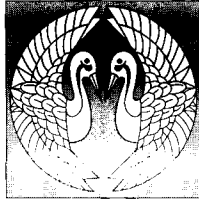


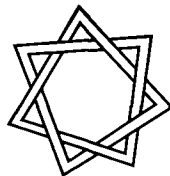
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## TEXTS AND MANUSCRIPTS: DESCRIPTION AND RESEARCH

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### MU'IZZ AL-ANSĀB AND SPURIOUS CHINGĪZIDS

In Oriental studies, like in all other branches of science, there are many traps into which a scholar can fall. One of these traps are the established opinions of the former and present scholarly authorities. The second volume of “A Collection of Materials Relating to the History of the Golden Horde” [1] published by the famous Russian orientalist W. G. Tisenhausen contains translations of long passages from *Mu'izz al-ansāb* (“The Book in Praise of Genealogies”) — one of the most important sources on the genealogical history of the Chingīzid and the Timūrid families in the 13th—15th centuries. When I compared the translations with the text of the original, now preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris, I discovered that the published translations of the abstracts contained most serious mistakes distorting the genealogical history of the Chingīzids, as well as the whole picture of internal dynastic and political relations in the Chingīzid *ulūses*.

It would have been proper to consider the problem of the spurious Chingīzids, the supposed male descendants of Chingīz Khān who never really existed, much earlier. They came into being by mistake, when in 1941 the second volume of the “Collection of Materials Relating to the History of the Golden Horde” was published, containing the translation of the early 15th century Islamic work *Mu'izz al-ansāb*. The Persian original of *Mu'izz al-ansāb*, however, of which no copies were to be found in the former Soviet Union, became available to the author of this article only recently. Spurious Chingīzids were discovered by pure chance, when I compared the translations published in the above mentioned “Collection of Materials” with corresponding passages in the original Persian text of *Mu'izz al-ansāb*. The total number of these spurious Chingīzids is really striking. Not to tease the reader any more I shall turn now straight to the subject of my article, going back not only to the 15th century, the time when *Mu'izz al-ansāb* was written, but two centuries earlier, to the time of the foundation of the Empire of Chingīz Khān.

The conquests of Chingīz Khān (d. 1227) and his immediate successors resulted in the creation of Eke Mongol Ulus (The Great Mongol State) spreading from the Yellow Sea in the east to the Danube and Euphrates in the west. It was natural that the Empire which consolidated so many different peoples, tribes and states of the Far East, Middle East and Eastern Europe could not continue for a long time.

Already by the 1260s the Mongol Empire became split into four *ulūs*-states ruled by *khāns* — the descendants of Chingīz Khān. These independent and rivaling states were:

1. The Golden Horde, to which belonged the Great Steppe (Dasht-i Qipchāq of the Muslim sources), from the River Irtysh in the east to the Danube in the west. This state was ruled by the descendants of Jūchī (d. 1227), the elder son of Chingīz Khān.

2. The Chaghatāy state, which included Māwarānnahr, Semirechye, East Turkestan (Kashgharia). It took its name from Chaghatāy (d. 1242) the second son of Chingīz Khān.

3. The Hülāgūid state created in Iran by Hülāgū Khān (d. 1265), the son of Tulūy, the fourth son of Chingīz Khān. Hülāgū and his descendants bore also the title of *ilkhān*, therefore in scholarly works the Mongol rulers of Iran are often called the Ilkhāns (Ilkhānids).

4. The state in Mongolia and China, with its capital first in Kaiping, then in Beijing. It was ruled by another line of the descendants of Tulūy (d. 1233), namely the descendants of the Great Khan Qubilāy (d. 1294), brother of *ilkhān* Hülāgū. This state got the official Chinese name — the Yuan Empire.

Each of these four states had its own destiny. The descendants of Tulūy who ruled in China (the Yüan Empire) were assimilated by the Chinese. The Jūchīds, Chaghatāyids and Hülāgūids became converts to Islam, the creed of their subjects. The descendants of Tulūy remained in power in Mongolia proper till the 17th century, in China, however, they ruled only till 1368, when the Ming dynasty came into power. The last *ilkhān* Abū Sa'id died in 1335, the Hülāgūid state in Iran disintegrated between 1336 and 1353. The Chaghatāyid dynasty ceased to exist in East Turkestan at the end of the 17th century. The Jūchīds, however, continued to rule in Dasht-i Qipchāq and in the neighbouring regions for a very long time — till the middle of the 19th century.

The works of Muslim authors of the first decades of the 14th century used the Turkic word *ūghūl* or *ūghlān* — literally meaning “son”, “child” — to define the members of the Jūchīd, Chaghatāyid or Hülāgūid dynasties. The term “prince” was used as a title, *i. e.* male descendant of the “Golden Family” of Chingīz Khān, and in this meaning the word *ūghlān* (*ūghūl*) comes only after proper names. From the 1330s—1340s the Arabic word *sultān* becomes the title

most widely used in relation to all members of these dynasties. Within the context of the present article it is important to take into account, that in the Jūchīd and Chaghatāyīd states the title *sulṭān* was applied to all princes of the blood, also to princesses, and that the title could be placed both before the name of its owner and after it.

Muslim sources are exclusively important for the study of the history of the Mongol Empire — both at the time of its unity and after its disintegration into several independent states. They are written in different languages (Arabic, Persian, Turkic), different in form and appearance, structure and contents. Among these historical works there are special genealogical books (*nasab-nāma*) containing the genealogical history of the “Golden Family” of Chingiz Khān. To this group of works belongs *Mu‘izz al-ansāb fī shajarat salāṭīn Mughūl* (“The Book in Praise of Genealogies in the Lineage of the Mongols”) [2] — the subject of the present article.

The author of *Mu‘izz al-ansāb* is unknown. Turkish author Ahmed Zeki Validi Togan suggested that its author had been, possibly, the famous court historian of the Timūrids Ḥāfīz-i Abrū (d. 1430) [3]. No facts, however, have been found so far to confirm this suggestion.

*Mu‘izz al-ansāb* was written in Persian in 830/ 1426—1427 at the court of the Timūrid Shāhrukh (d. 1447) in Herat. As for the motives which urged the anonymous author to undertake the writing of such a specific historical work, in the foreword to the book (written in a mixture of prose and verse) he is telling the following: “In these days, in the year 830 of Hīgra (1426—1427), Shāhrukh-Bahādurkhān (sic!), let Allah prolong his reign and his authority, ordered to make, finding a comprehensible way of narrating materials, a book on genealogy (*nasab-nāma*), verifying anew the genealogical history *Shajara-i ansāb-i salāṭīn-i Mughūl* containing the names of his ancestors as well, and supplementing it with [the names of] their descendants born in the later times. In conformity with its contents the present manuscript (*in nuskhā*) got the name *Mu‘izz al-ansāb* (“The Book in Praise of Genealogies”). After the genealogical history of the Mongol Sultans comes the genealogy of the ancestor of Amīr Tīmūr Qarāchār-nūyān of the Bārās tribe. If any new evidence on this subject appears in the future, let them supplement the present genealogical tables” [4].

To this appeal of the court historian of Shāhrukh some person responded (his name also unknown) who continued the genealogy of the Timūrids to the beginning of the 16th century, *i. e.* to the very end of this dynasty.

In this way we got a rare book, where under one cover materials on over a thousand descendants of Chingiz Khān and several hundred Timūrids have been collected.

The famous reference book by Ch. A. Storey, in Russian translation supplemented to much extent by Yu. E. Bregel, mentions three manuscripts of *Mu‘izz al-ansāb* preserved in Paris, London and Istanbul [5]. In fact, as it was established in 1990 by American scholar John E. Woods, the manuscript of the Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi in Istanbul presents a copy of a different, earlier genealogical history composed by one Ḥusayn, the son of ‘Alī-Shāh. J. E. Woods comes to the conclusion that there exist only two manuscripts of *Mu‘izz al-ansāb* [6]. Now, however, even this data appears to be out of date. Two more manuscripts of *Mu‘izz al-ansāb* were found in Aligarha (India) by Shiro Ando [7].

So, by now the following four manuscripts of *Mu‘izz al-ansāb* are known:

1. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale; the manuscript is very fine and well preserved. This is the manuscript I used. According to what is indicated on the fly-leaf, the manuscript contains 161 folios. In fact, however, it has 164 folios, because folios 5, 116, and 137 have additional leaves. Folios 27b, 53b, 54a, 56b, 58a, 114a, 124a, 144a, and 149a are blank. The script is clear and beautiful *nasta‘liq*. Many ethnic names and proper names are drawn in a rather hesitant hand. The scribe was probably not too familiar with the names of the Turko-Mongol nomadic tribes and with the Mongol and Turkic proper names. He often could not comprehend them in the original, therefore he was simply tracing them (often with no diacritic marks).

It is unknown where the Paris copy of *Mu‘izz al-ansāb* has been made. It was copied by some unknown scribe in the first decades of the 16th century. It changed hands several times. One of them was, according to the owners' records, some al-Riyāḍī, who lived in the first half of the 16th century. He bought this fine manuscript in Istanbul. The name of its other owner was Isma‘īl al-Shahīd b. Fidā‘ī. His record is dated by the month of Shawwāl 1007/May 1599. There is one more record on folio 1a containing the name of Abū Bakr Rustam ibn Aḥmad al-Shirwānī. He was a famous Ottoman bibliophile (d. 1722/23). In 1142/1729—1730 the manuscript was acquired in Istanbul by Abbot Sevin. Then it came to Paris, to Bibliothèque Nationale [8].

2. London, the British Museum; defective manuscript, probably of the 18th century, written in not easily legible Indian *shikasta* script [9].

3. Aligarh, The Aligarh Muslim University; the sequence of folios is broken, with a later pagination. The manuscript dates to the reign of the Moghul emperor Bahādūr-shāh I (1707—1712) [10].

4. Aligarh, The Aligarh Muslim University; the manuscript is in two volumes. The pagination of the second volume containing the genealogy of the house of Tīmūr starts anew from page one [11].

None of the four manuscripts contain any mention of the names of their copyists or of the exact dates and places when and where they were made. The anonymous author of *Mu‘izz al-ansāb* does not indicate directly his literary sources. His usual reference is: “That is what the truthful Turkic historians say...” (or “the Moghūl historians”, “historians of the Khān's family”). Only once, when he is telling about Esugei-bahādūr, the father of Chingiz Khān, he refers to *Jāmi‘ al-Tawārīkh* by the famous historian of the Ilkhāns Rashīd al-Dīn [12].

The investigations made by A. Z. V. Togan, Karl Jahn, Sholen A. Quinn, John E. Woods, Shiro Ando, and other scholars prove that the part of *Mu‘izz al-ansāb* dedicated to the Chingizids was borrowed from *Shu‘ab-i panjgānah* (“Genealogy of the Five Peoples”) by Rashīd al-Dīn. He composed *Shu‘ab-i panjgānah* between 1306 and 1310. The book is dedicated to the genealogies of the ruling dynasties of the “Five Peoples”: Arabs, Mongols, Jews, Christians-Franks, Chinese. Most of its texts is formed by abstracts from the second volume of *Jāmi‘ al-Tawārīkh* by the same author, but with some additional historical data. The anonymous author of *Mu‘izz al-ansāb* omitted the genealogies of the Arabs, Jews, Chinese and Franks but borrowed from *Shu‘ab-i panjgānah* the genealogical tables of

the house of Chingiz Khān and added the genealogies of the Chingizids up to the beginning of the 15th century along with those of Timūr and the first Timūrids [13].

Another literary source used by the author of *Mu'izz al-ansāb* was, possibly, the genealogical history by Ḥusayn b. 'Alī-Shāh, dedicated to the house of Chingiz Khān and Timūr, also composed in the Timūrid environment but somewhat earlier than *Mu'izz al-ansāb*, most probably in the reign of Khalil Sultān (1405—1409). It has no title. The manuscript of this genealogy is preserved in the Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi in Istanbul. It was studied by J. E. Woods [14].

*Mu'izz al-ansāb* became known to specialists as early as the 1820s when it was studied by the famous Swedish orientalist K. d'Ohsson. Since that time it was used by many western scholars, most of them, however, were only reading it and using materials from this most valuable source in their research work. Only in the very last years *Mu'izz al-ansāb* became the object of special attention. J. E. Woods worked through and in 1990 published the English translation of the second part of *Mu'izz al-ansāb* — the genealogy of the house of Timūr [15]. In 1992 the voluminous monograph by Shiro Ando also specially dedicated to the study of *Mu'izz al-ansāb* appeared [16]. It laid the foundation for the study of the social and ethnic history of the Timūrid state basing upon the materials of *Mu'izz al-ansāb*.

Of Russian scholars probably only W. G. Tisenhausen (1825—1882) and V. V. Barthold (1869—1930) were directly familiar with the Persian original of *Mu'izz al-ansāb*. V. Barthold, in particular, published in 1898 an abstract from the Paris manuscript of *Mu'izz al-ansāb* [17]. W. G. Tisenhausen made a trip over Europe in 1880, its aim being to collect evidence on the Golden Horde from European manuscript funds. He made extensive abstracts from the works of many Muslim authors, including the copy of *Mu'izz al-ansāb* in the Bibliothèque Nationale. Abstracts from the last source were studied by him, translated and, for the reason of convenience, arranged as notes and supplements to the translation of Rashīd al-Dīn. Tisenhausen, however, has failed to publish these materials during his lifetime. The abstracts and translations made by him were published only in 1941, under the editorship of A. A. Romaskevich and S. L. Volin [18]. An awkward incident, however, took part in connection with this publication. Either by an oversight of Tisenhausen himself, or of the publishers of his materials on the history of the Golden Horde, regrettable mistakes crept into the abstracts from *Mu'izz al-ansāb*. To understand how could it happen, let us turn again to the Persian original of *Mu'izz al-ansāb*.

In the introductory part of his work the anonymous author of *Mu'izz al-ansāb* explains in all detail the princi-

ples after which genealogical materials are arranged in the principal part of the text. To make things clear, he writes tables and other graphic figures and schemes are used in the present genealogy book. Thus the names of the male descendants (*i. e.* each separate name of the princes of blood) are set within circles, the female names are arranged within rectangular frames. The names of those princes who attained the supreme power and became rulers are set within rectangles formed by double frames and with large double circles below them intended for their portraits (there are no portraits in the Paris manuscript of *Mu'izz al-ansāb*, all the large circles are empty). On the right of the names and portraits of sovereigns the names of their *amīrs* and nobles are arranged (often with comments on their family and tribe), on the left — the names of their wives and concubines (also with notes on their origin). By the name there is also a memorandum containing the dates of its owner's birth and death, regnal years and other historical data. Male and female descendants of the rulers are indicated in the middle of the page, *i. e.* the names of their children are written within small circles, and the names of those princes who later became rulers are marked with double lines [19].

For some reason in Tisenhausen's publication in the abstracts from *Mu'izz al-ansāb* the main principle of arranging genealogical materials was not followed, namely, in the Persian original the names of the princes of blood (*awlād*, after the terminology of the source) are marked with a circle (large or small, with a single or a double line) while the names of the princesses of blood (*unāth*) are set within a small rectangle. This distinction was disregarded in the translation — in this way dozens of princesses of the family of Chingiz Khān, as if by magic, turned into princes. These very princes, who were actually princesses, and who made their way into history due to the erroneous attitude of the translator, are defined in the present article as “spurious Chingizids”.

I had no possibility, of course, to compare all abstracts from *Mu'izz al-ansāb* published in the “Collection of Materials” by W. G. Tisenhausen with the original Persian text. I took only several passages from those pages of the publication to which scholars refer most often. My “expanded” translation, as you may see, are much different from the translation made by Tisenhausen. This difference can be easily explained: Tisenhausen does not decipher the graphic figures and schemes given in *Mu'izz al-ansāb*, moreover, in many cases the lines linking figures with the names of someone's children with the one containing the name of their father, which continue from one leaf to another, became mixed up. The names of the spurious Chingizids in Tisenhausen's translation are given in italics.

#### Tisenhausen [20]

The genealogy of Urus-khān is divided into three sections: **A.** The progeny of his son Toktakia, **B.** The progeny of his other son Timur-Melik, **C.** The progeny of his third son Koyurchak or Koyrichak.

**A.** Toktakia had 6 sons: 1) *Bahshibiy*, 2) *Sevdi*, 3) *Tatli*, 4) *Anike-Bulad*, 5) *Buguchak*, 6) *Tengriberdi*. Of them

#### *Mu'izz al-ansāb* [21]

Urus-khān had 15 children: 8 sons and 7 daughters. The names of his daughters are (each name framed by a square; in the general list of the children of Urus-khān they come as the 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th child — *T. S.*): 1) *Shukur* (or *Sheker*), 2) *Tūghlū-biy*, 3) *Irān-biy*, 4) *Sūdū-biy*, 5) *Mīnglik-Turkān*, 6) *Oghlān-biy*, 7) *Mīnglī-biy*.

The names of his sons are (these are marked with a circle or double circle; in the general list of the children of Urus-khān they come as the 1st, 2nd, 3d, 4th, 5th, 13th, 14th, 15th child — *T. S.*):

The first son of Urus-khān — *Tūqtāqiyā* — he reigned (his name is set within a double-line rectangle linked to a large double circle — *T. S.*). He had three daughters:

Buguchak was the father of 4 sons: 1) Muhammed, 2) Ahmed 3) Aliya, 4) *Imen-biy*. The other five are shown as childless.

**B.** To Timur-Melik 12 sons are ascribed [22]: 1) Seyid-Ali, 2) Seyid-Ahmed, 3) Tokta-Pulad, 4) Tugluk-Pulad, 5) *Shukur*, 6) *Tuglu-biy*, 7) *Iran-biy*, 8) *Sudu-biy*, 9) *Menglik-Turkan*, 10) *Oglan-biy*, 11) *Mengli-biy*, 12) Kutlu-Buka [23]. Of them the third (Tukta-Pulad) had 2 sons: 1) Togai-Pulad, 2) Saray-Pulad, the fourth (Tugluk-Pulad) — also 2 sons: 1) Ak-Pulad, 2) Berdi-Pulad, the twelfth (Kutlu-Buka) — 4 sons: 1) Jing-Pulad, 2) Kutuchak 3) Yadgar, 4) *Nusret*.

**C.** Koyurchak was the father of 3 sons: 1) Borak-khan, 2) *Rakiya*, 3) *Payende-sultan*; the last two childless, while the first one (Borak-khan) had 4 sons: 1) *Seadet-bek*, 2) Abu-Said, 3) Mir-Kasim, 4) Mir-Seyid

1) Yahshī-bīy, 2) Sīwdī, 3) Tātli (each name is set within a square — *T. S.*) and three sons (their names are set within circles — *T. S.*): 1) Anike-Bülād; 2) Būghūchāq — he had three sons and one daughter in the following order: a) Muḥammad, b) Aḥmad, c) ‘Alī, d) Imen-bīy (the first three names are set within circles, the last one — within a square — *T. S.*), 3) Tengriberdī.

The second son of Urūs-khān — Sayīd-‘Alī.

The third son of Urūs-khān — Sayīd-Aḥmad.

The fourth son of Urūs-khān — Tūqtā-Pulād. The last one had two sons: a) Ṭaghār-Pulād, b) Sarāy-Pulād (each name is set within a circle — *T. S.*).

The fifth son of Urūs-khān — Tūghlūk-Pulād. He had two sons: a) Aq-Pulād, b) Berdī-Pulād (each name is set within a circle — *T. S.*).

The sixth son of Urūs-khān — Qutlū-Buqā. He had three sons: a) Jing-Pulād, b) Qutūchāq, c) Yādgar (each name is set within a circle — *T. S.*) and one daughter named Nuṣrat (the name is set within a square — *T. S.*).

The seventh son of Urūs-khān — Timūr-Malik; he reigned (his name is set within a rectangle framed with a double line and linked to a large double circle — *T. S.*).

The eighth son of Urūs-khān — Qūyūrchūq. He had two daughters: 1) Pāyanda-sulṭān, 2) Ruqīya (each of the names is set within a square — *T. S.*) and one son named Barāq. Barāq reigned (his name is set within a rectangle framed with a double line and linked to a large double circle — *T. S.*). This Barāq had 4 children: daughter Sa‘ādat-bik (her name is set within a square) and three sons in the following order: Abū Ṣa‘īd, Mīr-Qāsim and Mīr-Sayīd (each name is set within a circle — *T. S.*)

In this way, due to a grave misunderstanding, one of the most popular in scholarly circles of the post-war period collections of materials dedicated to the history of the Golden Horde became infected with “viruses” carrying misinformation. From this primary source they penetrated into special works affecting the historical reconstruction of many scholars who used these materials. Thus a whole branch of Oriental studies came to a dead end. The way out is evident — one should turn back. In this particular case it means — back to the primary source, to the Persian original of *Mu‘izz al-ansāb*. The St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies has a very good microfilm made from the fine and well preserved Paris manuscript of this work. We may only hope that in the nearest future some orientalist will undertake this hard but, under the present circumstances, necessary labour of translating and publishing the first part of *Mu‘izz al-ansāb* containing the genealogy of the Chingizids of the 13th—beginning of the 15th centuries.

Finally, I would like to add the following. In the Manuscript Fund of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies there is a rare Turkic manuscript titled *Tawārikh-i guzīda-i nuṣrat-nāma* (“Selected Stories of the Book of Victories”) written around 1504 in Central Asia. This work is interesting from many points of view. It includes chapters containing detailed genealogies of the Jūchīds and the Chaghatāyīds of the 13th—beginning of the 16th centuries which should and must be used when working over the corresponding sections of *Mu‘izz al-ansāb*. The anonymous author of *Nuṣrat-nāma* ends the genealogy of the Chingizīds in the following way: “in the present genealogy it is mentioned, what became known from different chronicles, also what comes from the oral tradition. Every one, who comes to know additional information about their descendants, should include it into the list of names presented here” [24]. The question, if *Mu‘izz al-ansāb* was among the sources used by the author of *Nuṣrat-nāma* still has no answer.

### Notes

1. *Sbornik materialov, otnosiaschchikhsia k istorii Zolotoi Ordı. Tom 2. Izvlecheniia iz persidskikh sochinenii, sobrannye V. G. Tizengauzenom i obrabotannye A. A. Romaskevichem i S. L. Volinym* (A Collection of Materials Relating to the History of the Golden Horde. Vol. 2. Abstracts from Persian works collected by W. G. Tisenhausen and edited by A. A. Romaskevich and S. L. Volin) (Moscow—Leningrad, 1941).

2. This title is given by V. Barthold. E. Blochet gives *Mu‘izz al-ansāb fi shajarat al-ansāb*. Other authors refer to it as simply *Mu‘izz al-ansāb*, see, e. g., Ch. A. Stori, *Persidskaia literatura. Bio-bibliograficheskii obzor. Chast' 2* (Persian Literature. Bio-bibliographical survey. Pt. 2.), translated from English, re-worked and supplemented by Yu. E. Bregel (Moscow, 1972), p. 818.

3. A. Z. V. Togan, “The composition of the history of the Mongols by Rashid al-Din”, *Central Asiatic Journal*, VII/1 (1962), pp. 68—9.

4. *Mu‘izz al-ansāb*, manuscript of the Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris. Department des Manuscrits. Persan Ancient Fonds, fols. 1b—2b. (I would like to express my gratitude to American scholar Beatrice Forbes Manz who helped me to get a microfilm of this manuscript). The date mentioned in the excerpt is written out in Persian. On the other hand, A.H. 829 is mentioned on fol. 23b as the current year. In this case, too, the date is written out, but in Arabic.

5. Ch. A. Stori, *Op. cit.*, pp. 818—9.

6. J. E. Woods, “The Timurid dynasty”, *Papers on Inner Asia*, No. 14 (1990), p. 2.

7. Shiro Ando, *Timuridische Emire nach dem Mu‘izz al-ansāb. Untersuchung zur Stammesaristokratie Zentralasiens im 14 und 15 Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 1992), pp. 14, 17—9.

8. *Mu'izz al-ansāb*, fols. 1a—161a; Shiro Ando, *op. cit.*, p. 15.
9. C. Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London, 1879), i, p. 183; J. E. Woods, *op. cit.*, p. 2.
10. Shiro Ando, *op. cit.*, pp. 17—8.
11. *Ibid.*, pp. 18—9.
12. *Mu'izz al-ansāb*, fol. 5b.
13. A. Z. V. Togan, *op. cit.*, pp. 68—70; K. Jahn, “The still missing works of Rashid al-Din”, *Central Asiatic Journal*, IX (1964), pp. 113—22; Sh. A. Quinn, “The *Mu'izz al-Ansāb* and *Shu'ab-i Panjgānah* as sources for the Chaghatayid period of history. A comparative analysis”, *Central Asiatic Journal*, XXXIII/3—4 (1989), pp. 229—53; J. E. Woods, *op. cit.*, p. 7; Shiro Ando, *op. cit.*, pp. 19—20.
14. Shiro Ando, *op. cit.*, p. 20.
15. J. E. Woods, *op. cit.*, pp. 1—61.
16. Shiro Ando, *op. cit.*, pp. 1—337.
17. V. V. Bartold, *Turkestan v èpokhu mongol'skogo nashestviia* (Turkestan in the Time of the Mongol Invasion), Pt. 1. Texts (St. Petersburg, 1898), pp. 158—9.
18. *Sbornik materialov, otnosiashchikhsia k istorii Zolotoï Ordý*. See Introduction, p. 7, also the main text, p. 29, ff., especially pp. 60—3).
19. *Mu'izz al-ansāb*, fol. 2a—2b.
20. *Sbornik materialov, otnosiashchikhsia k istorii Zolotoï Ordý*, pp. 62—3.
21. *Mu'izz al-ansāb*, fols. 26a—27a.
22. The “12 sons” of Tīmūr Malik indicated here are actually the children of Urūs-khān. In the Paris manuscript of *Mu'izz al-ansāb* Tīmūr-Malik is shown as childless. It is clear why. According to Naṭanzī, the author of *Muntakhab al-Tawārīkh-i Mu'inī* (composed in 1413) Tīmūr-Malik was a great lover of pleasure, fond of drink and debauchery, he “slept till the midday”. All this made his political rival more sympathetic in the eyes of his subjects, so “the greater part of the ulus, team after team, went over to Toqtamysh”. Tīmūr-Malik lost his power and along with it — his life, see S. G. Kliashornyĭ, T. I. Sultanov, *Kazakhstan, istoriia trëkh tysyacheletĭi* (Kazakhstan, Chronicle of Three Millennia) (Alma-Ata, 1992), pp. 201—2.
23. There is a note made by Tisenhausen or by his editors: “The arrangement of names in the manuscript of *Mu'izz* is not clear, it is possible that some of the enumerated 12 sons of Tīmūr-Malik should be considered as sons of Urūs-khān” (*Sbornik materialov, otnosiashchikhsia k istorii Zolotoï Ordý*, p. 63, note 1).
24. *Tawārīkh-i guzīda-i nuṣrat-nāma*, manuscript of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences, call number B 745, fol. 128a. Medieval Muslim authors often appeal to their readers urging them to continue their work, see T. I. Sultanov, “Struktura musul'manskoĭ istoricheskoi knigi. Metod analiza” (“The structure of the Muslim historical book. The method of analysis”), *Narody Azii i Afriki*, No. 2 (1989), p. 43. See the English translation of the article in *Manuscripta Orientalia*, 1/3, December, 1995 (1995), pp. 16—21.