids contained in the anonymous Shajar al-ḥārām, which is considered to be an abridgement of the Tārīkh-i arbaʿ ulūs, Yāfāṣ, Turk, also called Yāfāṣ Oghlan (Yāfāṣ Ughlān), Mughūl, his twin brother Tāṭār, Oghuẓ (Ughūr), Alan Qo’a (Alān Quvā), Tūmina Khān (Tūmina Khān), Qabul, and Qāchūlī, all of whom appear in the introduction (muqaddima) to the Zafarnāma, are also mentioned. However, not all the Timurid historians repeated Yazdī’s version of the Chinggisid and the Timurid genealogies. Unlike Ulūg Beg, the anonymous author of the Muʿizz al-ansāb fī shajar al-ansāb adopted Rashīd al-Dīn’s version of the Chinggisid genealogy. Without mentioning such figures as Turk and Mughūl, who were added to the Chinggisid and the Timurid genealogies by Yazdī, the Muʿizz al-ansāb fī shajar al-ansāb presents a dynastic genealogy that includes Qīyan, Nūkūz (although these two are just referred to as “two persons who had gone to Arkana Qutūqūn,”) amīr Būrtā China (Būrtā Čhīnā), Alan Qo’a (Alān Quvā),

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476 Yazdī, Zafar-nāma, fols. 21a–b.

477 Yazdī, Zafar-nāma, fols. 22a–25a.

478 Yazdī, Zafar-nāma, fol. 24b. Qāchūlī is just mentioned as the ancestor of the Barlas clan, to which Temūr belonged, in the Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh. Rashīd al-Dīn, Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh, 185.

Bodonchar (Būdunzar), Tūmināy, Qabul Khān, and Qāchūlī, all of whom appear in the Jāmiʿ al-
tavārīkh.  

The Shibanid Uzbeks, who assimilated the Persian culture that flourished under the
Timurids, created their own dynastic genealogy within the context of the Perso-Islamic
historiographical tradition developed under the Ilkhanids and the Timurids. The early
sixteenth century Chaghatay Turkic source Tavārīkh-i guzīda-i nușrat-nāma, written by or for
Muḥammad Shibānī Khan, repeats the Chinggisid genealogy and the account of the Inner Asian
tribes Rashīd al-Dīn provided in the Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh. On the other hand, the anonymous
Shibānī-nāma, another Chaghatay Turkic source written in the mid-sixteenth century, presents a
dynastic genealogy that is closer to that provided by Yazdī. It lists figures such as Yāfās, also
called Abū al-Turk, Turk, Mughūl, Oghuz (Ughūz), Qiyan (Qiyān), Alan Qo’a (Alān Quvā),
Tūmīna Khān, and Qabul as Abū al-Khair Khan’s ancestors.

Ḥāfiẓ Tanish Bukhārī, a court historian for ‘Abdullāh Khān, repeats, albeit more briefly,
Rashīd al-Dīn’s account of the origin of the Inner Asian tribes in his ‘Abdullāh-nāma, or Sharaf-
nāma-i shāhī, written in the late sixteenth century. At the same time, Ḥāfiẓ Tanish Bukhārī
adopts Yazdī’s version of the Chinggisid genealogy and lists Yāfās, whom he also calls Īlcha

480 Muʿizz al-ansāb fi shajarat al-ansāb, trans. and eds. M. Kh. Abusetova, fols. 3a–13a (text), 21–29 (trans.).

481 For the Uzbek adoption of the Timurid Persian culture, see M. E. Subtelny, “Art and Politics in Early


484 Ḥāfiẓ Tanish, Sharaf-nama, fols. 16a–17a, 20a–22b (text), 1:59–61, 65–69 (trans.).
Khān, his son Dīb Bāqūy (Dīb Bāūqūy), Mughūl, Oghuz (Ughūz), Qiyan (Qiyān), Nūkūz (Nukūz), Alan Qo’a (Alān Quvā), and Bodonchar (Būzanchar Qā‘ān) as the ancestors of Abū al-Khair Khan. However, whereas the author of the anonymous Shībānī-nāma presents both Turk, following Yazdī, and Dīb Bāqūy (Dīb Nāqūy), following Rashīd al-Dīn, as the name of Yāfā’s son, Ḥāфиз Tanish mentions only the name Dīb Bāqūy (Dīb Bāūqūy). In addition, Ḥāфиз Tanish omits Qāchūlī, the ancestor of Temūr, when mentioning Qāchūlī’s brother Qabul Khān.

Like Ḥāфиз Tanish, Maḥmūd b. Amīr Valī, a court historian for Nazr Muḥammad Khān (r. 1606–42 and 1648–51), a Toqay-Timurid, or Astrakhanid, Uzbek ruler of Balkh, provides in his Bahṛ al-asrār fi mānaqib al-akhyār a description of the ancient Inner Asian tribes and the ancestors of the Chinggisids based on the information given by Rashīd al-Dīn and Yazdī. In the khātima, or conclusion, of the sixth volume of the Bahṛ al-asrār fi mānaqib al-akhyār, Maḥmūd b. Amīr Valī describes the origin of Inner Asian tribes, such as the Qipchaq (Qibchāq), the Qunghrat (Qungrāt), and the Barlas (Barlās), drawing on Rashīd al-Dīn’s Jāmi‘ al-tavārīkh. At the same time, the Chinggisid genealogy he provides includes figures given by Yazdī such as Yāfās, Turk, Mughūl, and Oghuz (Ughūz), as well as Alan Qo’a (Alān Quvā) and Bodonchar (Būzanjar Khān).

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485 Ḥāфиз Tanish, Sharaf-nama, fols. 10a–24a (text), 1:47–72 (trans.).
486 Berezin, Sheybaniada, 4; and Ḥāфиз Tanish, Sharaf-nama, fol. 10b, 23b (text), 1:48, 71 (trans.).
Muḥammad Yūsuf Munshī, the court historian for Muḥammad Muqīm Khān, the Uzbek ruler of Balkh, presents a variant of Rashīd al-Dīn’s Chinggisid genealogy in his Taẕkira-i Muqīm Khānī. While, like Yazdī, Muḥammad Yūsuf Munshī includes Oghuz (Ughūr) among Chinggis Khan’s ancestors, he does not make mention of Turk and Mughūl in his Chinggisid genealogy. He only lists Yāfaṣ, whom he also calls İlcha Khān, his son Dīb Bāqūy (Dībāqūy), Alan Qo’a (Alān Quvā), Bodonchar (Būzanjar Qā’ān), and Tūmina Khān.489

The Uzbek histories composed under the patronage of the Chinggisid ʿArabshāhid and the non-Chinggisid Qunghrat dynasties located in Khiva and in the non-Chinggisid Ming dynasty founded in Khoqand follow the same Perso-Islamic historiographical tradition as represented by the Abū al-Khairid and Toqay-Timurid dynasties centered in Transoxiana. In his Chaghatay Turkic Șajara-i Türk, Abū al-Ghāzī Bahādur Khān virtually repeats Rashīd al-Dīn’s account of the ancient history of the Turks and Sharaf al-Dīn Yazdī’s version of the Chinggisid genealogy.490 So does Shīr Muḥammad Mīrāb Mūnīs, the eighteenth century court historian for the Qunghrat dynasty, who in his Firdaws al-Iqbāl follows his predecessor, i.e., Abū al-Ghāzī Bahādur Khān.491 In his Tārīḵ-i Shāhrukhī, a chronicle of the Khoqand Khanate written in 1871–72 for Khudāyār Khān (r. 1845–75, with interruptions), Niyāz Muḥammad b. Mullā ʿAshūr adopts and modifies Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAlī Yazdī’s version of the Timurid genealogy in composing a dynastic genealogy that links his non-Chinggisid overlords to a son of Zāhīr al-Dīn Muḥammad Babur. Niyāz Muḥammad b. Mullā ʿAshūr differs from Yazdī in that, in his


490 Aboul-Ghāzi, Histoire des Mongols et des Tatares, 9–68 (text), 8–72 (trans.).

491 Mūnīs, Firdaws al-Iqbāl, 50–89.
genealogy, the Chinggisids and the Timurids diverge in the generation of Barton, the grandfather of Chinggis Khan, not in the generation of Qabul and Qachūlī, the sons of Tūmina Khān. However, following Yazdī, Niyāz Muḥammad b. Mullā Ṭashūr includes in his version of the Ming-Babura genealogy Yāfās, Turk, Mughūl, Qiyan (Qiyān), Alan Qo’a (An), and Bodonchar (Būzanjar Khān).

In sum, the Shibanid Uzbeks simply adopted the well-established account of the origins of the Turks and the Chinggisids that had been developed by the Ilkhanid and Timurid historians.

3 Conclusion

The Shibanid Uzbeks, who formed a new state in the oases of Central Asia in the early sixteenth century, related their ancient history in the context of the Perso-Islamic historiographical tradition by tracing their ancestry to Japheth, the son of Noah, and to the ancient Turks, who were led by such mythical figures as Turk, Oghuz, and Qiyan. In contrast, the Qazaqs developed their own legendary history in the form of an oral tradition, i.e., the legend of Alash Khan. This legend described the process whereby the Qazaqs formed a new khanate or tribal confederation known as the three Qazaq jūzs. According to the legend of Alash Khan, the Qazaqs, who emerged as a new ulus at the turn of the sixteenth century under the leadership of Jānībeg and Girāy, established their first state when they elected an exiled prince named Alash as their khan.

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This legendary Alash Khan could possibly represent a number of different historical figures, including Urus Khan, Ḥaqq Nazar Khan, and even Jochi, or Shad, the legendary founder of the Kimeks. However, judging from the fact that the legend of Alash Khan contains several characteristics of the socio-political phenomenon of qazaqliq, it should be regarded as a tradition that essentially reflects the historical experiences related to Jānībeg and Girāy’s qazaqliq days.

The legend of Alash Khan suggests that the collective memory of the Qazaqs about their qazaqliq phase became an integral part of their historical consciousness. It may therefore be inferred that the Qazaq Uzbeks and Shibanid Uzbeks, who established themselves at the turn of the sixteenth century in the steppe regions and oases of Central Asia, respectively, became two separate peoples that differed not only in their self-designations but also in their foundation myths and historical identities.
Diagram 5. The Timurid and the Shibanid Uzbek Genealogies
Conclusion

This study has examined the formation of the Qazaqs in the context of the qazaqliq phenomenon, analyzing various sources containing information pertinent to this subject. It also examined a variety of qazaqliq activities that led to the formation of other qazaq entities, including the Ukrainian Cossacks and the Shibanid Uzbek.

Qazaqliq, or the qazaq way of life, was a form of political vagabondage that involved escaping from one’s state or tribe usually from a difficult social or political situation and living the life of a freebooter in a frontier or other remote region. Chapter two has shown that during the pre-Mongol period, qazaqliq-type activities involving the time-honored steppe practices of flight, migration, and plundering served as an effective tactic for overcoming political adversity and gaining political ascendancy in Central Eurasian nomad societies comprising highly mobile horsemen and natural warriors. These qazaqliq-type activities also played a role in the formation of new polities and identities in pre-Mongol Central Eurasia, as in the case of the Jou-jan tribe, the Tuyühun state, the Ashina clan, and the Qara-Khitan state.

Although based on the similar practices of brigandage and vagabondage, the qazaq way of life, or qazaqliq, emerged as a unique custom of political vagabondage during the post-Mongol period. This study does not argue that the custom of political vagabondage was an exclusively post-Mongol Central Eurasian phenomenon. The practice of brigandage and vagabondage did exist during the pre-Mongol period and outside Central Eurasia throughout history. However, it maintains that the qazaq way of life became such an important and widespread socio-political phenomenon in post-Mongol Central Eurasia that it acquired a name, i.e., qazaqliq, and became perceived as a political custom by contemporaries, unlike in other
places and at other times. During the post-Mongol period, various qazaqliq activities began to occur on an unprecedented scale in Central Asia and the Dasht-i Qipchāq: the fragmentation of the Chinggisid states and the internecine struggles within these states, which intensified from the mid-fourteenth century, triggered a steady flow of political vagabonds, who, struggling for a political comeback or political survival, fled and became freebooters in the frontier and remote regions, which had expanded due to the weakening of central authorities. Dissident or displaced leaders of the Chinggisid and Timurid lineages, such as Temūr, Toqtamīsh, Abū al-Khair Khan, Sulṭān-Ḥusain Bayqara, Jānībeg, Girāy, Muḥammad Shībānī Khan, and Babur experienced a period of qazaqliq before coming to power during which they, as charismatic qazaq leaders, attracted new supporters and increased their political and military power. Accordingly, the term qazaq in the sense of a freebooter or a fugitive began to spread in the Dasht-i Qipchāq and Transoxiana starting in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries: a wide range of Central Eurasian sources written from the fifteenth century onwards refer to the political vagabonds as qazaq.

The cossacks of the Black Sea steppe region were the products of the qazaqliq phenomenon. As the Jochid Ulus gradually disintegrated into smaller polities throughout the fifteenth century, the Black Sea steppe region became a political no-man’s land known as the Wild Field (Dikoye Pole), in which a great number of fugitives, in search of freedom and booty, took refuge. East Slavic adventurers and fugitives from Poland-Lithuania and Muscovy, who followed the path of earlier Tatar fugitives, formed various cossack groups. Among these cossack groups, Ukrainian cossackdom occupies the most important place. The qazaqliq activities carried out by the Ukrainian adventurers and fugitives not only led to the formation of the Ukrainian Hetmanate but also contributed eventually to the consolidation of a separate Ukrainian identity distinct from the Russians.
The Qazaqs, who became the dominant people of the eastern Dasht-i Qipchāq at the turn of the sixteenth century, are, along with the Ukrainian Cossacks, the most outstanding political entity that appeared in post-Mongol Central Eurasia as a result of qazaqlīq. The Uzbek nomads of the eastern Dasht-i Qipchāq bifurcated into the Qazaq Uzbeks and the Shibanid Uzbeks at the turn of the sixteenth century as a result of the two conflicting and interrelated qazaqlīq activities led by the members of the two rival Jochid families that represented the new and old ruling powers of the eastern Qipchaq steppe: the Abū al-Khairid dynasty and the Urusid dynasty. With the course of time, the two Uzbek polities developed into two separate identities. The Uzbeks, led by the Urusid lineage, eventually acquired the designation Qazaq, which signified the birth of a new nomadic people as it was solely by this designation or the Qazaq identity that they and the Shibanid Uzbeks, who shared the common designations such as Turk, Moghul, Jochi ulus, and Toqmaq, could be differentiated from one another. Furthermore, the two Uzbek peoples developed distinct historical identities. The Qazaqs developed their own foundation myth in the form of an oral tradition, i.e., the legend of Alash Khan, whereas the Shibanid Uzbeks, who became assimilated to the Perso-Islamic culture of Transoxiana, adopted the well-established account of the origin of the Turks and the Chinggisids that had been provided by the Ilkhanid and Timurid historians.

The major contributions of this study, which attributes the origin of the Qazaqs to the qazaqlīq phenomenon, may be summarized as follows: First, this study may be regarded as the first comprehensive investigation of the qazaqlīq phenomenon that encompasses both Turkic qazaqlīq and Slavic cossackdom. It has demonstrated that the phenomenon of qazaqlīq, which has not received sufficient attention to date, became the well-established custom of political vagabondage in post-Mongol Central Eurasia. More importantly, it has shown that qazaqlīq activities laid the foundation for the formation of several Central Eurasian polities including the
Shibanid Uzbek and Qazaq khanates and the Cossack Hetmanate, thus bringing to light a new mechanism of state formation in Central Eurasia. It should be noted that even though the origin of the Slavic cossack phenomenon has been the subject of several studies, the Turkic qazaqliq phenomenon has received much less scholarly attention; Moreover, its connection with the Slavic cossackdom has not been fully investigated.

Second, this study proposes a new explanation for the formation of the Qazaqs, which challenges prevailing views of Qazaq origins. It argues that the Qazaqs emerged as part of a larger socio-political phenomenon which was well-established in post-Mongol Central Eurasia. Like many other Central Eurasian polities and states that came into being as a result of the qazaqliq-type and qazaqliq activities of their founders, the Qazaqs emerged in the second half of the fifteenth century as a result of the qazaqliq activities conducted by Jānībeg and Girāy. This explanation does not simply associate the origin of the Qazaqs with the qazaqliq phenomenon. Importantly, it criticizes the Soviet historiographical and contemporary Kazakh interpretations of Qazaq ethnogenesis, which emphasize the autochthonous development of Central Asian peoples and explain that modern Qazaqs descend from all the nomadic peoples that inhabited the steppe of Kazakhstan from the Bronze Age. The current Kazakh view of their origin not only traces a clear line of descent for the Qazaqs from the Bronze Age peoples, which is built on pure conjecture, but also overlooks the simple historical fact that a separate Qazaq identity did not exist prior to the fifteenth century. Furthermore, this study also rejects the simplistic explanation that identifies the formation of the Qazaqs with the founding of the Qazaq Khanate by Jānībeg and Girāy, a view which is commonly found in Western scholarly literature. Instead, it follows a dialectical approach and traces the origin of the Qazaq ulus to the more complex process that involved the two conflicting and interrelated qazaqliq activities undertaken by the rival Jochid clans and the subsequent division of the Uzbek ulus.
Third, this study offers a wider perspective on the history of post-Mongol Central Eurasia. In previous studies, *qazaqliq* activities of various *qazaq* or cossack leaders of the Black Sea steppe region and the eastern Qipchaq steppe were not necessarily regarded as being the products of the same historical phenomenon but instead were treated as unrelated regional political figures and events. However, this study has shown how, for instance, the Qazaq Uzbeks and the Ukrainian Cossacks, two unrelated peoples, originated from the same custom of political vagabondage in post-Mongol Central Eurasia. These two most prominent *qazaq*-related peoples founded their first states or polities after undergoing periods of *qazaqliq* and subsequently developed into distinct identities or peoples through a process of differentiation from the larger entities—from the Uzbek *ulus* and the East Slavic peoples, respectively.

Interestingly, there are a number of parallels between the relationship between the Qazaqs and the Uzbeks on the one hand, and that of the Ukrainians and the Muscovites on the other. The Qazaqs represented the old ruling power of the eastern Qipchaq steppe, i.e., the Urusid dynasty, while the Ukrainians inherited the traditional center of Kievan Rus’. Even though the Qazaqs remained in the center of the Uzbek Ulus, i.e., the eastern Dasht-i Qipchāq, and inherited the bulk of the Uzbek people, it was the Shibanid Uzbeks, who represented the new ruling power of the eastern Qipchaq steppe, i.e., the Abū al-Khairid dynasty, and who retained the designation Uzbek up to the present. Similarly, it was the Muscovites, who were a new power that arose on the periphery of the former Kievan Rus’ state, and whose self-designation was *Moskal’*, not the Ruthenians (*Rusyny*), i.e., the Ukrainians, who became known as “Russians.” Just as the Shibanid Uzbeks migrated south from the steppe to the oases of Central Asia and expanded their scope by intermixing with the sedentary Iranian and Turkic populations, so too did the Muscovites arise in the peripheral regions of Kievan Rus’ in close relationship with the Mongol dynasts and expanded their scope by incorporating the Tatar and Finnic
populations. Furthermore, the Qazaqs, formally called *qazaq* Uzbeks, adopted the designation Qazaq, which reflects their *qazaq* origin, while the Ukrainians adopted the name *ukraina* meaning “frontier region,” which also reflects, to some degree, their *cossack* origin, as it was on the steppe frontier that the Ruthenians adopted the cossack way of life.

In the process, this study has provided an answer to the question of why the Slavic Cossacks and the Qazaqs, whom the Russian authority had to arbitrarily distinguish, referring to the latter as “Kirgiz” or “Kirgiz-Kaisak” in the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries, shared the same self-designation. This enquiry has taken on a renewed importance in the twenty first century due to the rise of Kazakhstan, which bears the designation *Qazaq* and which is currently the most flourishing economy in Central Asia, and Ukraine, which glorifies its Cossack past and forms the easternmost frontier of the western European world. Kazakhstan and Ukraine, which stand at both ends of the vast plain historically known as the *Dasht-i Qipchāq*, testify to the importance of the phenomenon of *qazaqlīq*. 
## Appendix

### THE USE OF THE TERMS *QAZAQ* (قازاق) AND *QAZAQLĪQ* (قازاقلیق) IN WRITTEN AND ORAL SOURCES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>SOURCE (CITATION)</th>
<th>TEXT (LANGUAGE)</th>
<th>TRANSLATION</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Early</td>
<td><em>Ẓafar-nāma</em> by Niẓām al-Dīn Shāmī (Shāmī, <em>Histoire des conqûêtes de Tamerlan</em>, 1:72 (2:37))</td>
<td><em>Hazār-i qadāq</em> (<em>qadāq mulkī</em>) bā l ashkarī dar pīsh būd* (Persian)</td>
<td>The qazāq thousand were in the vanguard with the army</td>
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<td>Fifteenth</td>
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<tr>
<td>Century</td>
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<tr>
<td>Early</td>
<td><em>Muntakhab al-tavārīkh-i Muʿīnī</em> (Naṭanzī, <em>Muntakhab</em>, 416)</td>
<td><em>Hazār-i qadāq</em> ki sān-i īshān si hazār suvār būd bi yik dafʿa mutakhallīf shoda bā yāghī mulhq gashtand* (Persian)</td>
<td>The qazāq hazär, or thousand, which formed three thousand horsemen, all at once rebelled and joined the enemy</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fifteenth</td>
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<tr>
<td>Century</td>
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<tr>
<td>Early</td>
<td><em>Ẓafar-nāma</em> by Sharaf al-Dīn Ḍalī Yazdī (Yazdī, <em>Ẓafar-nāma</em>, fol. 155a)</td>
<td><em>Hazāra-i qazāq</em> (Persian)</td>
<td>A renegade unit of 1,000 soldiers</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fifteenth</td>
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<tr>
<td>Century</td>
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<tr>
<td>Early</td>
<td><em>Muntakhab al-tavārīkh-i Muʿīnī</em> (Naṭanzī, <em>Muntakhab</em>, 87)</td>
<td><em>Dar ān navāhī dar sūrat-i qāzāqī mī-gardad</em> (Persian)</td>
<td>(Jabbār Berdī) was wandering around like a qazaq in those border regions</td>
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<td>Fifteenth</td>
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<tr>
<td>Century</td>
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<tr>
<td>Early Fifteenth Century</td>
<td><strong>Muntakhab al-tavārīkh-i Muʿīnī</strong> (Naṭanzī, Muntakhab, 102)</td>
<td><em>Jāmī az mardum va aubāsh va qāząq bi Jabbār-Birdī bin Tūqtāmīsh payvasta-and va ā niz quvvatī paydā karda-ast</em> (Persian)</td>
<td>A group of people, ruffians, and qazaqs have joined Jabbār Berdī, the son of Toqtamīsh and he too has gained power</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Late Fifteenth Century</td>
<td><strong>Muʿizz al-ansāb fī shajarat al-ansāb</strong> (Muʿizz al-ansāb fī shajarat al-ansāb, fol. 158b)</td>
<td><em>Ayyām-i qazāqī</em> (Persian)</td>
<td>The days of qazaqī (of Sultān-Ḥusain Bayqara)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Late Fifteenth Century</td>
<td><strong>Matlaʿi saʿdain</strong> (Samarqandī, “Maṭlaʿ-i saʿdain va majmaʿ-i balārān,” (text):258; (tr.): 199)</td>
<td><em>Gāhī jamī az lashkar-i Uzbek qazāq shuda bi-vilāyat-i Māzandarān mī-āmādand va har jā dast andāzī karda bāz- mīraftand</em> (Persian)</td>
<td>Sometimes, a group of Uzbek soldiers would become qazāq and come to the domain of Māzandarān and commit robbery everywhere and then return</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Late Fifteenth Century</td>
<td><strong>Matlaʿi saʿdain</strong> (Samarqandī, “Maṭlaʿ-i saʿdain va majmaʿ-i balārān,” (text):259; (tr.): 199)</td>
<td>... az lashkar-i taraf-i Dasht-i Qībchāq va āzbakān-i qazāq bar khabar bāshand (Persian)</td>
<td>(Shāhrukh ordered that his amīrs) should be informed about the armies from the direction of the Dasht-i Qībchāq and the qazaq Uzbeks</td>
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<td>DATE</td>
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<tr>
<td>Late Fifteenth</td>
<td>Matla' -i sa'dain va majma' -i bahrain (Samarqandi, “Maṭla’ -i sa’dain va majma’ -i bahra’in,” (text):261; (tr.): 201)</td>
<td>Mīrzā Sulṭān-Ḥusain ki dar ẓaraf-i Dasht-i Qipchāq muddatā qazāq būd darīn vilā bi-jānib-i khvārām ʿazīmat nimūd va umarā va sardārān ki darīn ẓaraf būdand yik ḥamlā tāb-i muqāvamat-i ū nayāvardand (Persian)</td>
<td>Mīrzā-Sulṭān Ḥusain, who was a qazaq in the Dasht-i Qipchāq for a while, at that time, set out for Khorazm, and the amirs and the generals who were in this region could not withstand him even for one assault</td>
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<tr>
<td>Century</td>
<td>Raużāt al-jannāt fī ʿuṣāf-i madīnat-i Herāt (Isfīzārī, Raużāt al-jannāt 2:275)</td>
<td>Mīrzā Sulṭān-Ḥusain ki dar Dasht-i Qipchāq qatrāq mī-gasht, darīn fursat bi-khvārām āmada, sardārān va gardan-kishān-i īn navāhi tāb-i ḥamlā-i maukib-i ū nayāvardand (Persian)</td>
<td>Mīrzā Sulṭān-Ḥusain, who was wandering as a qazaq in the Qipchaq steppe, came to Khorazm at that time, and the generals and rebels of these regions could not withstand the assaults of his party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Late Fifteenth</td>
<td>Majalis al-nafaʾ is (ʿAlī Shīr Navāʾī, Majālis al-nafaʾ is, 29)</td>
<td>Ol ḥażratnīng qazaqlīqda (Chaghatay Turkic)</td>
<td>His Majesty (Sulṭān-Ḥusain)’s qazaqlīq days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Century</td>
<td>Shibānī-nāma (Kubo, “Shaybānī-nāma,” 22)</td>
<td>Sulṭān-Ḥusain Mīrzā qazāq shoda bar ʿatrāf-i mamālik-i ū tākht mī-āvard (Persian)</td>
<td>Sulṭān-Ḥusain Mīrzā, having become a qazaq, raided along the frontiers of his countries</td>
</tr>
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<td>DATE</td>
<td>SOURCE (CITATION)</td>
<td>TEXT (LANGUAGE)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Early Sixthteenth Century</td>
<td><em>Shībānī-nāma</em> (Kubo, “Shaybānī-nāma,” 5)</td>
<td>Jamā’atī umārā ki dar zamān-i qazāqī ki jān sipārīhā karda-and va sabab-i daulat-i khānī shuda-and ... in jamā’at ki sābīqā zikr yāft, dar zamān-i qazāqī vafādārī namūda-and va mamālik gushūda-and (Persian)</td>
<td>A group of amīrs who, at the time of (Abū al-Khair Khan’s) <em>qazaqliq</em> sacrificed themselves and became the cause for the khan’s coming to power … This group, which was mentioned before, showed loyalty at the time of <em>qazaqliq</em> and conquered the states</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early Sixteenth Century</td>
<td>The Anonymous <em>Shībānī-nāma</em> (Berezin, Sheybaniada, 59)</td>
<td><em>Qazaqliq</em>da qīlīq čapqan davlatğa sabab bōlógica bular turur (Chaghatay Turkic)</td>
<td>These are the ones who drew their swords and became the cause of the power during the <em>qazaqliq</em> days (of Abū al-Khair Khan)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early Sixteenth Century</td>
<td><em>Tavārīkh-i guzida-i nuṣrat-nāma</em> (Tavārīkh-i guzida-nuṣrat-nāma, 266)</td>
<td><em>Qazaqliq</em>da qīlīq basîp ... sabab-i bu ḫānlar bular turur taqī davlat (Chaghatay Turkic)</td>
<td>… who drew the sword became the source of the khan (Abū al-Khair Khan)’s power</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early Sixteenth Century</td>
<td><em>Tavārīkh-i guzida-i nuṣrat-nāma</em> (Tavārīkh-i guzida-nuṣrat-nāma, 273)</td>
<td><em>Bu qazaqliq</em>da köp gardishlarda ayrılmağan turur (Chaghatay Turkic)</td>
<td>(Muḥammad Shībānī Khan and his cohorts) did not part company with each other in many wanderings during this <em>qazaqliq</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early Sixteenth Century</td>
<td><em>Zubdat al-āsār</em> (ʿAlī Naṣrullāhī, <em>Zubdat al-āsār</em>, fol. 470b)</td>
<td>Neçe muddatlar <em>qazaq</em> yosunluq on iki yıl ol navāhīda <em>qazaq</em> yürr (Chaghatay Turkic)</td>
<td>For some time he wandered around in the border regions for 12 years as a <em>qazaq</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>Early Sixteenth Century</td>
<td><strong>Bābur-nāma</strong> (Mano, Bābur-nāma 1:255)</td>
<td><em>Qazaql举例</em> *larda bir <em>martaba</em> Gurgān <em>suyūni ızdürüp</em> keçip <em>bir pāra</em> Özbāğni <em>yalüşī bastī</em> (Chaghatay Turkic)</td>
<td>During his qazaqliq, he (Sulṭān-Ḥūsain Bayqara) once caused his horse to swim across the Gurgan River and soundly defeated a band of Uzbeks</td>
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<td><strong>Bābur-nāma</strong> (Mano, Bābur-nāma 1:29)</td>
<td><em>Songra qazaql举例</em> <em>larda</em> Ḥujandqa <em>keldi. Alıp edim</em> (Chaghatay Turkic)</td>
<td>Later during my qazaqliq, she came to Khodzhent and I married her</td>
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<td><strong>Bābur-nāma</strong> (Mano, Bābur-nāma 1:223)</td>
<td><em>Özüm bilä qazaql例</em> <em>larda bilä bolup</em> kelgān beglārgā <em>vā yigitlārgā</em> baʿżisığa kent <em>vā tuyūl dek berildi</em> (Chaghatay Turkic)</td>
<td>Villages and fiefs were given to some of the beys and young warriors who came and were with me when I myself was in qazaqliq</td>
</tr>
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<td><strong>Bābur-nāma</strong> (Mano, Bābur-nāma 1:144)</td>
<td><em>Ušbu qiş sipāhîlîrdîn baʿżisî bizing</em> <em>bilä qazaql例larda</em> yürüy almay <em>Andijânğa barmaqqa ruşat</em> <em>tilâdîlîr</em> (Chaghatay Turkic)</td>
<td>This same winter some of the soldiers, unable to go with us on our raids, requested permission to go to Andizhan</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td><strong>Bābur-nāma</strong> (Mano, Bābur-nāma 1:158)</td>
<td><em>Bir neçä Moğul oşdîn bizdîn ayrılıp qazaql例qa Andijânînîn kirdîğa</em> <em>kelgân egândürlîr</em> (Chaghatay Turkic)</td>
<td>Some Moghuls separated from us at Osh and went to raid on the outskirts of Andizhan</td>
</tr>
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<td><strong>Bābur-nāma</strong> (Mano, Bābur-nāma 1:78)</td>
<td><em>ʿAjab mardâna va qazaq yigit</em> (Chaghatay Turkic)</td>
<td>A remarkably brave, qazaq young man</td>
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</table>
| Early Sixteenth Century | *Tārīkh-i Ḥabīb al-siyar*  
ʿKhvāndamīr,  
*Tārīkh-i Ḥabīb al-siyar* 4:231 | *Mardum-i qazāq-i dil-āvar*  
(Persian) | Brave qazaq men |
| Mid-Sixteenth Century | *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*  
(Haidar Dughlāt,  
*Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, 87, 91) | *Chūn bi ḥad-i tamyīz resīd dar javār-i ʿamm ki Shīr-Muḥammad Khān bāshad, būd. ān būdan-i ū-rā girān āmad. az vay muṭāfat nimūd va bi rasm-i qazāqī bar aṭrafār bar āmad ... bi-rasm-i qazāqī dar ḥudūd va ḡavāshī-i Shīr-Muḥammad Khān mī-gasht*  
(Persian) | When he (Ṣultān Vais Khān) reached the age of discretion, he resented being near his uncle who was Shīr-Muḥammad Khān. He left him and went wandering around as a qazaq ... wandered around the frontier regions of Shīr-Muḥammad in the manner of qazaqs |
| Mid-Sixteenth Century | *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*  
(Haidar Dughlāt,  
*Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, 167) | *Ṣultān Saʿīd Khān chūn az jang-gāh bar āmad va ḡuvūd-rā qarār dād ki dar Mughūlīstān qazāqī karda bisart barad*  
(Persian) | When Ṣultān Saʿīd Khān emerged from the battlefield, he decided to spend his time as a qazaq in Moghulistan |
| Mid-Sixteenth Century | *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*  
(Haidar Dughlāt,  
*Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, 9) | *Dar umūr-i mulkī va muhim guzārī, kāngāsh-i jang, az qazāqī va shab-ravī ... dar in hame ustād va murabbi-i man ū būd*  
(Persian) | In the affairs of government and administration, the conduct of war, whatever pertains to being a qazaq and night-raiding ... in all of this, he was my master and patron |
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<td></td>
<td><strong>Tārīkh-i Rashīdī</strong></td>
<td><em>Chūn īshān avval az ān mardum-i bisyār gurīkhta judā shudand va muuddātī bī sāmān va sargardān mī-ḥūdand īshān-rā qazaq guftand īn laqab bidīshān muqarrar shud</em> (Persian)</td>
<td>Because they escaped and separated from the mass of their people at first and for a while remained destitute wandering aimlessly, they were called <em>Qazaqs</em> and this nickname was fixed to them</td>
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<td>(Ḥaider Dughlāt, Tārīkh-i Rashīdī, 404)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Mid-Sixteenth Century</strong></td>
<td><strong>Tārīkh-i Dūst Sulṭān or Chingīz-nāma</strong></td>
<td><em>Al-qiṣṣa Toḥtamiš Ḫūr qazaqlap yūrūp Ḫānning elidin yıldız sūrā erdilār vā el čarap erdi ... Bu Ḫūr-i maṣkūr qazaqlap yūrūp bu ṭarīqa iślār qila başlādī</em> (Chaghatay Turkic)</td>
<td>In short, Toqtamīsh became a qazaq and chased away the herd of [Urus] Khan’s people and raided his people … This aforementioned prince turned qazaq and started to do things in this manner</td>
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<td>(Ötāmiš Ḫājī, Chingīz-Nāma, fols. 55b–56a)</td>
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<td><strong>Mid-Sixteenth Century</strong></td>
<td><strong>Tārīḥ-i Şāḥib Girāy Ḥān</strong></td>
<td><em>Zirā Azāk ḵaṣaq čımle aña tābi‘ olub, bile yortarlardı</em> (Ottoman Turkish)</td>
<td>Because all the Azaq qazaqs were subject to him (Bākī bey), they moved around together</td>
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<td>(Remmāl Ḫoca, Tārīḥ-i Şāḥib Girāy Ḥān, 53)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Mid- Seventeenth Century</strong></td>
<td>Čingiz-namā (Däftär-i Čingiz-namā, 132a)</td>
<td>Chūn dar ibtidā-yi vuṣūl bi-Mughūlisn rūzgār bi-tākht va tārāj-i aqvām-i Qalīmāq va Qirghīz mīguzarānīdand va dar āvāshī-i mamālik bi-gurg-rubāyī mashghūl būdand ism-i qazāq bar ān ṭāyīfā ītlāq yāfī (Persian)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Late Seventeenth Century</strong></td>
<td>Däftär-i Čingiz-namā (Däftär-i Čingiz-namā, 47)</td>
<td>Bu ağalarım mengā diāsmān bōldī mānī andīb őltūrūlār deh bašīndīn gōrqub qazaq čiqīb ketāyīn teb kengāš etib bir eki uć yigit özīnā əyarītīb anasī Alanğoga kāldī (Volga Tatar)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Mid-Eighteenth Century</strong></td>
<td>Umdeṭü-l-aḥbār (‘Abd al-Ghaffār Qīrīmī. Umdeṭ ül-tevarīkh, 44)</td>
<td>Dayısı olan künrūt Kanagadaq oğlu ak Ḥuseyn bey ki Horezm vālīsi idī anpī yannı kazaḳ çıkub gitti (Ottoman Turkish)</td>
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Because, at the beginning of their arrival in Mohulistan, they spent their time plundering the Qalmaq and Qirghiz tribes and in the border regions engaged in stealing like wolves, the name qazaq was applied to that group.

He (Čingiz) said, ‘My brothers became my enemies and will follow me and kill me.’ Fearing for his life, he decided to become a qazaq and chose one, two, three young men and came to his mother Alanğō.

After he (Temür) became a man, he became a qazaq and went to the city of Shimaqi alone ...In Shimaqi, he went to the pasture to look after calves.

(Ḥasan Beg) became a qazaq and went to the side of the governor of Khorazm Aq Ḥuseyn, the son of his uncle Qanagaday the Qongrat.
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<tr>
<td>ʿUmdetʿü-l-ahbār (ʿAbd al-Ghaffār Qirīnī, Umdet ʾül-tevarikh, 57)</td>
<td>Ġulām meşābesinde ḥidmetkārlktan ʿar eder olub ḵazāḵ ʿićti ve ḵan cīvārtndan yīlḵī sūrdi gitti (Ottoman Turkish)</td>
<td>(Edigū) became a qazaq because he was ashamed of being in the service of the khan as a page. He drove his horses and left the land of the khan</td>
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<tr>
<td>Collected in the Nineteenth Century</td>
<td>The Epic of Chora Batir (Radlov, Obraztsy narodnoy literatūry severnykh tyurkskikh plemen, 178)</td>
<td>Āli bini öltürdüm ... kara öltürgān turʿalmay, tōrā öltürgān tozʿalmay, yigit munda kalʿamay, Yādī kän̄ga Kazaṅa qazaq čikīp kätāyim ... (Crimean Tatar)</td>
<td>I killed Ali Bey … one who has killed a commoner cannot remain, one who has killed a noble man cannot endure. A young man cannot remain here. I will become a qazaq and go to Kazan and seven khans …</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collected in the Nineteenth Century</td>
<td>The Epic of Qambar Batir (Auezov, ed., Kambar Batyr, 28)</td>
<td>Qazanatlıqga baramız. Qalmaqqa oyran salamız… (Kazan Tatar)</td>
<td>We will go to qazaqlıq, we will destroy the Qalmaqs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collected in the Nineteenth Century</td>
<td>The Epic of Edigū (Idegey, 207–9)</td>
<td>Ili khanom sebya utverdi, ilʿ menya na prestol vozvedi! Ili zhiznʿ otnimi ty moyu, ili sam ya tebya ubʿyu. Ukhodi ot moey ruki, ukhodi, ukhodi v kazaki ... Ne goni menya v kazaki (Russian)</td>
<td>Make yourself khan or raise me to the throne or take my life or I myself will kill you. Go away from my hand. Go, become a qazaq … Do not drive me to become a qazaq</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mid-Fifteenth Century</td>
<td><em>Polnoye sobraniye russkikh letopisey</em> 12:62</td>
<td>Kazaki ryazan’skia (Russian)</td>
<td>The Ryazan cossacks</td>
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<tr>
<td>Early Sixteenth Century</td>
<td><em>Pamyatniki diplomaticheskikh snoshenyi moskovskago Gosudarstva s krymskoyu i nagayskoyu ordami i s turtsiey</em> 1:46</td>
<td><em>A kakimy dely poydut na tobya, i mne by brata tvoyego Nurdovlata tsary iulanov i knyazey i kazakov vsekh otpustiti pod Ordu</em> (Russian)</td>
<td>Whatever happens to you, I (Ivan III) would like to send your brother Nūr Devlet Khan and the oghlans, princes, and cossacks all of them against the Horde</td>
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<td></td>
<td><em>Pamyatniki diplomaticheskikh</em> 2:51</td>
<td>Yaz Abdy-letif tsar tebe bratu svoyemu, velikomu knyazyu Vasil’yu Ivanovichyu vsea Rusii ... s svoimi ulany i s knyazmi i vsemi s nashimi kazaki krepko shert dali esmya... (Russian)</td>
<td>I, ῖAbd al-Laṭīf Khān, to you my brother, Grand Prince Vasily Ivanovich of all Russia … together with my oghlans and princes and all of our cossacks, we firmly swear an oath</td>
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<tr>
<td>Late Sixteenth Century</td>
<td><em>Sobranie gosudarstvennykh gramot i dogovorov</em> 2:133–4</td>
<td><em>Nashi lyudi prished v Sibir tebya s tsarstva sognali i sibirskeyu zemlyu vzvaly a ty poshel v kazakikh kochevati... kazakom kochyuesh na pole ne so mn... svoimi lyudmi</em> (Russian)</td>
<td>Our people having come to Sibir drove you (Kuchum Khan) away from the khanship and took the Sibir land and you became cossack nomadizing ... You are nomadizing as a cossack in the steppe with not many of your own men</td>
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<tr>
<td>Late Fifteenth Century</td>
<td>Joannis Dlugossii, <em>Annales seu Cronicae incliti Regni Poloniae</em>, 243–44</td>
<td><em>Frequens Tartarorum exercitus ex fugitivis, predonibus et exulibus, quos sua lingua Kozakos appellant</em> (Latin)</td>
<td>A large Tatar army collected from fugitives, expellees, and robbers, whom they call in their language cossacks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early Sixteenth Century</td>
<td>Marcin Bielski, <em>Kronika Polska</em>, 990–91</td>
<td><em>… się zebrał w tym czasie kilka set z Przeclawem Lanckorońskim jechali w kozactwo pod Bilagród, zajęli dobytek turecki i tatarski, pędzili do domu … A natenczas się dopiero Kozacy u nas wszczęli</em> (Polish)</td>
<td>… gathered at about that time, several hundred strong, and rode with Przeclaw Lanckoronski to practice cossack ways in the vicinity of Bilhorod. They captured Turkish and Tatar livestock and drove it home. … It was only then that the cossackdom began in our country</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early Sixteenth Century</td>
<td>Maciej z Miechowa, <em>Traktat o dvukh Sarmatiyakh; Sokrovennoye skazaniye mongolov</em>, 151</td>
<td><em>Dumtaxat interdum Kazaci eam pertranseunt, quaerentes, ut moris eorum est, quem devorent. Kazak Thartaricum nomen est, kozak vero Rutenicum, valens in lingua latina servilem, stipendiarium, grassatorem seu reytteronem: spoliis enim vivunt, nulli subiecti gregatim latissimos et vacuos campos tres, sex, decem, viginti, sexaginta etc numero percurrentes</em> (Latin)</td>
<td>Sometimes only the cossacks pass by, searching for, in accordance to their way of life, someone to devour. <em>Kazak</em> is a Tatar word, but <em>kozak</em> in Ruthenian, meaning in Latin a slave, a hired man, a vagabond or a horseman: They live by booty and are not subordinate to anyone and they roam through the wide and empty steppes in detachments of three, six, ten, twenty, and sixty persons and more</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A. Primary sources


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