The Chapter of Bārdi Bāk khan in the Čingiz-nāmā of Ötāmiš Ḥāǰǰī
Tolu Bay, āmīr of the Golden Horde

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ABSTRACT

In the past few years researchers of the history of the Golden Horde devoted considerable attention to formerly neglected chronicles written in Turkic in the successor states of the Ulus of Jūči, particularly to the so called Čingiz-nāmā of Ötāmiš Ḥāǰǰī. Though this collection of genuine oral tradition is an indispensable source, a critical approach is oftentimes overlooked by the scholars using it. This paper aims to demonstrate how the historical consciousness of the populace of the Golden Horde altered the stories behind certain events. For this purpose, the story of Bārdi Bāk khan in the Čingiz-nāmā will be subjected to criticism.

KEYWORDS
Ötāmiš Ḥāǰǰī, Čingiz-nāmā, Bārdi Bāk khan, Tolu Bay, historiography of the steppe.

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INTRODUCTION

Oral historical tradition of the populace of the Golden Horde, preserved in Turkic chronicles, connected the dissolution of the Batuïd line with the actions of Bārdi Bāk khan (1357–1359). These sources usually explain the fratricide of the ruler with his lust for power and unwillingness to share it. One only needs to recall the words of Abu l-Ġāzī Bahadur khan (1644–1663), ruler and chronicler of the Khanate of Ḥīwa: ‘He (Bārdi Bāk khan – Cs. G.) speared no one from his older or younger brothers, from his siblings and kin (qarindaš uruğinda), because he wanted the country (yurt) forever for himself. He did not know that the word is temporal. In the end his rule did not last two years. In the year 762 (11 November 1360 – 01 November 1361 – Cs. G.) he died. The lineage (äwlād) of Ṣayīn khan ceased at Bārdi Bāk’ (Abu l-Ġāzī/Desmaisons1970²: 176–177).

However, there is a chronicle from the Khanate of Ḥīwa which tells us a different motive for Bārdi Bāk khan’s fratricide. Its writer, Ötāmiš Ḥāǰǰī b. Māvlānā Muhammad Dōstī, served in the courts of Ṣaybānid Ilbars khan (c. 1511–1518), and later Iš Muḥammad Sulṭān, brother of Dōst Muḥammad khan (c. 1556–1558). Ötāmiš Ḥāǰǰī was a gatherer of oral traditions circulating on the steppe (qarī söz), with which he became renowned. In the 1550s Iš Muḥammad Sulṭān summoned him to his court and commissioned him to compile a book on the history of the Īučids. Based on the traditions he collected, Ötāmiš Ḥāǰǰī drafted his chronicle, in scholarly literature known as the Čingiz-nāmā ‘Book of Genghis’ (Ötāmiš Ḥāǰǰī/Kawaguchi and Nagamine 2008: 6–8).¹

Ötāmiš Ḥāǰǰī was aware that historical consciousness influenced oral traditions and that they change time to time: ‘It is [well] known – he writes – that most of the words one hears with ears are lies.’ (Ötāmiš Ḥāǰǰī/Kawaguchi and Nagamine 2008: 8). Changes in the tradition of certain events, however, can be an excellent asset to modern historians, given we are able to map these. The aim of this paper is to scrutinize the plot of Bārdi Bāk khan’s story in Ötāmiš Ḥāǰǰī’s Čingiz-nāmā and compare its details to the testimony of Russian and Persian sources on the same event. Through a comparison we are able to establish two versions of the same story: a ‘how it must have happened’ – basically how modern historians evaluate the events – and ‘how the people thought it happened’ – the version Ötāmiš Ḥāǰǰī transmitted.² The difference between the two may shed light on some basic characteristics of oral traditions of the Later Golden Horde. Additionally, this paper will provide information on Tolu Bay, an important, but little known figure in Bārdi Bāk khan’s court.

¹ On the author and his work consult Bartol’d 1973: 164; Togan 1981: 147–148; DeWeese 1994: 142; Kawaguchi and Nagamine 2010: 47–48; Kafali 2009: 20–25; Mirgaleev 2011; Ötāmiš Ḥāǰǰī/Mirgaleev 2017: 6.
² There is an unfolding scholarly debate about the character of Ötāmiš Ḥāǰǰī’s work. While some scholars view the Čingiz-nāmā as a collection of authentic steppe tradition (Bartol’d 1973: 166; Togan 1981²: 148; Yudin et al. 1992: 25; DeWeese 1994: 142; Kawaguchi and Nagamine 2010: 48–50) others regard it as a compilation of earlier written sources (Ötāmiš Ḥāǰǰī/Mirgaleev 2017: 12). I myself regard the stories of Ötāmiš Ḥāǰǰī’s chronicle as oral traditions influenced by the author’s pro-Ṣaybānid sympathies.
ÖTÄMIŠ ḤĀǰǰĪ’S STORY OF BÄRDİ BÄK KHAN

The story of Bärdi Bäk khan in the Čingiz-nāmā unfolds as follows:

The beginning of Bärdi Bäk khan's story: [Jānī Bäk khan’s] son, Bärdi Bäk became khan on his father’s throne. Bärdi Bäk was a severely mindless and ill-judged person. Claiming that ‘The power (ḥānliq) belongs to me!' he killed his own brothers and his own sons. They say there was a man by the name of Qanglï Tolu Bay, whose brothers and tribe were extremely powerful. [He] was the tutor (atalïġï) of the khan. Whatever he said, [the khan never] neglected his word. He (i. e. Tolu Bay – Cs. G.) had a son, Sumay by name, a brave archer. In the time of Jānī Bäk khan, he committed roguery, and because of this the khan – May mercy be upon him! – had him killed. Tolu Bay, because of his grief for his son, gave the [following] advice [to Bärdi Bäk khan]: – Now you are a young man. Your son who was born today grows up tomorrow. Day by day you grow old. He becomes a young man and tomorrow, after you become old, he claims your power (ḫānlïġïng) [and] takes it. Kill them now! When you start to grow old, then leave one [of them] alive!’ he said. This ill-fated took his advice and killed [them all]. Because of this, they call him ‘Kötän khan who wiped out his root. ‘ In his reign the discord (täfrīqa-lïq) increased greatly. Qïyat Mamay took the right wing, and with the clans (el kün) went to the Crimea. Tengiz Buģa, the son of Qïyat Īr Qutlï brought the left wing to the Syr Darya river. The khan with his entourage (ički) stayed in Saray. He ruled in Saray for three years, [and] died after.

As it can be seen, the historical consciousness of the Golden Horde preserved the memory of the dissolution of the line of Batu and its connection with the reign of Bärdi Bäk khan. Further, it also recorded that a certain Tolu Bay was the mastermind behind the event, and it explains his actions as an act of revenge. This is basically the variant of ‘how the people thought it had happened’. But what do other sources, Persian and Russian have to say about him and his role in Bärdi Bäk khan's actions?

HISTORICAL DATA ON TOLU BAY

First of all, we have to accept that Tolu Bay was a historical figure, his name appears in Turkic chronicles as Tolü Bay (Ötämiš Ḥāǰǰī) and Tolî Bay (ʿAbdu l-Ġaffār Qïrïmī), in the Persian sources of Muʿin ad-Dīn Naṭanzī and Ahmad Ġaffārī as Ṭ(o)ġlū/Ṭ(u)ğu Bāy (bāy tugal; СМОИЗО II: 128–129; 211; 233–234; 267), in Russian annals as Təвлəʊbiï (ПСРЛ I: 228; ПСРЛ IV.: 55, 63; ПСРЛ VIII.: 10; ПСРЛ XV.: 420) Təвлəʊбиï (ПСРЛ Х.: 211), Təвлəʊбиï (ПСРЛ XVIII.: 93), Təвлəʊбиï in dative case (ПСРЛ XXIII.: 105), Təвлəʊбиəвəи in dative case (ПСРЛ XXIII.: 112), and in a charter preserved in the Venetian dialect as Tolobei and Tolobey (Grigor'ev and Grigor'ev 2002: 147, 160). All these

3 Though there are a number of editions of the Čingiz-nāmā, there is no critical edition of it. By utilising the facsimiles of the Tashkent (Ötämiš Ḥāǰǰī/Yudin et al. 1992) and Istanbul (Ötämiš Ḥāǰǰī/Mirgaleev 2017) editions, I prepared a critical text with philological remarks on Bärdi Bäk khan's reign, given in the appendix. The translation in this section follows the Tashkent manuscript, for alterations, consult the critical text.

4 The meaning of the word kötän 'bottom, ass' (Rásonyi and Baski 2007: 384), in this context it must have been a derogatory name given to the khan.

5 The same story is told by the 18th century Crimean historian ʿAbdu l-Gaffār Qırımı in his 'Umdetü l-aḫbār 'Esence of histories' (Esad ef. 2331, fol. 264v–265r, ʿAbdu l-Gaffār/Derin Pašaoglu 2014: 77–78). Since ʿAbdu l-Gaffār had access to the Čingiz-nāmā itself, or they have a common source (Kawaguchi and Nagamine 2010: 50), here I restrict my research only on Ötämiš Ḥāǰǰī's work.
variants go back to the same name and mirror regular sound changes in Kipchak Turkic languages. According to the *Onomasticon Turcicum* of Rásonyi and Baski, the name *Tolu/Tulu* was frequently used with the honorary title *bay* 'wealthy' (2007 II: 775–776), thus we have to treat Tolu Bay as the original form of the name. The *bey/biy/bi* forms of the Russian sources can be considered as misunderstanding of the far more frequent Turkic dignity of a *beg/bey/biy*. But who was Tolu Bay and why does oral tradition connect him to Bärdi Bäk khan’s fratricide?

### TOLU BAY’S ROLE IN BÄRDI BÄK KHAN’S ACCESSION TO THE THRONE

In the fall of 1356 Jānī Bäk khan invaded and seized Azerbaijan, installed his son Bärdi Bäk as governor (*ḥākim*) and left for Sarāy. The khan fell ill already during the campaign or shortly after arriving in Sarāy (Safargaliev 1960: 107–108; Gračyov 2011: 50–58). What happened next is summed up in great detail in the chronicle of Muʿīn ad-Dīn Naṭanzī. Toḡlū Bāy, ‘a pillar of the state’ of Jānī Bäk khan – as Naṭanzī refers to him – sent a message to Bärdi Bäk about his father’s illness, and called him to Sarāy. However, the khan’s health improved. He learnt of the arrival of his son, and this made him suspicious. He consulted the matter with his wife Ṭoḡāy Ṭoḡlū ḥāṭīn, the mother of Bärdi Bäk and with Toḡlū Bāy, ‘unaware that he was the wind of this malice’ as Naṭanzī eloquently writes. Both Ṭoḡāy Ṭoḡlū ḥāṭīn and Toḡlū Bāy denied Bärdi Bäk’s arrival. Not much later Toḡlū Bāy, together with some of his men killed Jānī Bäk khan and everyone who did not submit to their will. The conspirators then installed Bärdi Bäk as khan. He, in turn, supposed to have said the following to Toḡlū Bāy: ‘I will kill the whole of the kin (*urūġ*), just as you killed Muqsān qaraǰū.’ Toḡlū Bāy – we are told – approved these words. He gathered all the princes, and [Bärdi] Bāk suddenly killed all of them.’ He is even supposed to have murdered his 6 months old brother himself (Tizengausen 1941.II.: 128–129; 233–234).

Among the specialists of the Golden Horde Natanzi is regarded as an untrustworthy source (Schamiloglu 1986: 165–170; Sabitov 2010: 151, 154), but in this case his data is unanimously corroborated by a number of Russian annals. The Patriaršaya/Nikonovskaya letopis’ also describe the events in details. According to them Tovlubij, a wise and evil *temnik* (*тёмник*), i.e. leader of a military contingent of ten thousand men, wanting to rule all the land, persuaded Bärdi Bäk to kill his father and take his throne. He gathered supporters from the tribal aristocracy (*князь*) to his cause. Bärdi Bāk, together with tribal leaders suffocated the khan and killed twelve of his brothers.

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6 The word derives from the East Old Turkic *tuğlïġ* ‘having … standard(s)’ (ED: 469) and it is formed from the base *tuğ* ‘a royal emblem’ (ED: 464, Doerfer 1965 II: 618–622) and the suffix +iUG forming adjectives (Eckmann 1966: 56–57; Bodrogligeti 2001: 102–104). Different forms of the name mirror stages of sound changes in Kipchak languages, namely the labialisation of word-end *ğ*: *ğ > w > ø* (Johanson 1998: 100). The oldest forms of the name appear interestingly in the 15–16th century Persian chronicles: *ṭ(ø)ğlū* or *ṭ(ø)glū*, with the final *ğ* preserved in *tuğ* (but interestingly not on the suffix!). This would mean that Mu’in ad-Din Natanzi and Ġaffārī utilised sources/traditions in which these sound shifts did not came to pass. In the 14th century monument of the Kipchak language, the Codex Cumanicus the word appears as *tov* ‘insignia’, t.i. *insignia* (Grønbech 1942: 250), this corresponds to the forms of the Russian annals *Товлубий*, *Тавлубий*, etc. where we encounter the already labialised form. The variant of Ötämiš Ḥāǰǰī (*Tolu Bay*) and ‘Abdu l-Ġaffār (*Tolī Bay*) represent therefor the newest forms, as can be seen in a number of modern Kipchak languages: Kirgiz: *tuu* ‘знамя, стяг’ and *tuuluu* ‘со знаменем, со стягом’ (Yudahin 1965: 771–772), Kazakh *tu* ’standard, banner’ (Shitnikov 1966: 205).

7 Ṭoḡāy Ṭoḡlū ḥāṭīn is certainly the wife of Özba k khan, mother of Jānī Bäk khan and grandmother of Bärdi Bäk khan, Tajdula in Russian annals. On her name and variants see Pelliot 1949: 101–105.
(ПСРЛ X.: 229). Even if the description differs in some minor details, they clearly state that Bärdi Bäk seized the throne by a conspiracy and Tolu Bay was on the forefront of the events. This variant of the story – as the sources are earlier, unconnected and unanimous – can be regarded as the ‘how it must have happened’.

**FURTHER REFERENCES ON TOLU BAY**

Russian chronicles contain a range of additional data on Tolu Bay and his carrier. By scrutinizing these we may verify some of Ötämiš Häjjī’s details on Tolu Bay on the one hand, and gain insight into the carrier of Tolu Bay on the other.

In 1339 Özbäk khan summoned the prince of Tver, Aleksandr Mihajlovič (1301–1339). He was charged with organising a plot against Tatar rule in the Rus’ principalities and was eventually killed by the men of the khan. Among them the author of the Terskoj sbornik mentions Tovlubij who headed the execution (ПСРЛ XV.: 420). Later that year a number of Russian annals report on a joint Tatar-Rus’ punitive expedition against the town of Smolensk, whose prince refused to pay their taxes. On the head of the troops the sources mention a ‘mighty envoy’ (посол), Tovlubij (ПСРЛ X.: 211; ПСРЛ XV.: 424;). It is safe to assume that the Tovlubij of Alexandr Mihajlovič’s execution and the ‘envoy’ leading the forces against Smolensk are one and the same. In any case it is clear that this Tovlubij was not just an executioner and an ‘envoy’, but also a high ranking member of the military organisation of the Golden Horde, having a considerable number of Tatar and tributary troops at his disposal.

For the next two decades there is no information on Tolu Bay neither in Russian, nor in Persian sources. He reappears only in connection to the plot against Jānī Bāk khan. The charters of the Golden Horde khans usually mention the highest dignitaries of the state organisation. Since neither the charters of Özbäk, nor Jānī Bāk khan list his name, Safargaliev came to the conclusion that Tolu Bay must have been an ‘ämīr of second grade’ (Safargaliev 1960: 109) which seems reasonable, with the remark that he was influential enough to initiate a successful coup d’état. At the time of the plot, he must have been a higher dignitary of the military organisation, since Gaffārī calls him as an amīri-i laškar ‘commander of the army’ (Tizengausen 1941.II.: 211, 267). Russian sources corroborate the Persian data, where he appears – as mentioned above – temnik (ПСРЛ X.: 229), i.e. Turkic tümen begi ‘leader of ten thousand men’. This piece of information – in my view – affirms the assumption, that Tolu Bay, the ‘envoy’ sent to Smolensk in 1339 and Tolu Bay of the coup d’état are one and the same person.

According to Ötämiš Häjjī, Tolu Bay could exercise power over Bārdi Bāk khan due to the khan’s ‘mindlessness’ and ‘ill-judgement’ (bī-‘aql wā bī-mulāḥaẓa kiši erdi), and to the fact that he was the tutor (atalīq) of the khan (Ötämiš Häjjī/Kawaguchi and Nagamine 2008: 31, 87–88).

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8 See further ПСРЛ IV.: 63.
9 References on Tolu Bay in Russian and Persian sources are given in the work of Seleznyov 2009: 177–178.
10 For an overview of the event and further literature on them see Hautala 2017: 471–474.
11 Although the Nikonovskaya or Patriaršaya letopis’ also mention a certain Mengukaš’ together with Tolu Bay, the command of the troops seems to have been assigned to the later (Seleznyov 2009: 128–129).
12 Safargaliev (1960: 109) claims that Tolu Bay remained in the capital and started the organisation of the plot already during Jānī Bāk khan’s campaign against Azerbaijan. Though his claim seems reasonable, there are no sources supporting it.
Russian annals also suggest a certain form of tutorship to Tolu Bay. He is either called an *učitel’* (учитель) ‘tutor’ on the one hand (ПСРЛ Х.: 229), and *predstatel’* (предстатель), an archaic Russian word for ‘protector, patron’ on the other (ПСРЛ V.: 228; ПСРЛ VIII.: 10; ПСРЛ XXIII.: 112). It seems that in this instance the oral tradition preserved trustworthy details of Tolu Bay.

If we take a closer look at some sources describing the execution of Alexandr Mihajlovič, we can raise serious questions about the tribal affiliation of Tolu Bay. As cited above, Ötämiš Hājǧī thought him to come from the tribe Qanglï, a statement which was accepted by scholars as Isxakov (2009: 51) and Sabitov (2014: 130). For an unknown reason, the Grigor’evs without any ground thought him to be a leader of the Bağrîn tribe (Grigor’ev and Grigor’ev 2002: 125; Grigor’ev 2004: 87). The author of the 16th century Tverskoj Sbornik, however, mentions Tolu Bay as a Cherkes: ‘Prince Aleksandr raised his eyes, ordered the fifth prayer (*пети часы*), his final prayer [to be sung]; he raised his eyes and saw the Čerkes heading to his tent, Tatars with him who ran him over. They mercilessly grappled him, wrestled him, tore down his clothes, placed him before Tovlubij naked and tied up. And he [Tovlubij – Cs. G.], the infidel sitting on a horse, surrounded by numerous Tatars, made his damned voice be heard: Kill him! And they grabbed prince Aleksandr and his son, prince Feodor, they stabbed them mercilessly, laid them on the ground, cut their heads of; and thus they met their end, excepted such fait for the Christian nation’ (ПСРЛ XV.: 420). The Patriaršaya/Nikonovskaya letopis’ mention two persons at the execution of the prince, a certain ‘Berkan’ and ‘Čerkas’ (ПСРЛ X.: 210). Keeping the entry of the Tverskoj sbornik in mind, it is safe to assume that the later refers to Tolu Bay. We already saw that Ötämiš Hājǧī and some Russian annals call Tolu Bay as the tutor (*ataliq, учитель, предстатель*) of Bärdi Bäk khan. We know little of the *ataliqs* of the Golden Horde, but in the period of the Later Golden Horde the princes of the Crimean and Kazan’ Khanats, even the sons of the Nogay *biys* were raised among the Cherkes of the Caucasus (Belyakov, Vinogradov and Moiseev 2007: 413). This practice might as well go back to the Golden Horde period. The 17th century compilation of oral traditions of the Volga area, another *Čingiz-nāmā* also connects the youth of Bärdi Bäk khan to the Cherkes (Ivanics and Usmanov 2011: 83; Ivanics 2017: 252). In my view all this points out that we should link Tolu Bay to the Cherkes, and not to the Qanglî. Be it as it may, this peace of data about the origin of Tolu Bay in the *Čingiz-nāmā* of Ötämiš Hājǧī should be treated with caution.

It was already mentioned that before the plot against Jānī Bāk khan the name of Tolu Bay did not appear on Golden Horde charters, which means that he was not among the highest members of the state organisation, the so called four *ulus beγs*. According to the charter of Bārdi Bāk khan given to the Venetians in 1358, the number of the *ulus beγs* rose to six, and Tolu Bay was listed fifth among them (Grigor’ev and Grigor’ev 2002: 160). This means that the dignity and power of Tolu Bay rose, undeniably his support to the khan had a major role in this. It is safe to assume that contrary to his fifth place in the charter, he became a leading figure after the khan (Safargaliev 1960: 110), maybe a sort of *eminence grise*. The same charter also testifies that Tolu Bay was rewarded with a share of the customs in Azov (Grigor’ev and Grigor’ev 2002: 148, 152).

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13 Князь же Александр взведе очи свои, повеле пети часы; се же им кончившим часы, и взведе очи свои, и видевь Черкас, идуще прямо к веже своей, и с ним Татарове, и выскочи противу его. Они же немилостивый похватиша его, вложиша назад, и оборваша порты его, и поставиша и перед Товлубием нага связана. Оному же безаконный стоащу на коне, и с ним множество Татар, испусти окаанный глас свой: «убийте.» Они же емше князя Александра и сына его князя Феодора, без милости прободоша, и поврьгоша на земли, отсекоша главы им; и тако скончашася, и приемше таковую кончину за род христианский.
In the short reign of Bārdi Bāk khan his power – according to all sources – deteriorated. Ötemiş Hājjī states that the clans of the Golden Horde migrated to the Crimea and to the vicinity of the Syr Darya under the rule of clan leaders, Mamay and Tengiz Buğa. The khan on the other hand remained in the capital Sarāy, only with his entourage (ički), where he died of sickness. To the contrary of Ötemiş Hājjī's narrative Russian sources tell a different story. They mention a certain Kulpa, who challenged the rule of the khan. Ironically, Kulpa – according to the study of Grigor'ev (1983: 22–26) – managed to take Azov, zone of interest of Tolu Bay, and minted his coins already in 1358. Though sources – both written and numismatic – for these events are scarce, it is clear that Kulpa took the capital next year, overthrew and killed Bārdi Bāk. The Patriaršaya/ Nikonovskaya letopis' portrays these events vividly under the year 1359: ‘In the summer of the same year, car' Berdibek, son of Čyanibek, grandson of Azbyak, was killed in the Horde; and with [his] his well-wisher, the wretched Tolubiy, an evil and powerful knyaz’, and other counsellors of his [he] drank out the same cup that he filled for his father and brother[s] (ПСРЛ X.: 230–231).14 The mere fact that the annals mention only Tolu Bay by name points out his might and influence in the affairs of the Golden Horde. Since numismatic finds corroborate the details of our Russian sources, we have every reason to give credit to them.

CONCLUSIONS

When we compare the evidence of Persian and Russian sources to Ötämiš Hājjī's plot of Bārdi Bāk khan, it becomes clear that the historical consciousness erased the memory of the plot against Jānī Bāk khan, it kept only the dissolution of the Batuid line and its connection to Tolu Bay. In an interesting manner, it also recorded the fact that he was the tutor of the khan. So the plot had a deed, a villain, it required only a motive for Tolu Bay. Thus, the historical consciousness constructed one, namely that Tolu Bay was acting because of personal motives, trying to avenge his son. We might even consider this phenomenon as a feature of steppe historiography. It operates with historical events and persons, it even preserves trustworthy details of some individuals, but at the same time it deploys fictional elements, motives to explain a plot. From this analysis we can conclude that the Čingiz-nāmā of Ötämiš Hājjī is a valuable asset for the study of the Golden Horde, but the traditions it preserved could change considerably. Every detail of the chronicle must be approached with criticism and at the same time it is of paramount importance to corroborate it with other sources or group of sources.

APPENDIX

In the following I give a critical text of Bārdi Bāk khan's reign from the Čingiz-nāmā. The facsimile of the Tashkent manuscript (ÖḤt) – published in Yudin et al. 1992 – serves as the principal text which is supplemented by the one in Istanbul (ÖḤi) – published by Mirgaleev 2017. Words, suffixes etc. absent in the ÖḤt but present in the ÖḤi are given in (round brackets), unreadable

14 Того же лета во Орде убиен бысть царь Бердибек, сын Чянибеков, внук Азбяков, и з доброхотом своим окаанным Товлубем, князем темным и сильным, и со иными советники его; и испи тую же чашу, еюже напоил отца своего и братью свою.
words with (---), interpolations in [square brackets]. Different wordings of the ÖHi are given in footnotes. Since the remarks on the margin of the ÖHi seems to originate from a version of the ÖHt, I leave them from the critical text.

Editions utilised are ÖHt/ Yudin et al. 1992: 135; ÖHt/Kawaguchi and Nagamine 2008: 31–32; ÖHi/Kafalı 2009: 128; ÖHi/Mirgaleev 2017: 239–240, 221.

āġāz-i dastān-i Bārdi Bāk ḫān15 oğlî Bārdi Bāk (ḫān) atasï taḫtînda 16 ḫān boldî Bārdi Bāk17 bāsî18 bi-ʿaqîl wâ bi-mulâḥaža19 kîşî erdi özînî qarîndaşlîrî20 taqî öz oğlanlîrîni manga ḡanlıq talaşîr deb21 öltürür erdi ayturlar Qanglı Tolu Bay tégân qawmî qarîndaš[i] köb küjlük kîsi erdi bu ḡanînîng atalîqî erdi hâr nā aytasă22 anînîn qarîndaşînî čiqmaz23 erdi anînîn bir qhî bar erdi Şumay24 atlıq alpă25 atçuqçî erdi ol Şumay26 (ḫaẓrât-i) Jânî Bâk ḫān zamânînda qaraqčiliq27 qîlîr erdi anînîng jihâtdîn28 ḡan ‘alâyi r-raḥmât anî öltürûb erdi Tolu Bay ol29 oğlînîn ajiqçîdîn bu kûngâşnî ol berûr aytur30 erdi sen hâlā31 yigit turur-sen32 bu mahlâl-daqî33 toğgân oğlînîn tàng osâr34 sen kündîn kûngâ qarîr-sen ol yigit bolûr(lar) tângîna sen qarîɣandînîn qhûnlîq-nî talaşîb35 alqay ḡâla bular-nî öltûrâ (---) tur-ġîl qâcan qarî bašlasang andîn song36 (bîrâwînî) qowyag-sen ter erdi (sic!) ol bî-dawlât hâm munung37 sôzîgâ kirib öltûrûb erdi bu sâbâbdîn anga kôgin38 (qirğan) kôtân hân terlîr anînî zamânînda tâfriqa-liq bîsîyâr boldî ɵng qolnî Qïyat39 Mamay alîp el kûn

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15 ÖHi: missing.
16 ÖHi: yerîndâ
17 ÖHi: bu
18 ÖHi: bâs
19 ÖHi: bi-ʿaqîl wâ bi-mulâḥaža
20 ÖHi: qarîndaşlarînî
21 ÖHi: teb
22 ÖHi: ol hâr nâ aysa
23 ÖHi: aşlan tâʃâwûz qîlmas
24 ÖHi: Şumarî
25 ÖHi: alîp
26 ÖHi: missing.
27 ÖHi: qaraqčulîq
28 ÖHi: ol jihâtdîn
29 ÖHi: mûşkûr
30 ÖHi: ol berâ (?) aydî
31 ÖHi: missing.
32 ÖHi: yigit-durur-sen
33 ÖHi: mahlâl-daqî
34 ÖHi: oglanlarînîn bîlra tàng osârîn
35 ÖHi: tilâşîb (?)
36 ÖHi: missing.
37 ÖHi: muning
38 The Tashkent manuscript has the form َکرگین, thus its editors read kerâkin (Ötâmiš Häjjî/Kawaguchi and Nagamine 2008: 89) and kärkin (Ötâmiš Häjjî/Yudin et al. 1992: 135). Although the manuscript supports this reading – the word kärkin is documented in Teleut ‘ein großer Dolch’ (Radloff 1960² II.: 1100) – I would suggest that the scribe copying the manuscript made a lapsus calami. The wording in Istanbul manuscript, which has kőgin qirğan ‘the one who wiped out his roots’, fits the fratricidal actions of Bârdi Bâk khan better. A similar phrase (kőgin uyû-ğan kôtân hân) on Bârdi Bâk khan can be found in a manuscript of the 17th century Čingiz-nâmâ of the Volga region, see Mustakimov 2009: 123.
39 ÖHi: Written erroneously as ِقیوای. The correct should be Qïyat.
birlä⁴⁰ Qīrīm-ġa kitdi sol qolnī (50b) Qiyat Īr Qutlī oglū⁴¹ Tengiz Buğa Sīr dāryāsī boynīga⁴² alīp kitdi ḫān öz(i) ički(si) birlä(n) Sarāyda boldï⁴³ üč yīl Sarāy šāhindā pādišāh boldi⁴⁴ andīn song wāfāt boldi⁴⁵

ABBREVIATIONS

ED = Clauson 1972.
ПСРЛ = Полное собрание русских летописей.
ZC [Зц] = Mirkaleev 2008.

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⁴⁰ ᪐: missing.
⁴¹ ᪐: missing.
⁴² ᪐: b.w.y.k.ā (?)
⁴³ ᪐: bolur edi
⁴⁴ ᪐: pādišāh-liq qildi
⁴⁵ ᪐: tapdī
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