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THE HISTORICAL MEANINGS OF THE TERM *TATAR*: A CRITICAL AND COMPREHENSIVE EXAMINATION

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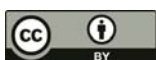
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Abstract. This article is a critical and comprehensive examination of the historical meanings and uses of the term *Tatar*, drawing on a broad range of primary sources. It focuses on identifying to whom and by whom the term was applied across different historical periods. In the pre-Mongol period, *Tatar* denoted a nomadic people of eastern Mongolia, as recorded in Türk, Uyghur, and Qirghiz inscriptions, Chinese histories, and works like Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī's *Dīwān Luġāt al-Turk*. On the eve of the Mongol conquests, the Tatars were destroyed as a collective entity by Chinggis Khan, who viewed them as his ancestral enemies. However, during the Mongol period, *Tatar* became a widespread exonym for the Mongols, used by Chinese, Western European, Rus', and Muslim writers. During the post-Mongol period, this external use continued. Writers in Ming China, the Islamic world, and Russia, among others, used *Tatar* to refer to both Mongols and their descendants. However, the heirs of the Mongol empire, namely, the Timurids, Moghuls, Uzbeks, and Kazakhs rejected it as a self-name. The notable exception were the Crimean Tatars of the western Jochid realm, who had adopted *Tatar* as a self-designation by the late 15th century or earlier. In the Russian empire, *Tatar* was more broadly used to denote not only the Mongols and their descendants, but also various Turkic-speaking subjects of the expanding empire. Similarly, Western European writers applied *Tartar* to Inner Asians, including the Manchus. Today, *Tatar* remains a self-name among the Crimean and Kazan Tatars.

Keywords: Tatar, Tatars, Mongols, Mongol empire, Ulus of Jochi, Golden Horde, Crimean and Kazan Tatars

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Introduction

Before the rise of the Mongols at the turn of thirteenth century, the most powerful nomadic people in eastern Mongolia were the Tatars. The Ilkhanid historian Rashīd al-Dīn (d. 1318), who was commissioned to write a Mongol history by Ghazan Khan (r. 1295–1304), grandson of Chinggis Khan, praised their valor and prowess saying, “With their great numbers, if they had agreed with one another and not fought, neither the Chinese nor any other creature could have withstood them” in his *Jāmi‘ al-tavārīkh* [65, p. 57; 66 p. 44]. Chinggis Khan (r. 1206–27) himself viewed these Tatars as the sworn enemies of the Mongols remarking that “From old days, the Tatar people have been our mortal enemies, the people who have destroyed our fathers and forefather” [76, p. 1:56]. Ironically, the Cilician Armenian historian Het’um (d. c. 1310/1320) wrote in his history and geography of Asia, *La Flor des estoires de la terre d’ Orient* [The Flower of Histories of the East], that Chinggis Khan “became Emperor by the general consent and will of all the Tartars” [26]. About three centuries after Chinggis Khan’s death, his descendant Mehmed Girāy Khan (r. 1514–23), ruler of the Crimean khanate, styled himself as “the lord of all the lands of the Qipchaq Steppe and the hereditary lord of the Tartars” in a letter he sent to a king of Poland [39, p. 642, 646].

As shown in these examples, the term *Tatar* was applied to, in different times and regions, a variety of entities, ranging from the sworn enemies of Chinggis Khan to the Chinggisid rulers of Crimea. Still, in modern literature, the term *Tatar* is often used without being clearly defined.

This article is a critical and comprehensive examination of the historical meanings of the term *Tatar*. It aims to analyze to whom and by whom the term *Tatar* was historically applied, drawing on a broad-range of primary sources. It is not concerned with the ethnicity or ethnogenesis of the groups that historically bore this name. This article will demonstrate that the term *Tatar* denoted a Mongolic nomadic people residing in and around eastern Mongolia in various sources produced during the pre-Mongol period; became an “exonym” for the Mongols in the Mongol period; continued to be used as an exonym for the Mongols and their Mongol descendants, who reserved *Tatar* for the original Tatars, who were destroyed as a corporate entity by Chinggis Khan, except for the “(Crimean) Tatars” of the western Jochid realm who adopted it as a self-name, in the post-Mongol period¹.

The Term *Tatar* in the Pre-Mongol Period

During the pre-Mongol period, the term *Tatar*, which appeared in various sources, including Turkic, Muslim, and Chinese sources, denoted a Mongolic nomadic people residing in and around eastern Mongolia².

Tatar in the Turkic Inscriptions

The term *Tatar* is first attested in the eighth-century Orkhon Inscriptions³, which were erected by the Eastern Türks who established a revived Türk state

¹ Later, the Kazan Tatars also adopted *Tatar* as a self-name. In the Russian empire, *Tatar* became a broader term that encompassed various Muslim and non-Muslim Turkic-speaking groups.

² These Tatars were in all likelihood a Mongolic-speaking nomadic people. However, in pre-modern Inner Eurasia, nomadic confederations were often made up of tribes of diverse linguistic backgrounds. Therefore, some Turkic-speaking elements may have been present among the Tatars. On this point, see Lee [42, p. 113–17].

known as the Second Türk Qaghanate (682–745 CE). The Kül Tegin and Bilge Qaghan inscriptions list “the Otuz Tatar (Thirty Tatars)” as enemies of the Türks, along with the Qirghiz, the Khitan, and other Inner Asian peoples⁴. Elsewhere, they mention that “the Otuz Tatars” sent delegations, along with the Chinese, Qirghiz, and Khitans, among others, to the funeral of the founders of the Türk Qaghanate as follows:

Then they passed away. People came from the sunrise-place in the east, including Bukli, the land of Collug, Tang China, Tibet, Apar, Purum (Rum, i.e. Byzantium), Kırkız, Uc Kurikan, Otuz Tatar, Kitan and Tatabı, to attend the funeral feast and lament⁵.

The Bilge Qaghan inscription also mentions “the Toquz Tatar (Nine Tatars)” as allies of the Oghuz [16, p. 212, 222]⁶. In the Uyghur inscriptions, the Tatars appear as “the Toquz Tatar (Nine Tatars).” For instance, the Shine-Usu inscription, erected for the Uyghur khan Moyun Chor (r. 747–59), states that the Uyghurs subdued the Sekiz Oghuz (Eight Oghuz) and the Toquz Tatars in 749⁷.

Tatar in the Chinese Sources

The Tatars mentioned in the Turkic inscriptions appeared for the first time in the Chinese sources in the ninth century CE⁸. They are mentioned as *Dada* (達怛) and *Heichezi Dada* (黑車子達怛) in the Tang Chinese writer Li Deyu (李德裕)’s *Huichang Yipinji* (會昌一品集), a collection of the edicts that Li drafted, which contains information on the Uyghurs [49]⁹. The *Jiu Wudaishi* (舊五代史) [Old

³ The Orkhon Inscriptions are two stone monuments erected in the valley of the Orkhon River in northern Mongolia by the Second Türk Qaghanate in honor of the Türk qaghan Bilge and his brother Kül Tegin. Along with the Tonyuquq inscription, which was erected by the Türk commander and statesman Tonyuquq, the Orkhon Inscriptions are considered the first native history writing produced by the Inner Asian nomads themselves.

⁴ See line 12 (east side) of the Bilge Qaghan inscription and line 14 (east side) of the Kül Tegin inscription [16, p. 182, 200, 208, 219].

⁵ Line 5 (east side) of the Bilge Qaghan inscription and line 4 (east side) of the Kül Tegin inscription. The English translation is from Chen [16, p. 180, 199, 207, 218].

⁶ The Otuz Tatars and the Toquz Tatars were two different Tatar groupings. The relationship between the two remains unclear. This article does not seek to explore their relationship.

⁷ Line 3 (east side) of the Šine-Usu inscription [52, p. 13 (text), p. 26 (trans.)]. For the Oghuz, also known as Tiele in the Chinese histories, see Lee [47, p. 12–21]. The Tatars are also mentioned in the Qirghiz inscriptions. For instance, see Kyzlasov [41, p. 22–23] and Klyashtornyı [40, p. 35].

⁸ In the *Songshu* (宋書) [Book of the Song Dynasty], a fifth-century history of the short-lived Liu-Song Dynasty (420–479), which ruled in southern China, the Rourans, a nomadic people of Para-Mongolic or mixed origin, are referred to as *Datan* (大檀) and *Tantan* (檀檀) (“芮芮一號大檀，又號檀檀”). However, the connection between the fifth-century Rourans and the later Tatars remains speculative. For the *Datan* (大檀) and *Tantan* (檀檀), see Shen [82].

⁹ The “Heichezi Dada (黑車子達怛)” were a clan of the Shiwei (室韋), a Proto-Mongolic people who resided in far-eastern Mongolia and northern Manchuria. The Otuz Tatars and the Shiwei were likely the same nomadic entity. If so, one may argue that the Tatars (Shiwei) first appeared in the Chinese histories in the seventh century CE, in the

history of the Five Dynasties]¹⁰, compiled in 974, provides the following account of the Tatars:

The Tatars, remnants of the Mohe tribe¹¹, originally resided to the northeast of the Qay and Khitan tribes. As the Khitan tribe gradually gained strength, they frequently launched attacks and raids on the Tatars, causing their tribes to disperse. Some fell under the dominion of the Khitan, while others sought refuge with the Balhae/Bohai state¹². Gradually, they migrated to the Yinshan (陰山) region¹³. Due to linguistic distortions, they were henceforth known as Tatars ... They are good at horseback archery and have a lot of camels and horses¹⁴.

Wang Yande (王延德) (938–1006), a Song Chinese envoy who visited the Uyghurs of Qocho, refers to the Tatars as “the Nine Tribe Tatar (九族達鞑)” in his travel report known as *Gaochang xingji* (高昌行紀). He also writes about the Tatars as follows:

The Khitans were once engaged in sheep herding for the Uyghurs, and the Tatars were once engaged in cattle herding for the Uyghurs. When the Uyghurs migrated to Ganzhou, the Khitans and the Tatars began to contend for dominance and attacked each other¹⁵.

Tatar in the Muslim Sources

The term *Tatar* in the Muslim sources produced during the pre-Mongol period also referred to the Mongolic nomadic people mentioned in the aforementioned Turkic inscriptions and the Chinese sources. Muslim writers, who used the term *Turk* as a collective name for the Inner Asian nomadic peoples, including Mongolic-speaking groups [42, p. 108–113, 118–21], often listed the Tatars, along with other Turkic and non-Turkic nomadic peoples, as being *Turks*. For instance, the Tatars are mentioned in the *Hudūd al-‘ālam*, a tenth-century concise Persian geog-

Suishu (隋書), the official dynastic history of the Sui Dynasty, which was compiled in the seventh century.

¹⁰ The term “Five Dynasties” in Chinese history denotes the five states that succeeded one another in northern China between 907 and 979 CE, that is, the period between the fall of the Tang dynasty and the rise of the Song dynasty.

¹¹ This is an incorrect statement. The Mohe were an ancient people of Manchuria, who are considered ancestors of the Tungusic Jurchens and Manchus.

¹² The Khitans were a Para-Mongolic people who founded the Liao dynasty (916–1125). They used the term *Zubu* (阻卜) for the Tatars. Balhae/Bohae (698–926) was a successor state to the northern Korean kingdom of Goguryeo.

¹³ The Yinshan Mountains (陰山) is located in modern-day Inner Mongolia.

¹⁴ “韃鞑，鞑鞑之遺種，本在奚，契丹之東北，契丹漸盛，多為攻劫，部衆分散，或屬契丹，或依渤海，漸徙陰山，語訛謂之韃鞑 ... 其俗善騎射，畜多駝馬。” This passage, which is missing in the copies of the *Jiu Wudaishi* edited in the Qing period, is included in Chapter 69 of the *Dashiji Xubian* (大事記續編) [A continuation of the great historic events] by the Ming Chinese scholar Wang Yi (王禕), who drew on both old and new *Wudaishi* histories [88]. Also, see [17]. I would like to thank Pu Xiaoping (蒲小平), Ph.D. candidate at the Renmin University of China, for offering me indispensable assistance in clarifying the source of this passage. A slightly modified passage is included in *Xin Wudaishi* (新五代史) [New History of the Five Dynasties] [60].

¹⁵“契丹舊為回紇牧羊，達鞑舊為回紇牧牛，回紇徙甘州，契丹、達鞑遂各爭長攻戰。” [87].

raphy of the then known world, as a branch of the Uyghurs [27, p. 94]. The eleventh-century *Qābūs-nāma*, a famous Mirror for Princes written by Kai Kā'ūs b. Iskandar, lists the Tatars alongside the Turkic-speaking Oghuz, Qipchaq, and Chigil, and the non-Turkic-speaking Tibetans and Qay, referring to all of them as *Turks*:

Amongst them the most ill-tempered are the Ghuzz [Oghuz] and the Qipchāqs; the best-tempered and the most willing are the Khutanese, the Khallukhīs and the Tibetans; the boldest and the most courageous are the Turghay [Qay], the most inured to toil and hardship and the most active are the Tatars and the Yaghmā, whereas the laziest of all are the Chigil [34, p. 103; 35, p. 63]¹⁶.

The eleventh-century Qarakhanid lexicographer Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī also mentions the Tatars in his *Dīwān Luġāt al-Turk*, a compendium of the Turkic dialects. He describes the Tatars as *Turks* who speak “their own language” but “also know Turkic well” [36, p. 1:85]. When mentioning the Ötükān, the sacred forest of the Türks, Kāshgharī writes that it is the “name of a place in the deserts of Tatār, near Uighur” [36, 1:159]. The mid-eleventh century Persian historian and geographer Gardīzī mentions the Tatars as the ancestral group of the Kimeks, a nomadic confederation that resided in Western Siberia at the turn of the eleventh century, as follows:

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 and she was his lover. He took that girl and ran away from his brother. He arrived at a place where there were a great river, many trees, and abundant game ... seven persons from the relative of the Tatars came near them. The first one was Īmī; the second, Īmāk; the third, Tatār; the fourth, Bayāndur; the fifth, Khifchāq; the sixth, Lanīqāz; and the seventh, Ajlād. This folk (*qaumī*) had brought the horses of their lords to pasture ... Other people who heard this news began to come. Seven hundred individuals 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 [2, p. 549–51]¹⁷.

The renowned Arab historian Ibn al-Athīr (d. 1233) also makes mention of the Tatars, whom he identifies with the later Mongols, in his *al-Kāmil fī al-tārīkh* as follows: “There remained some Turks who had not converted, the Tatars and the Khitay (*wa baqā min al-Atrāki man lam yaslam Tatar wa Khaṭā*)” [31, p. 520; 32, p. 56].

The Term *Tatar* in the Mongol Period

During the Mongol period, the term *Tatar*, which had come into existence with a nomadic people of eastern Mongolia, no longer primarily referred to its original bearers¹⁸. Instead, it began to be used as an exonym for the Mongols by Chinese, European, and Muslim writers, among others.

¹⁶ The word in the brackets is mine.

¹⁷ For the Russian translation of Gardīzī’s account of the Kimeks, see [14, p. 43–45]; and for the English translation of this text, see [51, p. 109–217].

¹⁸ The original Tatars—namely, the direct descendants of the pre-Mongol era Tatars—were destroyed as a corporate entity by Chinggis Khan in 1202.

The Mongol View of the Tatars

It has been noted by Rashīd al-Dīn that as a consequence of the power and prestige that the Tatars commanded, their name became widely used as a self-name by other non-Tatar groups [65, p. 57; 66, p. 44]. However, the Mongols did not identify themselves as *Tatars*, whom they saw as their ancestral enemies¹⁹. Importantly, the *Secret History of the Mongols*, a thirteenth-century Mongol history of Chinggis Khan and his ancestors, and the *Jāmi' al-tavārīkh*, the universal history written for the Ilkhanids by Rashīd al-Dīn, both of which reflect the Mongol view of the Tatars, use the term *Tatar* only to refer to the original Tatars with whom they had a long-standing blood feud²⁰.

Tatar in the Chinese Sources

However, Chinese writers used the term *Tatar* (*Dada* 韃靼) to refer to the Mongols²¹. Notably, the Southern Song envoy Zhao Gong, who visited the Mongols in the early thirteenth century, uses, in his *Mengda beilu* (蒙鞑備錄) [A memorandum on the Mong-Tatars], the term *Tatar* (*Dada* in Chinese) to refer to the Mongols and the Turkic Önggüt, who had submitted to the former. He refers to the former as “the Tatar” or “the Black Tatar (*Hei Dada* 黑韃靼)” and the latter as “the White Tatar (*Bai Dada* 白韃靼)”²². Peng Daya and Xu Ting, two other Southern Song envoys to the Mongols, also used the term *Tatar* to refer to the Mongols. Like Zhao Gong, they call the Mongols and the Turkic Önggüt “the Black Tatar” and “the White Tatar,” respectively, in their *Heida shilüe* (黑鞑事略) [A sketch of the Black Tatars]²³. These Southern Song writers make no mention of the original Tatars, who had been eradicated as a corporate entity by Chinggis Khan in 1202 and therefore remained unseen to their eyes. *Tatar* continued to be used for the Mongols during the Mongol Yuan period. For instance, in a regulation recorded in the *Yuan Dianzhang*, the compendium of Yuan administrative law written in the early fourteenth century, the Mongols are referred to as “Tatar (*Dada* 達達)”²⁴.

¹⁹ By contrast, Stephen Pow speculates that the Mongols used *Tatar* as a self-name in the first three or four decades of their expansion [62, p. 545–67].

²⁰ For instance, see [76, p. 1:10–11, 13, 16, 56–59, 76–77; 65, p. 57–71; 66, p. 43–52]. However, Vaṣṣāf, another fourteenth-century Persian historian of the Ilkhanate, uses the term *Tatar* for the Mongols unlike Rashīd al-Dīn. See [3, p. 291]. ‘Alā’ al-Dīn ‘Aṭā Malik Juvaynī also refers to the Mongols as *Tatar* occasionally. For instance, he writes, “The home of the Tartars, and their origin and birthplace, is an immense valley” [11, p. 20].

²¹ *Tatar* was written in different Chinese characters such as 韃靼 (*Dada*), and 達達 (*Dada*), among others. 達子 (*Dazi*) was a derogatory form of *Dada*.

²² Zhao Gong also uses the term “Raw Tatar (*Sheng Dada* 生韃靼)” to denote some obscure nomadic tribes of Mongolia. However, he does not necessarily use the term *Tatar* as a collective name for the Inner Asian nomadic peoples since he describes the Tatars as a specific people descending from the Shatuo, a Turkic nomadic people who established the Later Tang (923–936), Later Jin (936–943), and Later Han (947–951) in North China in the tenth century CE. See [23, p. 3–4; 12, p. 72–73]. For the Chinese text, see <https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=730764> (date accessed 9.09.2024).

²³ Peng Daya and Xu Ting also does not use the term *Tatar* as a collective name for the Inner Asian nomadic peoples. The Merkit, Naiman, Qangli, and Qipchaq, among others, are called by their own name in their work [23, p. 87, 209–10; 12, p. 93–94, 127–8].

²⁴ See [90, 8.9a–b].

Muslim Usage of the Term *Tatar*

When the Mongols first appeared in the Islamic world in the early thirteenth century, Muslim writers applied the term *Tatar* to the invading Mongols in all likelihood because they identified the latter with the original Tatars²⁵. For instance, Abū Shāma (1203–67), a historian of thirteenth-century Damascus, depicts the Mamluk victory over the Mongols at ‘Ayn Jalut calling the latter “Tatars” as follows:

The Tatars conquered the lands and there came to them, from Egypt, a Turk, who was unmindful of his life. In Syria, he destroyed and scattered them (*ghalaba al-Tātār ‘alā al-bilādi fajā’ahum, min Miṣra Turkīyyun yajūdu bi-nafsihi, bi-l-Shāmi ahlakahum wa badada shamlahum*) [8, p. 208].

Notably, the Mamluk ruler Sultān al-Nāṣir (r. 1293–1341, with two interruptions) referred to the Mongols as “Tatars” when explaining the relationship between the Mamluks and the Mongols to French envoys as follows:

The only thing which diverted us from (handling) you was our fighting with the Tatars. Today, however, we are, thank God, at peace (with them). We and they are of the same race (*naḥnu wa-iyyāhum min jins wāḥid*), and none of us will desert the other [13, p. 122].

The Russian and European Usage of the Term *Tatar*

The Western European writers and the Rus’ chroniclers during this period also used the term *Tatar* or *Tartar* to refer to the Mongols²⁶. For instance, the *Novgorod First Chronicle* (*Novgorodskaya pervaya letopis’*) refers to the Mongols, whom the Rus’ fought at the Battle of the Kalka River, as “Tatars (*татары*)” [57, p. 264–7]. John of Plano Carpini, the Franciscan friar sent as an envoy of Pope Innocent IV to the Mongols, refers to the latter as “Tartars” in his travel account, for instance, as follows: “The Tartars also wiped out the Kanghai [Qangli] and now inhabit their country” [15, p. 58–59]²⁷.

The Term *Tatar* in the Post-Mongol Period

During the post-Mongol period, Ming Chinese, Muslim, and Russian writers, among others, continued to use the term *Tatar* for the Mongols as well as those whom they viewed as Mongol descendants.

Tatar in the Ming Chinese and Korean Sources

The Ming Dynasty (1368–1644), the Chinese state that ousted the Mongols from China in 1368, continued to use the term *Tatar* (*Dada* 韃靼 or 達達) to refer to the Mongols. Notably, the *Mingshi* (明史) [History of the Ming Dynasty] refers to the Northern Yuan Mongols as *Tatar* (*Dada*) as follows: “The Tatars are Mongols, descendants of the former Yuan Dynasty”²⁸. The *Ming shilu* (明實錄), the

²⁵ On the reason why the term *Tatar* became widespread before the rise of the Mongols, see [65, p. 57; 66, p. 1:44]. Muslim writers also often referred to the Mongols as *Turks*. See [42, p. 118–21; 46, p. 4–6].

²⁶ In medieval Europe, *Tatar* was distorted to “Tartar,” a name that depicts the Mongols as coming from Tartarus (hell).

²⁷ The word in the brackets is mine.

²⁸ “韃靼 即蒙古故元後也” [92, Chapter 327, p. 8463]. In the late Qing period, Chinese revolutionaries including Sun Yat-sen, who overthrew the Qing dynasty and founded the Republic of China, applied the derogatory term *Tatar* (*Dalu* 韃虜) to refer to the Manchu rulers.

imperial annals of the Ming dynasty, also applies the term *Tatar* to the Kazakhs calling them *Dada huiyi* (韃靼回夷), meaning “Tatar Muslim barbarians”²⁹.

The Koreans, who experienced Mongol rule for nearly a century, also used the term *Tatar* (*Dada* 達達 or 韃靼) as well as *Menggu* (蒙古) for the Mongols. For instance, describing the Mongol envoys sent to Korea in 1231 to demand submission, the *Goryeosa* 高麗史 [History of Goryeo], an official history of Korea’s Goryeo Dynasty (918–1392), composed in the mid-fifteenth-century Joseon Dynasty, uses both *Tatar* (*Dada* 達達) and *Menggu* (蒙古) to refer to the Mongols [22]. Elsewhere in this history, the Mongol herders stationed in the Jeju Island, which was used by the Yuan Dynasty as a grazing ground for Mongol horses, are called “Tatar herders (達達牧子 or 韃靼牧子)” [22].

Russian and European Usage of the Term *Tatar*

After the dissolution of the Ulus of Jochi, also known as the Golden Horde, into several into several states in the mid-fifteenth century, the Muscovites continued to use the term *Tatar* for the Mongols and their successors, including the Crimean Tatars and the Timurids. Notably, the sixteenth-century *Nikon Chronicle* describes Temür as belonging to “the trans-Yaik/Ural Tatars from the Samarqand(?) countries (*ot' zait's'kikh' tatar' ot' Samarkhiyskiya strany*)” [69, p. 258; 55, p. 94]. It also applies the term *Tatar* to the Crimean Tatars, depicting them and the Mongols as one and the same people [70, p. 179, 192; 56, p. 282, 296]³⁰. Later, in the Russian empire, the term *Tatar* was used as a broader designation encompassing various Muslim as well as non-Muslim Turkic-speaking groups residing in the Volga-Ural regions, Siberia, Crimea and the South Caucasus³¹.

²⁹ See [52]. The *Ming shilu* applied the term *Dada* to the Kazakhs probably because the Ming believed that the “western lands” were still being ruled by Mongol descendants. According to Nurlan Kenzhekhmet, the *Shuyu Zhouzi lu* (殊域周咨錄) [Informative records on countries far away], written by Yan Congjian (嚴從簡) in 1574, describes the Kazakh khans as being half Tatars (達子) [58, p. 137]. The relevant passage in the *Shuyu Zhouzi lu* reads as follows: “The Kazakh king (哈辛王) and others originally resided in the Uzbek (Ejibie額即兒) territory in the northern mountains of Samarqand, and they claimed to be partially Tatar (*Dazi*達子) (哈辛王等原在撒馬兒罕北山額即兒地面居住, 且言半是達子) [83]. *Dazi* (達子) was a derogatory term for the Tatars. The *Mingshi* also describes the Timurids of the fifteenth century as Mongol descendants as follows: “[Chinggis Khan] mopped up and pacified the Western Regions (西域) and appointed kings and royal son-in-laws (駙馬) as their rulers. The name *Samaerhan* (撒馬兒罕) [Samarqand] came into existence when he changed the former name of the state into a Mongolian one ... In the later years of the Yuan Dynasty, the royal son-in-law (駙馬) Temür became its king ... After the royal son-in-law of the Yuan Dynasty Temür became the ruler of Samarqand, he again sent his son Shahrukh (沙哈魯) to conquer Herat (哈烈) (元太祖蕩平西域, 盡以諸王 駙馬爲之君長. 易前代國名以蒙古語, 始有撒馬兒罕之名 ... 元末爲之王者, 駙馬帖木兒也 ... 元駙馬帖木兒既君撒馬兒罕又遣其子沙哈魯據哈烈)” [92, Chapter 332, p. 8597, 8609].

³⁰ The Polish-Lithuanian chroniclers also used the same term *Tatar* to refer to the Mongols and the Crimean Tatars. For instance, Jan Dlugosz refers to the Crimean Tatars as *Tatars* mentioning their raid into Poland in 1469 [33, p. 243–44].

³¹ For instance, the Khakas, a non-Muslim Turkic group residing in South Siberia, were called “Abakan Tatars (Abakanskie Tatory)” or “Minusa Tatars (Minusinskie Tatory)”

Western European writers also continued to use the term *Tartar* for the Mongol descendants of the Ulus of Jochi. For instance, Sigismund von Herberstein (d. 1566), the envoy sent to Muscovy by Emperor Maximilian I in 1517, referred to both Temür and the Jochid nomads of the Qipchaq Steppe as “Tartars” in his work [25, p. 2:49–53]. The Castilian traveler Pero Tafur (c. 1410–c. 1484), who visited Crimea in 1437, used the name *Tartar* to refer to the Tatars of Crimea, whom he distinguished from the “Turks,” i.e., the Ottomans. He writes as follows:

[The Tartars] are commonly small in stature and broad-shouldered. Their foreheads are wide and their eyes are small. It is said that the most deformed are of the noblest birth. It is said also that when they meet the Turks they always have the better of them, and that the Turks, as a consequence, beat the Greeks, and the Greeks the Tartars [84, p. 136].

Like the Russians, Western European writers later used the term *Tartar* more broadly to denote the peoples of Inner Asia. Notably, when the Tungusic-speaking Manchus conquered China in the seventeenth century, European Catholic missionaries called them Tartars, a name they had previously applied to the Mongols proper [18, p. 83–89]³².

Muslim Usage of the Term *Tatar*

During the post-Mongol period, Muslim writers continued to apply the term *Tatar* to the Mongols and those whom they viewed as Mongol descendants, namely the Timurids, the Uzbeks, and the Crimean Tatars, among others³³. For instance, Ibn ‘Arabshāh (d. 1450), the author of a biography of Temür (r. 1370–1405), the *‘Ajā’ib al-maqdūr fī nawā’ib Tīmūr*, employs the term *Tatar* (*Tatār*) for Temür’s army [9, p. 123, 306; 73, p. 64, 169]. Similarly, Ibn Khaldūn, the greatest Arab historian, calls Temür “the sultan of the *Mughul* and *Tatar*” when describing his meeting with the latter [28, p. 366]. *Tatar* was a name Ibn Khaldūn used to refer to the Mongols. Therefore, he named his chapter on the history of the Mongols “Report on the Rule of the Tatars [who are one] of the Turkic Tribes (*al-khabar ‘an dawlat al-Tatar min shu ‘ūb al-Turk*)” [29, p. 5:515]³⁴. Similarly, the Ottoman historian Muṣṭafā ‘Ālī (d. 1600) used *Tatar*, in his universal history, *Künhü’l-ahbār*, to denote the Mongols, the Timurids, and the Crimean Tatars. In the third volume of his work, he refers to the Chinggisids and Timurids (*Āl-i Timur u Āl-i Cengizī*)” as “the Tatar people (*ḳavm-i Tatar*)” [20, p. 1:69]³⁵. Elsewhere, he refers to

by the Russians. Similarly, the latter used the name “Caucasian Tatars” for the Turkic-speaking Azeris of the South Caucasus.

³² For a detailed discussion of how Europeans (including Russians) defined “Tartary,” see [21].

³³ Muslim writers applied the term *Tatar* to these peoples regardless of the fact that they were Turkic-speakers. One should note that Muslim writers also applied the term *Turk* to the Mongols and other non-Turkic Inner Asian nomadic peoples. In short, they did not view linguistic affiliation as a primary factor in identity formation. On this point, see [42, p. 113–17].

³⁴ Mamluk chroniclers also used the term *Tatar* for the Mongols. For instance, the later Mamluk historians al-Malaṭī and Ibn Taghrībirdī referred to the ruler of the Ulus of Jochi as “the king of the Tatars in the Land of the Qipchaqs (malik al-tatār bi-Dasht Qibjaq)” [1, p. 2:332] and “the king of the Tatars (ṣāhib al-Dasht wal-tatar)” [91, p. 4:107], respectively, in their works. The English quotations are from Koby Yosef [89, p. 180, 183n221].

³⁵ On Temür’s Mongol identity, see [45, p. 200–16].

Temür's tribe as "the Tatar tribe called the Barlas *ulus* (*ulus-i Barlas nām Tatar kabīlesi*)" [20, p. 3:612]. He also uses the term *Tatar* for the rulers of the Ulus of Jochi such as Batu Khan, Urus Khan, and Toqtamış Khan, among others, [20, p. 3: 606–8] and the Crimean Tatars [20, p. 3:608–12]. Evliyā Çelebi (d. c. 1684), the celebrated Ottoman traveler, also calls both the Mongols and Temür *Tatar* in his work. Describing the Crimean city Eski Kırım, Evliyā Çelebi writes "because of Eski Kırım, the Tatars of Hülegü, the Tatars of Chinggis Khan, the Tatars of Temür, and the Tatars of Toqtamış Khan came to Crimea and left after assaulting and plundering (*bu Eski Kırım sebebiyle Hulāgū Tatarı ve Cingiz Hān Tatarı ve Timur Leng Tatarı ve Tohtamış Hān Tatarları Kırım'a gelüp nehb [ü] gāretler edüp gitimişlerdir*)" [19, p. 7:251]³⁶.

The Chinggisid and Timurid Views of the Tatars

However, the Chaghatayid and Jochid *uluses* (peoples) of Central Asian oases and the Qipchaq Steppe, namely, the Timurids, the Moghuls, the (Shibanid) Uzbeks³⁷, and the Kazakhs, who identified themselves as heirs to the Mongol empire³⁸, did not use the term *Tatar* as a self-name³⁹. Various Chinggisid and Timurid histories they produced reserve the term *Tatar* for the original Tatars⁴⁰. For instance, in his Introduction (*muqaddima*) to the *Ẓafarnāma*, a Timurid history dedicated to Temür's grandson Ibrāhīm Sulṭān (r. 1415–35), Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī (d. 1454) reserves the term *Tatar* for the original Tatars. Yazdī describes them as the descendants of Tātār Khan, the twin brother of Mughūl Khan, whom he presents as the progenitor of the Mongols including the Chinggisids and the Timurids [81, p. 87–88]. Elsewhere in the *Ẓafarnāma*, Yazdī mentions the term *Tatar* only when referring to the original Tatars, who constantly warred against the Mongols until the time of Chinggis Khan [81, p. 99, 103, 105]. Ulugh Beg (r. 1447–49), who succeeded his father, Shāhrukh (r. 1405–1447), son of Temür, also uses the term *Tatar* in the same sense in his *Tārīkh-i arba' ulūs*, a history of the Mongol empire. The anonymous *Shajarat al-Atrāk*, which is an abridgment of the *Tārīkh-i arba' ulūs*, used the term *Tatar* for the original Tatars⁴¹ and also defines them as the descendants of Tātār, the twin brother of Mughūl [79, p. 37–38; 80, p. 29–30]. The later Timurid historian Khvāndamīr also reserves the term *Tatar* for the original Tatars, whom he depicts as the descendants of Tātār, the twin brother of Mughūl,

³⁶ Elsewhere, Evliyā argues that the Ottomans, the Muscovites, and the Persians, among others, evolved from the Tatars, making the latter "universal nomads." See [61, p. 4].

³⁷ The Shibanid Uzbeks were the Uzbeks who migrated south from the Qipchaq Steppe when Muḥammad Shībānī Khan (r. 1501–10) conquered the Timurid states of Transoxiana and Khorasan in the early sixteenth century. A number of Central Asian writers used the term "Shibanid Uzbek (*Uzbek-i Shībān* or *Uzbekān-i Shībānī*)" to refer to the Uzbeks led by Muḥammad Shībānī Khan, differentiating them from the Kazakhs, whom they called "Qazaq Uzbek (*Uzbek-i Qazāq*)." See [43, p. 97n1, 125–26].

³⁸ For studies on this topic, see [44; 46].

³⁹ Interestingly, I. L. Izmailov argues that because the Mongol invasion destroyed the ruling dynasties in the East European steppes, "all people got mixed within the new ulus structure" and, as a result, "the term *Tatar* was actively introduced into population's public mind, especially that one of military nobility" [30, p. 753].

⁴⁰ The seventeenth-century Northern Yuan Mongol Chronicles *Erdeni-yin Tobci* and *Altan Tobci* also use the term *Tatar* only for the original Tatars [71, p. 50–1; 72, p. 43, 45; 50, p. 7–8, 11].

⁴¹ For instance, see [79, p. 87–88; 80, p. 62–63].

in the *Ḥabīb al-siyar* [37, p. 6, 15–6 ; 38, p. 2–3, 8–9]. The court historian of the Timurid Mughal empire Abū al-Faḏl (d. 1602) also reiterates the Timurid account of the Tatars and use the term *Tatar* for the original Tatars [7, p. 198, 208, 238 (text), p. 199, 209, 239 (trans.)]⁴².

Likewise, Uzbek historians did not apply the term *Tatar* to the Mongols or the Uzbeks themselves and reserved it for the original Tatars. For instance, Ötämiš Ḥājī does not use the term *Tatar* to refer to the Jochid/Uzbek people in his *Tārīkh-i Dūst Sulṭān* or *Chingīz-nāma*, a history of the Ulus of Jochi he wrote in the 1550s [59]. Ḥāfiẓ Tanish Bukhārī also reserves the term *Tatar* for the original Tatars, whom he describes as the descendants of Tātār Khan, the twin brother of Mughūl Khan, whom he portrays as the ancestor of the Mongols including the Chinggisids and the Timurids in his *‘Abdallāh-nāma*, or *Sharaf-nāma-i shāhī* [24, fol. 10b, 24b (text), p. 1:48, 72 (trans.)]. The same holds true for Abū al-Ghāzī Bahādur Khan (r. 1644–63), who describes the Tatars as the descendants of Mughūl’s twin brother, Tātār, and as a nomadic people who constantly warred against the Mongols until the time of Chinggis Khan in his *Shejere-i Türk*, a history of the Chinggisids up to the ‘Arabshāhid Uzbek dynasty [6, p. 11–12, 17–18, 34–35, 43–45 (text), p. 10–11, 17, 33–34, 44–45 (trans.)].

Similarly, the Kazakhs did not use the term *Tatar* as a self-name or for other Jochid peoples. For instance, their oral traditions do not use *Tatar* to refer to the Crimean and Kazan Tatars and instead use the name *Nogai*⁴³. Accordingly, the late nineteenth/early twentieth-century Kazakh historian Qurbān-‘Alī Khālīdī refers to the Crimean Tatars as “the Crimean Nogais” [64, p. 82]⁴⁴. Another Kazakh historian Qādir ‘Alī Bek Jalāyirī uses the term *Tatar* only occasionally in two different senses in his *Jāmi ‘al-tavārīkh*, a continuation of Rashīd al-Dīn’s *Jāmi ‘al-tavārīkh*: the Jochid nomadic subjects of the Russian empire and the original Tatars. Qādir ‘Alī Bek uses *Tatar* in the first sense when he writes that Boris Godunov (r. 1598–1605), to whom he dedicated his work, was the ruler of “the Russians on the plain and the Tatars in the steppe” [63, p. 30, 112 (text), p. 116, 170 (trans.)]. He uses *Tatar* in the second sense when he describes the Tatars who fought against Chinggis Khan’s Mongols [63, p. 46, 54–57 (text), p. 128, 132–33 (trans.)]. In short, Qādir ‘Alī Bek’s usage of *Tatar* reflects the traditional Mongol view of the Tatars as well as the Russian usage.

Unlike other Jochid peoples, the Crimean Tatars adopted *Tatar*, which was an exonym used by the Ottomans and the Muscovites, among others, for the Mongols and their descendants, as a self-designation by the late fifteenth century or earlier. In a yarliq sent to the Sigismund I (r. 1506–48), King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania, the Crimean khan Meḥmed Girāy (r. 1514–23) used the term *Tatar* to refer to his *ulus* [39, p. 642, 646]. In another letter sent to Sigismund I, Meḥmed

⁴² Likewise, the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, a history of the Moghul (eastern Chaghatayid) Khanate by Muḥammad Haidar Dughlāt (d. 1551), does not use the term *Tatar* as a self-name of the Moghuls. Interestingly, in mentioning a war between the Moghuls and the Qalmaqs, it applies Tātār to the latter, most likely to differentiate between the two peoples [54, p. 1:35 (trans); p. 2:40 (text)].

⁴³ I first learned about this practice from the Kazakh historian Qanat Uskenbay.

⁴⁴ However, Qurbān-‘Alī Khālīdī refers to Chinggis Khan’s *ulus* as “the Mongols and Tatars,” like the two eighteenth-century Crimean Tatar chroniclers who will be discussed below, and depicts them as the ancestors of the Kazakhs [64, p. 219–20].

Girāy Khan styled himself as the great khan of “all the Mongols (*barča Moğul*)” [86, p. 2; 39, p. 652, 655], which demonstrates that he identified the Tatars with the Mongols. The Crimean Tatar chronicles do not depict the Tatars as arch-enemies of the Mongols. Instead, they use the term *Tatar* in different but related meanings: the Mongols; the non-Mongol elements that joined Chinggis Khan’s *ulus*; the Jochid *ulus* (people) including the Crimean Tatars. The *Tārīḥ-i Şāhib Girāy Hān*, a history of Şāhib Girāy Khan (r. 1532–51), written by Remmāl Ḥoca in the mid-sixteenth century, writes that Şāhib Girāy Khan and his Tatar army marched in accordance with “the law of Chinggis Khan (*kanun-i Çingiz*)” [67, p. 214 (trans.), p. 75 (text)]. The *Es-Sebu’s-Seyyar fi Ahbar-ı Mulük-ü Tatar*, an early eighteenth-century Crimean chronicle written by Sayyid Muḥammad Rezā in 1737, uses *Tatar* together with *Mongol* (*Moğol*) to refer to the new *ulus* of the Mongolian steppes united by Chinggis Khan or on its own to refer to the Mongols. For instance, it refers to Chinggis Khan’s Mongol army that raided China as “Tatar Mongol troops (*asker-i Moğol-i Tatar*)” [77, p. 68; 78, p. 72] and the Mongol army led by Hülegü’s commander Kitbuqa (d. 1260), who was defeated by the Mamluks, as “Tatars” [77, p. 87; 78, p. 104]. It also refers to the Jochid people who converted to Islam during the reigns of Berke Khan and Uzbek Khan as “Tatars” [77, p. 93–94; 78, p. 118–19]. The same holds true for the *Umdat al-aḥbār*, another eighteenth-century Crimean chronicle written by ‘Abd al-Ghaffār Qırımī in Ottoman Turkish in 1744⁴⁵. For instance, it writes that the four sons of Chinggis Khan including Ögedei (r. 1229–41) were favored by “all the Tatar and Mongol tribes (*umumen kabâil-i Tatar ve Moğol*)” [4, p. 28; 5, p. 17]. It also refers to the army that Batu sent to conquer Moscow as the “Mongols and Tatars (*Moğol ve Tatar*)” [4, p. 62; 5, p. 43]. Elsewhere, it refers to Chinggis Khan’s troops that “invaded” the Rus’ and the Qipchaq Steppe as “Tatars” [4, p. 26; 5, p. 15]. Such uses of the term *Tatar* in these two Crimean Tatar chronicles reflect the Muslim practice of calling the Mongols *Tatar*, the Crimean Tatar adoption of *Tatar* as an endonym, and the Crimean Tatar reinterpretation of their ancient history.

Finally, the Kazan Tatars also adopted the term *Tatar* as their self-name. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Kazan Tatars used the term *Tatar* to identify themselves when communicating with the Russian authority but *Tatar* (*tatarin*) was not their common endonym. Instead, “Muslim” and “Bulghar (*bulghārchā / Bulghārī*)” were their preferred forms of self-identification [68, p. 132]. However, according to Uli Schamiloglu, their Bulghar identity was “a pre-modern ideology inventing linkages to advocate continuity with an Islamic past” [74, p. 2]. In the pre-modern era, the Kazan Tatars self-identified primarily by “religion (Muslim) or by locality (the name of the village, town, or city of birth)” [74, p. 3; 75, p. 142, 146–47]⁴⁶.

⁴⁵ Like the *Zafarnāma*, this history relates that the Mongols and Tatars are descended from the two sons, Mongol and Tatar, of Alanja Khan, a descendant of Japheth [4, p. 21–22; 5, p. 12–13].

⁴⁶ According to Chantal Lemercier-Quelqujay, when the reformer Abdul Kayyum al-Nasyri first used *Tatar* to identify himself in the second half of the nineteenth century, he was ridiculed by other Volga Tatar intellectuals [48, p. 20].

Conclusion

This article conducted a critical and comprehensive examination of the term *Tatar* drawing on a broad-range of primary sources. It analyzed to whom and by whom the term *Tatar* was historically applied. During the pre-Mongol period, the term *Tatar* that appears in the Türk, Uyghur, and Qirghiz inscriptions, the *Jiu Wudaishi*, a history of the Five Dynasties, and Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī's *Dīwān Luġāt al-Turk*, among others, all referred to a Mongolic-speaking nomadic people residing in and around eastern Mongolia. Their direct descendants became the archenemies of the Mongols from the mid-twelfth century and were destroyed as a corporate entity by Chinggis Khan in 1202. Ironically, the term *Tatar* came to be used as an exonym for the Mongol conquerors by various writers in China, Western Europe, the Rus', and the Islamic world, among others. The Southern Song envoys who visited the Mongols, the Rus' chroniclers who recorded the first Mongol invasion of their land, and the Muslim writers who described the Mongol defeat at the hands of the Mamluks in 1260 were among those who referred to the Mongols as "Tatars." During the post-Mongol period, Ming Chinese, Muslim, and Russian writers continued to use the term *Tatar* to refer to the Mongols as well as those whom they viewed as Mongol descendants. However, the Timurids, the Moghuls, the Uzbeks, and the Kazakhs, who identified themselves as heirs of the Mongol empire, like the Mongols, did not use the term *Tatar* as a self-name. Various Chinggisid and Timurid histories that they produced reserved the term *Tatar* for the original Tatars, with whom the Mongols were constantly at war until the time of Chinggis Khan. These histories often depicted the Tatars as the descendants of Tātār, the twin brother of Mughūl, whom they presented as the progenitor of the Mongols including the Chinggisids and the Timurids. Unlike other heirs of the Mongols, the Crimean Tatars, who were called "Tatars" by the Muscovites, and the Ottomans, among others, adopted *Tatar* as their self-name by the late fifteenth century or earlier. In the Russian empire, the term *Tatar* was more broadly used to denote not only the Mongols and their direct descendants, but also various Turkic-speaking subjects of the expanding empire. Similarly, Western European writers used the name *Tartar* more broadly during the post-Mongol period and applied it to Inner Asians, including the Manchus, who conquered China in the seventeenth century. In the contemporary world, the term *Tatar* is used as an endonym by the modern Crimean and Kazan Tatars.

There exists an interesting parallel between the terms *Turk* and *Tatar*. Both of them began as a name of a particular people (the Türks and the original Tatars) but later became a widespread exonym denoting "the Inner Asian steppe nomads" and "the Mongols and their descendants," respectively. Eventually, they were adopted as a self-name by the Turks of Türkiye and the Tatars of Crimea and Tatarstan, respectively. More specifically, *Türk* was the self-name of the Türks, which was not adopted by other Turkic-speaking peoples (the Uyghurs and the Qirghiz), who succeeded them in the Mongolian steppes⁴⁷. It became a synonym for the Inner

⁴⁷ One should note that the Oghuz Turkic groups, who were not direct descendants of the Türks, also adopted the name *Turk* after entering the Islamic world. *Turk* was not a name they inherited from the Türks.

Asian or Eurasian steppe nomads by the Muslim writers, who also viewed the Mongols and other non-Turkic-speaking nomadic peoples as *Turks*. *Tatar* was originally the name of a Mongolic nomadic people in eastern Mongolia, which, from the Mongol period, became widely used as an exonym to denote the Mongols and their descendants although the latter did not identify themselves with that name or the original Tatars. One should not forget that the use of the term *Turk* became widespread thanks to the grandeur of the Türk empire⁴⁸. As for the term *Tatar*, it gained prominence due to the might of the Mongol empire. In this sense, the modern ethnonym *Tatar* is arguably a product of the Mongol empire.

Appendix: The Meanings of the Term *Tatar* in Various Sources⁴⁹

PERIOD	WHO CALLED?	WHO WERE CALLED <i>TATAR</i> ?		
THE PRE-MONGOL PERIOD	1. The Turkic (Orkhon, Uyghur, Qirghiz) inscriptions	The Otuz Tatars and the Toquz Tatars (two different Tatar groupings)	<i>Tatar</i> , <i>Otuz Tatar</i> and <i>Toquz Tatar</i>	
	2. Chinese sources			
	Li Deyu (<i>Huichang Yipinji</i>)	The Tatars	<i>Dada</i> (達怛)	
		A clan of the Shiwei	<i>Heichezi Dada</i> (黑車子達怛)	
	The <i>Jiu Wudaishi</i> [Old History of the Five Dynasties]	The Tatars		
	Wang Yande (<i>Gaochang xingji</i>)	The Tatars	“The Nine Tribe Tatar (九族達鞞)”	
	3. Muslim sources			
	<i>Hudūd al-‘ālam</i>	The Tatars		
	Kai Kā’ūs b. Iskandar (<i>Qābūs-nāma</i>)	The Tatars		
	Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī (<i>Dīwān Luḡāt al-Turk</i>)	The Tatars		
	Gardīzi	The Tatars		
	Ibn al-Athīr	The Tatars		
		The Mongols		
	THE MONGOL PERIOD	1. The Mongols		
		The <i>Secret History of the Mongols</i>	The (original) Tatars	
Rashīd al-Dīn (<i>Jāmi‘ al-tavārīkh</i>)		The (original) Tatars		
2. Chinese sources				
Zhao Gong (<i>Mengda beilu</i>) and Peng Daya and Xu Ting (<i>Heida shilüe</i>)		The Mongols	“The Black Tatar (<i>Hei Dada</i> 黑鞑鞞)”	

⁴⁸ On this point, see [85, p. 537–53].

⁴⁹ This table is not exhaustive.

		The Önggüt; some other nomads of Mongolia	“The White Tatar (<i>Bai Dada</i> 白韃靼)” “The Raw Tatar (<i>Sheng Dada</i> 生韃靼)”
	The <i>Yuan Dianshang</i>	The Mongols	<i>Dada</i> (達達)
	3. Muslim sources		
	Abū Shāma	The Mongols	
	Sultān al-Nāṣir	The Mongols	
	4. The Rus’ and European sources		
	The Novgorod First Chronicle	The Mongols	<i>татары</i>
	John of Plano Carpini	The Mongols	<i>Tartar</i>
THE POST-MONGOL PERIOD	1. Mongol descendants		
	Timurid historians (Sharaf al-Dīn ‘Alī Yazdī/ <i>Zafarnāma</i> ; Ulugh Beg/ <i>Tārīkh-i arba’ ulūs</i> ; Khvāndamīr/ <i>Habīb al-siyar</i>)	The (original) Tatars	
	Uzbek historians (Hāfīz Tanish Bukhārī/ <i>‘Abdallāh-nāma</i> ; Abū al-Ghāzī Bahādur Khan/ <i>Shejere-i Türk</i>)	The (original) Tatars	
	Qādir ‘Alī Bek (<i>Jāmi’ al-tavārīkh</i>)	The (original) Tatars	
		The Jochid nomad subjects of Muscovy	
	Meḥmed Girāy Khan	The Mongols; the Crimean Tatars	
	The Crimean Tatar chroniclers (Remmāl Ḥoca/ <i>Tārīḥ-i Şāhib Girāy Ḥān</i> ; Sayyid Muḥammad Rezā/ <i>Es-Sebu’s-Seyyar fī Ahbar-ı Mulūk-ü Tatar</i> ; ‘Abd al-Ghaffār Qırımī/ <i>‘Umdat al-aḥbār</i>)	The Mongols; the Jochid <i>ulus</i> ; the Crimean Tatars	
	Fāzlallāh b. Rūzbihān [Isfahānī] Khunjī (<i>Mihmān-nāma-i Bukhārā</i> , ed. Manūchīhr Sūtūda, Tehran: Bungāh-i Tarjuma va Nashr-i Kitāb, 1341/1962, 213)	The Qazaqs/Mongols	(however, referring to past Muslim usage)
	Muḥammad Ḥaidar Dughlāt (<i>Tārīkh-i Rashīdī</i>)	The Qalmaqs	(following Muslim usage)

	The seventeenth-century Northern Yuan Mongol Chroniclers (<i>Erdeni-yin Tobci</i> and <i>Altan Tobči</i>)	The (original) Tatars	
2. Ming Chinese and Korean sources			
	The <i>Mingshi</i> [History of the Ming Dynasty]	The Mongols	<i>Dada</i>
	The <i>Ming shilu</i>	The Mongols The Kazakhs	<i>Dada</i> <i>Dada huiyi</i> (韃靼回夷)
	The <i>Goryeosa</i>	The Mongols	<i>Dada</i> (達達 or 韃靼)
3. Muscovites and Western Europeans			
	<i>Nikon Chronicle</i>	The Mongols; the Jochid ulus; the Crimean Tatars	
	The Russian empire	The Mongols; the Jochid ulus (of the past)	
		The Muslim and non-Muslim Turkic-speaking groups residing in the Volga-Ural regions, Siberia, Crimea, and the South Caucasus	
	Pero Tafur	The Mongols; the Crimean Tatars	<i>Tartar</i>
	Sigismund von Herberstein	The Mongols; Temür; the Jochid nomads of the Qipchaq Steppe	<i>Tartar</i>
	European Catholic missionaries in China	The Mongols; the Manchus	<i>Tartar</i>
4. Muslim sources			
	Ibn ‘Arabshāh	The Mongols; Temür	
	Ibn Khaldūn	The Mongols; Temür	
	Muṣṭafā ‘Ālī (<i>Kūnhū’l-ahbār</i>)	The Mongols; the Timurids; the Crimean Tatars	
	Evliyā Çelebi (<i>Seyahatnâme</i>)	The Mongols; the Timurids; the Crimean Tatars; others	

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ИСТОРИЧЕСКИЕ ЗНАЧЕНИЯ ТЕРМИНА «ТАТАР»: КРИТИЧЕСКОЕ И ВСЕСТОРОННЕЕ ИССЛЕДОВАНИЕ

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Резюме. Эта статья представляет собой критическое и всестороннее исследование исторических значений и использования термина «татар», опираясь на широкий спектр первоисточников. Основное внимание уделяется выявлению того, к кому и кем этот термин применялся в различные исторические периоды. В домонгольский период термин «татар» обозначал кочевой народ восточной Монголии, как записано в тюркских, уйгурских и киргизских надписях, китайских исторических трудах и таких работах, как

«Диван Лугат ат-Турк» Махмуда аль-Кашгари. Накануне монгольских завоеваний татары были уничтожены как коллективное образование Чингиз-ханом, который считал их своими исконными врагами. Однако в монгольский период термин «татар» стал широко распространенным экзонимом монголов, используемым китайскими, западно-европейскими, русскими и мусульманскими авторами. В постмонгольский период это внешнее использование продолжалось использоваться. Авторы в Китае периода династии Мин, в исламском мире и в России, среди прочих, использовали термин «татар» для обозначения как монголов, так и их потомков. Однако наследники Монгольской империи, а именно Тимуриды, Моголы, узбеки и казахи отвергли его как самоназвание. Заметным исключением были крымские татары западного царства Джучидов, которые приняли термин татар как самоназвание к концу XV века или ранее. В Российской империи термин «татар» более широко использовался для обозначения не только монголов и их потомков, но и различных тюркоязычных подданных расширяющейся империи. Аналогично западноевропейские авторы применяли термин «татар» к жителям Внутренней Азии, включая маньчжуров. Сегодня «татар» остается самоназванием среди крымских и казанских татар.

Ключевые слова: татар, татары, монголы, Монгольская империя, Улус Джучи, Золотая Орда, крымские и казанские татары

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